Rugby Union Men: Body Concerns

by

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Abstract

Existing research shows that increasing numbers of young men are dissatisfied with the appearance of their bodies. Drummond (2002a; 2005; 2010) has found that men will use sport and health-related sports acts to conceal these concerns from others. Accordingly, men's body dissatisfactions are documented less frequently because the practices drawn upon to conceal them are perceived as routine forms of masculine behaviour.

Rugby union is one of the most popular sports played by young men in England. Historically, the male rugby player is culturally perceived as strong, tough and unemotionally articulate. Existing research draws attention to health issues, such as performance stress and injury that arise through participation in this sport. Research also shows that rugby union players are likely to experience concerns about gaining weight, yet these are disguised within the requirements of training for the sport. Although, there are studies that examine the constitution of masculinities, the experience of pain and injury and career transitions among rugby union players there are no studies, as yet, that examine how rugby union men experience body concerns and manage these experiences through their sport.

The research discussed in this thesis examines how a group of rugby union men (25) aged 18-25, of varied racial identity, ethnic and social backgrounds, participating in an elite university rugby union 1st XV team, experience concerns about the appearance and performance of their bodies and the ways in which such concerns develop. It also examines if and how these men used the sport and health-related sports acts, to overcome their concerns and conceal them from others. A theoretical framework, which draws on the concepts of the three theorists: Connell (1995, 2008) Goffman (1959; 1961; 1979) and Bourdieu (1978; 1979; 1984), is developed. As part of this, a new concept has been created from Goffman's dramaturgical approach: that of the intimate dimension. In this dimension intimate relationships occur. It is located away from the front region, (the public), and the back region (semi-public spaces) where less formal relationships occur. It includes the research interview, with a woman researcher, and some other women such as girlfriends, sisters or female friends and also one or two other rugby men with whom the rugby men demonstrated a close bond. Within this dimension the rugby men are more forthcoming about the personal elements of their rugby lives. The theoretical framework is used to examine these men's concerns, how they are developed, experienced and managed.

Recognising that cultural assumptions of a tough and less expressive masculinity assigned to this sport can potentially make it difficult for men to express these concerns, a combination of visual research methods and ethnography are used to examine these men's body concerns and their management. This includes collaborative collection of photography and photo-elicitation interviews.

The research shows that embodied experiences of discomfort, associated with pain, injury, concerns about height, being overweight or out of shape, and social experiences of exclusion led to the development of the rugby men's body concerns. For these rugby men, their

rugby masculinities are influential to the management and concealment of their body concerns. They suppress and conceal their body concerns in the front and back regions of the sport and reveal them in more intimate dimensions. The rugby men's relationships with each other, in the back regions of the sport, were the most influential to this identity, but more importantly, to the management and reinforcement of these concerns.

This thesis contributes to filling the gap in existing academic research by examining body concerns and its management amongst rugby union men. It also extends existing research that has found men conceal their body concerns in sport, because it looks at how these men manage these concerns *differently* in *different* regions of their sport. Furthermore, a theoretical framework that combines interactionism and phenomenology is used to study sociologically men's body concerns in these different contexts.

The combination of visual methods and ethnography goes beyond some of the existing methods used in clinical and sociological research that have examined men's body concerns. They can be used to enhance understanding of clinical forms of body concern and other emotional concerns rugby union men and other sportsmen, of all ages, have about performance, pain and injury. The incorporation of visual methods is potentially widely applicable because they have increasing precedence in sportsmen's lives to analyse performance and to represent them.

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Chapter One; Introduction

1:1 Background to the Research

Since its beginnings in the late 19th Century, rugby union has been culturally characterised by its organisers, spectators and participants as a 'real man's game' (Pringle, 2001; 2008; Collins, 2009). This connection between manliness and rugby union originated in the early development of the sport, as it was predominantly white upper-class men who participated in this sport in Britain and it centred on a hegemonic form of masculinity. The game was entrenched in the curriculum of boys' public schools as a means of "instilling manliness" (Pringle, 2001: 426) and was used to prepare young men for war as they were taught to be athletic, robust, tough, determined, disciplined and less emotional (Collins, 2009). This is not to suggest that since this period women have not participated in the game; their involvement in the sport at a professional, semi-professional and amateur level has increased significantly since the 19th Century. However, as the level of contact, aggression (Kerr, 2005) and injuries (Brooks et al., 2005; Fuller et al., 2010) sustained in this sport is significantly higher than any other English field sport (Nicholl et al., 1995) rugby union is predominantly played by men. It is focused on a hegemonic form of masculinity and produces the character of hegemonic men (Carle and Nauright, 1999). Connell developed the concept of hegemonic masculinities in the 1980s. This concept focused on the exploration of male dominance over women and subordinate men (Demetriou, 2001). It was devised to reflect the continuance of power struggles between men and women. It was referred to "as the pattern of practice (i.e. things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). Carrigan et al., (1985:592) argue that hegemonic masculinity "refers to those groups of men who inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimatise and reproduce those social relationships that generate their dominance". Hegemonic masculinities place value on heterosexuality, authority, emotional control, physical strength and endurance (Courtenay, 2000; Mathewson, 2009).

Academic research describes how boys and men perceive the game as a battlefield of war in which they learn how to be tough, adept, strong, aggressive and unemotionally articulate (Light and Kirk, 2000). Men's expression of the emotional self, through discussion of less serious injury and acute pain (Howe, 2004); inability to be adept and aggressive (Collins, 2009); and narcissistic concerns about one's body, are defined by men as effeminate. As Bam, one of the rugby men[1] who participated in this research explained: you have to "stop moaning about the pain, get up, shut up, and stop being a fanny". Media representations of men's rugby union in sports coverage and fictional film also characterise and glorify the game as a hegemonic masculine experience (Light, 1999a).

This thesis examines the masculinities that exist in this sport, and how they are culturally promoted in media representations. It examines a group (25) of male rugby union

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[1] The male participants involved in the research, are referred to as 'rugby men' as oppose to male rugby union players because they referred themselves in this way.

players and reveals how these men feel about their bodies when their perceptions of this identity cannot be sustained. It will be shown that this identity is important for understanding how these men employ the sport, and health related sports acts, to conceal and work to overcome these concerns.

Academic research has revealed that sportsmen will use sports training to deal with difficult emotional feelings (Hasse et al., 2002; Lilleaas, 2007) such as body dissatisfaction. Although clinical research reveals that concerns experienced by young men about the appearance of their bodies have increased (Adams et al., 2005; Andersen and DiDomenico, 1992; Davis, 1998; 2002; Cafri et al., 2002; Filiault and Drummond, 2008; Gill, 2008; Grammas and Schwartz, 2009; Ricciardelli and McCabe, 2003; Phillips and Castle, 2001; Peat et al., 2011; Phillips, 2005; Phillips et al., 2006; Ricciardelli at al., 2006), many of the studies about body dissatisfaction have examined more women than men in their research, or they have focused primarily on women and how women experience their bodies (Gill, 2008; Phillips, 2005; Gillon and McPherson, 2007; Russell, 2004). White (2002) and Courtenay (2000) argue fewer studies about men's body concerns exist because "traditional, masculine attributes such as risk-taking, perceived invulnerability, and endurance of pain, potentially exacerbate health problems and deter men from seeking professional help" (cited in Gough and Conner, 2006: 387). Furthermore, men are deterred from participating because research participants are recruited in medical and clinical contexts. My research differs as it asks men to discuss their body concerns in their own sports environment.

Drummond's research with young men experiencing eating disorders (Drummond, 2002a; 2010); homosexual men experiencing body image concerns (Drummond, 2005; Filiault and Drummond, 2008); and body image perceptions of male fitness instructors (Phillips and Drummond, 2001) have contributed significantly to developing our understanding of these concerns. Importantly, Drummond's research shows that young men experiencing body image concerns and who experience narcissistic behaviours embed them "in exercise [and sport] as a masculine model of weight control or loss" (Drummond, 2002a:3). Accordingly, Drummond argues that men's body image concerns often go unrecognised because the practices drawn upon to mask these concerns are perceived as customary forms of public masculine behaviour.

Drummond conceptualises dissatisfactions about the physical attributes of the body: body shape, size, and weight, as body image concerns (2002a; 2005). The males in this study are also repulsed by the sight of their bodies. This can lead them to believe that they need to lower their own body weight, their body fat percentage and avoid food containing high levels of fat (Drummond, 2002a). He examines the body image concerns of men clinically diagnosed as possessing an eating disorder, but he also examines non-clinical body image concerns of men (2005) and sportsmen (1996, 2001) not possessing eating disorders.

Drummond's (2002a) argument that men will use sport, and health-related acts, to conceal their body image concerns, is significant to understanding why there have been no studies, as yet, about the body concern of rugby union men. Medical and non-medical studies have examined the body dissatisfactions (and comparable issues such as body image

concerns and clinical disorders; Body Dysmorphic Disorder and Muscle Dysmorphic Disorder) of sportsmen involved in football, athletics (Haase et al., 2002; Parks and Reed, 1997; Filiault and Drummond, 2008) and bodybuilding (Monaghan, 1999; 2001; 2002). Studies examining male rugby union players outline the type and incidence of injuries (Brooks et al., 2005; Garraway et al., 2000; Fuller et al., 2010). Other research has moved beyond the epidemiology of injuries and examined rugby union men's experiences of pain and injury and associated concerns (Howe, 2004; Smith and Sparkes, 2005). However these studies did not directly intend to examine rugby men's body concerns.

A study that examines the rugby union men's experiences of body concerns and how they work to overcome and conceal them in the sport is needed. As cultural connotations of a strong, unemotional and tough masculinity have been associated with rugby union (Howe, 2004; Collins, 2009; Light, 1999a; Light and Kirk, 2000), men use this sport, as a way of hiding their body concerns from others. Furthermore, because this is an overtly masculine sport (Pringle, 2001; 2008; Collins, 2009), rugby union provides an ideal context in which to examine how rugby men manage their body concerns in this environment.

A study that examines the rugby union men's body concerns is also worthwhile because rugby union is one of the most popular sports played by young men in Britain and therefore can potentially affect a large number of men. The Active People Survey (APS 2) revealed that 159,000 young men, between the ages of 16–29 years, participated in rugby union for at least 30 minutes each week between October 2008 and October 2009. Whilst popularity alone may not warrant this study, public media revelations about emotional instability experienced by professional and semi-professional rugby union men does draw attention to the health issues that arise through their involvement in this sport. Male rugby union players who have articulated emotional fragility include John Kirwan, New Zealand former winger and Martineau Bastareaud[2], French centre. Academic research has also drawn attention to the emotional stress male rugby players experience. In a study conducted by Nicholl et al., (2005) professional rugby players reported numerous forms of performance stress most common stressors referred to mental and physical error and injury. Furthermore, research by Chung (2001) shows that rugby union players are likely to experience concerns about gaining weight, which are incorporated in the criterion for Muscle Dysmorphic Disorder (MDD), yet these are disguised in the requirements of training for the sport and the athletic culture. Whilst Chung's research draws awareness to the concerns rugby union men may experience, there have been no studies, as yet, that examine *how* rugby union men experience body concerns and *manage them* through the sport.

In order to widen this field and expand on Drummond's (2002a) work, this thesis examines how a group of rugby union men experience concerns about the appearance of their bodies, the ways in which such concerns develop, and how the men use the sport and health-related sports acts, to overcome and conceal them from others. It builds on Drummond's

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[2] See: France rugby star Mathieu Bastareaud tried suicide (2009)
http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/sport/rugby_union/article6613350.ece, accessed August 2010

research (and other research by Haase et al., 2002; Ricciardelli, 2006) because it looks at how management of these men's body concerns *differs* between the *different areas* of the men's lives in the sport. It considers how the social contexts in which they are situated and the required performance of masculinities influences how these men express and manage their body concerns. These men are aged between eighteen and twenty five years old, of varied racial identity, ethnic and social backgrounds, participating in a 1st XV university rugby union team.

The objectives of the research were to:

- Conceptualise body concern in a way that can be utilised to examine how rugby men feel about the appearance and performance of their bodies.
- Examine the rugby men's experiences and management of their body concerns.
- Examine the influence of the rugby men's embodied experiences and their relationships with significant others, on the development and management of their body concerns.
- Combine visual research methods with conventional ethnographic methods to examine the rugby men's body concerns and management of them.
- Provide a historical context to the development of rugby and rugby union in the United Kingdom, and situate this in the context of the rugby identities I write about in this thesis.
- Examine the media representations of sports masculinities watched by the rugby men and the academic research that discusses sports masculinities. This involves identifying the social contexts within which these sports masculinities develop.
- Develop a theoretical framework, combining interactionism and phenomenology, which can be used to understand how the rugby men's body concerns develop and are managed by them in the sport and with health-related sports acts.

1:2 Conceptualising Body Concerns

Men's body dissatisfactions or concerns are not researched extensively in the sociological literature. This has meant that there are few established definitions and frameworks for examining these concerns. Here I outline some of these definitions and show how existing sociological literature about men's perceptions of their bodies and experiences of embodiment, has been influential to the conceptualisation of body concern in this thesis. I will also discuss how the fieldwork with the rugby men has informed my understanding of this concept for these men.

"Body image is generally understood as a mental image of the body as it appears to others" (Featherstone, 2010:194). Research has shown that men are becoming more critical and vulnerable about their body image (Atkinson, 2008; Drummond, 2010). Researchers within

the field of sociology who have examined men's assessments of their bodies (Duncan, 2007; 2010; Grogan and Richards, 2002; 2007; Ricciardelli and White, 2011), and modification practices (Atkinson, 2008; 2011; Gill, 2008) have adopted various concepts for what can be understood, generally, as body dissatisfaction. Whilst Drummond (2002a; 2005; 2010) adopts the term *body image concern*, others such as Duncan (2007; 2010) and Grogan and Richards (2002; 2007) adopt the term *body image dissatisfaction*. Grogan and Richards (2007:4) refer to body image dissatisfaction as a "person's negative thoughts and feelings about his or her body". These researchers define the concept in terms of the individual's perception and attitude towards the body but also feelings of embodiment experienced by the men. They also recognise the cultural and social contexts in which these perceptions develop.

Atkinson (2008:79) refers to "deficient body image" in his examination of men's experiences of cosmetic surgery. This involves expression of discomfort with image and performance of their body, but also entails a desire to be "regular" like other men and "fit in". Ricciardelli and White (2011: 964) refer to "appearance concerns" with a focus on image and specific areas of the body, in their study about Canadian men's perspectives on appearance and cosmetic surgery.

Other researchers have adopted terms for men who are simply overtly interested in their body image. These men will invest in their bodies as projects (Shilling, 2003) and do not describe themselves as dissatisfied. For example, Gill et al., (2005:42), utilise the term "body conscious" in their research with young British males. These men expressed a certain level of interest in their appearance that was deemed acceptable and appropriate by other men. However, compulsive interest in the body, described by the men as daily gym attendance and use of cosmetic surgery to improve physical attractiveness, as a result of paranoia or perfectionism, was frowned upon. In Atkinson's (2011) research, he identifies comparable practices. He defines overt interest in physical attractiveness, such as hairstyles and fashion choices, as the metro-sexual identity. Research within the field of rugby union has identified this identity amongst a small collection of professional players[3], such as Gavin Henson, former Welsh fly-half (Harris and Clayton, 2007).

The term *body concern* is utilised in this research. It refers to the rugby players' negative perceptions and attitudes towards their body image but also feelings of embodiment that relate to the functional performance of their bodies. A sociological approach is adopted that recognises the phenomenological interest in embodied experiences of body concern, the social context in which these concerns are experienced, and the interactions within these contexts that are influential to these perceptions. There are three dimensions of embodiment that are incorporated in understanding this concept of body concern: physical appearance of the body, functional ability, and embodied experiences.

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[3] In my research these specific self-representations practices are not included in the concept of body concern. This was raised as a theme by two of the rugby men. However, those men who demonstrated these practices were distinguished by other players as feminine. This is discussed further in Chapter 9.

Physical Appearance

Physical appearance in sport is often dependent on the physical requirements of the sport and the social and cultural expectations within the sport. The bodily characteristics required for participation in rugby union vary considerably (Howe, 2003). Historically, the traditional assumption has been that forward players are characteristically heavier, taller, and have a greater percentage of body fat than the back players. In contrast backs are smaller and faster (Duthie et al., 2003). Since the expansion of professionalism these physical characteristics have changed resulting in body requirements being more similar (Olds, 2000). In the last twenty years we have seen the increase of professional players in both forward and back positions who possess greater muscle mass, lowered levels of excess fat, higher muscularity, aerobic and anaerobic power, and muscular strength (Duthie et al., 2003; Olds, 2001). In this thesis I do not examine the influence of changes to the physique of professional male rugby union players, however it is worth noting that the rugby men's perceptions of the ideal physique are symptomatic of changes in professional physiques.

Researchers have found that there is a close association between this mesomorphic size and success in the sport (Norton and Olds, 2001). Furthermore, muscularity is perceived as a functional requirement in rugby union as it can serve the purpose of minimizing injuries (Matthews & Wagner, 2008). In Chapter 7 of this thesis, it will be shown that this physique, referring to a high level of muscular tone, definition, mass and size (level of hypertrophy)[4] is perceived by the rugby men as being an important part of their physical appearance. It will also be shown that this physique is often experienced as pleasurable and players who exhibit these qualities are admired and awarded status. However, this muscular physique had to be cultivated for successful use in the sport and training practices. Thus this physique is concomitant to the adept body. This is discussed further below.

International research has found that adolescent male rugby union players perceive body weight as being important to their capability in the sport, notably their strength (McCabe et al., 2011). In Chapters 7 and 9, comparable findings are revealed, as it will be shown that, irrespective of playing position, body concern is experienced when the rugby men lose weight which they perceive to be muscle mass. Weight gain that entails muscle mass is perceived as a positive attribute and is revealed in public contexts with their teammates, to assert physical prowess and strength. However, players also express concerns about carrying too much body fat and thus focus on exercising to gain and not to lose muscle. Eating regimes are also discussed in the analytical chapters, since they affect body weight which informs the men's body concerns.

Functional ability

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[4] Whilst these features emerged from the fieldwork data, in sports science research other physical characteristics such as body composition, proportionality and somatotype components are often included in analysis of physique in male rugby union players (Olds, 2000).

Monaghan (2001) and Robertson (2000) draw on Watson's (2000) concept of pragmatic embodiment to illustrate that for some men their embodied experiences, physical and experiential, are tied to the desire to work on the functional perceptions of their bodies. Both also argue pragmatic embodiment is implicated in the construction and affirmation of masculinity for these men. De Visser et al., (2009) note similar narratives in their interviews with young men. For these men, the rugby masculinity is identifiable in a rugby league player whose body is muscular, stocky and built. However, the players' ability to use this body successfully in the sport is paramount to this identity. Similarly, Ricciardelli et al., (2007) found Fijian and Tongan adolescent boys' body image concerns were associated with being successful at sport. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9 of this thesis, I will show that the rugby men's body concerns are associated with their body's ability to be functional and thus fulfil its masculine role in the sport. Furthermore, I will also show that the rugby men utilise their bodies to participate and succeed in the rugby game, but this entails achieving the social requirements of the rugby masculinity. Body concerns arise or become, current when they were unable to possess and present these functional features.

As will be discussed below in section 1:3, Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) concept of physical capital (in the form of body shape, size, gait, posture) is utilised in the theoretical framework to show these corporeal features of hegemonic rugby masculinities. These include adeptness, constructive aggression and the tough body (Bourdieu, 1984). The rugby men who possess these functional qualities are perceived as adhering to the ideal standard of hegemonic rugby masculinity required in the field of rugby union. However, in Chapters, 7, 8 and 9, I will illustrate that disruption to their ability to present these features influences the development and management of their body concerns. Thus, the concept of body concern that I employ in this thesis recognises body *image* perceptions, but these are also tied to perceptions about the *functional* use of the rugby body and its ability to possess the required physical capital.

The definitions for these functional features (physical capital) are outlined here. Adeptness is essential for participation in many team sports. In rugby union adept skills, are important but these differ between playing positions. Irrespective of these different qualities, the rugby men involved in the research valued any player who was adept in their respective playing position. In light of this, *adeptness* is defined in this thesis, generally, as athletic accomplishment, elite physicality, speed, skill and physical consistency in the sport (Messner, 1990). As discussed above, it will be shown in Chapter 7 that the rugby men perceive the lean body and muscularity as essential features necessary for adeptness. Body concerns arise or become current when they are unable to maintain these qualities.

Rugby union is described as a combat sport, in which aggression is perceived as a necessary part of the game (Collins, 2009; Maxwell and Visek, 2009; Schacht, 1996; White and Vagi, 1990). In this thesis, I utilise the term constructive aggression. It is conceptualised as physical and/or verbal hostile behaviour, but also implies positive "assertiveness and domination" (Meizdian, 1992: 43). It can include acts such as late hitting and high tackles. In Chapter 8, I will show how use of this behaviour, that demonstrates a willingness to physically

defend oneself and others on the team, is perceived as necessary. Whilst this feature of hegemonic masculinity allows for power and dominance over other men (Connell, 2008; Courtenay, 2000; Mathewson, 2009), it is not considered as problematic by most of the rugby men. In contrast, destructive aggression, characterised as being synonymous with violence, malicious hostility (Meizdian, 1992), and defers from the purposes of the game, is perceived as being an unacceptable form of behaviour for this rugby masculinity. In Chapter 8, I will show how constructive aggression is embedded in understanding how the rugby men's body concerns develop or become current, and how they are used by them in different ways to work on or overcome their body concerns

Since the development of rugby union, there is a cultural expectation that men involved in this sport will accept and endure the pain and discomfort they experience, whilst being emotionally inexpressive about it (Light and Kirk, 2000; Loland, 2006; Muir and Seitz, 2004; White et al., 1995; Young et al., 1994). They will also be aware of the implicit sense of risk taking and possess the ability to inflict and absorb pain (Pringle, 2009). Recognising these requirements, t*he tough body* in this thesis, refers to the management of pain and injury. It focuses on the rugby men's ability to present the functional and strong body required for this sport. It will be shown in Chapter 9 that this involves sustaining specific types of acute pain and minor injury (Howe, 2004; Loeser and Melzack, 1999), but also requires mental toughness; downplaying and suppressing these experiences and the emotional distress resulting from them.

Positive embodied feelings, such as sensual pleasures of power and control involved in being adept and using constructive aggression, are also important for understanding the rugby men's body concerns and how they are developed and managed. Furthermore negatives experiences, such as the discomfort of injury and fatness are also important. These feelings of embodiment are experienced as part of adept, aggressive and tough bodies. This brings us to the third dimension of body concern: embodied experience.

Embodied experiences

Embodied sociology recognises that an individual does not reside in a static object in which the mind is separate (Crossley, 2001; 2006; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Turner, 1991; Shilling, 2003; 2007). It moves away from the Cartesian approach that argues there is a division between the body as experienced, and the body as an object (Crossley, 2006; Malcolm, 2012). Influenced by interactionism and phenomenology, the concept of embodiment draws attention to presence of the body in sociology (Watson, 2000). Embodiment refers to the "synthesis between the body as object and the body as felt (subject) experienced" (Howson, 2004:15). It refers to the "process by which the object body is actively experienced, produced, sustained and/or transformed as a subject body" (Waskul and Vanni, 2006:3). It seeks to "reminds us that the self and the body are not separate and the experience is invariably, whether conscious or not, embodied" (Nettleton and Watson, 1981:1).

The embodied approach views the "self and society as constituted through practical work done (with and through) the body in interaction with others and with the physical environment" (Howson, 2004:15). Symbolic interactionism perceives practical work as agency; in which the body is free to "respond... to the social world but also creates the social world in interaction by giving meaning to, intended and unintended, actions of others" (Howson, 2004:15). Agency informs the concept of embodiment for the symbolic interactionist. They perceive embodiment as being "produced in the doings of people, by the social and cultural rituals that are personal and communal" (Waskul and Vanni, 2006:7). Developed from the phenomenological framework, action is also perceived as practical work. It highlights "the emergence of self as constituted through practical actions of the body upon the world in which it is situated" (Howson, ibid). Phenomenology perceives embodiment as being developed through action, but this is attached to sensory feelings of the self (Merleau-Ponty, 1962).

Researchers within the sociology of sport literature have adopted the embodied approach to examine men's participation in sport (Brown, 1999; Madill and Hopper, 2007; Pringle, 2009; Swain, 2003; Smith and Sparkes, 2002; Wellard, 2006; 2009; Wellard et al., 2007; Woodward, 2007). However, with the exception of researchers such as Gill et al., (2005), Monaghan (2001), Morgan, (2003), Roberston, (2006), few have drawn on it to examine sportsmen's perception of their bodies. Here, I utilise some of the sociology literature to show how embodied experiences are conceptualised as a dimension of body concern. I illustrate the positive and negative experiences of embodiment that are part of these concerns and show how they are attached to the functional performance of the body, for the rugby men involved in the research.

Merleau-Ponty (1962) argues that perceptions are not external to the human subject. Our bodily experience gives perception meaning beyond that established by thought. Thus embodied experiences inform perceptions of the self and our body image (Crossley, 2006). Researchers examining perceptions of the body amongst men and women have found that former and current embodied feelings of fat and/or fatness are experienced uncomfortably and are often perceived as possessing a lack of control over the body (Bordo, 1993; Gimlin, 2002; Gill et al., 2005; Monaghan, 2005; Orbach; 2010; Throsby, 2007; Yates, 2001). Men and women have described the experience of fatness as a moral failure also leading to perceptions of a stigmatised personal identity (Gill, 2008; Orbach; 2010; Warin et al., 2011). Male research participants in Atkinson (2011), Kimmel (2004) and Monaghans' (2008) research have equated fat to physical and social inadequacy and described feelings of physical powerless amongst other men. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9 of this thesis, similar narratives of embodied discomfort are expressed as negative experiences of body concern amongst some of the rugby men. I illustrate how former and current embodied experiences of fatness and flaccidity inform the men's body concerns and how they are managed within the sport and through masculine behaviour.

Researchers within the sociology of sport have identified narratives of embodied discomfort and distress amongst men experiencing minor and more serious injuries sustained in sports participation (Cherrington and Watson, 2010; Howe, 2004; Messner, 1990; Smith and

Sparkes, 2002; 2005; 2011; Stewart et al., 2011; White and Young, 1999). Aside from the physical feelings of discomfort, feelings of anger, frustration and disappointment arise as the athlete relies heavily on the performing body to succeed in the sport. The body is experienced as a corporeal resource that is influential to success in the sport but also to their gender identity. In Chapter 9, I discuss the impact these disruptions to the body have on the rugby men's negative feelings of body concern.

Whilst these disruptions show negative experiences of embodiment, there are also positive feelings that are experienced in the use of aggression in sport and participation in physical exercise. Pringle's (2009) research with New Zealand male rugby union players, illustrates how physical sensual pleasures are experienced through participating in this sport itself. The men in his study discuss how they enjoy the physical and confrontational nature of the game, its risk to the body, and the ability to inflict pain on other players. Players also talk of the gratification of sustaining damage to the body in the form of bruising, scars and wounds. Smith (2008) identifies these feelings amongst professional male wrestlers. In Chapter 8 of this thesis, I will show that comparable pleasures are expressed by some of the rugby men. Use of constructive aggression to dominate others and public displays of wounding within their field of rugby union allows them to affirm their rugby masculinity. However, I will also show that for these men pleasure is also experienced as they use this aggression to work on existing concerns about their body weight, shape and height.

Researchers examining men's experiences of exercise have found positive narratives of embodiment. In Monaghan's (2001) analysis of male bodybuilders, the men discuss embodied pleasures of weight training situated within their experiential embodiment. Monaghan (2001:331) utilises the term "physical vibrancy" to illustrate the satisfying experiential embodied feeling which result from, and motivate, participation in exercise. He draws attention to the sensual bodily experiences of anaerobic exercise that allow bodybuilders to "feel good" about their outer, and inner, bodies (2001:349). Embodied enjoyment (experiential) is experienced as they lift weights and eat a high protein diet. The bodybuilders vibrant physicality is embedded in their desire to 'look good' for the purposes of their sport. For these men, their self-improvement practices focus on positive health in purely representational terms. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9, I will show that the rugby men experience similar embodied pleasures from comparable activities such as aggression, anaerobic exercise and, what they describe as, a 'healthy eating regime'. However, it is important to note here, that these feelings are tied to instrumental and pragmatic embodiment and are not merely representational (Watson, 2000; Robertson, 2006; Monaghan, 2001). Pleasure is derived from improving the visual representation of their body image, but fulfilment of their hegemonic rugby masculinity and its corporeal functionality are part of these positive embodied experiences.

To summarise, body concern is conceptualised as negative perceptions and attitudes towards body image and feelings of embodiment that are tied to the functional performance of the body. A sociological approach is adopted that recognises the rugby men's embodied experiences of body concern, the social context and the interactions within these context/s in

which these concerns are experienced. The three dimensions of body concern; appearance, functional ability and embodied experience inform this concept to allow for this approach.

1:3 Theoretical Framework for Analysing the Rugby Men's Body Concerns

To analyse the rugby men's body concerns, a theoretical framework is needed that will accommodate and explain the ways and contexts in which these concerns are developed, experienced and articulated. To achieve this, a theoretical framework, discussed in Chapter 2, is developed from the concepts of the three theorists: R W Connell (1995, 2008) Erving Goffman (1959) and Pierre Bourdieu (1978, 1979, 1984). It is informed by a phenomenological interest in embodied experience and interactionism. I developed a new concept: the dimension of intimacy, from Goffman's (1959) work. The framework is drawn on in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 to examine the rugby union men's body concerns; how they develop and how these men used this sport and health-related practices to aid their own management of them.

Concepts from Connell's and Bourdieu's work are combined to explore the impact of disruption to the body (physical capital) in the field of rugby union. Connell's (2008) concept of body reflexive practices is drawn on to examine experiences of embodiment and the impact these would have on the development of the rugby men's body concerns. This concept is also used because it allows for both the embodied and social experiences that could potentially contribute to the development, reinforcement and management of the rugby men's body concerns. Bourdieu's concept of physical capital[5] (in the form of body shape, size, gait, posture) is drawn on, and utilised, to show the features of the hegemonic rugby masculinity as understood by these men. Those rugby men who express the features of physical capital are perceived as adhering to their ideal standard of hegemonic masculinity in this sport (Connell, 2008). Adeptness, constructive aggression and the tough body are features of physical capital and thus form the analytical categories that are central to, and running throughout, the research. Rather than beginning with a predefined concept of hegemonic masculinities prior to the research process, it will be shown that these features have emerged from my ethnographic findings. Experiences of pain, injury and discomfort are important to this identity because the inability to sustain it has a detrimental effect on the presentation of this identity to others. Failure to present this in the field of rugby union, leads the rugby men to conceal their body concerns from others in the sport and health-related sports practices. I consider the suppression and management of body concerns in rugby union through hegemonic rugby masculinities.

Goffman's dramaturgical analysis is also incorporated and extended, through the development of a new dimension of intimacy. I draw on his analysis to show how the rugby men's expression of hegemonic rugby masculinities is influential to the management of their body concerns. This approach draws attention to how the rugby men's body concerns are

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[5] Bourdieu's (1978, 1984) concept of the class habitus is not drawn on this research. Since the mid-20th century class in rugby union has become less pertinent. Furthermore, men in this research are from diverse social classes and ethnic origins, but have come together to play this sport and this blurs traditional class boundaries. Their professional behaviour is more reflective of a new celebrity class. This is discussed further in Chapter 3.

managed differently in different areas of their lives. Goffman's analysis of gender display in *Gender Advertisements* (1979) is also drawn on in Chapter 5, to examine the media representations of sports masculinities in the media consumed by the rugby men, but is not part of the developed theoretical framework.

The combination of concepts and theories drawn from each of these theorists serve to develop an understanding of how the rugby men's body concerns are developed and managed.

1:4 Contributions to Knowledge

This thesis contributes to knowledge about body concern and its management in three ways: empirically, theoretically and methodologically. Empirically, it will examine for the first time, body concern and management amongst rugby union men. Furthermore, as Drummond (2002a) and Haase et al. (2002) have found that men will use sports and health-related acts to mask and work on overcoming body concerns, this research extends their work and develops a new concept of the intimate dimension, to examine how body concerns are managed differently in different areas of sporting men's lives. In the conclusion of this thesis I will elaborate further on the contributions to knowledge.

Whilst other researchers have combined the three theoretical positions of Connell (1995; 2008) Bourdieu (1978;1979;1984) and Goffman (1959) to examine other social phenomenon, no research has yet done so to examine rugby union men's body concerns. The theoretical contribution of this thesis is the formation of a new concept: that of the intimate dimension. This concept has implications for further research examining men's body concerns and also for other sociological research examining masculinities and social relationships in western societies.

Methodologically this thesis contributes to advancing the use of visual research methods in sports and health research. It expands existing uses of visual methods in the sports context by employing collaborative and participant photography to understand the rugby men's body concerns. These methods have not been used to examine clinical forms of body concern experienced by young men. However, I will show that they are potentially a feasible and appropriate way of encouraging men to verbalise their body concerns to others.

1:5 Research Design

Integral to the research design, was the exploratory nature of the research questions (De Vaus, 2001). The research sought to examine how a group of rugby union men aged 18-25, of varied racial identity, ethnic and social backgrounds, participating in an elite university rugby union team, experience concerns about the appearance of their bodies and the ways in which such concerns develop. It also sought to examine how these men used the sport and health-related sports acts, to work on their concerns and conceal them from others. To investigate this, the following questions were asked:

- What are the rugby men's body concerns?
- How do the rugby men's experiences in the sport impact on the development and management of their body concerns?
- How do the rugby men's social relationships with significant others impact on the development and management of their body concerns?
- How do embodied experiences impact on the development and management of the rugby men's body concerns?

Influenced by the ontological position that centres on individual's actions, behaviours and interactions as being central to understanding (Mason, 2009) the rugby men's body concerns, a combination of visual research methods was used: collaborative photography; audience ethnography; photo-elicitation (PEI) interviews; and ethnographic methods (semi-structured, in-depth interviews, and participant observation). These methods were also chosen because they draw on the subjective and contextual knowledge required for examining the development of the rugby men's body concerns and how they are managed in the rugby context. Following the interpretivist position, an iterative[6] inductive approach (evolving in design through the study) was adopted for the collection of ethnographic data (O'Reilly, 2005).

Visual research methods were combined with ethnographic methods to allow me (as a female researcher) access the rugby men's lives in the sport, and regions within it, that would not otherwise been accessible to me. The photo-elicitation interview, as part of the collaborative and participant photography, allows for an *intimate* look at the front and back regions of the rugby men's lives in this sport. The visual research techniques also allow for reflection and recall and the evoking of memories and emotions regarding body concerns that are presented less frequently by men through conventional qualitative methods (Drummond, 2002a; Hasse et al., 2002). The methods are discussed in Chapter 4.

As discussed above, the analytical categories emerged from the ethnographic findings; this included analysis of the sports media. These have also been identified in existing academic literature about masculinity and sport. These categories inform and run throughout the presentation of the research in this thesis. They are presented as headings in Chapter 5, and are titles for Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

1:6 Structure of the Thesis

I have dyslexia which means I am stronger processing information in a visual, rather than lexical manner. My dyslexia can also affect my working memory (the temporary storage of information for manipulation) and the accurate processing of phonemes. My dyslexia has influenced my choice of presentation of this thesis in a report style, which enables me to control

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[6] Iterative approaches "seek meaning and develop interpretive explanations through processes of feedback. It involves repeated data collection until the research question has been answered. You reflect on the process of preliminary data emerging and it guides you in the next set of data collection this cycle is repeated until there is no new data" (Grbich, 2007:8).

the order and sequencing of ideas. Arial narrow and line spacing 1.15 is used to adapt to the visual stress I experience associated with my dyslexia with text on paper.

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework used for analysing the rugby men's body concerns and shows how the three theoretical approaches enable me to understand body concerns sociologically. The chapter begins by outlining the existing research about men's body concerns and how this thesis expands it. The theories and concepts of the three theorists that inform this framework are discussed. The chapter also discusses how other sociologists of sport have used their work and how this thesis is informed by them. Finally, I show how I combined the concepts to construct the theoretical framework.

In Chapter 3 an examination of the beginnings of rugby and the development of rugby union in England, and other countries, is given to demonstrate how rugby union historically aligned to a hegemonic form of masculinity. This chapter sets the ethnographic field setting, historically and culturally, to provide a context in which the research took place. It also plays a role in this thesis as giving a historical context to the rugby masculinities I write about.

Chapter 4 explains why, and how, visual research methods were used in combination with ethnographic methods. It begins by outlining the former and current of use of visual research methods and the additional benefits of these are discussed. The second part of the chapter outlines the ethnographic and visual research methods utilised and explains how they were employed, combined and analysed. Finally, the ethical issues and limitations that arose in using these combined methods are presented.

Chapter 5 outlines the existing academic research that describes sports masculinities: and the social relationships that are described as influencing this identity, alongside the sports media representations of them. Analytical categories of adeptness, aggression and tough body that are part of hegemonic sports masculinities were identified in my ethnographic findings, then used to inform my media analysis and I subsequently found them to be evident in the academic literature, discussed in this chapter. I will discuss each of these analytical categories in turn, how they are represented in sports media, consumed by the rugby men who participated in the research, and how they are discussed in academic literature as part of sports masculinities. I also look at how significant others are discussed in academic literature and represented in sports media as being influential to the development of this identity.

The data presented is drawn from a small scale thematic analysis of visual and literary coverage of the 2003 Rugby World Cup in British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers[7], sportsmen's autobiographies, rugby memorabilia and fictional films. Goffman's (1979) analysis of gender advertisements is drawn on to analyse the media representations of sports masculinities and the social relationships that are influential to this identity. Goffman's (1979) analysis is not part of the theoretical framework but, importantly, it flags up the performance of gender, and thus the different ways masculinity is performed in different social situations.

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[7]Tabloid newspapers were analysed; however, in this thesis I have focused more exclusively on the broadsheets because the majority of the rugby men chose broadsheet newspapers as the optimum source of reading.

Prior to the analytical chapters, a selection of the rugby men's profiles is presented in Chapter 6. These profiles provide a background into the personal biographies of these men, and their body concerns. They are presented because they reflect characteristics and comments made by all of the participants during the research. They are also pertinent to understanding the research problem. Furthermore, these profiles allow the lives of the men to become more explicit in the thesis and to invite the reader to gain fuller insight into the research context.

Chapters 7-9 focus on each of the elements of the hegemonic rugby masculinity deployed by the rugby men (analytical categories of) adeptness (Chapter 7), aggression (Chapter 8), and the tough body: emotional management of pain and injury (Chapter 9).

Chapters 7 and 8 follow the same format. Each chapter begins by outlining how the relevant analytical categories are conceptualised in this research, and how this behaviour is central to the hegemonic rugby masculinity. I discuss how adeptness, aggression and the tough body are expressed and how they are relevant for understanding the development and management of the rugby men's body concerns in the different regions and dimensions of this sport.

Chapter 9 loosely follows the structure of the previous two chapters, but by necessity deviates slightly. It focuses on the final feature of physical capital: the management of pain and injury, referred to as the 'tough body'. The theoretical framework is also used to examine how the tough body is expressed by the rugby men and is relevant for them in different regions and dimensions of their rugby lives. The chapter shows how pain and injury are understood and dealt with by the men. I argue that disruptions to the body in the form of pain and injury are influential to the development of the rugby men's body concerns. I also show that the rugby men's relationships with each other regarding the tough body are most influential in how they manage these experiences, and thus impacts on the reinforcement and management of their body concerns.

Chapter 10 concludes the research, by outlining the key findings; the contribution to existing knowledge; and the implications for future research.

Chapter 2: A Framework for Analysing Rugby Men's Body Concerns

2:1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss how a theoretical framework was developed that enables me to expand the understanding of men's body concerns by approaching them sociologically. The framework combines a phenomenological interest in the body and symbolic interactionist approach. It will be shown that a theoretical framework is needed that will accommodate and explain sociologically the ways and contexts in which the rugby union men's body concerns are experienced, developed and managed.

This chapter begins with a discussion of some of the existing research about men's body concerns and shows how this thesis extends it, by focusing uniquely on rugby union men and examining sociologically the influence masculinity has on their management of these concerns. The main body of this chapter will outline how a theoretical framework was developed to examine the research problem of rugby union men's body concerns: how they developed and how they used this sport and health-related sports acts to aid their own management of these concerns. The theories and concepts of the three theorists: Connell (1995; 2008), Goffman (1959) and Bourdieu (1978; 1979; 1984), that informed the theoretical framework are discussed. As part of this discussion, I outline how these three theoretical (sociological) approaches enable me to understand the rugby men's body concerns sociologically. This will be followed by a discussion of how other sociologists of sport have utilised the work of these theorists to understand gender identities and behaviour in sport and how this has informed my theoretical examination of the rugby men's body concerns. Finally, I discuss how the concepts from three theorists are combined to construct a theoretical framework for understanding these men's body concerns.

2:2 Men's Body Concerns; existing contributions

Research has recognised that dissatisfactions experienced by young men about the appearance of their bodies have increased in the last thirty years (Adams et al., 2005; Phillips and Castle, 2001, Peat et al., 2011; Phillips, 2005, Phillips et al., 2006). Non-clinical studies in the UK have found that "60% of young men are dissatisfied with their size, shape and weight" (*Men's Fitness Magazine,* 2003:82). More recently, a national study [8] examining British men's attitudes to their appearance reveals that over four in five (80.7%) men regularly engage in conversation about one another's body and that most are unhappy with their own muscularity. Whilst research in this field is continually emerging, Adams et al., (2005), Gill (2008), Phillips (2005) and Gillon and McPherson (2007) argue that research commonly examines this phenomenon in predominantly female groups. Furthermore, studies that have examined men and women collectively have contained more female respondents.

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[8] Research was conducted by the Centre for Appearance Research (UWE, 2012) - 384 British men took part in an online survey (Nov-Dec 2011). Please see http://hls.uwe.ac.uk/research/car.aspx, 8/01/2011 and Body image: Men 'most unhappy about beer bellies', http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-16430142, 10/01/2012

One of the difficulties of researching both clinical and non-clinical forms of body dissatisfaction amongst men is that men and boys do not volunteer their body dissatisfactions or other health-related concerns, such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa, to health care-providers (Anderson, 1990; Hale et al., 2010) or other men. Research has revealed that those men who are dissatisfied with their bodies will often mask their concerns within their sports practices and health-related acts (Drummond, 2002a; Haase et al., 2002). Adherence to masculine norms of behaviour will influence both their tendency to self-refer and the way in which they present their body dissatisfactions (Hale et al., 2010). Men will use public masculine narratives, presenting tough bodies and often denying their body dissatisfactions. These concerns are concealed, not solely because of the associations with shame, but also due to the feminine connotations attached to this emotive behaviour (Dotson, 1999; Drummond, 1999; 2002; Kauffman, 1993). Accordingly, men's body dissatisfactions often go unrecognised because the practices drawn upon to mask these concerns are perceived as customary forms of public masculine behaviour (Drummond, 2002a). For this reason, their expression and management of body dissatisfactions differs from women's expression of these concerns. Furthermore, whilst men and women take part in appearance-enhancing behaviours, such as dieting, camouflage with makeup, men are more likely than women to exercise, notably by excessively lifting weights (Gill et al., 2005; Phillips et al. 2006) and take part in sports (Drummond, 2002), to work on overcoming their body concerns. Recognizing that men are less willing to present health issues to others, particularly other men, I draw attention to the implications of men's relationships with other men in this thesis. How do they impact on the development and management of body concerns in sport and health related sports acts? This thesis moves beyond some of the existing research in this field, as it examines a group of men within their own sports environment. Unlike some of the existing clinical studies, it does not ask men to self-refer to a clinical setting, or recruit men who have already presented themselves in these settings (Phillips, 2011).

Researchers including Adams et al., (2005); Chapman (1988); Drummond (2002a, 2005); Grogan (1999); Mishkind et al., (1986); Mort (1988); Pope et al., (2000); Wykes and Gunter (2005), have drawn on existing sociological theories of social constructionism, and phenomenology to understand *why* body dissatisfactions amongst men have developed but few have applied a theoretical framework to understand *how* they develop and *how* they are managed in the sport and health-related acts. Drummond (2010) applies Connell's (2008) theoretical approach to masculinities to examine men's body image concerns and eating disorders, but he does not utilise this approach to examine men's management and concealment of these concerns in sport. In an attempt to widen this sociological field, in this thesis I expand on Drummond's (2002a; 2010) research, by using a theoretical (sociological) framework that incorporates a phenomenological interest in the body and symbolic interactionism, to analyse a group of rugby men's body concerns. I examine these concerns, how these concerns develop and how these men use the sport and health-related acts to manage and conceal them. Connell's approach to masculinities informs my understanding of the influence gender has to the management of these concerns.

2:3 Hegemonic masculinities (Connell)

Connell (1995, 2008) has made a significant contribution to the sociology of sport. Her[9] theory of gender illustrates the power and economic dimension of gender practices in sport. Her model of masculinities and the concept of hegemonic masculinities have been drawn on to understand sport participation, men's health, and media representations of men (and women). From her theory of gender, Connell developed the concept of body reflexive practices to understand the development of gender identities and behaviours. Researchers examining sport have drawn on this concept to recognise both the social and embodied practices that are involved in the development of sports identity, sports participation and behaviour (Madill and Hopper, 2007; Swain, 2003; Wellard et al., 2007; Woodward, 2007; Wellard, 2009). As rugby is a gendered sport, Connell's work is drawn on because I sought a theoretical framework through which to understand how masculinities operated within this sport.

Connell developed the concept of hegemonic masculinities in the 1980s. This concept focused on the explanation of male dominance. The concept of hegemonic masculinity was devised to reflect the continuance of power struggles between men and women. It emphasises the relations of power between men and women but also between different groups of men (Lusher and Robins, 2009). It referred to "the pattern of practice (i.e. things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). Carrigan et al., (1985: 592) argue that hegemonic masculinity "refers to those groups of men who inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimatise and reproduce those social relationships that generate their dominance". Hegemonic masculinity is associated with heterosexuality, authority, physical strength and endurance. Courtenay (2000: 1389) argues the "demonstration of hegemonic masculinity include[s] the denial of weakness or vulnerability, emotional and physical control, the appearance of being strong and robust, dismissal of any need for help..., the display of aggressive behaviour and physical dominance".

Connell (2008) provides a case study of Steve, the 'Iron Man' surf champion, to show us an exemplar of the hegemonic masculinity and also how this identity can regulate men's lives. This type of masculinity is not characterised as fixed. It rather reflects the current gender power relations, a hierarchy of masculinities in which the hegemonic masculinity is perceived as the ideal, signifying strength and power, which dominates complicit, subordinate and marginalised masculinities. It embodies "the most honoured way of being a man, [and] it require[s] all other men to position themselves in relation to it" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). Whilst Connell argues there are individual capacities, he also argues the development and expression of masculinity has a collective dimension, expressed collectively through group practices and behaviour (Connell, 2008).

To understand the existence of hegemonic masculinities, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that we need to explore their relationship to other masculinities; complicit; subordinate and marginalised. The relationship between hegemonic masculinities and these other forms is framed primarily in terms of power (Seidler, 2006a). Complicit masculinity refers to those men who fail to enact the hegemonic masculinity, but still gain from it. They "benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the

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[9] In 2007 Connell underwent gender reassignment. Some of her earlier work was published as a male, but she is now a woman. To avoid confusion I have taken the decision to use the female pronouns of she/her when referring to all of her work.

advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women" (Connell, 2008: 79).

Subordinate masculinities refer to those men who are "expelled from the circle of legitimacy" (Connell, 2008: 79). Connell provides an example, of homosexual men who are often subordinated from social, political and economic spheres of society because of their sexuality. Price and Parker (2003) illustrate this when they discuss the experiences of homosexual men who are marginalised by heterosexual men involved in rugby union. However, Connell argues that heterosexual men can also be subordinate. They too can be expelled by others, notably men, for failing to enact aspects of the hegemonic ideal: physicality, authoritativeness, and strength.

Racial identities can also be identified as marginalised masculinities. For example, Connell identifies black athletes in the United States as fitting into the hegemonic masculinity model; but these men are culturally marginalised in other spheres of society because of their race. She argues both personal bodily experiences (embodied experiences) and social influences (influenced by practice and practices) lead to their marginalisation. She also argues that the "fame and wealth of individual stars has no trickledown effect; it does not yield any social authority to black men generally" (Connell, 2008:81). Retired rugby union players Jeremy Guscote and Jason Robinson, of mixed racial identity, can also be identified as marginalised, because whilst these men have gone on to participate in other forms of employment, their positions are situated in the field of rugby union as commentators and/or coaches (Guscote, 2002). They have not penetrated other spheres of society.

Critique of Hegemonic Masculinities

Connell's early concept of hegemonic masculinities has made an invaluable contribution to understanding sports masculinities. However, critics (Edley and Wetherell, 1999) argue that Connell's (1987):

"...notion of hegemonic masculinity is not sufficient for understanding the nitty gritty of negotiating masculine identities. Connell leaves to one side the question of how the forms [s]he identifies, actually prescribes or regulates men's lives" (Edley and Wetherell, 1999: 336).

They argue not enough is known about what it means to live out hegemonic masculinity in practice because this identity is not fixed, it is fluid. Connell and Messerschmidt responded to this criticism and others (made by Martin, 1998; Whitehead, 1998; 2002) and rethought the concept of hegemonic masculinity by developing a geographical framework that can be used to analyse and recognise hegemonic masculinities at three different levels of influence: local; regional; and global. *Figure 2:1* shows how the framework allows for the idea that "global institutions pressure regional and local gender orders [and that these are taken and adapted at the regional level and] provide models of masculinity … in local gender dynamics" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 849). The arrows in the figure reflect this flow of influence. Later in this chapter I apply the field, as understood by Bourdieu, of rugby union to this framework.

Figure 2:1 Existing Levels of Hegemonic Masculinity

1. Local: constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities, as typically found in ethnographic and life-history research;

2. Regional: constructed at the level of the culture or the nation-state, as typically found in discursive, political, and demographic research; and

3. Global: constructed in transnational arenas such as world politics and transnational business and media, as studied in the emerging research on masculinities and globalization

(*Source adapted* from Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 849).

The framework also allows for the ambiguity of the boundaries between the hegemonic masculinity that is enacted by men in one context and yet perceived by others in another context as the complicit masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 839) argue that:

"The hegemonic masculinity does not stand out as sharply defined… separate from all others. A degree of overlap…between the hegemonic and complicit masculinity is extremely likely if hegemony is effective."

Whilst Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) have addressed the boundaries of this identity, critiques of hegemonic masculinity as a concept argue that they still define, a priori, what hegemonic masculinity is, without first examining the real world and the lives of men (Seidler, 2006a; 2006b). Similarly, Hearn and Morrell (2012) question how hegemonic masculinity is understood in the day to day lives of men. I took these critiques into account and I allowed for the description of hegemonic masculinity to arise inductively from my empirical investigation. I will show that adeptness, aggression and the tough body are constructed and understood as features of hegemonic rugby masculinities by the rugby men and within the field of rugby union. It is important to recognise that these analytical categories have arisen from my ethnographic findings. They are also conceptualised as features of physical capital. This is discussed below[10].

Responding to criticism (Hearn, 2004) and misinterpretation of the hegemonic masculinities, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) and Messerschmidt (2012) argue that the concept does not describe the lives of individual men and their masculine traits rather it is a *cultural* expression of male dominance at that time of development. The relationship between Connell's and Messerschmidts' (2005) emerging, reformulated concept of hegemonic masculinity and my contemporary interpretation of this identity for the rugby men is that I perceive hegemonic masculinity as a combination of social relations and individual attributes in addition to a cultural dimension. This is similar to their interpretation. Social relations with significant others (in communities, at the rugby club level and at the institutional level of rugby union), cultural representations of sports masculinities consumed by the men

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[10] Each of these features is the focus of my individual analytical chapters 7-9, of this thesis.

(through consumption of sports films and other media) and individual attributes all play a part in their understanding of this identity. Connell and Messerschmidt (ibid) identify the cultural dimension within the regional level of influence through male film actors, professional athletes and politicians. These men exhibit the "cultural ideal" through the representation of "exemplary masculinities" (Connell, 2005: 65, 77).

Whilst I show that there are some very specific characteristics of hegemonic masculinities for the ruby men, I also argue that their notion of hegemonic masculinities is fluid depending on the region (Goffman, 1959) or dimension in which they are located. There are also ambiguities in the display of hegemonic masculinities expressed by rugby men that are identifiable in the expression of aggression and whilst injured. For example, it will be shown in Chapter 8, that some of the rugby men decided to change their style of play, performance on the field and their interactions with other players on and off the field, in order to avoid the presentation of the aggressive body. They traded physical aggression for verbal assertions of aggression or even avoided confrontation completely.

Embodiment and masculinities – body reflexive practices

Whilst Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinities has attracted criticism (Edley and Wetherell; 2004; Hearn, 2004; Hearn and Morrell, 2012; Seidler, 2006a; 2006b) her approach to embodiment and masculinities has been utilised by researchers to further understanding of men's individual experiences and perceptions of the self (Watson, 2000; Monaghan; 2001; Roberston, 2006). Her concept of body reflexive practices has expanded understanding of how hegemonic masculinities are developed and experienced. Underpinned by a phenomenological approach, the concept refers to the combination of an individual reflecting on both personal embodied experiences and social influences. This reflection could be conscious (familiar) or unconscious (less familiar). The outcome of the practice/practices is gender identity and behaviour. The concept recognises the social forces that act to constitute our understanding of masculinity but also the corporeal experiences, which are experienced uniquely by the individual in his or her activities and behaviour. These corporeal experiences are: "a certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, certain postures…ways of moving, [and] certain possibilities in sex" that play a role in the constitution and expression of masculinities (Connell, 2008:82). Connell uses this concept to draw attention to "the agency of bodies in social processes", allowing for:

> "the rebellion of bodies against… [social] pressure. She argues "bodies in their own right… bodies, do matter. They age, get sick, enjoy, engender, give birth. There is an irreducible bodily dimension in experience and practice; the sweat cannot be excluded" (Connell, 1995: 51).

Through this concept she recognises the role of the "embodied agent", who is reflexive about their corporeal experiences and practices. To illustrate how body reflexive practices can be applied, Connell draws on one man's fantasy, during heterosexual intercourse, to show how these embodied experiences play a part in developing the male's sexual identity. This male's embodied experience of a sexual act with the woman invoked the idea of trying a homosexual experience. As this male is having heterosexual sex, a sexual act, in which the woman inserts her finger into his anus, is accidentally

carried out (Connell, 2008: 61-62). During this act the male feels extreme excitement, physical sensation and desire. These bodily experiences of exhilaration play a part in encouraging him to, temporarily, alter his sexual identity and form a homosexual sexual relationship. Connell's approach indicates that a process of reflexive embodiment occurs for men and plays a part in influencing their identities and subsequent behaviour.

Following Connell's (1987) approach to embodiment, Watson (2000) argues that embodiment is embedded in masculinities, but importantly men's understanding of "being in shape" is informed by different dimensions of embodiment (normative, visceral, experiential and pragmatic); referred to as male body schema[11]. Researchers have adopted Watson's interpretation of embodiment to understand how these dimensions are implicated in men's health and body modification practices (Monaghan, 2001 and Robertson, 2006). Watson's (2006:119) concept of experiential embodiment, referring to "the experience of emotion ... experiencing well-being or saying that you feel good", is understood by Monaghan (2001:331) in his study of male bodybuilders as "vibrant physicality". As the field of bodybuilding requires presentation of the visual body, these participants understood their health primarily in representational rather than instrumental terms. In Robertson's (2006) research the embodiment of feeling well or healthy is experienced by the men as they participate in physical activity, sport, drugs, food and sex (gay men). Whilst these studies do not draw specifically on Connell's concept of body reflexive processes, they recognise a process of reflexive embodiment occurs for the men in their research as the experiential embodied experience is influential to their perceptions of their bodies and health. In my research this embodied approach is adopted to understand the influence the experiential body has to the development and management of body concerns. This is discussed further in my analytical Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Connell argues that there is also a social dimension to embodied reflexive practices. She argues that these embodied practices call upon the social meanings inflicted on the body. For example, in *Masculinities* (2008) Connell draws on three of the men she interviewed, Adam (who is discussed further in Chapter 7), Don, and Steve to illustrate this. These men discuss the different corporeal experiences of playing sport. Connell argues that these men's corporeal experiences of their physical activities are not entirely individual "but also involve social processes and relations; they involve cultural perceptions of gender and how they are constituted through social relations and symbolism; they may will involve large-scale social institutions" (Connell, 1995:94). She also argues:

"Particular versions of masculinity are constituted in their circuits as meaningful bodies and embodied meanings. Through body reflexive practices more than individual lives are formed: a social world is formed" (ibid).

This social dimension of embodiment is also adopted by Watson (2000) and is evidential in his conceptualisation of pragmatic embodiment. This refers to the functional performance of the body and is categorised according to social perceptions of male gender roles. Recognition of the cultural and social perceptions of masculinity informs how men feel about their health and bodies. Connell's concept

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[11] Whilst Watson does not specifically draw on Connell's concept of body reflexive practices he does recognise the influence embodied (and social) experiences have to men's perceptions of their health.

of body reflexive practices draws attention to the constitution of masculinity through social performance/s of the body- and this pragmatic dimension. The problem that arises for young men is that hegemonic masculinity "is vulnerable when the performance cannot be sustained – for instance as a result of physical disability" (Connell, 1995: 54). Sparkes (1999), Light and Kirk (2000) make a similar point. They argue there are costs to obtaining and maintaining this athletic masculinity; the physical and emotional harm in the search for being the best. This is significant for the discussion in this thesis, because it raises questions about how body concerns may arise when the rugby men's bodies and bodily performances are disrupted through weight gain or loss or injury. Furthermore, it draws attention to the influence embodied discomfort can potentially have on concerns about the performance and appearance of the body. This is discussed further below.

2:4 The application of the concept of body reflexive practices to understand sports identities and behaviour

Sociologists have drawn on Connell's concept of body reflexive practices to illustrate the role both social forces and embodied practices play in the development, and reconstitution, of gender identities and behaviour in sport (Valentine, 1999; Swain, 2003; Wellard et al., 2007; Wellard, 2009).

Valentine (1999) adopts the concept of body reflexive practices to show how individuals reconstitute their identities according to their changing social space but also "in relation to the ways our bodies are discursively constituted" (1999:177). She examines the changing experiences of embodiment for one man, Paul, following a spinal injury accident, and the processes through which his narrative of the self is negotiated and redeveloped as he is positioned in a new narrative of collective identity: that of a disabled person. Paul's experiences, following his injury, show the processes involved through Connell's concept of body reflexive practices

"The bodily experience he experienced from playing basketball [as a disabled person] (in terms of his sense of health, well-being…) had social effects in that he developed new friendships, changed his lifestyle and developed new geographical horizons. These …resulted in him gaining a new sense of self confidence in his bodily performance and ability to take up social space again. Thus the circuit goes from bodily interaction and bodily experience to the creation of new social relations and a subtly reconstituted sense of identity based on these performances" (1999: 177).

The concept of body reflexive practices is used by Swain (2003) to draw attention to the development of masculinity through bodies and bodily practices in sport. He draws on Bourdieu's (1986) approach to embodied capital and Shilling's (1993) argument that the body can possess physical capital. He argues that physical capital, skill, speed, fitness and strength are important in the development of masculinities for young boys in school. Social factors, such as class, sexuality, ethnicity and race do act on bodily practices, but boys actively use their bodies, unconsciously, to rebel against social structures and this plays a part in constituting masculine identities. Therefore he argues that physical practices are not an expression of an existing masculinity, but this identity is brought into action through these practices. Drawing on this concept, and that of physical capital, we see the importance of the body for the development and maintenance of masculinities.

Wellard et al., (2007) draw on the concept of body reflexive practices in a similar way to illustrate how social and embodied practices constitute our understanding of dance and female dancers. However, they take the concept a little further than Swain (2003), as they focus more on the individual physical sensations experienced by young ballet dancers. Wellard et al., (2009) use the concept of body reflexive practices to argue that female ballet dancers consciously take on cultural and social factors that define ballet. They interact with these experiences but also contemplate their bodies. They are reflexive about their embodied experiences and renegotiate their physical and gendered identities. Wellard et al., also utilises this concept to show how "an expected sporting masculinity" is developed through corporeal experiences involving sports practice and structural factors that organise and inform gender practices.

Although Connell (2008) draws attention to the impact body reflexive practices can have on men's emotional concerns, critics argue that her concept of hegemonic masculinity shifts our attention too far away from "men …and the hurts, insecurities and sufferings that," men experience (Seidler, 2006a:13), i.e. articulated in the local level discussed above. Seidler (2006a; 2006b) argues that Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity can be perceived as part of the rationalist tradition, in that it fails to deconstruct the terms of masculinity identified as relationships of power. He entices us to move:

"our attention from men to masculinities, with 'men' taken almost as an essentialist category so that we shift to masculinities, which are taken to be 'structural', we think about the relationships between different masculinities as relationships of power. It therefore becomes difficult to explore the tensions that men often feel in living out different masculinities, and have no way of exploring the unspoken issues that men learn to 'keep to themselves', thinking that they somehow 'should be' in control of their emotional lives. This is a suppression that the theory of 'hegemonic masculinities' tends to sustain" (Seidler, 2006a: 13).

Seidler's points have informed this research, as it aims to shift attention to the body concerns that the rugby men experience and the ways in which they suppress them. When considered with Connell's comments (see 2:3) concerning the inability to sustain performance, it suggested a need for further research that examines the potential emotional problems experienced and how men manage them. This will be explored in this thesis through the phenomenon of body concern. Furthermore, it seeks to move beyond the externalised relationship to the object of study, as I begin with the men to understand how hegemonic masculinity is constructed in their lives. As mentioned above, I do not begin with a definition of the concept prior to the research findings rather it emerged from the research.

Connell's concept of body reflexive practices has allowed me to understand the concept of body concern sociologically, specifically through an embodied approach. This concept draws attention to the body within the world and recognises the individual experiences of living through the body. It also allows for phenomenological recognition of the body as a subject of action that informs forthcoming perceptions, behaviours and knowledge. Watson, Robertson and Monaghan's approach to embodiment and their influence on body modification practices has influential this. I have used this concept to explore the experiences of body concern that are tied to perceptions of physical appearance and

sensual feelings of functional ability and inability. These include positive and negative embodied experiences of body concern. These entail embodied discomfort of flaccidity, aggression, pain and injury, and the pleasurable and satisfying feelings of using aggression, participating in the sport and aerobic and anaerobic exercise. It will be shown that embodied experiences inform the rugby men's body concerns and how these men manage to conceal and overcome them in the sport and health-related acts.

I have discussed the sociological studies because they demonstrate how Connell's approach to embodiment, through the concept of body reflexive practices and hegemonic masculinities, has informed my understanding of men's body concerns, corporeal experiences in sport and the potential impact they have to the men's more emotional distressing concerns that are concealed as part of rugby masculinities.

2:5 Habitus, bodily hexis, field, and capital (Bourdieu)

Pierre Bourdieu's (1978; 1979; 1988) work has made a significant contribution to the sociology of sport. His theoretical framework has been drawn on to explain the relationships between social structures that are apparent in sport (institutions, discourses and ideologies) and the everyday practices involved (what people do and why they do it). In this thesis Bourdieu's concept of physical capital is drawn on because it draws attention to the importance of the body in sport and the potential impact disruption to the body, and thus physical capital, can have to the rugby men's body concerns.

Bourdieu's concepts of the habitus, bodily hexis, field and capital are discussed below. Following this, the central thrust of Bourdieu's discussion of sport and the applications of his work in the Sociology of Sport will be presented. Finally, I will discuss how each of these sets of literature supports the development of this thesis.

For Bourdieu the habitus, refers to the partly unconscious taking in of rules, values and dispositions that we have gained through "our cultural history and generally stay with us across contexts" (Webb et al., 2002: 36). The habitus encompasses predisposed ways of thinking and acting and moving in and through the world. It is durable but is not static; it is "a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or structures of perception, conception and action" (Bourdieu, 2005: 43). It is also "subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:133).

The habitus illustrates how individuals learn the skills of everyday life and practices, such as sport, through their "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1990:61). The habitus is linked to class and influences one's tastes, preferences and skills. For example, a working-class child in a deprived environment, with limited access to resources, is determined by that location (habitus). Therefore, they are more likely to participate in football or boxing, often culturally associated, for Bourdieu, with working and middle classes, than golf or skiing, which is commonly associated with upper classes. This is discussed further below.

Bourdieu's concept of the field refers to a set of organising forces, activities, institutions, rules and rituals. As individuals pass through and across varying fields, they incorporate into their habitus the values of the field. Together, the field and the habitus operate to develop dispositions (Bourdieu, 1978, 1984).

Bourdieu's concept of capital refers to "a set of …useable resources and powers" (Bourdieu, 1984:114). It exists and functions because of the valuations made by the rules of the field. "In the field of professional sports, for example, value is placed on winning, while the field of academia rewards the capacity to obtain grants, and publish" (Bourdieu 1986, cited in Shilling: 2004, 475). Capital can be considered in terms of cultural capital (defined as culturally valued tastes, often relating to educational credentials); economic capital (financial assets); symbolic capital (prestige, status and authority) and physical capital (physical qualities). This research draws on physical capital. Bourdieu (1984) uses the term physical capital to refer to cultural capital that is embodied through social practice. It refers to any form of physical attribute such as: athletic skill, beauty, deportment, gait, shape or physical strength. It is socially produced through decorum, sport and lifestyle, such as diet and exercise (Bourdieu, 1984). This means that the shape, size, use and adornment of the body carry meanings, just as, for example, ways of talking, running and taking part in social life are infused with social and cultural meaning. The habitus plays a part in these meanings and affects the physical capital possessed.

Bourdieu's (1984) concept of physical capital depicts the body as a commodity. This is especially relevant for professional sports participants. "The footballer, like the boxer…*is* his body; … they work *on it* and *with it*" (McGillivray et al., 2005:106). The power, speed, and agility invested in the body become the objects of exchange value. Through training, the body can convert or exchange its physical capital within particular fields into more powerful forms such as economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital (Wacquant, 1995b; 1995c; 1995d). However, physical capital cannot be gained as easily as other forms of capital. The capacities of the individual, often determined by innate qualities, can limit an individual's accumulation of physical capital, thus limiting their opportunities to excel in the chosen sport.

Bourdieu's final concept, the bodily hexis refers to the *embodied* version of accrued experiences. It is "a certain durable organisation of one's body and of its deployment in the world" (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991:13). It entails the more permanent and ingrained *bodily* dispositions: ways of standing, moving, talking and participating in daily life, as the body acquires habits. Social categories such as class, gender and age are expressed through the bodily hexis. The relationship between the field and habitus affects the way in which the bodily hexis is expressed in different fields and can be seen in sports people as they move between these different fields. In the new field, their bodily hexis differs considerably and they can incur feelings of discomfort. Their language, how they move, walk and interact is problematic for them and those within the new field.

2:6 Bourdieu, sport and applications of his work in the Sociology of Sport

Bourdieu's (1978; 1979; 1984) work has been influential in the examination of sport. Researchers have adopted his theoretical approach and drawn on his concepts of the habitus, field and capital to understand sport. His work has also been extended to illustrate the applicability to sports

practices and behaviour (Clement, 1995; Gorely et al., 2003; Laberge and Kay, 2002; McGillivray et al., 2005; Tomlinson, 2004; Tuelle, 2007; Wainwright and Turner, 2006).

The central thrust of Bourdieu's discussion about sport is that sport is constraining. He argues that sport is a class-specific practice, in which tastes and choices are socially structured. "The acquisition of particular tastes and different dispositions for different sport…activities …is connected to differences in social class… habituses" (Horne et al.,1999:132). Sports, such as tennis, skiing, horse-riding and golf, are centred on a particular type of class habitus, articulated by the upper class members of society (1978, 1984). (See *Figure 2:5*). He argues these types of sports are less appealing to the working-class because they require economic and cultural capital, together with spare time, that working-class members of society do not possess. In contrast, he also argues that team sports, such as basketball, handball, football and rugby, are engaged in across the classes, but the working classes are predisposed to these sports because they require less economic and cultural capital and spare time.

According to Bourdieu, although rugby was played and enjoyed by the upper-classes in France in its early days, as it became popular it repelled the bourgeois classes (Bourdieu.1978). The "social composition of the public …the instrumental relation to the body" (the fundamental aspects of the habitus), the physicality, "propensity to violence", "docility", the "spirit of sacrificing the body", and "submission to collective discipline" discouraged these bourgeois classes (Bourdieu, 1978: 838). Bourgeois members treat the body as an end in-itself, focusing on the functioning body. This leads them to participate in sports that improve their health and appearance of the body. They "find satisfaction in effort itself and…accept the deferred satisfactions which will reward their present sacrifice" (Bourdieu, 1984:214). Therefore, they are predisposed to sports "when the body it requires…no way offends the sense of the high dignity of the person, which rules out…flinging the body in the rough and tumble of forward-game rugby" (Bourdieu, 1984:218).

Figure 2:5 Diagram to show classes and associated sports.

Classes (Dependent on employment type)	Sports	
Upper-class (Bourgeois) (Professionals,employers, executives)	• Horse-riding (or show jumping) Golf • Swimming • Skiing (cross-country skiing) • Dancing • Yachting	Mountaineering Jogging Tennis Rugby
Middle –class (Junior executives, teachers)	• Boxing • Football • Walking • Basketball	Rugby Jogging Handball
Lower-class (working-class) (Manual workers, shopkeepers, labourers).	• Boxing • Football • Jogging • Wrestling	Rugby Handball Basketball Walking

Developed from Bourdieu's work, *Sport and Social Class* (1978) and *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (1984)

Sports researchers have drawn on Bourdieu's concepts of the habitus, field and capital to examine the relationship between sport and social class (Light and Kirk, 2000; Woodward, 2007). Woodward (2007) argues Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is useful for explaining why working-class men participate in boxing. She also argues for the usefulness of the concept of habitus to examine the other power relations and inequalities that are produced in this sport and negotiated through it. Light and Kirk (2000) incorporate Bourdieu's (1978; 1984) concept of the habitus, as applied to class, with Foucault's work and Connell's (1995) approach to masculinities. The purpose is to illustrate the ways in which the hegemonic masculinity, as applied to class, is developed through boys' embodied participation in Australian high-school rugby union.

McGillivray et al., (2005) and Wainwright and Turner (2006) have drawn on Bourdieu's concepts of the habitus and physical capital to analyse sport and the relationships between sport and embodiment. McGillivray et al., (2005:103) extend Bourdieu's (1996) framework "beyond economic arguments to understand how the… game [of football] becomes inculcated into the… bodily capital of its participants". They also draw on Bourdieu's conceptual framework to illustrate the depreciating reserve of physical capital young male football players possess, drawing attention to the precarious futures these men have once physical capital reaches exhaustion.

McGillivray et al., (2005) focus on the class-based nature of Bourdieu's (1996) analysis of sport. They argue that working-class men who participate in football become bound up and inhibited by the game. Following Bourdieu, they argue that the participants are inhibited, because this sport devalues the footballers' perception of education, by disassociating young players from formal secondary and higher education. They argue that other sports, with the exception of dance, also articulate this view and thus tie recruits to the sports institutional organization from an early age. However, they do not agree with Bourdieu, that working-class men, with limited educational ability, enter this sport. They do agree with Bourdieu, that the sport devalues educational ability because the field of sport requires practical embodied competence reliant on capital incorporated through embodiment and not qualifications. As working-class men enter the sport, with limited education, there is increased risk to their long-term career in alternative fields and ability to convert physical capital into other forms of capital. Limited possession of legitimated and valued ways of knowing (cultural capital) attained through education means that players feel like "a fish out of water" (McGillivray et al., 2005: 104) in alternative fields. It could be argued that this is a 'catch 22' situation (Heller, 1996). Class situation inhibits alternative fields, so working class men enter sport, but their entry into sport inhibits access to alternative fields.

Researchers have also drawn on Bourdieu's work to argue for the presence of the embodied-self in sport and sports practice. Crossley (2004) draws on Bourdieu's (1978, 1979, 1984) understanding of embodiment and concept of the habitus, but overcomes the determinism in Bourdieu's work by combining it with the phenomenological analysis of habitus, reflecting the role of agents in creating the habitus. Wacquant (2004) draws on Bourdieu's concepts of the habitus, physical capital and his approach to embodiment to illustrate the routine and collective practices of the boxing-self. Similarly, Howe (2004) draws on Bourdieu's account of embodiment, to illustrate the inseparable nature of the mind and body in experiences of sports pain and injury.

Wainwright and Turner (2006) use Bourdieu's concept of physical capital to illustrate the importance of the body (in the form of physical capital) in professional ballet. They argue that the physicality of ballet requires the unrelenting development and refinement of physical capital. Thus, the body of the professional ballet dancer "becomes the very essence of self-identity" (Wainwright and Turner, 2006: 248). "Speed, strength, stamina and suppleness," are important for the acceptable and successful performance of individuals involved in professional ballet. Wainwright and Turner (2006:242) also argue that training the body through diet, exercise and participation in the sport increases ones physical capital. These corporeal resources are required for the successful development of the individual in this field. The body (physical capital) is continuously on display and is scrutinized by ballet teachers; other participants in the activity, competitors, audience members and family. However, this over-reliance on physical capital is problematic when the dancer's physical capital is inevitably exhausted through ageing.

Wainwright and Turner (2006) focus less on the class-based nature of ballet, and the habitus than McGillivray et al. (2005). They extend Bourdieu's conceptual framework to illustrate the embodied dimension in sport and the implications for participants involved in the sport; relying heavily on physical capital.

Both of these studies have drawn on, and extended, Bourdieu's conceptual framework to illustrate the importance of the body, through the concept of physical capital in sport and the implications for its participants when physical capital changes or is exhausted. This is significant for the discussion of rugby men's body concerns in this thesis, because it draws attention to the importance of the body in the field of rugby union and the impact embodied disruption, such as injury, and weight loss or gain could have on the development and management of the rugby men's body concerns. However, each of the studies has supported the development of this thesis in different ways. Wainwright and Turner's study illustrates how important the body (and its physical capital) is, to the individual's participation, continuation and professional development. It will also be seen that the body (physical capital) is continually on display and scrutinised by coaches, family and peers. This is relevant for discussion in this thesis because it indicates the pressures the rugby men can face in presenting the hegemonic rugby masculinity, for their continued participation and progression. McGillivray et al's., (2005) study draws attention to the depreciating reserve of physical capital young sportsmen (and women) experience. This is also significant for discussion in this thesis, because it draws attention to emotional problems such as body concerns, which can arise when the rugby men's physical capital depreciates through injury, weight loss or gain and age. Unlike McGillivray et al., (2005), I do not draw on the full components of Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, I am less concerned with the class-based nature of Bourdieu's (1996) analysis of sport. This is because the rugby men, discussed in this thesis are from diverse social classes and ethnic and racial origins and they are participating in the sport at university (which is an additional field). Their participation in the sport is dependent on their bodily performances, and physical capital, but it is also reliant on their continued participation in their university education[12]

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[12] Bourdieu's concept of habitus is relevant for examining the origins of rugby and the hegemonic masculinity constructed at that time, which I discuss in chapter 3. Therefore, whilst it is relevant for understanding the origins of rugby and the hegemonic masculinity at that

Bourdieu's concept of physical capital also enables me to understand the importance of the body within the field of rugby union. This field requires practical physical attributes and embodied competence reliant on physical capital incorporated through embodiment. This concept allows for an examination of the physical attributes of the body (for example, appearance and functional ability) that are required in this field and inform the rugby men's body concerns. It draws attention to the relevance of the body within the field of rugby union but importantly the impact that disruptions to the body in this field can have on rugby union men's body concerns. When players become injured and fail to present the physical capital their position in the field alters and, for some, the construction and affirmation of the hegemonic masculinity becomes problematic

In this thesis Bourdieu's concept of the field is useful for understanding the organising forces, activities, institutions, rules and rituals that exist within the context of rugby union. Connell's and Messerschmidt's (2005) geographical framework, discussed above, can also be applied to the field of rugby union (including amateur and professional dimensions of this sport), to analyse how masculinities are constructed in this field. This framework allows for analysis of hegemonic masculinities that exist in English rugby union at different levels within this field, but it also shows how the rugby men in my research are positioned within it.

At the global level hegemonic masculinities are constructed in global institutions and areas (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Lusher and Robins, 2007) such as international rugby tours and games (supported via International Rugby Board). This can also been seen in international rugby media endorsements and advertisements. For example, at the time of this research, this included professional elite players, like Jonny Wilkinson, whose level of professionalism was seen by the men and coaches in this research as ideal and which informs their idea of hegemonic masculinities in their own local level.

This global idea of the rugby masculinity influences, and is reworked at the regional level through cultural and media representations of fictional and non-fictional professional rugby union players. The men in my research consumed and presented this hegemonic identity at the local level within both professional and amateur rugby clubs.

The characteristics of hegemonic rugby masculinities (adeptness, aggression and tough body) are constructed and shared at the local level through face-to face interaction in rugby union games and training sessions. Furthermore, this occurs in the men's interaction with significant others in immediate communities, such as peers, family members, and coaches. In my research these features are identifiable in the features of physical capital, discussed above.
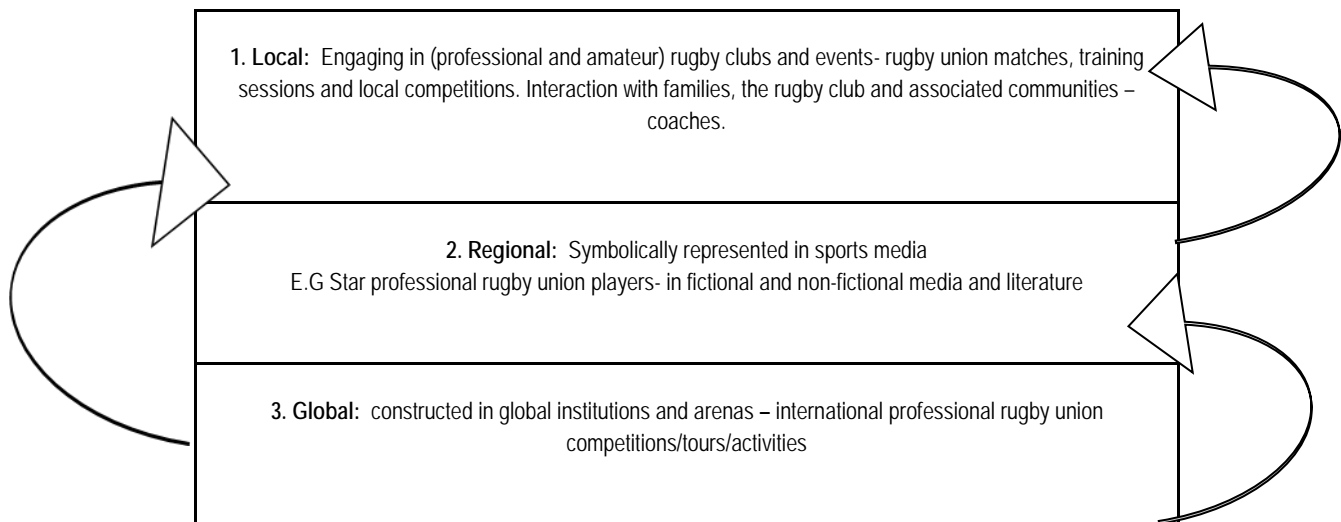
Examples of this in my research show the rugby men seek to adopt practices and behaviours of global professional rugby union players. For example, in Chapter 8 some players seek to move beyond what they describe as 'the rugger bugger' player. This was the global image of previous generations, but today, is not deemed as acting professionally and thus does not present the contemporary idea of hegemonic rugby masculinities, both in the media (regional level) and individuals

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time, it is less applicable to understanding the changing nature of the relationship between sports and class in contemporary society.

(local level). The men in this research also use the term 'professional' to convey the importance they attach to this identity. The men admired those colleagues (like Vinnie) who did attain (however temporarily) professional status and thus became positioned within the global level of the rugby masculinity. *Figure 2:6* below, presents this geographical framework as applied to the field of rugby union and concomitant hegemonic rugby masculinities.

Figure 2:6: Connell's and Messerschmidt's geographical framework of Hegemonic Masculinities as applied to the field of Rugby Union and Rugby Masculinities.

1. Local: Engaging in (professional and amateur) rugby clubs and events- rugby union matches, training sessions and local competitions. Interaction with families, the rugby club and associated communities – coaches.

2. Regional: Symbolically represented in sports media
E.G Star professional rugby union players- in fictional and non-fictional media and literature

3. Global: constructed in global institutions and arenas – international professional rugby union competitions/tours/activities

2:7 The Dramaturgical Approach (Goffman)

Goffman was one of the first social theorists to address the micro aspects of society the sociology of everyday life. He argues that social reality is constructed through the behaviour and interaction of humans and identity is deployed through one's body and bodily practices. Our interaction with others in everyday life is central to characterising our face-to-face interaction. He sought to develop the study of face-to-face interaction as being distinct form of sociological investigation. He engaged with the phenomenological approach through the work of Gustav Ichheiser and the interactionist approach through Mead and Cooley (Scheff, 2006). However, the central theoretical underpinning of his work is difficult to pinpoint (Smith, 2006).

He has published eleven books that have contributed to the field of sociology. Goffman's work has *indirectly* made a significant contribution to the sociological analysis of sport. However, his work does not *directly* focus on this field. Researchers within the sociology of sport have drawn on *Stigma* (1963) to examine gender inequality in sport (Hart, 1976) and *Strategic Interaction* (1969) to examine 'credentialing' and 'verification' among sports players (Donnelly, 1982, 1994; Donnelly and Young, 1988). Researchers have also drawn on his concepts of 'frames', in *Frame Analysis* (1974), *Gender Advertisements* (1979), and *Forms of Talk* (1981) to examine media representations of sport and sports behaviour (Carroll, 1980; Duncan, 1990; Schmitt, 1993). His dramaturgical approach has also been drawn on to examine performance and interaction within sport (Ingram, 1975; Jackson and Scott, 2001; Nixon, 1986 and Muir, 1991). Critics of Goffman's work argue that although there is continuity between

his texts (Sharrock, 1976), each has been written as if none of the others had been. "Each starts from conceptual scratch and, even where there are apparently substantial overlaps, contains little cross-referencing to ideas contained in earlier texts" (Smith, 2006:5). However, Goffman argues that there is continuity between his texts as "one author can produce only so many ideas" (ibid: 5). Goffman's dramaturgical approach has attracted criticism for being simplistic and failing to move beyond common-sense understanding of behaviour (Giddens, 2009). Goffman (1959, 1977) recognises the shortcomings of his dramaturgical approach and suggests that his approach is simply one perspective among others. He implies that we should take his approach as a preparatory phase of a building; we can apply it, extend it and/or combine it with others. (See Giddens, 2009 for further discussion).

Despite the critique of his work, researchers continue to see the value of it and utilise it, and/or features of it, to examine sports and sports behaviour (Gimlin, 2010; Jones et al, 2011; Potrac and Robyn, 2009; Rinehart; 2010; Scott, 2010). For example, Jones et al., (2011) examine how dramaturgical principles and techniques are utilised by sports coaches to convey their role to their athletes. Scott (2010) combines the symbolic interactionist model of dramaturgy, with a post-structuralist approach to power, to examine the "performative regulation of the swimmer's body" (2010:143).

I draw on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach to understand how the rugby men manage their body concerns in the different areas of their sport. I understand body concerns sociologically through this approach as it allows for examination of the contexts (regions and dimensions) through which body concerns are lived out. The contexts in which the rugby men are located influence their management of these concerns. Additionally, the analytical concepts of parent-child complex and institutional reflexivity in Goffman's (1979) text *Gender Advertisements*, are applied to examine the media representation of sports masculinities and relationships with others, that are consumed by the rugby men discussed in this thesis.

In The *Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (1959) Goffman analyses people's everyday practices, paying close attention to bodily interaction; the way people articulate their bodies to present appropriate presentations of the self. He argues that embodied actors are present on a metaphorical theatrical stage and the bodily performances that are required for this dramaturgical world are developed through shared interaction with others. Everyday life, on the metaphorical stage, entails "impression management" and team performances, as individuals are turned into role players. Thus individuals are playing a role. Eventually one's role becomes infused with the individual's personality. In the *Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life,* Goffman outlines six dramaturgical principles in social life that refer to elements of role-playing, or a performance: the performance; the team; the region; impression-management; discrepant roles; and communication out of character. The first four are discussed below to illustrate how I draw on these dramaturgical principles in this thesis to analyse how the rugby men manage their body concerns.

For Goffman, performance refers to activities by individuals, which are often observed by others and those who view them as influential to performers in some way. Performers have to present expressive behaviours (impressions) through the deployment of the body that *appear* real to others. Forms of expression are achieved through a "personal front" that includes the use of bodily gestures,

bodily movements made to express meaning, facial expressions; speech; role attitudes and props; clothing and other expressive equipment (Goffman, 1959:34). Other "sign vehicles" that are part of it include: "office or rank; clothing; sex; age; racial characteristics; size and looks; posture; speech patterns; facial expression [and] bodily gestures" (Goffman, 1959:34). The personal front refers to the expressive equipment that we identify with the individual personally and thus follow the performer. An individual's personal front also entails stereotyped expectations, which include the use of dramatic behaviour to convey their performance in interaction.

Scott and Jackson (2001) argue that this front can be applied to sport because sport takes place on a stage, or front stage region, such as a rugby field, where sports players have to perform in accordance with the cultural expectations of the sport for the observing audience. The rugby field refers to the "scenic parts" of the front (Goffman, 1959:32). One of the important features of the performance in this front region is that not only is it "dramatized" [it is] "idealized" (Goffman, 1959:42-45).Thus individuals will present themselves in the best possible light and will adhere to roles that are compatible with the cultural expectations of identities at that point in time.

"His [or her] performance will tend to incorporate or exemplify the officially accredited values of society and more so, in fact, than does his behaviour as a whole" (Goffman, 1959:45).

One of the criticisms of Goffman's work is that he does not consider extensively the influence of gender to performance of the self (Gimlin, 2010; West, 1996), so whilst we may perform in accordance with cultural expectations within the sport, perceptions of gender will influence one's personal front in the front stage. Gimlin's research with members of a running club suggests that women are more "open to the public" than men, and thus have to take on different techniques to manage the broken code of civil inattention (2010:272). Whilst I agree, I would also argue that Goffman presents his theoretical framework for us to apply and extend, to different gendered settings and for examination of gender behaviour. This thesis is concerned with applying his framework to the practices of men and the development of the rugby hegemonic masculinities and how this influences the management of body concerns.

What is taken from Goffman's dramaturgical approach is the idea that sport not only "takes place [in] 'on stage' areas but also in the 'backstage' locker room and practice field" (Birrell and Donnelly, 2004: 53). In my analysis, the front region is identified as the public spaces of rugby union. This includes the spaces in which the public, such as coaches, parents and peers, can observe the players and where there is an expectation of seeing bodies and bodily performances that adhere to the idealised hegemonic rugby masculinity. Recognition of Bourdieu's concept of physical capital, and how it is applied by Wainwright and Turner (2006), is important here, because it draws attention to the significance of the body for the hegemonic rugby masculinity. However, it should be noted that there are criticisms that focus on the cynical and overly conscious elements of Goffman's description of self-presentation (Edgley, 2003; Scheff, 2006). Goffman implies that individuals are aware of their own position in the eyes of others, inferring continuous self-consciousness. Individuals thus seek to avoid shame or embarrassment. Critics argue that not all members of society are concerned with presentation of the self and adherence to specified roles. In this research I found individuals who chose to temporarily disregard and avoid this self-presentation following injury (see chapter 9).

Judith Butler's (1993; 1999) approach is seen to extend to Goffman's work, theoretically and philosophically, as she draws attention to the unconscious nature of discursive practice, through the concept of performativity (Smith, 2009). Performance, for Goffman, is willed and conscious. Whilst Butler recognises this she argues performativity is discursive and unconscious. Furthermore "it is not primarily theatrical" (Butler, 1993:12). It "is not willed (not staged) but blindly deployed as we participate in [the]... stream of repetition by which any word we use is ghosted by a historicity not completely accessible to us and by which we can never be certain of that word's future signification" (Schneider, 2006:239). For Butler performativity is "discursive conventionality that is concealed and manipulated by performance" (ibid: 240). Performativity recognises unconsciousness exists as it blinds people to the ritual and structure. Butler's understanding of performativity is important because there is an unconscious understanding of the concept of a rugby player. Unconsciously an individual takes on the mannerisms, behaviours and expectations of this term, and its historicity. My research follows on from this to show how this identity is further constituted (and/or built upon) in the individual's interactions with others, their embodied experiences and the cultural dimension. I focus on the conscious aspects of this process, as applied by Goffman.

I expand my application of Goffman's work, by involving his other work, *Role Distance* (1961) in my theoretical framework. In this text, Goffman discusses role and role distance as part of one's performance and thus front. He distinguishes between attachment to the role and embracement of it. A person can be attached to a role, but fail to embrace it. Embracing a role entails three features. First, the individual must admit or express attachment to the role. Second, they will demonstrate qualifications or capacities for performing that role. Third, there is "an active engagement or involvement in the role activity, that is a visible investment of attention or muscular effort" (Goffman, 2009:102). Mere attachment to the role does not entail the third feature and thus does not entail a merging of "doing and being" (ibid).

Part of embracing the role generally includes an element of role distancing. When a role player has comfortably and completely embraced their role, he/she is able to engage in an element of role distancing (Goffman, 1961). Role distancing entails a self-conscious placement outside of the role in order to express a different element of the self, i.e. "know that I am not who I appear to be" (Goffman, 2009:102).

Willis (1975) has shown how masculinity is defined and expressed through the body and bodily practices. Willis illustrates how a group of motor bike boys in Birmingham use non-verbal codes to define and communicate their masculinity through bodily style, interaction and equipment. Radley (1996) uses an example from Willis' study of bikers to illustrate how masculinity is deployed through the body and props. He draws attention to Goffman's concepts of gender display and role to illustrate the performing, embodied and situated nature of gender identity. He draws attention to the physicality of the bikers' lives as an establishment of their masculinity identity.

In Chapters 7-9 of this thesis I will show how the rugby men, in the research, convey their role, that of the hegemonic rugby masculinity. This involves deployment of the body through their personal front. Presentation of these expressive behaviours also allows these men to manage their body

concerns. I will also discuss how the rugby men set up role playing scenarios where they are able to temporarily step outside from their hegemonic rugby masculinities, to affirm this identity.

In the *Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman argues that some performances are team performances. He argues a team consists of "any set of individuals who co-operate in staging a single routine" and who work together to negotiate the risk of failing to conform to the role (1959: 85). The team will perform in 'front region' because there is a viewing audience. Here there is a standard of behaviour that the team adhere to. The success of the front region performances involves an agreement between the team members. They are in a formal relationship with one another that requires them to act in accordance with a particular role. They collectively work together to present performances and identities that adhere to the social expectations of the team and its members. However, "any member of the team [can] give the show away or disrupt it by inappropriate conduct" (Goffman, 1959: 88). Goffman's analysis of the team has attracted criticism because there was limited analysis of gendered differences in the era in which he was writing (Gardner, 1995; Gimlin, 2010). Whilst Goffman (1959; 1977) is explicit in saying how important gender display is in all interaction, he does not apply his analysis of the team extensively to the gender dynamics of particular groups. In this thesis I recognise this criticism and then explore the influence men's relationships with each other have on their body concerns. Their behaviour could differ from women in sports teams and there could be the difference in gender dynamics. Furthermore, it may differ from the practices of men who possess a marginalised or subordinate masculinity.

In contrast to the front region, Goffman agues there is also a back region in which team members can "relax: drop [their] front" and behave in a way that differs from their front region behaviour (Goffman, 1959:115). Sports changing rooms are examples of these back regions, because:

"it is one of the only legitimate spaces in which same-sex naked bodies parade in intimate anonymity[;] ....strangers dress and undress, wash themselves, lathering breasts and bums in close proximity" (Probyn, 2000:20).

Nevertheless, in these back regions the team members are still required to maintain performances that correspond to the identities of others on the team. For example, it will be shown in this thesis that the rugby men monitor their behaviour by glancing only briefly at the bodies of their teammates. A process of collective civil inattention occurs as these men avoid being misperceived as perverted or homosexual onlookers (Goffman, 1963; Gimlin; 2010; Scott, 2010). "Poor members" who fail to adhere to these team performances, are scrutinised, adjusted and "schooled" (Goffman, 1959:115). Those members, who are unsuccessful in enacting this identity or fail to be schooled, face embarrassment and ridicule from their fellow team members. Ingram (1975) draws on this expression of impression management to look at the effects on athlete's socialisation into the subcultures of athletes and his/her performances for two different audiences. Ingram argues that athletes articulate different behaviours for their spectators in the front region and other less dramatic and relaxed performances for their fellow team members in the back region.

Although Ingram's use of Goffman's approach suggests that team members are more relaxed in the presence of their team mates, this research shows that the rugby men, or team members, directly

and indirectly put pressure on the weaker members, who fail to conform to the hegemonic rugby masculinity and the associated body and performance. This is not a back stage region in which men relax and drop their front, but rather a back stage region in which we can see the impact hegemony has on these rugby men's lives. As will be discussed further in Chapter 7, rugby men's relationships with other rugby men are problematic because, although these men will bond with one another, particularly through sport, there is often a competitive relationship between them. Harvey (1999:92) makes a similar argument in his research examining hegemonic masculinity, friendship, and group formation in athletic subcultures. He argues;

> "Male relationships in sport are complicated by what Reisman (1953) termed antagonistic cooperation, which refers to a contradiction between what is portrayed to the public and what actually happens within the structure of the team. While teams try to promote a "family" image and an unflinching esprit de corps, the day-to-day web of relationships among team-mates is riddled with competition, often pitting one teammate against another".

In this thesis, I discuss how the rugby men involved in the research challenged other men on the team and sought to assert their dominance, either physically or verbally, but also put pressure on each other not to deviate from the hegemonic rugby masculinity. For these men, part of their relationships with other rugby men entailed being emotionally inexpressive and, therefore, feelings of fear; vulnerability and distress are expressed less frequently. This is often because other men perceived these emotional narratives as weak and effeminate (Schact, 1996). Interestingly, this corroborates much of Bourdieu's discussion above about these types of contact sports and the instrumental relation to the body. The implications of Goffman's analysis are important for this thesis, because they highlight the importance of understanding the rugby men's body concerns, in the context of their relationships with other rugby men.

Goffman distinguishes a third region, or 'the outside', that consists of external observers or outsiders. Outsiders are those individuals who are neither a member of the audience nor one of the performers and are external to the establishment. Examples include the external researcher, such as Goffman, who regularly observed people in restaurants or during lectures. To illustrate this outside region, he draws on the architectural dimensions of a house. Within the house there are rooms that are used as both front and back regions but these are bounded by the outer walls, which cut these regions off from the outside. Goffman also argues that the 'outside' is another ongoing performance situation. Outsiders who enter either the front or back region can disturb the performers' performances, but performers do actually give the outsider an ongoing show. The difference here is that the performance given to the outsiders differs from that given in the region. Therefore, their performance in the front or back region is incompatible with the impression they are under obligation to maintain for the intruder. Performers will separate themselves to give two different performances to two different audiences. In the light of this, Goffman warns us "not to confuse the movement from the front region or back region to the outside as movement from one performance to another, but rather to remember [this move] to [a] third region as a continuous performance" (Goffman, 1959: 135).

Goffman's third region is useful for understanding the presence of external observers and the continuation of performances and role behaviour. It also allows us to look at the more private

relationships between men that are not articulated in public sports contexts. However, this third region is not intended, or sufficient, to extend our examination of more personal and intimate behaviour. Therefore, in this thesis I argue that there is a need for a development of the framework to include a further 'dimension of intimacy', which has not hitherto been examined.

2:8 The application of Goffman's framework to understand more intimate relationships

Researchers examining masculinities have recognised intimate experiences and exchanges between men (Butera, 2008; Harvey, 1999). Butera (2008) draws on Goffman's dramaturgical approach to examine them. In this thesis, I extend this approach further, to explore and conceptualise these intimate areas of the men's rugby lives.

Butera (ibid) draws on Goffman's dramaturgical model (1959) and his concept of 'face-work' (1967) to examine men's same-sex friendships and their transformations. Butera uses the model to illustrate how men's friendships, their interaction, practices and discussions with each other, are linked to the way actors perform on stage. They adopt roles, dependent on gender scripts/norms regarding emotion, loyalty and support. She also draws on Goffman's concept of role distance to illustrate the strategies used by men to rework and renegotiate gender scripts about men's relationships.

Butera found that these men would distance themselves from the strictures of mateship rules by seeking friendship outside of their gender group with women. This provided them with a safe setting to share their feelings in a more open way. They also styled the mateship role to meet their own needs. This involved sharing more intimate concerns away from "regular society" with a particular male friend, to whom they were closest (Butera, 2008: 278). Butera characterises these practices as forms of 'role-distance' (Goffman, 1979) in that these men separate themselves from the role they play (while playing it). Butera's work can be developed by exploring these intimate dimensions. In her study we can see the back regions in the men's friendships with a group of men because here they "relax...[and] drop [their] front" or guard (Goffman, 1959:115) and move away from some of the norms and rules of mateship. However, there appears to be a further dimension of intimacy in the men's relationships with women, or one particular friend from the group, with whom they are close. Here the pressures of 'face-work' and 'impression management' are less apparent, as they discuss intimate concerns that they would not discuss in the presence of more men.

Here, I build on Butera's study to explore a more personal dimension of intimacy for the rugby men. This dimension is located away from the front region (being the public) or the back region (semi-public spaces) where there are some less formal relationships. It is a space where men talk about emotions in a way which is not acceptable in other regions and which Goffman did not address. It includes the research interview, with a woman researcher, and some other women such as girlfriends, sisters or female friends and also one or two rugby men with whom the rugby men demonstrated a close bond. Within this intimate dimension the rugby men are more forthcoming about the personal elements of their rugby lives. With the aid of photographs they discuss their body concerns and other emotional concerns.

Having discussed the dramaturgical principles, I will now explain why Goffman's concept of the stage has been taken and combined with Connell's concept of body reflexive practices to examine the rugby men's body concerns. Although Goffman recognises the individual as an embodied social actor, critics of this view argue that Goffman's dramaturgical analysis fails to incorporate the influence of the embodied experiences on one's identity and behaviour (Shilling, 1993). For example, I will show how the rugby men's memories of previous injuries affect current body concerns. Shilling argues that Goffman subordinates the body to the mind, because he examines embodied actors, but gives minimal priority to the body in social life. He argues that the body is significant for Goffman, but "only in so far as it is deemed to be by factors external to the body; ...[notably] the shared vocabularies of the body idiom" (Shilling, 1993: 87). In turn, Goffman is perceived as advocating a dualist approach to the body because he perceives "the body as significant [but] purely in terms of society" (Shilling, 1993:87). Crossley (1995b:145) agrees that Goffman does not satisfactorily address the "personal, ideational or spiritual realms" and "has no defence against a dualistic reading" particularly in Goffman's text *Relations in Public* (1972). For Goffman, bodies are active in the production of meanings and symbols. Therefore, Crossley's reading of Goffman's work argues that "the intersubjective meanings that are largely constitutive of the social are necessarily embodied and are inseparable from the embodiment" (1995b:145).

My theoretical framework uses Goffman's (1959) symbolic interactionist approach, drawn out from his dramaturgical approach, together with the phenomenological position, developed from Connell's concept of body reflexive practices. The combination of these approaches in the theoretical framework allows for recognition of the impact embodied experiences (and social experiences) can have on the development and articulation of rugby men's body concerns. Goffman's approach draws attention to the impact social experiences could have to body concern, development and management, but through Connell's concept of body reflexive practice the impact of the embodied experiences can also be explored.

2:9 Theoretical framework for examining rugby men's body concerns

The theoretical framework for understanding the rugby men's body concerns includes Bourdieu's concept of physical capital. This concept shows the importance of the body in the field of rugby union, the corporeal features that are part of hegemonic rugby masculinities and the impact disruption to physical capital can have to these men's body concerns. This concept allows for a focus on the physical attributes and performance of the body that inform the rugby men's body concerns.

Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinities has been influential for understanding rugby masculinities and the impact this identity can have on the management of their body concerns. Connell's concept of body reflexive practices is used to show the influence social and embodied experiences have on the development of rugby masculinity, but also more importantly on the rugby men's body concerns. Goffman's dramaturgical analysis is utilised to understand how the rugby masculinity is expressed through the rugby men's bodies and bodily practices. Whilst criticisms of this approach are recognised, it is applied to show how the performing and contingent nature of the rugby masculinity is influential to understanding how the men's body concerns are expressed differently dependent on the different regions and dimensions in which they are located. Finally, my concept of the

dimension of intimacy, seeks to aid understanding of how location can influence the rugby men's expression of body concern.

By combining these sociological concepts, the theoretical framework allows for a sociological understanding of rugby men's body concern. The theoretical framework extends the existing literature on men's body concerns as it recognises sociologically both the social and embodied factors that can impact on the development and management of these concerns. This framework also builds on existing work on men's body concerns, as it enables sociological understanding of rugby men's body concerns, how the rugby masculinity is expressed and how it is managed. It thus illustrates the performing and contextual nature of hegemonic rugby masculinities and how their awareness of this identity is influential to how the rugby men conceal and work to overcome their body concerns in the sport and related acts.

2:10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explained how the theoretical framework for understanding the rugby men's body concerns was developed. I have argued that a theoretical framework was needed to understand sociologically how a group of rugby men's body concerns are engendered and managed in their rugby lives. I outlined how the theoretical framework was developed from existing sociological theories from Connell, Bourdieu and Goffman's work and discussed how these theories have allowed a sociological understanding of the concept of body concern.

As part of the theoretical framework, the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and body reflexive practices and physical capital, from Connell and Bourdieus' work are combined to understand the impact of disruption to the body (physical capital) in the field of rugby union. Connell's (2008) concept of body reflexivity is drawn on to look at other dimensions of embodiment, such as pain, injury, concerns about height, being overweight or out of shape and the impact these have on the development of the rugby men's body concerns. This concept allows for both the embodied and social experiences that contribute to the development, reinforcement and management of the rugby men's body concerns.

Bourdieu's concept of physical capital has been utilised to show the features of the hegemonic rugby masculinity, adeptness, constructive aggression and the tough body. It has been shown that experiences of pain, injury and discomfort are important because, as Connell (1995) suggested, the inability to sustain hegemonic masculinities, because of these experiences, could have a detrimental effect on the presentation of this identity. Failure to present this required masculinity, notably the features of physical capital, in the field of rugby union, lead the rugby men to conceal their body concerns from others in the sport and health-related sports practices. These concepts are combined to consider the suppression of body concern in rugby union through hegemonic masculinities.

Goffman's dramaturgical analysis is also drawn on as part of the theoretical framework to understand how the features of hegemonic rugby masculinities are expressed through the personal front. His dramaturgical analysis of region and region behaviour is incorporated and extended, through the development of a new dimension of intimacy, to show how this masculinity is influential to the rugby men's management of their body concerns. This dramaturgical approach draws attention to how the

rugby men's body concerns are managed differently in different areas of their lives. This builds on Drummond's argument that sportsmen will use sport to work on body image concerns or concealment.

Before using this new theoretical framework (in Chapters 7, 8 and 9), in Chapter 3, I situate rugby masculinities historically. An examination of the beginnings of rugby and the development of rugby union in England, and other countries, is given to demonstrate how rugby union is historically centred on a hegemonic form of masculinity. In the chapter I also present the field setting, to provide a context in which the research took place.

Chapter 3: Situating Rugby Masculinities Historically

3:1 Introduction

This chapter provides a historical context to the development of rugby and rugby union. More importantly, establishing the history of rugby in the United Kingdom in relation to a hegemonic masculinity and argues that there are residues of this in constructions of contemporary hegemonic rugby masculinities at rugby club level and in men's practices. This chapter plays a role in this thesis by giving a historical context to the rugby masculinities I write about. Knowledge of this history helps to understand how the body its appearance and performance, is important for hegemonic rugby masculinities in the field of rugby union and the influence this has on the development of body concern.

From the 1900s, rugby union in England, as well as in France, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia, has been viewed as developing the physical strength of young men and "instilling manliness" (Pringle, 2001: 426). According to Brooks et al. (2005), Fuller et al. (2010) and Nicholl et al. (1991) rugby union possesses higher rates of injury than any other sport in Britain. It is a physical contact game which places great demand upon players' bodies. The sheer physicality of the game is reflected in the legalised protective equipment, such as scrum caps, gum shields and upper body padding[13] that players wear during participation in this sport (Malcolm et al. 2000). The physical contact, risk and high probability of injury that exist within rugby union have led to the characterisation of this sport, chiefly by its male participants and male spectators, as 'a real man's game', enacted through Connell's (1995) early perceptions of tough hegemonic masculinities (Pringle, 2001; 2008).

This chapter begins with an examination of the beginnings of rugby and the development of rugby union in England, and briefly in New Zealand and France, to demonstrate how rugby union is historically centred on a hegemonic form of masculinity that was upper-class, adept, strong, tough and aggressive. This chapter also sets the ethnographic field setting, historically and culturally, to provide a context in which the research took place.

3:2 Rugby Union, Hegemonic Masculinities

Rugby union has been described as a combat sport, in which aggression, competitiveness, strength and the lack of fear are required (Collins, 2009; Schacht, 1996; Wakelam, 1936; White and Vagi, 1990). The game involves holding the ball and carrying it across the opposition's goal line in order to score a try. The object of the game is to score more points than the other team. The physical force, strength and skill involved in achieving this are apparent as the opposition is free to tackle, or as Bam, one of the research participants put it, "take out" those attempting to reach the goal line. Players who seek to participate in this sport and master the art of features such as tackling, "are required to be fearless - he [/she] must not be afraid of any opponent irrespective of his [/her] size or mass. He must [also] show determination…show confidence and have no shadow of a doubt about his/her capabilities

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[13] Upper body padding is accepted but worn infrequently because male players associate the use of this padding with femininity (Malcolm et al.: 2000). This is discussed further in chapter 7.

(Matthews, 1962: 42). Although this type of tough masculinity was encouraged in the 1960s this identity is still encouraged (Pringle, 2001; 2008).

The beginnings of rugby and rugby union during the 19th century epitomise the hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) of the time; then it was perceived as an upper-class sport, played by upper-class men and excluded the working-classes. These men were culturally exalted above other lower class men and women (Connell, 1995; 2008)

3:3 History of Rugby Football: the rugby and football divide

From the 14th century football, an unruly game with unwritten rules was a popular folk game in England (Dunning and Sheard, 1979; White and Vagi, 1990). It was a violent and disorderly game, played by men from different social classes. Furthermore, it was often played by over one hundred men and entailed brawling and carnage (Collins, 1998; 2009).

Wakelam (1936) suggests that football led to the development of rugby football in 1823. He explains that it was in a game of football at Rugby School that a player, allegedly William Web Ellis, "picked up the ball and ran forward with it towards the opponents' goal" (Wakelam, 1936:4). In the 1860s, distinctions were being made between football and rugby. Concerns over the more brutal features of the rugby football game, notably the use of hacking, resulted in the division of rugby football to rugby and football. Hacking took two forms; hacking and hacking over. They were perceived as violent aspects of the game as this involved kicking the opponents either in the shins or in the back of the leg in order to disadvantage them (Chandler and Nauright, 1996). Some players were keen to keep this physical contact element because it centred on characterising the sport as a 'real man's game', in which physical hardness, and willingness to risk personal injury were required (Chandler and Nauright, 1996). Others were concerned about the brutality of the game and wanted hacking to be removed. Due to these conflicting ideologies hacking remained part of rugby and football became a less physical game. F W. Campbell of the Blackheath Club "noted that banning hacking savoured far more of the feelings of those who like their pipes…and schnapps [sic] more…than the manly game of football'" (Chandler and Nauright, 1996:22).

The divide between football and rugby in the early 19th Century indicates the type of hegemonic masculinity that centred on the origins of rugby. During this period, the hegemonic masculinity, that included physical handling, hacking[14] and toughness and was tied to rugby at a local and institutional level because, unlike football, rugby required full-body contact, force and strength. Football was characterised as a 'dribbling game' that lacked this physicality and, as such, possessed a weaker form of masculinity.

3:4 History of Rugby Union: hegemonic masculinity- encouraging 'manliness'

In mid-19th Century England, rugby became a game played in public schools such as Eton, Harrow and Rugby. It was used to encourage physical hardiness, force, strength and competitiveness

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[14] Hacking remained part of rugby until 1866. It was eventually removed because of its perceived barbarity.

in young upper-class men (Chandler and Nauright, 1996; Collins, 1998). The physical nature of the sport, the aggression and violence, was perceived as a way of 'hardening' young boys; teaching them how to be men and preparing them for adulthood. Rugby, at this time, exemplified the hegemonic masculinity of the period because, although it centred on these idealised physical characteristics, tough and physical masculinity, it was primarily upper-class boys who accessed it and participated in it. "These schools operate as masculinizing institutions for the ruling classes within which rugby forms a pivotal physical practice for the reproduction of a hegemonic… masculinity" (Connell, et al., 1982, cited in Light, 2007:327).

Although Bourdieu's (1978) (see Chapter 2) analysis of sport and social class was written in the mid-20th Century, his concept of the habitus, can be drawn on to illustrate the upper-class habitus that was inherent in the field of rugby in the mid-19th Century. Although Bourdieu (1978: 838) argues that men across social classes participated in rugby, he also argues "sport…bears the marks of its origins" (1978: 827). He explains that in the early days rugby was appealing to the upper-classes or bourgeois members or society. It sought to help reproduce a particular, collective class habitus. He further argues that involvement in this sport allowed boys and men to attain different forms of capital; economic, cultural and physical, that was reflective of the (upper-class) habitus of the period.

Influenced by Thomas Arnold, the Headmaster at Rugby School, rugby was gradually employed in public schools across the south of England to reflect and encourage the values of the upper-classes and the associated hegemonic masculinity. Participation in this sport increased the cultural and economic capital young boys possessed because upper and middle-class boys involved in this sport also attained educational qualifications and in turn economic capital superior to that of working-class boys, who did not have access to this sport and the public school education. At this time, the field of rugby became less autonomous and more connected to the field of private education (Bourdieu, 1979).

From 1865, Muscular Christianity[15] developed clubs that enabled a minority of working-class men to participate in rugby (Collins, 2006; 2009) and raised concerns about the violence of the game played in English schools. Ruggedness, physicality, muscularity, and hardiness were encouraged but discipline in how boys articulated violence and emotions were made part of the schools' curricula. The emphasis was about producing 'gentlemen' that were adept and muscular, but not unruly. This meant unrestrained violence was removed and replaced by legitimised aggression in most sports, such as rugby.

It can be argued that the physical capital these young boys possessed, that is, the muscular bodily dispositions and 'gentlemanly' characteristics, were also perceived as more superior to working-class men. Working-class boys, who still had limited access to this game and the public school education, were perceived as unruly, and their lack of physical capital meant they were less forceful in the sport and the economic field.

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[15] Muscular Christianity is a Christian commitment to health and manliness.

The type of hegemonic masculinity that was tied to this sport was not exclusive to English rugby. Although rugby developed later in other countries, such as France, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, the beginning of English rugby as a gendered activity that promoted tough, strong and physically courageous upper and middle-class masculinities, was also apparent in the early stages of this sport in these countries (Light, 2007). Although women were excluded from participation in these countries, ethnic minorities and working-class men also had limited access to the sport, as it was essentially employed and used in all these countries to instil manliness amongst white upper-class young men[16] (Dine, 2001; Odendaal, 1995; Phillips, 1999). Like England, this sport was adopted in public schools in New Zealand and in France, in secondary education (fee paying and state-run schools), to produce and maintain the hegemonic (white upper-class) masculinity amongst men (Dine, 2001; Phillips, 1999).

Similar to changes that occurred in the English public school curriculum, rugby in New Zealand and France also shifted from encouraging a disorderly masculinity to a more controlled masculinity[17]. According to Phillips (1999:84) rugby in New Zealand's public schools echoed those ideologies of the sport in English schools' rugby; "rugby was held to be 'character-forming' because it required hard work and the conquest of fear…, the physical combat without resorting to physical pain" towards others.

Rugby in England spread to universities in the 1830s as boys from public schools took the sport with them, initially to Oxford and Cambridge (Chandler and Nauright, 1996). The existence of upper-class hegemonic masculinity continued as higher education was accessed predominantly by upper-class men. Following this, rugby clubs gradually began to emerge in Britain. However, according to Chandler and Nauright (1996) and Collins (1998, 2006), this was not a straightforward process because upper-class men wanted to preserve the sport as a privileged game played by them- with the doxa of sport for sports sake (Bourdieu, 1979). Working-classes, participating in this sport in the north, became the subordinated masculinity; upper and middle-class men in the south, perceived the working-class men in the north as lacking the discipline and qualities of manliness required for this sport (Malcolm et al., 2000).

3:5 Rugby Union and Rugby League, the 'Split'

In in the north England in the late 19th century, rugby spread away from the upper-classes and was taken up by working-class men. Rugby in the north differed from the original form of upper-class rugby played in the south. For men, there was "a premium on success" (Martens, 1996:33) rather than simple enjoyment.

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[16] The production and maintenance of the hegemonic masculinity, as applied to race, is much more complex than has been described here. However, it is important to note that in each of these countries the hegemonic masculinity of the time, that included middle-class white boys and men, centred on the origins of this sport because black men were also initially excluded. The extent to which the (white middle-class) hegemonic masculinity existed varies between these countries. For further discussion of the exclusion of non-white men in this sport, see Spracklen (2001).

[17] In France the Catholic Church was concerned about the violence and brutality of the game. However, the state was less concerned with the brutality involved. This conflict led to the division of rugby football to rugby and soccer. Soccer, a less brutal and violent game, was encouraged by the Church and played in Catholic schools. In contrast, rugby was perceived as a more violent game and was promoted in state-run schools, played by working-class men in the southwest of the country (Dine, 2001).

The original south regulation of the game was ignored by the northern rugby men (Chandler and Nauright, 1996:22). Clubs in the south separated themselves from those in the north because the latter were unwilling to adhere to the rules of the game: the first written rules were developed in 1845. Although clubs in the north and south divided over these, Collins (1998; 2006) argues that these clubs also split over money. Clubs in the north, such as Lancashire, were not only concerned with the commercial potential of this spectator sport, but also with improving player's social and economic position. They believed that players should be paid for their participation. In contrast, clubs in the south perceived the sport as a pastime and believed payment for participation would be unethical.

Bourdieu's (1978, 1984) analysis of the relationship between class and sport can be drawn on here because, although rugby was participated in across classes at this time, he argues rugby is more appealing to working-class men because of the instrumental relationship to one's body (see chapter 2). "The physicality, the sacrifice and submission to discipline" involved in the sport attracts working-class men because they perceive the sport as a means of improving one's self; one's economic and cultural capital. They used their bodies to better themselves economically and culturally (Bourdieu, 1978: 838). Additionally, "rugby for the working classes represents a path of social mobility through development of physical capital…success stories symbolise the route to wealth and fame (Bourdieu, 1984:213). Due to these conflicting ideologies, two forms of the game, rugby union (amateur) and rugby league (professional) were set up in October 1895 and thus two fields.

"Twenty–two clubs [in the north] decided to set up their own league structure, administered separately from the Rugby Football Union" (Spracklen, 2001: 73).

Like rugby union, rugby league "is a game in which the ball has to be passed backwards or laterally in order to get it forwards" (Cuddon, 1990: 669). Rugby league, in its current form, is a much faster-paced game than rugby union, with 13 players as opposed to union's 15. Rugby league is more flowing and rapidly-moving because it removes the possibility of pile-ups that occur in rugby union. For instance, rugby league has a rule (or law) that states a team in possession of the ball, is only allowed to be tackled six times, after which they must surrender the ball to the opposing team. In contrast, rugby union does not have this rule and usually, when a player is tackled, the probable outcome is a ruck, "formerly called a loose scrum, a ruck is a mêlée of players from both teams struggling to get the ball with the feet when the ball is loose on the ground" (Cuddon,1990:668). Here the ball must be cleared (usually) by the scrum-half. Scrums in league are uncontested; here, the two sides do not push, as one of the research participants, Koote put it "they keep their heads down, ball goes in, and ball comes out". In rugby union they are contested.

The division between rugby union and rugby league resembles the previous (early 19th Century) division between rugby and football because, in both incidences, there were conflicting ideologies over the rules of the game. However, the division between rugby union and rugby league, arguably, entails conflicting ideologies of the class position of the game of rugby and its male participants (Collins, 1998, 2006). In light of this, rugby in the early 19th century centred on a hegemonic masculinity that encapsulated physicality and toughness. However, in the late 19th century the

hegemonic masculinity associated with rugby union developed to include the upper-class positioning of men participating in this sport in southern England.

Since the late 19th century, both rugby union and rugby league have spiralled into popular pastimes for both participants and non-participants. However, Malcolm et al. (2000) argues that rugby union in England has been more successful in its professional and commercial development. This can be attributed, in part, to the previous restrictions the RFU (Rugby Football Union) placed on players switching between the two forms of rugby. In the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, the RFU prohibited rugby union players from participating in rugby league. Furthermore, rugby league players were not permitted to participate in rugby union (Collins, 2006). The social class prejudice towards working-classes that existed in the mid-19th century continued. The RFU's attitude towards rugby league was that this was a working-class sport of the north, which undermined the values of southern upper-class men. There were concerns over whether players in the north could act in a disciplined manner and adhere to the regulations of the game. In 1987, the RFU eventually removed its restriction on participation in both forms of rugby. In turn, rugby league players began to join rugby union, but rugby union players who attempted to participate in rugby league still faced penalties and bans. In 1995, the RFU eventually legalised open professionalism and thus the divide was less apparent. However, since 1996 rugby league players have switched over to professional rugby union such as Jason Robinson and Chris Ashton, but few professional rugby union players have moved successfully to professional rugby league (Malcolm et al. 2000). This can also be explained by a drop in salary.

3:6 University Rugby Union: public spectatorship

As discussed above, rugby matches in the mid-19th century were relatively exclusive events, accessed primarily by upper-class young men and the associated social network. However, since rugby union was professionalized in 1995, its commercialisation has spread through the use of technology, the increase of trans-national club ownership, television and marketing interests. In turn, the level of spectatorship has increased (Malcolm et al. 2000; Tuck, 2003). Bourdieu also argues that "rugby is now mass produced-beyond its participants- [it] is now a mass spectacle" (Bourdieu, 1984: 213). As discussed in Chapter 2, professional and amateur rugby games are now public stages or 'front regions' (Goffman, 1959), in which the performances of men and women are open to public scrutiny. Arguably, the level of media attention and spectatorship varies between the amateur, professional and semi-professional forms of rugby union. However, due to the increased level of spectatorship, both professional and amateur rugby games are increasingly becoming 'front stages' open to a wider public audience. This is also notable at university rugby union games.

Universities in England now serve as training grounds for professional rugby union players from varying social classes. Players, scouts and coaches from professional rugby union clubs regularly observe games and liaise with university coaches in order to recruit new, young players. Furthermore, university rugby union teams participate in competitions with each other, such as the BUSA (British University Sports Association) League, and their involvement in national and regional leagues draws a wider public spectatorship and media attention. This research examined men from the 1st XV Team, Performance Squad. During the fieldwork three of the 1st XV games were broadcast on Sky Sports.

The university, at which the research was conducted, was publicly noted in the field of professional sport and characterised as one of the leading sports universities in England, producing Olympic, professional and semi-professional athletes of the future. This institution also provided elite training facilities and coaches for potential professional athletes to use. Professional athletes, rugby union teams, professional rugby union players and coaches, often alumni students, attended the university to use the training facilities for meets, competitions and matches. Furthermore, some of the students had attained professional and semi-professional contracts in their sport. The attendance of professional athletes and coaches also brought media attention and public recognition to the rugby men on this team. In particular, on three occasions, the current professional England rugby union team attended the university and trained with the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad, in preparation for their forthcoming rugby season. A number of leading broadsheet newspaper journalists also attended these sessions and photographed, videoed and interviewed the rugby men involved in the research.

3:7 Introduction to field site and hegemonic rugby masculinities

The rugby club at the university has a long and successful history. It is perceived culturally as one of the most successful university rugby clubs in England. It commenced in the early 20th century, as male students of the college developed the club. It was predominantly upper and middle-class men who participated as college education was reserved for men from more affluent socio-economic positions, as discussed. The club has produced players and captains of professional, national and international teams. Success of the club in local and regional fixtures spiralled from the mid-20th century. As the sport professionalised, the club competed for players who were being offered payment for their participation in the sport. Despite these pressures of professionalism the club continued to compete successfully in regional tournaments.

The club has attracted a wealth of former professional players who have taken on roles as coaches and directors. The senior coach discussed in the research, previously played professional rugby union. This club has also produced professional players, coaches and captains for England. The club had a successful history of participating in BUSA, and had won numerous championships. It has also been part of the RFU League system for over ten years and has successfully worked its way up from the bottom of the league.

This rugby club continues to be perceived, internally and externally to the university, as possessing England's young elite rugby union players. Selection and participation in this club is perceived as an honourable achievement for aspiring male athletes in England. Participation requires players to be more adept and skilful than others in the sport, external to the university. Women's inclusion in education and sport has led to the formation of a women's team within the club, although they were described by the rugby men in the photo-elicitations interviews, as being less successful than them in the sport.

At the time of the research, there were six male teams within this university rugby union club. The teams were in a hierarchy, ranked according to the physical capabilities and skill of the players. The 1st XV Team/Performance Squad was categorised as possessing the elite players of the club, who

were selected because they were more successful in sport than others on the remaining teams[18]. Coaches sought to prepare these players for full-time professional rugby.

Although the whole club experienced a high level of public spectatorship, the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad attracted the most public attention. It was this team that was regularly observed by scouts, had opportunities to train with professional rugby union teams and were observed by local and national media. Due to the fame of the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad, there were often comments and emails circulated by the coaches to remind the rugby men of the status and 'honourable reputation' this 'team of men' currently, but also historically, possessed.

Echoes of the 'manliness' and the upper class masculinity encouraged globally in this sport in the mid19th century were promoted by the rugby coaches. The 1st XV team coaches instructed the rugby men not to engage in disorderly behaviour, to articulate courage and commitment to the team and demonstrate those ideals, skills and behaviours that were performed by them in their games. The coach addressed his men as 'gentlemen' and expected them to act in accordance with this disciplined identity. This shows how global and regional practices of hegemonic rugby masculinities influence the local level (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005 as discussed in chapter 2). Although this was not a professional rugby union team, the term 'professionalism' was also employed by coaches to encourage appropriate behaviour. In response to this, these men acted as if they were part of professional rugby union team, performing to a large public audience. As such their acts were "dramatised" (Goffman, 1959: 115) and "idealised" (ibid: 44-45) in that they sought to reflect the cultural expectations of the male professional rugby union player (see chapter 2). For the rugby men this included acting as if they were 'real men', who were strong, aggressive, took risks and 'tough men', who sustained pain and injury and were less emotional about it. The analytical categories of the adept body, aggressive and tough body will be discussed in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

As discussed in chapter 2, despite the vestiges of upper class history of rugby, the class racial and ethnic composition of this team was not centred on the white upper-class hegemonic masculinity of the mid 19thCentury because access to this sport for the working-class and men of different ethnic and racial origins has changed dramatically since that period. The men in the 1st XV Performance Squad/Team were located in different social classes and their racial and ethnic origins varied. The discussion of race and ethnicity by these rugby men was limited. When they did make comments about players who were black and mixed-race they were not directly about their race. This is discussed further in chapter 9.

What is important to note, is that the sort of masculinity these men were required to enact in public, is a rugby masculinity that has historically been influenced, in part, by upper-class based masculinities. However, what is also significant about the 'professional' behaviour the rugby men carried out in public is that it is reflective of a celebrity class- represented culturally at the regional level. A celebrity form of class is also identifiable because these elite rugby men are in the public eye, they

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[18] Although the remaining teams were perceived as possessing those athletes who were less adept and successful in the sport, there were often players on these teams who were only temporarily less successful because of injury or simply because they were new to the game. Despite this, very few were satisfied with their position on a lower team because of the associations of the marginalised masculinity tied to these teams by others such as peers, rugby men and students at the university

are well-known within this field (Smart, 2005), and they are culturally required to behave in a certain way. However, there is also an assumption about future economic success because of social mobility that can be achieved through this professionalism and celebrity form of status.

The rugby men in the 1st XV team spent most of their rugby lives in public and semi-public spaces, often solely in the presence of other men. The ways in which they expressed the rugby masculinity through deployment of the body differed between these regions but also from more intimate dimensions. This will be discussed further in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an overview of the history of rugby and its hegemonic masculinity. I have shown how hegemonic masculinity and rugby have been interwoven historically in the UK. Analysis of the historical process through which rugby and rugby union developed has demonstrated that rugby masculinity has its origins in an upper-class masculinity of a particular historical period. However, the social class composition and ethnic origins of the rugby men who participated in the research varied. The type of class that is tied to this hegemonic rugby masculinity is a celebrity form of class that is reflective of the public fame these elite sportsmen experience and, as such, requires them to behave in a certain way. I have applied Connell and Messerschmidt's geographical framework to the field of rugby and rugby union to show the interaction between the different levels of hegemonic masculinities. For these men adeptness, aggression, toughness (less emotional expression of pain and injury) is part of enacting this rugby masculinity at the local level. This chapter has provided an understanding of the contemporary context of ruby union and masculinity, and my analysis of it in relation to a historical perspective.

Chapter 4, Methodology

4:1 Introduction

In recognising, that young men do have body dissatisfactions which they conceal in sport (Drummond, 1996; 1999; 2002a) and that rugby union men are potentially disguising these emotions in the requirements of training for the sport and the athletic culture (Chung, 2001), the research sought to examine how a group of rugby men experienced concerns about the appearance of their bodies and the ways in which such concerns develop. It also examined how they used the sport and health-related sports acts: cardio-vascular and anaerobic exercise and/or specific eating regimes, to overcome their concerns and conceal them from others. To investigate this, the following questions were asked:

1. What are the rugby men's body concerns?
2. How do the rugby men's experiences in the sport impact on the development and management of their body concerns?
3. How do the rugby men's social relationships with significant others impact on the development and management of their body concerns?
4. How do embodied experiences impact on the development and management of the rugby men's body concerns?

Visual research methods (collaborative photography, photo-elicitation (PEI) interviews and audience ethnography) and ethnography (participant observation and in-depth semi-structured interviews), were employed in a case-study of 25 rugby union players, aged 18–25, of varied ethnic origin, race, and socio-economic background. All were members of the 1st XV Team at one of the leading sports universities in England[19]. Three black British and mixed-race (white/black) African-Caribbean and twenty-two white British men were sampled for the interviews.

Integral to the research design was the exploratory nature of the research aims and questions (De Vaus, 2001). Ethnography is traditionally viewed as an overt or covert examination of a group of people over an extended period of time, through the method of observation (participant or non-participant), with a focus on acquiring an inside view to the group's life and behaviour (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). It involves spending time in the participant's "natural settings... where individuals go about their daily lives" (Hesse-Biber and Levy 2005: 234) observing and participating as much as possible. Goffman (1959, 1961) was a pioneer of this method in his research.

Ethnography was adopted as a method of enquiry for four reasons. First, the nature of the research aims and questions dictated "an in-depth understanding of the *social [rugby union] context*: the culture within which individuals engage in a particular set of behaviours" was required (Hesse-Biber and Levy, 2005: 234). This necessitated involvement in, or association with, the rugby union *context* and with the traditions and practices that conceptualise body concern and its management in this 'natural occurring' setting (Mason, 2005).

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[19] Due to issues of confidentiality, the particular institution cannot be named.

Secondly, the research sought to examine how the hegemonic rugby masculinity operates at the local level thus requiring a method that would allow for examination of face-to-face interaction in immediate communities and how it operates in the context of the rugby men's management of body concern (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). As discussed in chapter 2, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) advocated ethnographic research to examine hegemony masculinities at this level. *Figure 2:1* reiterates this.

Furthermore, as body concerns are suppressed by men in sport, participant observation in the natural setting allows closer access to the men's behaviour "within the context of their [rugby] lives, watching what happens; listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience" (O'Reilly, 2005:2). Few researchers examine men's body concerns and health related behaviours in non-clinical settings. Men are commonly sampled from self-referral settings (Phillips, 2011) but yet research indicates that men are less willing to self-refer emotional health concerns to a clinical setting (Andersen, 1990; Hale et al., 2010). Furthermore men often subscribe to a hegemonic masculinity that constructs men as strong, stoical and reluctant to seek help (Jeffries and Grogan; 2011).

Finally, ethnography was chosen because my research centred on an ontological perspective "which sees interactions, actions and behaviours and the way in which people interpret these [and] act on them,…as central" (Mason, 2005:85). Ethnography allows access to this understanding through "direct observation and through interaction with others in the [research] setting" (Hesse-Biber and Levy, 2005: 234).

Visual research methods were used in combination with ethnography for two key reasons. First, they allowed me to access the rugby men's lives in the sport and the regions within it that would not otherwise been accessible to me as a female researcher. I was initially conscious that my social positioning, as a young mixed-race (black African/ white British) post-graduate female student would impact on my access to the rugby men and their involvement in the research. Although I was of a similar age to the rugby men, it was foreseen that access to this single-sex sport, and regions within it, would have been limited. Whilst the performance of the sport in matches encompassed public spectatorship, there were practical limitations afforded by the research context that prevented me accessing some areas, such as the male changing rooms and participating in the single-sex sport and training sessions. Second, the PEI interviews, as part of the participant photography, allowed for a more *intimate* look at the public and semi-public regions of the rugby men's lives in this sport. As discussions of body concerns by men is limited because of the effeminate associations, these methods allowed for reflection and recall and evoked memories and discussion of emotions (Clark-Ibanez, 2007; Radley and Taylor, 2003) that are presented less frequently by men in conventional interviews.

In section 4:2 of this chapter I discuss contemporary uses of visual research methods, and how they are beneficial in similar contexts for allowing access to personal spaces of respondents' lives that are often disclosed to researchers, and for invoking memories and reflections by respondents. Additionally, it will look at how these methods have been used in clinical and sociological research to examine clinical forms of body concerns experienced by men. In section 4:3, I will outline the

ethnographic process as it relates to the thesis, how the data was collected through this process, ethnography's embodied realities and the need for reflexivity in utilisation of this method.

The second part of the chapter will outline how ethnographic and visual research methods were combined and analysed. Finally, there will be a discussion about the reflexive approach to these combined methods, the ethical issues and limitations that arose in using these combined methods.

4:2 Visual research methods

In this section I provide a background to understanding the visual methods and principles that were used in the research to examine the rugby men's body concerns. Pink (2007:22) argues that it is beneficial to incorporate visual methods in ethnography because account for "the objects, visual images, the immaterial and the sensory nature of human experience and knowledge". They can represent intimate and private spaces of people's lives that can be used as visual prompts "through which to talk about self-identities and experiences" (Pink, 2007:28). Furthermore, they can account for the mobility of informants in contemporary society that can be difficult for the ethnographer to follow and observe.

The use of visual research methods is expanding in the social sciences, as are the types of methods used. Current methods include: observation with the camera (digital video or photography) by the researcher; participant photography; photo (or video) elicitation; auto-driven PEI, and media ethnography. In my research, I employed a variety of these, and they will be outlined below.

Collaborative approaches involve both the researcher and research subject/s representing the subjects' lives through photography or video (Holliday, 2004; Karlsson, 2001; Noyes, 2004; Pink, 2004). Participant photography, involves the respondents taking photographs and using them as a means of discussing and representing their lives. For example, Radley et al., (2005) asked research subjects to photograph their experiences of being homeless. This photographs that are produced "represent the outcome of the [participant and researcher's] negotiations" (Pink, 2007:76). This collaborative form of data collection is beneficial because it renegotiates power relations between the researcher and the researched (Woodward, 2008), thus empowering research subjects through their involvement of defining their own sense of self. This approach is particularly significant for marginalised and difficult to reach groups and those who are less willing to discuss emotional aspects of the self in conventional qualitative methods. It has also been beneficial in engaging the rugby men involved in my research to discuss their body concerns.

Photo-elicitation (Clark-Ibanez, 2007; Karlsson, 2001; Joanou, 2009; Radley and Taylor; 2003; Samuels, 2007; Schwartz, 1989) and involves the insertion of photographs into the research interview (Harper: 2002). Photographs can be taken by the researcher, the research subjects, or both (Rose, 2007; Bendelow, 1993). The researcher introduces photographs to the interview context "as a way to generate responses beyond the language-based conventional interview protocols" (Clark-Ibanez, 2007:171). As part of the elicitation process "researchers work with research participants, asking them to talk and think about how images were made and what they mean" to them (O'Reilly, 2005: 165). I utilised this technique as a key way of encouraging the rugby men to talk about their concerns.

Butler-Kisber (2010: 127) focuses on elicitation that moves beyond simply evoking a response to an image. Elicitation should engender collaborative reflection to find out "how participants use the content of images as vessels in which to find out the meanings and through which to reproduce and represent their knowledge, self-identities, experiences and emotions" (Pink, 2001: 68). This technique is beneficial because it "produces different and richer information than other techniques" (Van Auken et el., 2010:373). Photographs serve "as stimuli for more effectively tapping into" the meanings research subjects attach to their lives in the pictured world (ibid). They allow research subjects to recall, and reflect on experiences that are articulated less frequently in face-to-face interviews (Banks, 2005; Clark-Ibanez, 2007; Radley and Taylor, 2003; Raggl and Schratz, 2004). Another variation of this technique includes auto-driven PEI interviews. The interview discussion is directed to photographs taken by the research subjects of themselves (Clark-Ibanez, 2007, Clark, 1999, Joanou, 2009).

Audience ethnography involves the ethnographer observing the research subjects watching a video either taken by the researcher of themselves, or other forms of media, such as fictional films. This is often combined with in-depth interviewing (Crawford and Hafsteinsson, 1996; Lull, 1990). It is utilised by researchers in different ways to examine how audience members consume, mediate and utilise media messages (Levine, 2009). This method emerged as being useful for understanding how the rugby men in this research expressed their rugby masculinities.

Reflexivity is needed in visual ethnography because what is perceived in photographs is informed by the subjectivities of the researcher and the viewer (Pink, 2007). The reflexive approach developed in the 1980s, challenged the realist position that photographs are a reflection of reality or objective truth. Researchers thus recognised that "visual imagery is never innocent; it is always constructed through various practices, technologies, and knowledges" (Rose, 2001:32). Pink (2007) argues that the reflexive approach to visual ethnography is necessary and is based on three assumptions. First, the photograph does not reflect the objective truth, it does not record "a true visual record of any process, event or activity" (Pink, 2007:123). Goldstein (2007) makes a similar point, arguing that photographs only record brief moments in time and are manipulated by the producer. Selection of the image content, processing of the image and editing are constructed by them. Holliday (2004) also argues that the camera lies; the camera and its lens produce a mediated reality that creates detachment between the text and the viewer. Thus the visual data produced can be read in different ways and provide different interpretations and meanings

Second, the context of image production as part of the analysis should be reflexive. This entails questioning how it is informed by the subjectivities of the researcher and the research participants. What are the intentions of the photographer in creating the image? The researcher should consider their own background and biases to broaden their point of view and consider how these technical choices contributed to the researcher's representation of the subjects and responses to the image (Goldstein, 2007). As part of this second assumption, Pink (2007) argues that attention should be paid to the social positioning of the research participants and how this impacts on their involvement in representing their lives. But this also means ethnographers should be "self-conscious… about how their identities are constructed and understood by the people with whom they work" (Pink, 2007:24). Therefore, researchers should recognise how the respondents interpret and interact with them and be reflexive about the impact it has in accessing and visually representing them. For example, the gender

of the researcher and their way of seeing respondents of the opposite sex can impact on the process of photographing, selecting, and editing photographs and producing possible meanings about them (Pink, 2007).

Third, analysis of the image should move beyond the content of the image, to look at the "meanings different individuals give to the photographs in different contexts" (Pink, 2007:125). When the fieldwork and research ceases, photographs are extracted from the research context. Pink (2007) explains these photographs are viewed and discussed in the context of the researcher's life and is invested in meaning that is dependent on the researcher's personal and academic context. The research subjects will also invest different meanings in the photographs once the researcher has left the research context. These meanings will be situated in the different contexts of their lives. Part of this latter point also involves recognising the subjectivity of interpretation. Thus identifying the differences in interpretation by both the viewer and the researcher and the contexts in which they are located. This is discussed further below.

The utilisation of visual research methods for access, recall, and reflection

Photographs used in social research through the techniques of participant photography and photo-elicitation are advantageous because they allow researchers to access groups of people that are difficult to reach and are researched less frequently (Barr, 2009). They also examine the spaces of their lives that are not often disclosed and can change existing hierarchical relationships (Karlsson, 2001). They can help research subjects to recall, and reflect on experiences that are revealed less frequently in face-to-face interviews (Barr, 2009; Banks, 2005; Clark-Ibanez, 2007; Pole, 2007; Radley and Taylor, 2003; Raggl and Schratz, 2004). For example, Woodward (2008) found that the camera and the opportunity to be photographed deconstructed barriers between members of the public who are often reluctant to discuss their fashion choices to a researcher.

Auto-driven photo-elicitation can disrupt the power dynamics that can occur in verbal interviews. Differences in status, age, class, gender or racial power can be disrupted as the research subjects become the experts, documenting their lives to the researcher (Clark-Ibanez, 2007). In Radley and Taylors' (2003) research, this method facilitated empowerment for homeless people, as it gave them the opportunity to show the researchers their world.

In health research (Lilleaas, 2007; Grogan and Richards, 2002; Petrie and Rogers, 2001) men are regularly described as 'lacking voice' in emotional issues regarding their health. This arises from cultural expectations of masculinity. Men are less willing to talk about their inner feelings particularly feelings about their bodies. They work to maintain "a level of emotional control" (Lilleaas, 2007:39) and fear effeminate ramifications to their masculine identity if they lose this (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001). They will also deny that anything is wrong and mask emotional concerns about their bodies in sport and health-related practices (Drummond, 2002a). The rugby men in who participated in my research displayed similar practices, yet research along with other work (Banks, 2008; Collier, 1979, 1986; Harper, 2002; Schwartz: 1989) demonstrates that PEIs are an invaluable way of encouraging men to talk openly about sensitive issues.

Visual research methods: examining body concerns

Early studies examining clinical (BDD, and MDD), and non-clinical (body dissatisfaction, body image concern) forms of body concern amongst young-men and women have used visual images (Cohn, 1987; Collins, 1991; Paxton et al. 1981; Hoffman-muller and Hamstead, 1994; Thompson et al. 1996; 1997). Whilst Lynch and Zellner (1999) have presented detailed drawings of men's bodies that include different levels of muscularity to the young men to assess whether discrepancies exist between the men's perceptions of their bodies and their current body size, Mishkind (1986) and Stunkard et al., (1983) used figure drawings in their research.

Since the 1990s, researchers have moved forward from these drawings and utilised the somatomorphic matrix: a two-dimensional matrix of images, varying along separate axes of muscularity and fat (Pope et al. 2001; Campbell et al. 2005). Researchers in the clinical field have also drawn on photographs, of the male body, in contemporary media (advertisements, magazine covers) to assess men's dissatisfactions or concerns about their bodies (Lorezen et al. 2004; Madill and Hopper, 2007; Groesz et al. 2002; Leit et al. 2002). Buhlmann et al. (2004) and Mulkens (2008) have used photographs of faces to examine BDD and rate self-attractiveness. The majority of the men presented discrepancies between self-perception of their bodies and those of the clinicians

Although the use of visual images has been part of BDD research in the last two decades, photographs of male respondents taken by the researcher and/or respondents have not been employed to examine these concerns [20].Furthermore, photographs of male participants are not utilised in *sociological* research to examine men's (and women's) body image concerns. Researchers, such as Gill et al., (2005), Gill, (2008) and De Visser et al., (2009), have utilised photographs of men portrayed in media representations, but not images of their participants. Interestingly, psychotherapists have recently used such photographs, in phototherapy techniques to help women and men, suffering from anorexia, bulimia, and body-image problems. The photographs are taken by the therapist, presented to the patient, and discussed with them to help them to see themselves as others do[21].

Visual media are embedded in sportsmen's and sportswomen's professional lives. They are therefore accustomed to the presence of the camera. Photographs and film are largely employed as part of sports coverage, and used to analyse and improve sports performance (Trinity, 1996 and Wicklund, 1975; 1982) and to document and prevent the recurrence of injury (Fuller et al. 2010). Despite the presence of visual media in representing and analysing sportsmen, there have been few sociological studies that have drawn on visual images produced by the investigator and those under study, to represent and examine sportsmen's body concerns. This is not to suggest that the use of these methods to examine sports behaviour is non-existent within this discipline, as researchers have used photographs to represent sportsmen's career transitions (Harrison and Lawrence, 2003) and to illustrate the normalisation of injury among sportsmen (Curry and Strauss: 1994). In particular Curry

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[20] In the final stages of proof reading this thesis, I came across one study by Silver and Reavey (2010) that involved research participants, diagnosed with BDD, providing photographs of themselves across a variety of time periods. Silver and Reavey asked male *and* females to discuss the photos during the interviews to prompt memory and generate discussion about BDD. They also asked them to draw a self-portrait for this reason.

[21] Therapists and consultants include Dr I. Thacker and Jennifer Gilmour. Details of his programme can be found at http://www.sackermd.com, and Jennifer Gilmour's details can be found at www.gilmourimages.com/photographer.htm.co.uk, accessed 24/032010.

and Strauss (1994) used photographs, taken by the researchers, to illustrate how male wrestlers and others, such as coaches and medics, normalised wrestlers' experiences of pain and injury. Furthermore, Smith (2008) utilises photographs to represent male wrestlers' injuries.

The methods used in the studies discussed above, has informed my research with the rugby union men as they allow access, reflection, recall, invoke memories and emotions which would not otherwise be accessible to the researcher, through observation and interviews. They also allow an *intimate* look at the front and back regions of the rugby men's lives in this sport. This is discussed further below and in chapters 7, 8, and 9.

4:3 Methods

Ethnography

Pink (2007) and O'Reilly (2005) move beyond traditional conceptualisations of ethnography, discussed above by Hammersely and Atkinson, (2007). Pink (2007: 22) defines ethnography as "a process of creating and representing knowledge". O'Reilly (2005:2) argues that it is "a methodology, a theory or set of ideas- about research- that rests on a number of... criteria" (O'Reilly, 2005:2). These criteria are detailed in her definition of ethnography:

"An…iterative[22]- inductive approach (evolving in design through the study), drawing on a family of methods involving direct and sustained contact with human agents, within the context of their lives, (and cultures) watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience, that acknowledges the role of theory, as well as the researcher's own role, and that views humans are part object/part subject".

The philosophical position of ethnography is either positivism or interpretivism. More commonly, in qualitative social research the latter is adopted. This approach focuses on how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, and constructed. It "views the social world as [being] constructed by those meanings, stories, [and] accounts individuals provide concerning their understanding of their social world" (Hesse-Biber and Levy, 2005: 236). To understand the social world researchers should examine the meanings individuals have for their lives and behaviours. Interpretative approaches to studying society include symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and idealism. Researchers, Klein (1987; 1993), Fussell (1992) and Monaghan (2001), adopt the interpretive approach, and combined interviews and observation, to examine the lives of male bodybuilders. My analysis in this thesis follows the interpretivist approach, allowing for an examination of the meanings, "directed towards certain objects or things" individuals give to their experiences in the world (Creswell, 2007:20).

Processes of ethnography

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[22] Iterative approaches "seek meaning and develop interpretive explanations through processes of feedback. It involves repeated data collection until the research question has been answered. You reflect on the process of preliminary data emerging and it guides you in the next set of data collection this cycle is repeated until there is no new data" (Grbich, 2007:8).

The ethnographic fieldwork was conducted over a two-year period of the university rugby union club and its players. It commenced at the beginning of pre-season training in August 2002 and ceased in the late summer of 2004. It continued over the holiday period as many of the 1st XV team players remained at the campus. To explore the processes of the ethnography it is important to recognise that ethnography is cyclic iterative inductive process, wherein the ethnographer, engages in sustained contact, moves back and forth between observations, interviewing, and interpretation. The processes of ethnography entails watching and listening to what happens and what is said and asking questions, in the field and through interviewing (O'Reily, 2009). As part of this processes rich written field notes are written, and re-written, through course of fieldwork. Finally data is collected from the evidence, the field notes and written extracts.

These processes require reflexivity (Clifford and Marcus, 1986) because the epistemological concern of ethnography focuses on recognising the intersubjective communication and the interpretation of meaning. Therefore, values, behaviour, categories and discourses are not perceived as certain, but rather are characteristics of the field in which one is located and personal location within that field. For researchers to understand this field, particularly the research context in which they are located, a reflexive approach to their practices should be adopted (Finlay, 2002). This involved me reflecting on my positioning, age, gender, class, race and ethnicity and recognising the rugby men's social and cultural background in relation to this. Thus to be reflexive in ethnography is to be aware of the limitations of people studying other people.

These reflexive processes of ethnography also require researchers to recognise the embodied nature of its fieldwork (Coffey, 1999). Monaghan (2006) argues that bodies and embodied experiences are central to writing about ethnographic fieldwork about bodies and bodywork. Within the following discussion of my ethnography, I discuss how my embodied experiences served as a resource for understanding the rugby men's identities and their corporeal experiences of body concern. I also examine the embodied realities of ethnography, with a focus of the realities of a women studying men bodies and talking to men about their embodied experiences of body concern.

Accessing the field and fieldwork

To initially access this group of men, I made an appointment to meet the senior coach, who was also the director of the club, to discuss the research themes, outline the iterative-inductive (O'Reilly, 2005) nature of the research and obtain permission to access. Interestingly, I discovered during this visit that the coach was born in the same Cornish town as me. He had played at the local rugby union club, that I had attended regularly as a child and his brother had previously dated my aunt at school. Connections between my biography and that of the coach, the gatekeeper to the research, made it easier for me to interact with him and thus gain initial access to the rugby men. Furthermore, my interest and passion for the sport facilitated discussion and engagement.

To expedite access and begin the process of learning about the rugby men's environment, I also qualified as a gym-instructor and personal trainer and gained employment in two of the local gymnasiums at the university. My background in sport, long distance running and gym attendance also

provided me with the necessary bodily (physical) capital to attain these positions (Bourdieu, 1984; Wacquant, 2004). This positions allowed me to familiarise myself with the university rugby union players because I discovered, from my interaction with coach, the rugby men spent a considerable amount of the daily lives in these gymnasiums. Furthermore, I envisaged that these positions would help to move beyond some of the existing cultural assumptions of women's participation in exercise and sport and the incapability of their physical bodies in comparison to men. I wasn't entirely sure whether these assumptions would be apparent amongst these rugby men, because they were located in an elite sports university in which the number of women participating in sport was somewhat higher than other universities in the UK. Nevertheless I thought these positions would be beneficial to my access.

Once attaining employment in these settings, I found some of the rugby men would often discuss their exercise behaviour with me and pose questions about their current exercise regimes. As a personal trainer my exercise knowledge, and assumed bodily capital, allowed me to interact with the men at an advisory and remedial level. Furthermore, this allowed me experience a sense of empowerment that perhaps I would of not experienced if I had not attained this position. Ethnographers who have attained positions as physiotherapists and massage therapists have described similar feelings in their relations with research participants (Howe, 2003).

In this gym setting, snowball sampling was the most appropriate sampling technique because the rugby men, and other trainers, often recommended other rugby men who would be willing to participate in the research. This technique is commonly used when the target population is secretive about their actions (Churton and Brown, 2010).

At the start of the research, I was reflexive about my social positioning, as a young mixed-race (black African/ white British) post-graduate female student. I was conscious that this would impact on the rugby men's interaction with me and that they would be reticent about their body concerns and how they were concealed in the sport and health-related sports acts. Furthermore, my social positioning could have influenced how I observed and interpreted the rugby men, how they interacted with me and represented their lives. I was also concerned about how I would be interpreted by the interviewees as I was a newcomer to the town and university.

Despite these initial reservations about accessing the rugby men's lives, my race had no measurable impact on the research process or how they interacted with their, or my, involvement in the research process. There may have been an impact, however it would have been very difficult to work out what this was unless I had focused specifically on examining this during the research, and this in itself would have been a difficult task. The rugby men did discuss my gender, this is discussed below, and how this effected their discussion of their body concerns with me, but none of them mentioned my race. As discussed in chapter 3, there is increased diversity in the ethnic and racial positioning of the men involved in this sport, particularly the mixed social positioning of the rugby men involved in the research. It is likely that this context of diversity would have influenced how these rugby men interacted with me and assisted in representing their lives. Furthermore, recent research has found that race is less significant for children (Hart, 2009) and young people (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002) as they are more accustomed to increasing social diversity than the elder generation.

As part of the participant observation, I participated in the rugby men's daily lives in the sport over a period of two years. Whilst I did not participate in the sport, I observed, took field notes and photographed the rugby men in their daily activities, but also joined in and interacted with them (Sands, 2002). This process of ethnography entailed watching and listening to what happened in the social settings in which the participants were located and were interacting (O'Reily, 2009). It involves learning the rules, routines, and meanings of this new cultural system. These settings included immediate communities (Connell and Messcershmidt, 2008); rugby tours, nightclubs, parties, formal and informal dinners, and professional rugby matches. I was also included in the rugby banter[23], or "bant", (Koote, Bam) and "rugby gossip" (John). Interestingly, I was described by Urwin as a "surrogate member of the team". This process also entailed understanding the processes included in the interactions of individuals with and within their significant social systems. Finally, this included observation of the meanings that individuals apply to relationships, their settings, the physical environments they occupy, individual and shared historical patterns, and patterns of behaviour (Whitehead, 2005).

The initial pilot interview work commenced with observation of all of the six teams at the rugby club. I attended games and training sessions, and took notes about the men's participation in the sport, their interaction with others, language and overall behaviour. At this initial stage of the research, my embodied experiences of involvement in the fieldwork assisted in helping me understand the distance between my gender identity and that of the research subjects (Monaghan, 2006). Initially, my embodied experience of this process was uncomfortable. Whilst, I would describe myself as a confident young woman with a level of elite sporting ability, particularly in my position as a personal trainer, I felt intimidated and uneasy as a woman, surrounded exclusively by this large number of self-assured and elite men. Furthermore, as I watched these men preparing to leave for an away game to Oxford, it became more apparent to me that they participated in a single sex sport that was inaccessible for me to participate with them. Women's participation in this contact sport can be culturally regarded as crossing the (imposed) gender lines as they are perceived as less physically able (Howe, 2003).. Perceptions of hegemonic masculinities emphases these views, as men are perceived as possessing "powerful, efficacious and domineering" bodies (Mishkind et al.,1986: 549). In contrast women are perceived as being less able in this sport. Whilst my bodily capital and exercise knowledge as a personal trainer facilitated access and interaction, my embodied experiences conspired to remind of me of my outsider status in this field (Gale, 2010), but also their hegemonic masculinity. An extract of my field notes below reflects these feelings of embodied intimidation;

"As I entered the club room in which the majority of teams waited for the game bus to Oxford, I recognised that this setting was an idealistic reminiscence of a 19th century boys' grammar school, well my perception of it. The majority of players held a confident upright pose that was accompanied by a manly stride, and a characteristic self- assured walk. Furthermore, as they spoke to one another and coaches they appeared overly confident. Another classic feature of the old boys' grammar school that was reminiscent of this setting was the dominance of men. This setting was an exclusively male environment where I appeared to be the only female! Whilst I could see a few women around most were cooks, and psychotherapists. As a female researcher, I suddenly felt quite out of place as some of the men looked at me with uncertainty. Most men would

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[23] In the case of this team, 'banter' or 'bant' was a form of light-hearted chat that entailed mockery and sarcasm. The fieldwork revealed that those rugby men who articulated "high-quality bant" were attributed superior status and kudos by the other team members (Koote, Bam). This is discussed further in chapter 7.

speak and say hello, BUT perhaps this was pure shock at a female presence in *their* sport?" (12/11/2002).

Despite these emotional feelings, my passion for this sport and my intrigue about how these men's managed emotion in this single sex sport inspired me to continue with the observation. I conducted two focus groups in a local pub, inviting players from all of the six teams. Coincidently, the first focus group consisted of the 1st XV team (Performance Squad) players, described by the senior coach as the 'elite' players of the club, and the second group consisted of players from the remaining five teams. The iterative-inductive approach was significant at this stage of the research because it drew attention to the central site of observation: the 1st XV team.

Discussions with the rugby men in both these focus groups revealed that the 1st XV team played a dominant role in the club. As discussed in chapter 3, those who were selected for the 1st XV team were perceived by the coaches as being the most skilful and proficient in the sport. They were also described by numerous students at the university, who attended the rugby games and gymnasium in which I was working, as the "elite boys" who held superior 'kudos' and status within the rugby club and university context. Many of the rugby men also described themselves in this way during the interviews and during the participant observation. During the interview, the Captain, Goody, also explained that the 1st XV team were more likely to experience body concern because of the status attached to this team and the pressures they faced in gaining a position on this team and maintaining it. Thus, my participation observation focused on this team. The limitation of focusing on this team is the case study may not be representative of the concerns experienced by other men in the remaining six teams of the rugby club and thus it may be more difficult to generalise these findings. However, this is a limitation that could be expanded for further research.

The sample of contexts (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:39) for participant observation included 1st XV rugby training sessions, British University Sports Association (BUSA) games and training sessions, league and England University matches rugby tours, bus journeys, social events and general social activities. Following a period of approximately four weeks, more "descriptive observation" was conducted (Spradley, 1980: 30, cited in Flick, 2002). This entailed interactions with the rugby men and involved taking further field notes (and video recordings) of "everything that might be [considered] important" and relevant (Becker, 1998, cited in O'Reilly, 2005:252). The aim was to grasp the complexities of the field and the interactions within it. Field notes from the pilot work discussed above informed these observations.

The sample of contexts for more "focused observation" (Spradley, 1980: 34, cited in Flick, 2002) developed through my recognition of differences in behaviour between public, semi-public contexts and intimate dimensions of the sport. Extracts from field notes illustrated differences in bodily expressions, gestures and topics of conversation and language between these settings (Goffman, 1959). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:39) also draw on Goffman's (1959) distinction between front and back regions to illustrate variation between different contexts in the research field. In my research public areas, categorised as front regions (Goffman, 1959), included the gym environment, games (played at home and away) rugby tours, social events at nightclubs and bars, and bus journeys prior to rugby matches (often with other sports teams and coaches).Semi-public contexts, categorised as back

regions (Goffman, 1959), included single- sex changing rooms, training sessions, fitness and skills meetings, bus journeys *after* rugby matches (where only the team, and/or coaches and other staff were present), the homes of the rugby men and others regions in which the team members were in the collective presence of each other. The following extract is drawn from a return bus journey during an away game in Northumbria. In this back region setting the men present different topics of conversation and language about women, to that presented in front regions.

> "The bus journey was about four-five hours long. The men had won the game by a clear margin. Within ten minutes of the journey many of the players started drinking and within an hour they begin singing and playing drinking games. The topics of conversations between the men on the bus differed considerably to those that took place during the games I have been attending. This setting seems to give men the space to talk freely about women, sex and doping in sport. The central theme of these discussions were 'women's boobs', women in the pornography, famous women who they fancied (such as page three models), and lesbian and bisexual women who participated in different sports at the university. Whilst the men seemed freer to talk, it also seemed to be requirement for the men to discuss women, their sexual encounters with women and women's sexual behaviour. The men's descriptions of behaviour are explicit and lack emotionality. One topic focused on how one woman was sleeping with one of the players but she also liked to sleep with woman. The terminology that the men use to describe the women's lesbian preferences is quite explicit. For example, the Captain explained that this woman "may sleep with men but she definitely licks carpet." This focus on the physical aspect of sex in this context allows the men to remove emotionality from their encounters with women. This use of language encourages the men to see women as objects, perhaps to control them or be played with. For example, another player, at the back of the bus, describes how he likes his women to have big breasts like the woman in the porn magazine. There is laughter and cheering at this activity" (25/10/2003).

Intimate dimensions referred to situations where social relationships between one or two rugby men who were close friends interacted, to contexts where some social relationships with females outside the sport were played out and to the one-to-one PEIs with me, the female researcher. This dimension was identified as "discreet" for the rugby men because they felt that they could reveal their emotional concerns without ramifications to their participation on the team and their rugby masculinity. The photographs were also important to facilitating these discussions. This is discussed further below. Observation also involved watching 1st XV team players who had been relegated to the lower teams. This application of Goffman's dramaturgical analysis to the rugby men's lives is discussed further in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

This "focused observation" (Spradley, 1980: 34, cited in Flick, 2002) centred on the initial questions and central areas of enquiry: the requirements of the rugby body and performance, the existence of body concerns, and the influence of social relationships to the development and management of body concern. (*Appendix Two* provides an observation guide of these central issues). Towards the end of the data collection (the final three months), "selective observation" was conducted. This focused on drawing further evidence and examples of the behaviour and practices found in the focused observation (ibid). At this stage the central themes were affirmed.

As part of the participant ethnography I employed audience ethnography in the research. This involved me observing the rugby men whilst watching fictional sports films (*Any Given Sunday, 2000*,

Remember the Titans, 1999), and films that are loosely categorised into this genre *(Fight Club, 1994)*. I had not intended to conduct this form of ethnography. However, during the fieldwork observation I noted that these films were embedded in the rugby men's lives in the sport. They watched these films on bus journeys, in their hotel rooms during tours and at home with other rugby men. They repeatedly played scenes from some of the films and recited quotes and key phrases. Following these observations I began to document the comments made by the rugby men when watching these films, any incidences in which they recited scenes and phrases and the context in which the rugby men used these quotes. For example, whilst visiting some of the rugby men at their home, I noted that two players began to scrutinise and compare their own bodies and style when watching scenes of Brad Pitt's semi-naked body, as he participated in underground bare-knuckle boxing, in the film *Fight Club (1994), see Figure 4:1, for image of this scene.* The following field notes illustrate the men's responses:

> "Whilst visiting the Captain's house to watch a video with the rugby players, two players Jimbo and Bam responded to the representation of Brad Pitts' 'perfect' body. They both commented that they would like to have his body, but also his style. Jimbo commented, 'He is a man that looks good and looks good in everything he wears. He could just put on those dodgy glasses and coat and he still looks good. Even his hair looks good. Why don't I look like that?' Bam commented: 'Yeh, I I need to be that lean too'" (25/08/ 2003).

Incidences such as these were followed up in the interviews but also in informal and conversational interviewing during the fieldwork (Wolcott, 1999). The latter was adopted more frequently because the rugby men were more responsive to questions about films, scenes and male characters, whilst watching them, or shortly after they had watched them or when they had recited scenes and phrases from them.

Figure 4:1 Brad Pitt; underground fight scene
(*Fight Club 1994, image* by Charles Palahniuk www.rjgeib.com)

Two pilot interviews were conducted within the first year of the fieldwork, in the twelfth month. Twenty-five one-to-one interviews were conducted, with a sample of rugby men toward the latter end of the data collection, the 18th month. The sample of interviewees arose from the 1st XV players who had volunteered and who were recommended through the snowball technique. One-to-one interviews were chosen because the rugby men made few comments about their bodies and other emotional concerns in the presence of their male team mates in the focus groups, discussed above. During the group interview they responded to open-ended questions regarding the bodies of other rugby men in the club, but would not comment further on these players' physiques or if their relationships with each other impacted on these feelings. Although Grogan and Richards (2002) have found male focus groups

facilitate self-disclosure and feelings of empowerment through the support of the group context, the rugby men's competitive interactions with each other in the focus groups made it difficult for me to access the central themes of enquiry. For example, when the rugby men were asked to comment on their physical abilities in the sport, they began to verbally compete with one another about who was most adept. This competitive dynamic between the rugby men who participated in the research, made it difficult to "identify the opinions and views of individual group members" (Flick, 2002:120).

An interview guide was developed, that focused on the themes that were generated inductively from the fieldwork data; the body (appearance, size, shape, muscular augmentation and weight), physical performance, perceptions of masculinity, training and healthy eating regimes, management of pain and injury, competitiveness, aggression, relationships with significant others: fathers, mothers, women, coaches and other rugby men and perceptions of rugby women (*See Appendix One for Interview Guide).* Central themes that occurred more commonly in the data as being prominent to perceptions of the masculine self were identified as adeptness, aggression and tough body. Other less prominent themes that arose in the fieldwork included physical attractiveness and fashion. These were discussed by many some of the men in their daily interactions, but they occurred less frequently in the analysed data than the other themes. Overt interest in improving physical attractiveness via overt male grooming practices, such as spray tans and use of hair accessories was discussed during bus journeys, at social events and at the men's homes. Expression of interest in contemporary fashion, particularly clothing commonly wore by professional celebrity male footballers was also discussed but this was discouraged and mocked by men for representing narcissism. Whilst these interests and practices are increasingly apparent amongst young metro-sexual men (Atkinson, 2011; Harris and Clayton; 2007), they was perceived as existing beyond the boundaries of the rugby masculinities. Unlike existing conceptualisations of this identity, these men assigned feminine and homosexual connotations to this identity in this field. This is discussed further in chapter 8.

Drawing on the conceptualisation of body concern, discussed in the introduction to this thesis and chapter 2, open-ended interview questions were included in the interview guide that sought to examine whether the rugby men experienced concerns about their bodies. These questions moved beyond the traditional closed format of clinical survey and interviews that examine men's body dissatisfactions, as they also allowed the interviewee "to guide the interview and fill the role of the teacher" (Murchison, 2010:232). Assessment of this was accompanied with the field notes of the rugby men's behaviour and discussion about their bodies drawn from the participant observation. As will be discussed below, the rugby men were more responsive to these questions regarding body concern when photographs of their bodies and other rugby men bodies were inserted into the interview. Closed-questions were also included in the interview to ascertain biographical characteristics and information regarding training and eating practices that was inaccessible during the observation.

The interviews were conducted by me, away from the rugby club in an interview room. I scheduled the interviews at times that were convenient for the rugby men, allowing for them to complete their full-time training schedules. The length of the interview was dependent on the extent of the rugby men's emotional discussions. They ranged from one hour to three hours. Six were conducted without photographs, and the nineteen interviews were conducted using PEI techniques. The interview guide was utilised for both types of interview. The purpose of conducting six interviews without the

photographs was to ascertain whether the rugby men would discuss their body concerns without visual prompts. The PEIs proved more successful, as players revealed emotional feelings of embodied concern discomfort whilst viewing photographs of their bodies.

Whilst I found these revelations of emotions invaluable to achieving my research aims, these experiences were sometimes emotional difficult for me. To hear another person's experiences of upset and distress, can be demanding for the researcher (Watts, 2008). This was predominantly apparent when players talked at length about feeling inadequate amongst other men and how they had disengaged from their participation in the sport and interaction with their peers. I also found that my empathetic approach to the men's feelings of distress difficult for me because, as I discuss below, I shared feelings of embodied discomfort with some of them to express my empathy (Duncombe and Jessop, 2002) and ease the tension of their revelations. My emotional distress was compounded further by my limited experience of listening to young men reveal these emotions and acknowledgement that this socially less common in men's narratives (Drummond, 2008; 2012; Swain, 2003). I also experienced additional upset when players discussed their level of concealments and the various measures they had taken to achieve this. Management of these emotions seemed unchallenging at the start of the research, but as I became emerged in these men's lives and understood much more about each of them during the focused and selective stages of the observation, I had to develop different techniques during to detach myself from these emotions. Watt (2008) suggests that as a lone researcher it is important to develop self-care strategies in which the ethnographer can talk about the emotional stress of the research. I decided to join the local athletics club and ran frequently with others to temporarily escape, but I could not share my feelings for revealing the players' identities in this small community.

During this stage of the ethnography the embodied realities of being a woman examining men became apparent. Whilst ethnography requires sustained contact with the participants over an extended period of time, I discovered that my field note entries contained snippets in which I had commented on the physical attractiveness of certain players and my admiration for their elite athletic abilities. Interestingly these particular players were also admired by their team mates for these qualities;

> G… had helped me considerably with my research…, he seemed to be included me in everything. I now felt comfortable with this player, but I also felt slightly attracted to his personality and status. I think that any female who entered this setting would also admire this player in some way or another. He was authoritative, confident funny, hard-working and responsible. Even the other men commented that they admired and respected him. As I was spending a lot of time with this player and he had discussed many of his concerns, I also found I provided emotional support for him (26/01/04).

Whilst my position as a hetro-sexual women assists in explaining why these feelings surfaced, it is important to recognise that sustained contact with men whose bodies are on display and performing in sport and exercise also stimulated these feelings. Additionally, the men's revelations of emotional vulnerability to me during the interviews roused my sympathy for them and thus a level of attractiveness to them. Whilst I never shared these feelings, perhaps my position as a woman was detrimental to my interpretations at this stage of research. Would a male hetro-sexual researcher have experienced this level of emotional sympathy and subsequent feelings of attraction? The limits of

reflexivity are raised here because whilst I am able to turn back on these experiences (Davies, 1999), and question his motivations for helping me, I am unable to ascertain without further examination whether this was influential to the research process and findings. I will revisit this issue later in my discussion of how I photographed the male participants.

As I was becoming more accustomed to these men they too had become familiar and comfortable with my presence. They had also come to understand much more about me; my personal interests and characteristics because I was spending much more time with the men at parties, cinema trips, evening meals and other events. As discussed above the emotional relationship between us had also changed as many of them had shared personal emotional concerns with me about their bodies that they had not discussed with others in this field. Whilst I was reflexive about how my gender would influence my observations and interpretation of the men, I had not considered that I would be perceived as attractive to the male participants and how to manage this situation if it occurred. It was during these final stages of the focused ethnography that one of the players, the Captain at that time, revealed that he was attracted to me whilst walking home from the players' house;

> "After the dinner at the boys' house … walked me back home. We chatted outside of my halls for a while about the team, he explained was going to do after leaving the university, but he seemed quite nervous with me, he wasn't normally like this. I felt like there was a tension and I was correct. At this stage, he told me that he admired me and he was attracted to me. I was shocked by this and I hesitated. I hadn't envisaged this would happen. I was worried…I decided to stop my fieldwork for a couple of days and re-assess my behaviour. I knew that I was not flirting or over stepping my boundaries with the men. However these comments still worried me. After a few days he called me and asked me to go for a drink, I said yes. I do not know why I did this, but I knew I needed to address this situation… He told me that he was due to graduate and that I should get to know him and consider a relationship with him. I explained that I was flattered by his interests, but I was unable to return his feelings. I was polite." (06/07/2004).

Whilst my embodied experiences of being a woman assisted in demonstrating my distance from their gender and participation in the sport in the early stages of ethnography, my embodiment as a woman draws attention to the physical closeness male participants can potentially seek during ethnography with a female researcher. Ethnographers have found these situations occur routinely and adopt different approaches to the management of sexual encounters with participants (Altork, 1995; Dubisch, 1995; Williams, 2012). Kulick (1995) argues that these encounters and relationships with participants can increase awareness of the differences in positioning between researcher and participant. However, I argue that it is important to treat participants with respect, by recognising their emotional vulnerability and maintaining positive relationships with them.

Analysis of ethnographic data

Thematic analysis techniques (Murchison, 2010) were utilised to analyse the ethnographic observation and interview material. As mentioned above, I had some ideas about the potential themes but these were predominantly generated from the data. The aim was to avoid pre-conceptions as far as possible and attend to the rugby men's words and meanings (Gough and Robertson, 2009). Thus, themes, that were faithful to the language of the rugby men, were generated inductively from the field notes, significant research moments and interview transcripts. For example, the 'tough body' was a term coined by the rugby men to describe those who sustained specific types of pain and injury and

possessed mental toughness; downplaying and suppressing these experiences and the emotional distress resulting from them. This is discussed in chapter 8.

The analytical procedure entailed coding the field notes, interview data and written extracts for emerging categories and themes. These were collated, categorised and presented in tables. An example of the interview tables is presented in *Appendix Six*. Comments relating to the themes and categories were added and combined with the observation material (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2010). Colour codes were also applied to this ethnographic material that related to the themes (Murchison, 2010). These codes were also applied to the visual data, discussed further below. Diagrammatic maps were then used to order and represent the selected themes, cluster themes and analyse connections between them (Butler-Kisber, 2010). These were accompanied with written descriptions of the themes. *Figure 4:4*, provides an example of one of the diagrammatic maps; training and healthy eating regimes. The theme is food containing over 10% of saturated fat and the variables are conditions for consumption by the rugby men.

Figure 4:2, Training and 'healthy eating' regimes; Conditions for consumption of food containing more than 10% of saturated fat (This is later developed into *Figure 4:5*).
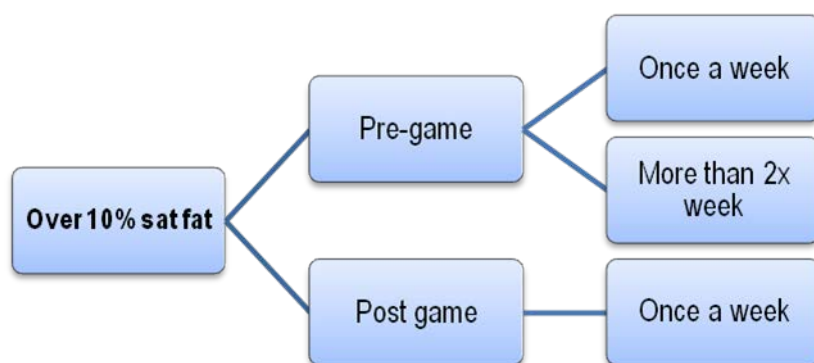
For the rugby men in who participated in the research, sports media was part of their rugby lives; each of these men viewed television, print and internet coverage of the professional sport in which they participated and other professional contact sports, such as boxing and American football. They also watched fictional sports films and films that loosely adhered to this agenda. To analyse this media surrounding them, media representations of professional sportsmen and fictional male characters were examined. This entailed a small-scale inductive thematic analysis of how sports masculinities were represented in a selection of media consumed by these rugby men. I conducted a thematic analysis of visual and literary coverage of the 2003 Rugby World Cup in British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers[24], sportsmen's autobiographies, rugby memorabilia and fictional films.

To analyse how professional rugby men were represented in the 2003 Rugby World Cup, tabloid and broadsheet newspaper articles that reported on the England Team and coaches as part of

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[24]Tabloid newspapers were analysed; however, this thesis focused more exclusively on the broadsheets because the majority of the rugby men chose broadsheet newspapers as the optimum source of reading.

an opportunity sample I collected. The articles and images of the England players and coaches were analysed over a three-month period.

The themes of adeptness, aggressiveness, tough body: less emotional management of pain and injury emerged from the ethnographic findings, these were also identifiable when analysing the media, and academic literature. The newspapers, which included representations of the professional rugby men's bodies and performances, and representations of their coaches in the written text and images[25], were analysed. A block and file approach was adopted to group the text, quotations and images (Grbich, 2007). A written description of the themes was included to illustrate how the rugby men and their coaches were represented in this sports media. A conceptual map (Grbich, 2007) was also developed to provide an outline of the labels given within the themes. For example, dominant and subordinate were identified as labels. These also emerged in the other sports media. Tough and sympathetic were identified as binary labels for the representation of coaches.

A thematic analysis was also conducted to analyse how sportsmen and their social relationships with others were represented in the fictional sports films. A diagrammatic map was developed to outline the representations of fathers, coaches, mothers and female partners (wives, girlfriends) and their relationships with the sportsmen. Themes were drawn from the representation of these relationships and labels, developed from quotes, references and language in the sports media and academic literature, were given to these themes. For example, the labels given to the representation of coaches' relationships with sportsmen in front regions of the sport were 'forceful', 'authoritarian' and 'emotionally restrained'. Interconnections between themes were also analysed (Pope and Mays, 2006).

Images and the accompanying text in the (2003) Rugby World Cup Coverage, scenes from the sports films and images in the rugby literature were sampled and analysed for comparable themes. The following preliminary questions were asked: what was the theme of these texts? What labels are identifiable (e.g. can tough, aggressive, adept or strong bodies and performances be identified?)

Application of visual research methods

Visual research methods included video and photographic observation by me and the research participants, audience ethnography and PEIs. The video and photographic observation was conducted on various days each week and in some weeks daily by me over the duration of the fieldwork.

Videos of the rugby games were taken of weekly training sessions and various stages of the rugby tours by two of the rugby men and by me. Observation with the photographic camera was conducted more frequently because it was more feasible and reliable. There were numerous difficulties faced in using the video camera. The video camera possessed limited battery life, which made it difficult to use for extended periods of time in the field, particularly on rugby tours. Some of the rugby men were less willing to use the video camera because they felt too far removed from the rugby context. There was also limited opportunity for the researcher and participant observer to talk to the rugby men and engage in conversational interviewing (Wolcott, 1999). In addition, the rugby men reacted to the presence of the video camera held by both the other rugby men and me. Flick (2002)

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[25] This analysis was not rigorous and extensive.

notes, when individuals are observed with a video camera they can act in ways that differ from their everyday behaviour. Although they were accustomed to the presence of the video for performance analysis at their rugby games and many of their training activities, they expressed more interest in being videoed during their social activities, e.g. rugby tours, in bars and nightclubs. In contrast, the rugby men welcomed and were intrigued by the photographic camera[26].

Following this period of fieldwork and the qualitative interviews, PEIs were conducted. The interview guide developed for the qualitative interview was employed and photographs were inserted at numerous semi-structured points. Photographs of the rugby men's bodies (clothed, semi-naked and naked), interacting with each other and significant others (coaches, family members and peers external to the sport), performances in the sport (at games, rugby training sessions and gym sessions), fitness testing and incidents in which they experienced pain and injury, were inserted into a research interview.

This sample of photographs for the PEI was drawn from different spaces the rugby men experienced, the front and back regions and intimate dimensions. The photographs were also sampled according to the themes that emerged from the fieldwork data. A standardised photo-set was not presented to each of the interviewees because the rugby men involved as participant photographers themselves, selected additional photographs for the interviews that they perceived as being relevant to them and the research topic. Some of the rugby men who were not involved as participant photographers requested to view photographs and with agreement of the people in the photographs, discussed them during the interviews. A sample-photo set employed for one of the PEIs is presented in Appendix 5(a). A sample photo-set for the annual fitness testing is also presented in Appendix 5 (b).

Comical photographs of the rugby men partaking in drinking games and initiation tests were also discussed at commencement of the interviews, to relax the interviewees. Esptein et al., (2006) note that photographs can work to create a relaxed atmosphere for the interviewees and thus encourage discussion. As will be discussed below, the photographs were not employed as realist illustrative tools, but rather as visual prompts to stimulate discussion (Banks 2005; Clark-Ibanez, 2007) of body concern that were attached to the pictured scene, objects, relationships and behaviour for the rugby men who viewed them.

All of the rugby men were asked to bring photographs of themselves to the interview. However, only three did so. Those who chose not to explained that they had difficulty finding "suitable" or "decent" photographs. Goffman's (1959) notion of the presentation of the self is significant here. Goffman argues that the self is mediated through what we imagine others to see and think of us. Shifting beyond Cooley's (1922) interpretation of the looking glass self, he argues that *we are aware* of this process and thus "preventive practices are constantly employed to avoid embarrassment…and shame" (Goffman, 1959:13). The rugby men initially perceived the PEI as a front region in which they were required to articulate roles and behaviour that are part of the idealized personal front (Goffman, 1959). They perceived the photographs taken for the research were intended for more public, front region and the audience. Thus presentation of these photographs could have resulted in shame and embarrassment

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[26]Numerous players volunteered to photograph themselves. This resulted in me investing in disposable cameras to supplement the digital cameras.

amongst their team-mates, as they could have potentially represented aspects of their identity that failed to represent the strong, aggressive and tough rugby masculinity. However, as the interview commenced and photographs from the fieldwork were included, the rugby men started to perceive the interview differently. Over the course of a few weeks they perceived the PEI as a "discreet" space, located beyond the front and back regions of the sport, and thus a more acceptable space to discuss their body concerns and personal feelings relating to them.

As discussed above, my positioning as a female meant that I could not become a participant observer in this sex-segregated sport, visual research methods were added to allow the subjects to become participant observers. Other female researchers have highlighted the difficulties of gaining access and continued acceptance in male-segregated sports (Woodward, 2007). Furthermore, being female can make it difficult, at times, to observe *all* of the sportsmen's behaviours. This was often apparent after observation of rugby matches during, as the rugby men attended pubs and nightclubs, during late and all-night activities. Some of these activities were restricted to men, for example strip-clubs, but also for some of the late night activities, I had to consider how I would return home from these events safely. Although the rugby men willingly invited me into the single-sex changing rooms to take photographs, the presence of a woman could have potentially disturbed their everyday back region behaviour. In this context the non-participant female is denied access because they are perceived as an outside observer (Goffman, 1959; Woodward, 2007). I also questioned whether these men would still have been as willing to strip off in the presence of a fully-clothed female. Furthermore, I was concerned that being in a room full of half-naked men would embarrass me and thus my awkwardness would further disrupt their everyday behaviour. It would also have impacted on the interview process.

To access these back region contexts (Goffman, 1959), a sample of rugby men were encouraged to change from being subjects to becoming participant photographers (Newbury, 2005), which meant they spent the day with the camera and took their own photographs. In turn, their "role [as] the interviewee changes from subject to guide as he/she guides the interviewer through his/her world" (Joanou, 2009:214). The sample of participants arose from those who volunteered and also from those who were injured and not fully participating in the game.

The first sample of rugby men, chosen to photograph, were actively participating in the sport at that time. Due to their involvement in the games and training sessions, they tended to take photographs of the social events, including strip-clubs restricted to men[27]. The second group, who were invited, were those who had been unable to play in certain games or events due to recent injury. As these injured rugby men were still, partially, involved in the training sessions and the motivational speeches that occurred in pre-match and half-time team 'huddles', they photographed contexts that had previously been inaccessible to me in back regions (Goffman, 1959). One of the rugby men from this injured sample, Pat, decided to adopt the role as an assistant researcher. He played a central role in taking photographs of contexts that were inaccessible to me and provided information about the rugby men's practices that I had missed or interpreted incorrectly. In *Figure 4:3*, Pat, took photographs of the pre-match and half-time team huddles. These huddles were inaccessible to me because the coaches were cautious about their motivational speeches and game plans. These can be conceptualised as strategic secrets, described by Goffman (1959) as facts about what the team will do during their

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[27] (Photographs taken of these male only venues have been excluded for ethical reasons).

performance. The injured participant photographers, including Pat, were able to take photographs in the changing rooms because they were not involved in preparing and changing before and after games. These rooms represent the less formal back region and back region behaviour, as the rugby men strip off in the presence of other men and are involved in a number of, nude, semi-nude activities and practical jokes that they did not articulate in more public front regions, such as the rugby match (Goffman, 1959).

Photographs produced by the research subjects assist in facilitating access to the rugby men's lives because they reproduce representations of regions and thus the symbolic meanings attached to them that are inaccessible to the researcher. On viewing photographs of themselves in these back regions the rugby men explained that they were more at ease taking their clothes off and carrying out their general activities in the presence of each other. The company of another rugby player whom they knew and trusted, with a camera, was more acceptable for them than a fully-clothed female researcher: an outsider, *see figure 4:4.* These photographs were not taken for the purposes of analysing their content, but rather to be used in PEIs to understand how the rugby men felt about their bodies in these regions.

Figure 4:3

Figure 4:4

Second, the PEI, following on from participant photography, was used to access an *intimate* look at the front and back regions of the rugby men's lives in this sport: how they felt about the requirements and interactions of these regions, and the impact they had on the development and management of their body concerns. As discussed in Chapter 2, and will be discussed in chapters 7-9, the PEIs revealed that these concerns were expressed differently in front and back regions and intimate dimensions. Whilst viewing photographs (of themselves and the other rugby men) in the PEIs the rugby men explained that they suppressed emotional concerns of fear, pain, and injury and body concerns and only expressed them in these intimate dimensions. Some of the rugby men discussed other intimate dimensions; this is discussed in Chapter 7.

As discussed above, researchers have found men are less expressive about their health and discussion of body concern is limited. Topics of enquiry, such as body dissatisfaction and pain and injury, are culturally perceived as being part of a feminine narrative, are embarrassing for men and therefore infrequently discussed by men in verbal interviews. As sportsmen mask their concerns in sport and health-related sports practices, the insertion of photographs was invaluable because they sought to encourage the rugby men to talk openly about their body concerns when presented with these images in intimate dimensions. By asking men to view photographs of their bodies, performances and interaction in front and back regions, the aim was to look at what can be learnt from men's reactions to viewing these photographs. Considered also, was how their involvement in photographing themselves could help to represent the development and management of their body concerns that were concealed in front and back regions.

The rugby men's involvement in photographing their lives, sought to give them freedom to represent their own versions of these experiences in a different way. This involvement adds a different dimension to existing ethnographic research with male bodybuilders (Klein, 1987; 1993, Fussell, 1992; Monaghan, 2001), as it allows them to be in control of a different process that can help them explore, reflect and represent what they feel about their participation in the sport and their body concerns. Exploration of the satisfying experiential embodied feelings which results from, and motivates,

participation in exercise be taken further, through the inclusion of photographs of the men's participation in anaerobic exercise (Monaghan, 2001).

Additionally, the PEIs allowed the rugby men to discuss and reflect on photographs of themselves rather than static figure drawing or images of other men that are not part of, or influential in, their lives. Viewing photographs they had taken, allowed for reflection on their relationships with other rugby men in the back regions and how this impacted on their body concern. For example, one respondent used a photograph he had taken to reveal his apprehensions about stripping off in the presence of other rugby men. This is discussed further in chapter 6 and 7. What is significant about this participant involvement is that the back region is not a private dimension in which the rugby men can relax, completely, in the presence of one another (Goffman, 1959) but rather this (semi-public) region requires these men to conceal their bodily behaviours and body concerns. As discussed in chapter 2, Probyn (2000:20) argues that in men's changing rooms there are "a welter of codes about how and where to look". The incorporation of this method into the conventional interview assisted in encouraging the rugby men to reflect on the meanings they have for the requirements of interaction in back regions and the impact it has on how they feel about their body concerns.

Photographs taken by *other* rugby men, sought to invoke memories and reflection of their bodily experiences at the time the photograph was taken, and how they felt when viewing the photograph in the intimate dimension of the interview. For example, on viewing photographs of themselves; clothed, semi-naked, injured, and/or performing in the sport, the rugby men discussed embodied feelings of discomfort; being overweight, "heavy", "out of shape", and "puny", and some compared these feelings to how they felt about themselves at the time of the interview. This is discussed further in chapters 7-9.

Analysis of visual materials

The visual data collated from the ethnographic fieldwork, the collaborative photography and video recordings, was analysed using the thematic technique, also employed for the ethnographic data (Murchison, 2010). The themes were generated inductively from the rugby men's discussion and interpretations of the photographs and video material[28] and my interpretations. Initially, all the visual material, written comments and interpretations were placed into tables and categories were applied. Central themes of adeptness, aggression and the tough body that were identified through the coding of the ethnographic data also appeared emerged as prominent in the visual data. For example, in an extract of my field notes from an away game, the adept body was discussed and raised on numerous occasions prior to the game by the rugby men as being important to their interpretations of the rugby body. Comparisons were identifiable in the visual photographs of players during rugby games and fitness testing, and their discussion of these in the PEIs. Please see the extracts below;

> "Before we got off the bus J…, the Captain and gave the men a preparation speech; Right Boys I know it's been a shit start- a crappie bus journey, loads of porno flying around and everything but we need to give it our all. Try putting all the chat from Monday about being 'bloody awesome' night into action.

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[28] As mentioned above, the video material was not as feasible in the field as the photographic material. Only video extracts that were viewed and interpreted by the rugby men were analysed and included. The majority of video material was used as an informative tool for the researcher.

There no point talking about it we, and not doing anything about it, just f%*** do it. Play out all the troubles from the journey. This side beat us last year so we need to get them this time. They are quick and clever side so come on boys we can take them. (Another few comments were made but I couldn't hear them" (Field notes without camera: 20/11/03)

"The men then began the bleep and strengths tests. There were divided between the forwards and backs. I decided to take as many photos as I could. The men talked about trying to be the quickest within their position, but also amongst the rest of the team. This is strange because a forward player is not required to be as agile or quick as a back! The majority of the men work hard to try and beat the other men in each of the tests. They were very conscious of being quicker than the other forwards or backs. This is evidential because they keep checking their scores on the instructors list and took actions to consistently improve their score. This is captured in images F0100 and F0102" (Field notes with camera 27/01/04).

"I was determined to beat Urwin and Doops in the bleep test, I'm not competing with them for my position but I want to be the best, we all do" (PEI: Participants interpretations of images Fitness Testing photos, 8/02/04)

The colour codes previously used for the ethnographic data were also applied to the visual data. The themes were then categorised and given labels, developed from the men's language and meanings. Diagrammatic maps were used to order and represent the selected themes. These were accompanied with written descriptions of the themes, labels, categories, and relationships between them and added to the ethnographic data. This was later combined with the media representation analysis. The purpose was not to "simply translate the photographs into verbal knowledge, but to explore the relationships between visual and other…knowledge" (Pink, 2007:120). *Figure 4:5* shows the development of *Figure 4:2* through the inclusion of the photographs and rugby men's discussion of them. The first level of the diagram refers to the theme: consumption of food containing more than 10 % saturated fat. The second level of the diagram refers to the variables; the conditions for consumption by the rugby men: pre and post-game. The third level refers to the frequency of consumption pre and post-game. The fourth level refers to the concern that arose following the frequency of consumption, present at the third level. The fifth level refers to the social and embodied factors that were also influential to the rugby men's body concerns. At this level, photographs and the dialogue produced on viewing them are included. Furthermore extracts from my field notes, were added.
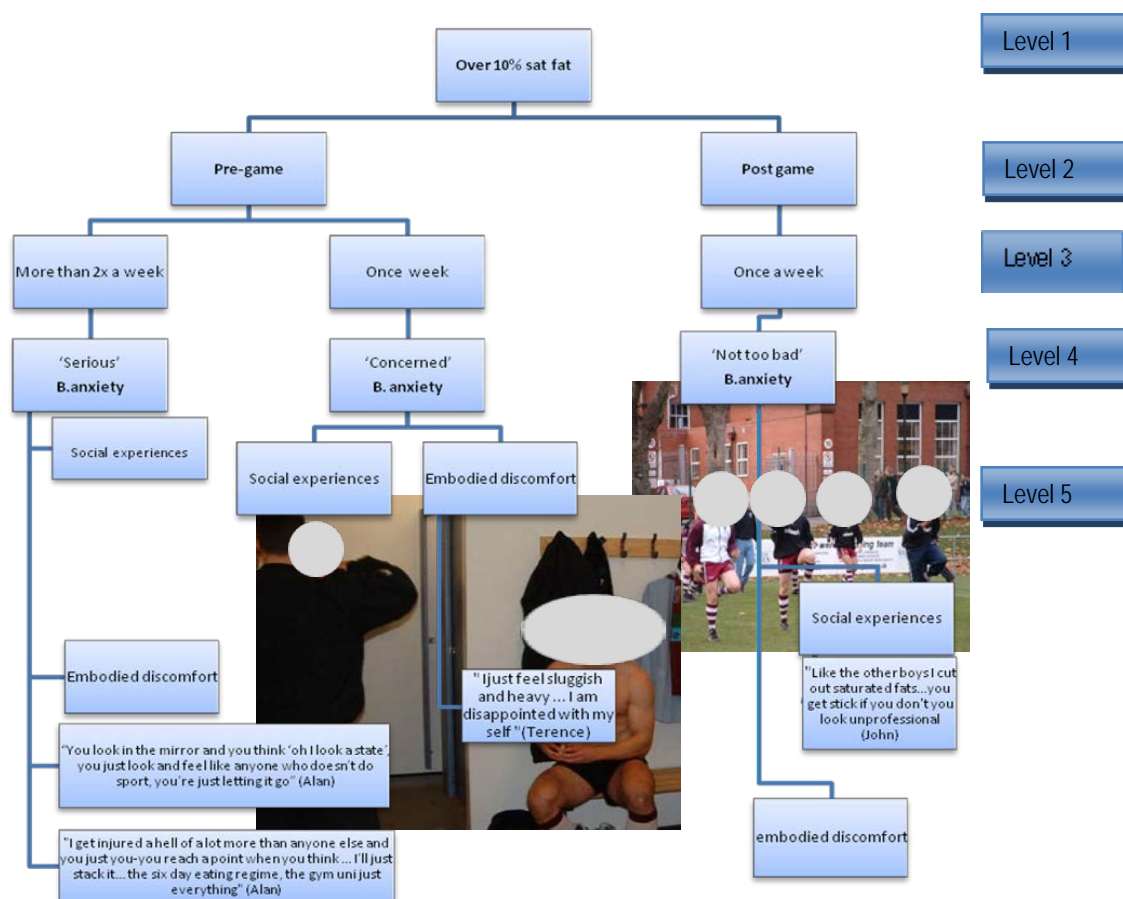
By adding visual research methods to ethnography a further level of reflexivity is required to that adopted in ethnography discussed above. Pink's (2007), three assumptions of reflexivity, discussed above, were considered. Additionally, I argue here, that there are further viewers and contexts to consider in this research, as outlined in *figure 4:6*. For example, this includes the uninjured photographer or the academic reading about this research. These individuals will possess varying levels of reflexivity. This is discussed further below.

Figure 4:6 Observers and reflexive assumptions
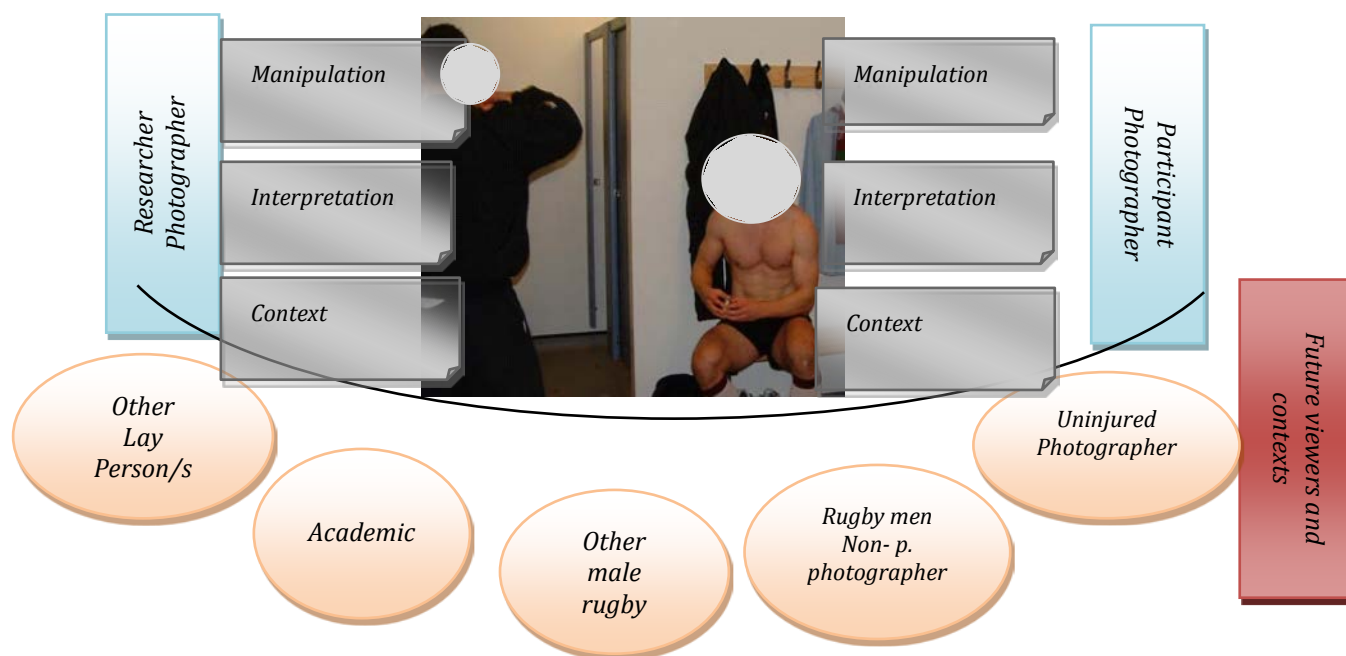
Pink's (2007) first assumption, about the reflexive approach recognises that all photographs are manipulated. Photographs are not self-generated, the photographer produces them (Joanou, 2009). His/her "choices about which image to capture and its presentation involve manipulation" in some way (Goldstein, 2007:75). Furthermore, if the photographer is part of the group under observation the participants are freer to direct the content of the images (Folkestad, 2000; Pink, 1997) by 'playing to the camera' or acting for his/her own benefit (Van Maanen: 1982).

In this research a similar problem occurred, as some of the rugby men directed one of the photographers' photographs to present them in a favourable light. For this reason, their choices were questioned. For example, one of the rugby men specifically asked to be photographed, after a game, in his rugby suit. Although it is traditional practice for the men in rugby union to wear this attire at social events, he was keen to be captured individually, and portray himself confidently for the research and to his other team-mates. This led me to consider whether these clothes provided him with a form of body confidence. This proved to be significant, as many of the rugby men would present particular bodily performances such as wearing the suit or concealing certain types of pain and injury, as a way of presenting their hegemonic rugby masculinity in front and back regions. However, this personal front also required them to conceal their body concerns in these regions and express them in intimate dimensions. What can be learned from the informant directed photography is that it is reflective of the ways in which the rugby men express their hegemonic masculinities in front and back regions of the sport. Furthermore, in this case these rugby men used these photographs as a way of showing others that they had presented this idealised front in these regions.

In considering Pink's second assumption, the context of image production, researchers should be reflexive about how they view other people and how it is informed by their subjectivities. This involves the researcher being reflexive about their way of seeing: questioning the intent of the photographer in creating the image, and consideration about the influence of their own background and biases. Whilst I recognised that being a woman partially assisted me in gaining access to the rugby men's discussion of their emotional body concerns, my way of seeing the rugby men was dependent on my position as a young heterosexual woman. In choosing what to photograph; what images to present as part of the findings, and how to interpret these images of the rugby men, I was reflexive about my perceptions of the ideal standard of masculinity may have impacted on this process of the visual ethnography.

In the initial stages of the research I recognised that I had collected more images of those rugby men who conformed to my understanding of an *idealised* standard of masculinity; as muscular, toned and well-built. As a young adult my understanding of the ideal masculine body has been influenced by the current visual representations of the muscular mesomorph (Grammas and Schwartz, 2009). Paying attention to my gender, I also considered whether male heterosexual researchers would have included the photographs I had chosen to represent the rugby men's lives. Cultural perceptions of how heterosexual men look at other men may unconsciously influence what images are taken and presented by them. Heterosexual men can fear looking too long at the bodies of other men for fear of the 'homosexual gaze' (Rowe, 1995; 1999). In contrast, arguably, a heterosexual woman is less likely to experience these considerations when viewing men. Perhaps they are potentially less conscious about observing, selecting and presenting images of those men who conform to the ideal standard of masculinity. However, as a heterosexual woman I may have also unconsciously taken and/or selected photographs of men that are more attractive to me. As I discussed above, during the latter stages ethnography without the camera, I paid more attention to players who were physically attractive to me and I commented on my admiration of their elite abilities in the sport. Whilst I could not overcome these potential limitations of photographing men, the rugby men were included as participant photographers to address this. As discussed above one of the rugby men Pat was invited to adopt the role as a key assistant in photographing the rugby men.

It is also important to recognise that photographs of sportsmen's bodies and performances can stimulate gendered ways of looking. Researchers have criticised the visual representations of women's bodies and performances in sport because they allow men to 'gaze' at women in a sexualised and subordinate way (Hardin et al. 2005). Arguably, photographs of men's bodies and performances in sport can potentially incur similar ideas of the gaze (Bordo: 2004) because it allows women, and men, to view the bodies of men. As this research draws attention to the rugby men's body concerns, perceived by the rugby men as effeminate, it could be argued that these men are also visually represented in subordinate positions. Furthermore, photographs of men performing in their sport, in their sport kits or even semi-naked could be interpreted as sexualised representations of men. However, the importance of including photographs, particularly when the rugby men have positioned themselves in a favourable light, is that they are reflective of the hegemonic masculinity these rugby men sought to express. The photographs led to discussions in the intimate dimensions about how the region and the social relationships within it influenced the rugby men's management of their body concerns.

Arguably, the production of visual data has been heavily influenced by my gender, my background and immersion in the field. However, the selection and presentation of these particular photographs are also a reflection of understanding the characteristics of the field, and the rugby masculinity that existed and was encouraged in this field. Holliday (2004: 57) argues "feminist researchers…, have long been concerned to chart women's experiences …, where *being* a woman is the signifier of primary importance in validating the research". Experiences of being a woman can assist in minimising the distance with other women. In this research, a different approach is taken by arguing that as a female researcher, recognition of the cultural perceptions of femininity has assisted in the rugby men's discussion of their body concerns to me, a as female, in the intimate dimensions of the interview. Lupton (1998) argues that women are perceived as being good at dealing with the emotions of others. To examine the rugby men's body concerns, it might have been possible to join the women's rugby union team and gain access to the men's team through the general avenue of the sport itself. However, as discussed above, there are divisions between women and men's involvement. By participating in women's rugby union, I may have been viewed by the rugby men as an insider (in a different), and thus they may not have been as willing to discuss concerns of body concern. As an outsider a different level of interaction was permitted. Woodward (2007) suggests that female researchers, researching male research subjects, can adopt a maternal role as a means of accessing their lives. The depth of this adoption can be dependent on the age of the female researcher and the male research subjects. As discussed about is important to be reflexive about this issue because as a young female researcher, I did not simply adopt elements of the maternal and "asexual" role for these men (Woodward, 2007:47). *Figure 4:7* shows my movement between the outsider and insider positions. In position 1, I came into the research not as an outsider unable to access participation with them, but I was not a total outsider having become a gym personal trainer. Over the course of the research, I became more accepted but never became a complete insider, position 2. I then tried to distance myself and re-position myself as an outsider during the later stages but did not get further than position 3. This had an effect on both content of image production and context in which I was located. This latter context is highlighted below, during my discussion of Pink's third assumption.

Figure 4:7 Movement between the insider and outsider positions
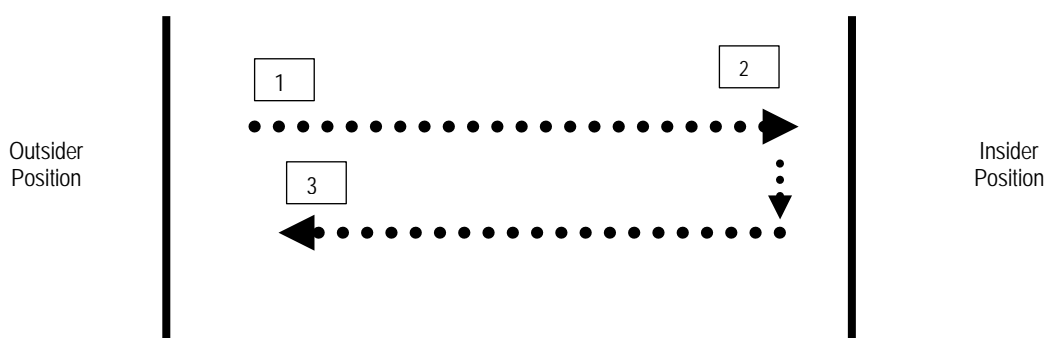
As part of Pink's (2007) third assumption, recognition has been given to the differences in interpretation and meaning by the viewers, myself and the contexts in which they are located. *Figure 4:6* shows additional viewers, not discussed by Pink (2007), who are located in different contexts. These viewers include me, discussed above, the rugby men who became participant photographers

and those who did not, the academic viewer (examiners and readers) and those who are not located or positioned in the academic context. The context in which they are located will affect this interpretation and the meanings they attach. As discussed above, the rugby men who became observers were divided in their access to the rugby context. Those who were not injured attached different meanings to those who were injured and participating in the sport. For the latter group, participation in photographing, allowed them to re-enter regions that they had previously been excluded from because of their injury. However, they invested meanings that were situated in former experiences of participation prior to injury. This drew focus to current feelings of exclusion, separation and weakness. This adds an extra dimension to ethnographic research examining experiences of pain and injury (Malcolm, 2006) because their active involvement in, and viewing of, photographs allows recall of injury and intimate current feelings about both past and present injuries. In contrast, those men who were uninjured and participating viewed their photographs from the context of their current involvement in the sport.

Further to *Figure 4:7* the meanings of the visual research material for me varied throughout the research, particularly in relation to my shift/move to position 3. For example, toward the latter end of the fieldwork I became deeply immersed in the rugby men's lives; being privy to everyday banter, "bant" gossip and behaviour, attending parties and eating evening meals with them. At this stage, I became emotional overwhelmed by immersion in the field and began to experience a longing for my life: friends, female company, work colleagues, training sessions and thus sense of self. The meanings attached to photographs taken at this point in the research are embedded in the rugby context and entail feelings of disillusionment and frustration at this exclusively masculine rugby environment. As the research ceased, these meanings shifted and were situated in the academic context and my personal life. I also found that following the research I did not return to my initial position at point 1. Contact via email, at parties and events, revealed that I was still recognisable to them as a temporary inside member.

For the academic viewer the meanings they have for the photographs, will be informed by the other data and analysis presented in this research, but also their academic knowledge and ontological position. For example, recently, a male academic located in the field of life sciences commented on this research. Whilst his location in the academic context led him to read a journal article about this research (Darko, 2009), for him, it incurred personal memories of the "good old days prior to professionalism... when international players were lucky to get two jerseys and a souvenir plate and... cauliflower ears, and a broken nose and missing teeth were worn as badges of honour".

Viewers not located in the academic context, for example, other male friends who participated in the sport at professional and semi-professional level, attached meanings that were dependent on their own involvement at the time of reading this thesis. This was external to the university setting. Interestingly, their meanings were comparable to those provided by the rugby men in this research. Feelings of camaraderie, hegemony, power and competitiveness were raised. Additionally viewers who reads the articles I write, and have written, about this research are completely detached from the rugby and academic context, and will invest meanings that are situated in the context of their lives, perhaps influenced by the men, husbands, fathers, friends etc, they know.

4:4 Ethics and limitations

Ethical concerns in ethnography span from the beginning of the research process, to fieldwork and analysis and finally in its dissemination. Concerns are raised because researchers work with a small number of people and seek to establish a relationship of trust with them. Respondents allow the researcher to follow them to private meetings, social events and listen to a display of private concerns. This can mean intimate engagement, as the researcher becomes a guest in people's private spaces of the world (Silverman: 2005). As a guest, they should be polite and follow a strict code of ethics, often drawn from the British Sociological Association Code of Ethical Practice (2002).

By using visual research methods to examine men's body concerns, some additional ethical issues arose. This is because the exploration of body concerns often intrudes into the private, embarrassing and sometimes shameful areas of people lives (Phillips, 2005). By collecting such information, I had to be sensitive to the participants' involvement in the research. This involved being receptive about how the visual data was collected and presented because "the camera intrudes and reveals much more than other methods" (Prosser, 1998:318). In this section I will outline the ethical issues that were experienced whilst using both of these methods and present the associated limitations of these techniques.

Prosser and Schwartz (1998:120) argue that "ethnographic studies are [often] of relatively powerless groups … because sociologists are not normally granted access to centres of power." They also argue that as part of ethnography, investigators need to consider whether gatekeepers will allow the research to be carried out, and whether they will gain access to the institution (see Holloway et al. 2010), who discuss the role of the gatekeeper). If there is a possibility that the research findings will discredit the researched institution, gatekeepers will often reject the research. For instance, Petrie and Rogers (2001: 747) attributed the rise in body concerns amongst sports men and women to sports institutions, as "athletes are placed under ever increasing pressures [from coaches] to reach weight goals (e.g. percentages of body fat, a specific weight)." Ideally the team's coach should have been informed of the research objectives. This presented some initial concerns because, as with the early stages of any (iterative- inductive) ethnographic enquiry, the researcher does not always have a hypothesis, or a clear idea of the issues he/she will explore, or what they will (Malone, 2003: 801). As I discovered the central issues by actually conducting fieldwork (Punch, 1986), it was not possible to present the coach with details of specific objectives and possible findings until the fieldwork commenced. However, he was informed of the intentions of the research, the research process and why it was being undertaken. This involved me presenting him with an introductory letter and an informed consent that outlined the objectives and assurances that the participants' identities would be kept anonymous[29].

As observation of the rugby men's behaviour had developed from the "descriptive" to "focused" stage (Spradley, 1980: 34) a further informed consent form, outlining clearer objectives and central issues (*see Appendix 4*) was sent to the coach. Once he had been provided with this form, the coach was questioned again to ascertain whether he was still agreeable for the research to continue. The aim of this was to assure that the coach and his participants had not been deceived in any way. Although

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[29] The coach was also asked to state whether he agreed to the possible publication of the data. Furthermore he was asked whether he agreed to the publication of the data to other academics and a much wider public audience. The outline of the informed consent was drawn from the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association (2002) *(See appendix 2).*

he had given his consent, Punch (1986:37) argues permission to access participants must also be obtained from other official gatekeepers, because the "subjects of the research in an organization may not …be consulted by superiors about the presence of a researcher, and may [not] be in a position to refuse to cooperate". In light of this, the rugby men involved were made aware of my presence and the nature of the research, in order to give them the opportunity to refuse participation[30]. To gain consent from all the rugby players of the 1st XV Team, consent forms were handed out prior to their rugby matches[31], which they willingly signed.

Whilst participant photography can allow access to areas and lives that cannot otherwise be accessed, issues of confidentiality and ethics can become problematic when subjects take photos of these spaces. When interviewees see photographs they may regret having taken or not have known they were taken, they should be given the right to withdraw any photographs they do not wish to discuss. See for example, Joanou's (2009) research of homeless boys. In this research there were incidences in which the rugby men had asked for photographs to be taken by the other rugby men whilst they were intoxicated, yet on viewing these photographs had forgotten about these incidences. For example, one of the rugby men was renowned in the rugby club for being shy and reserved in front regions of the sport. However, in back regions and when he had consumed alcohol, he regularly stripped naked and took part in practical jokes and comical behaviour. On viewing photographs of himself removing top layers of clothing he explained that he often has little recollection of his naked parades. However, he did not become distressed by these images, but explained that his alcohol consumption and related activities helped him to unwind and escape the pressures of the sport and the other 'boys'.

Clark Ibanez (2007) recommends that in situations such as these, the researcher should not view the photographs until the interviewee has had time to look at them. This allows the participants to remove photographs that present aspects of themselves and regions of their lives that they are not comfortable with. However, she also suggests that if the researcher has already viewed them the research participants can be given the opportunity to take photographs away with them or ask for them to be withdrawn from the study. In the research, the rugby men had restricted time to view the photographs before me, because their intensive training regimes and matches often interfered. This in itself, illustrates one of the limitations of participant photography, because the amount of involvement can be unrealistic for the research participants and infringe on their involvement in their culture, group etc (Butler-Kisber, 2010: 128). This puts a strain on ethical issues that should be addressed when asking men to view photographs prior to the PEIs. At this point, the rugby men were given the opportunity to withdraw photographs.

As visual research methods were central to observing the rugby men's lives, the rugby men were asked in the interviews whether they were comfortable with the presence of the camera. They were given an additional consent form[32] in which they were asked whether they were happy to be

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[30] (See *Appendix Four*)

[31] It was possible to target the men as a group during 1st XV team/Performance Squad matches, as they all travelled on one bus and the long journeys gave the men time and the opportunity to raise any issues they had about the research.

[32] This form requested permission to photograph and film their sports performances and physiques at sports and social events. This form also referred specifically to the interview, outlining the topics and assured confidentiality. (See *Appendix 4*)

filmed and photographed during the research. They were made aware that their facial identities would remain anonymous in the final disseminated report. In particular, 'fuzzy faces' and pseudonyms were used in the photographic captions, and interviews.

When research participants deny their consent to being visually captured, the researcher must abide by that decision (Pink, 2007). However, when willingness to participate is firstly withdrawn and then engaged by the participants, their presence should not be excluded, because in this research these images contributed to an understanding of the rugby men's body concerns. For some rugby men, their decision to include themselves in the visual images was actually a reflection of their struggles with self-confidence and body concern. As discussed above, the intimate dimension of the interview proved an invaluable means of allowing the men to reflect on emotional concerns around their body concerns that they were unwilling to raise in the presence of the other rugby men. This was particularly apparent as some rugby men admitted in the PEIs, rather than being in the presence of other men, that they were uncertain about being photographed or filmed. For example, Koote explained that he was not confident about how he appeared on screen. He was happy for his voice to be recorded and to be filmed at rugby games and training sessions, but in close proximity or one-to-one shots, he preferred to be excluded. As "legal and moral issues of ownership of the images can arise [when] images are produced covertly without the permission of the … subjects" (Pink: 2004:43), Koote's requests, were accommodated; only audiotape recordings of interviews were used and he was not photographed or filmed in the situations he had requested. In spite of these requests, Koote frequently agreed to appear in the collaborative photographs taken by the rugby men.

During the collection of these photographs the participant photographer, was questioned about Koote's presence. He explained that Koote had requested him to take his photograph. (This is discussed in more detail in chapters 8 and 9). This was affirmed to me by Koote himself. Although Koote was willing to be photographed or filmed by one of his team-mates, I continued to avoid visually capturing him, because he had been assured that his anonymity would be maintained. However, at times in which the rugby men, like Koote, had chosen to be included in the visual images, their presence was not excluded. This is because there are many underlying factors to consider when assessing why the rugby men decided not to be filmed or photographed. It may be that the player did not feel confident for a woman researcher to take photographs of him. However, when the photographer is another male or friend that he is accustomed to interacting with, he may feel more at ease being photographed. There is also the possibility that the player's self-confidence had increased since the first photographs were taken. Koote explained to me during the PEI that he had lost more weight, gained muscle mass and recovered from injury, since the earlier collection of data, and so was happier to be photographed. In particular, as will be discussed in chapter 9, Koote had just overcome a serious injury and had begun to play rugby again. He felt more confident about his bodily performance, which in turn encouraged him to include himself in the photographs.

Whilst research illustrates that men are becoming more critical about their body image (Atkinson, 2008; Drummond, 2010), the discussion of body concern is still a sensitive research area that is often concealed by young men to others (Andersen, 1990; Drummond, 1999; 2008; Kauffman, 1993; Petrie and Rogers, 2001). In light of this was important to consider the number of ways the research could cause possible harm and further body concern. In recognising that body image is as a

mental image of the body as it appears to others" (Featherstone, 2010:194), I considered the problems that could occur when unfamiliar others, observe the body. The presence of a woman researcher with a camera, perceived as an outsider, had the potential to stimulate or perpetuate the rugby men's body concerns. The potential for harm is apparent when asking respondents to view photographs of their physique because researchers Mayville et al., (2002) and Rosen and Reiter (1996) have shown that people experiencing clinical body concerns, such as BDD, are often uncomfortable viewing themselves. Viewing these photographs could have made the rugby men more aware of their own bodies and performances, thus leading to further self-examination. As mentioned above, Koote felt uncomfortable presenting his body on camera or in visual images. In these types of circumstances, it was important to be sensitive about the possible distress the photographs might cause (Pink, 2001:42). It was not intended for these men to view photographs (of themselves and others) and then scrutinize their bodies. To prevent this distress, the order of the photographs in the PEIs was altered. Comical photographs of drunken activities or staged poses, see *Figure 7:1a*, chapter 7, were followed by photographs of the rugby men's bodily physiques. In this way the rugby men commented on their body images, but they were not given an extended period of time to dwell on their physiques and bodily performances. In situations in which I intended to photograph the men, the coach was informed in advance, to assure the rugby men had the freedom to withdraw from being photographed.

In the PEIs, following the rugby men's discussions of their experiences of flaccidity, injury, pain, and fear and body concern that were potentially embarrassing for them, I shared my own former embodied experiences of discomfort and the concomitant emotions. For example, one of the rugby men explained on viewing photographs of himself, that as a child, he had been bullied for being overweight, obese. Although he willingly brought his experience forward, he expressed that he found this issue distressing. To relieve his uneasiness, I shared my experiences of being perceived awkward as a child because of my 'large' African-British body shape, and how I too was excluded from social activities and friendship groups. Whilst my race was also part of my discomfort, a rapport developed that was based on shared understanding of embodied discomfort and stigmatisation (Goffman, 1959).

Although the rugby men had allowed for images to be taken and had responded to the camera, permission had to be sought in the initial stages of the research for their performances to be exhibited to the public. One of the limitations of researching elite sportsmen (and women) is that there is the potential for them to become professional and thus public interest in these individuals can spiral. Consequently, the rugby men had to be made aware of future dissemination and given the opportunity to withdraw from the study, as their future careers could be hampered by private comments they made in this project. To this end the informed consent entailed a designated section in which future dissemination was outlined. None of the rugby men was concerned about future publication and they were all actually quite excited to be featured in future academic research.

Some researchers have suggested, the "legal ownership of most…visual images resides in the permission of the persons who created them" (Banks, 2001:132). As this project has adopted a collaborative approach it could be applied that both the researcher and the researched share the right to the ownership of the images. The rugby men's involvement in photographing their lives meant they shared ownership.

4:13 Conclusion

Visual research methods have been combined with conventional ethnographic methods to examine the rugby men's body concerns and how they are managed in the rugby context. These methods contribute to existing studies, that have examined men's body related concerns because they have not yet been used in this field of enquiry (Buhlmann et al. 2004; Campbell et al. 2005; Cohn, 1987; Collins, 1991; De Visser et al., 2009; Drummond, 2008; 2012; Grogan and Richards, 2002; Gill et al., 2005; Gill, 2008; Groesz et al. 2002; Hoffman-muller and Hamstead, 1994; Leit et al. 2002; Lorezen et al. 2004; Lynch and Zellner, 1999; Madill and Hopper, 2007; Mulkens, 2008; Paxton et al. 1981; Pope et al. 2001;Thompson et al. 1996; 1997;Stunkard et al.,1983) and thus provide men with an alternative means of discussing their body concerns in more intimate dimensions of the masculine sports context (Chung, 2001). The visual research methods allow access to spaces that were excluded to the female non-participant researcher. They allowed for an intimate look at the front and back regions of the sport in which the rugby men conceal their body concerns. These methods are feasible for examining the rugby body concerns because visual images have increasing precedence in the sports context and they are used to assist recovery for individuals experiencing clinical forms of these concerns. However, because this approach moves beyond existing methods in this area of research, it is important to be reflexive about them and the ethical issues that can arise in their use. Furthermore, there is a need for reflexivity in ethnography that entails a female researcher and male participants. The exploration of men's bodies and their body concerns is a sensitive subject matter that encourages the researcher to recognise the embodied nature of the fieldwork but also their embodiment as a woman. Whilst being a woman can allow men to reveal their emotional vulnerability, it can also lead to feelings of emotional closeness and subsequent physical attraction. There is a need for reflexivity in ethnography and visual ethnography of this kind, but there are limits to discovering the impact I had to the research process and findings without encouraging further vulnerability amongst the men.

Chapter 5, Sports Masculinities: analysis of academic literature and sports media

5:1 *Introduction*

As discussed in previous chapters three analytical categories, that inform hegemonic rugby masculinities, have emerged from my ethnographic findings: adeptness, aggression and tough body. These have been influenced by individual attributes, social relations and a cultural dimension. This chapter focuses on the cultural aspect drawn from my analysis of the media consumed by the men (Connell's and Messerschmidt's regional level, 2005). A subsequent analysis of the academic literature revealed similar categories. In this chapter I outline these analytical categories.

In this chapter I discuss each of these analytical categories in turn; how they are represented in sports media consumed by the rugby men who participated in the research and discussed in academic literature as part of sports masculinities. I also look at how significant others, fathers and coaches, women and male peers are discussed in academic literature and represented in sports media as being influential to the construction of this identity.

This media analysis discussed here focuses on the visual and literary coverage of the 2003 Rugby World Cup in British broadsheet newspapers, sportsmen's autobiographies (*Martin Johnson: The Autobiography, 2003*), rugby memorabilia and magazines and two American football films (*Any Given Sunday, 2000* and *Remember the Titans, 1999*) watched by the rugby men. For the rugby men in the research, sports media was part of their rugby lives; each of these men viewed television, print and internet coverage of the professional and other professional contact sports, such as boxing and American football. They also watched fictional sports films. I argue examination of these media representations, that form part of the rugby men's lives, are important for understanding the hegemonic masculinities performed by them, the ways and contexts in which emotions are expressed and the analytical categories that I use.

I draw on Goffman's (1979) analysis of gender advertisements to examine the media representations of sports masculinities and the role young men's social relationships with significant others has on the development of hegemonic sports masculinities. Goffman's analytical concepts of parent-child complex and institutional reflexivity; themes of relative size; function ranking and ritualisation of subordination are drawn on for this analysis. Goffman's (1979) analysis is drawn on here, because it informs my discussion of the rugby men who participated in the research. Importantly, it flags up the performing and situated nature of gender that is important for understanding how the rugby men in this research conceal and work on overcoming their body concerns. The examination of this media and application of Goffman's analysis illustrates how the regional level is influential to local level practices (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

This chapter will show that there are limited media representations of distressing emotional concerns, or pressures from relationships with significant others, that sportsmen experience. The hegemonic sports masculinity is less emotional about feelings regarding pain, injury and pressures of the sport. The discussion of emotions, are predominantly revealed from or absent in the presence of,

women (who are represented in supportive and caring roles). There are some parallels between these media representations and examined academic literature as these concerns are not examined and discussed, in depth, by men. My analysis of the media and existing academic literature presented here is compared later (in Chapters 7, 8 and 9) to the data drawn from the rugby men who participated in this research.

5:2 *Gender Rituals and Display*

Goffman's (1979) analytical framework in *Gender Advertisements* (1979) is drawn on in this chapter because it informs my analysis of the ways that the rugby men, who participated in the research, perform gender. It is not part of the theoretical framework I have developed to analyse the rugby men. However, importantly, it illustrates the different ways masculinity is performed in different social situations.

Goffman (1979) investigates the interactional expressions of gender difference. He argues that gender is given expression in social situations, through gender displays. "Gender displays are evidence of the actor's alignment in a gathering, the position he seems prepared to take up in what is about to happen" (Goffman, 1979: 1). These displays establish the manner, mode or principle for interaction that are to follow between "those providing display and those watching it" (ibid). He also argues that advertisements are significant for understanding gender displays in everyday social life. Men and women are represented in advertisements as participants in 'hyper-ritualizations' of social scenes (Goffman, 1979: 84).

Goffman analysed 500 commercial scenes and argued that men are regularly featured as dominant over women, in their positioning, relative size and actions undertaken. He refers to these as gender displays. He also included images of how the dominant male affirms position over the subordinate marginalised male. Men are regularly shown as protectors, authoritative and lacking distressing emotional expression. Whilst Goffman, and others who have extended his work (Belknap and Leonard, 1991; Busby and Leichty, 1993; Chadwick, 1988; Kang, 1997), focused primarily on the subordination of women, my analysis uses his analytical categories of parent-child complex and institutional reflexivity, to examine how media representations of sportsmen who are adept, aggressive and tough, less emotionally expressive about pain and injury are positioned as superior to those who are not.

Goffman (1979) argues that parent-child relationships can be used to interpret male and female rituals. The relationship that a parent has to its child is useful for understanding the relationship between men and women, but also for the relationship between hegemonic and subordinate or marginalised men. Parent-child interaction positions women and subordinate men as child-like and thus physically or socially defenceless. In the advertisements portrayal of relative size, function ranking and ritualisation of subordination portray the parent child- relationship. Others such as license withdrawal also serve to represent the parent child-complex (Goffman, 1979). Here I will discuss those first mentioned.

Through the portrayal of relative size, men are frequently represented larger or taller than women (see Goffman, 1979: advertisement 1). Taller men are also positioned as being authoritative over shorter or smaller men (see Goffman, 1979: advertisement 3). Function ranking portrays men and women in a joint task, men often adopt the role of controller of the task while the female, or marginalised male, is cast in a subordinate or supporting role. When women are represented in conventionally feminine tasks (caring for children or cooking), the man with her often has no role at all. "Exceptions that proved the rule: if a man was the executor of a traditionally feminine task, he was generally presented as ludicrous and child-like ('not a real man')" (Bell and Milic, 2002: 204). Ritualistion of subordination portray women in subordinate positions. Women are "often pictured in spatially lower positions or recumbent on floors or beds. They were also more likely to be portrayed performing submissive or appeasement gestures such as head or body canting, bending one knee inward ('bashful kneebend'), smiling, clowning and acting less seriously" (ibid). Subordinate men were also represented in this way, for example, see Goffman, 1979: advertisements 122 and 123).

Institutional reflexivity refers to situations that exaggerate sex differences and thus justify gender inequalities between men and women (Manning, 1993). Social relationships are transformed to intensify the biological differences between men and women. Goffman draws on the segregation of male and female toilets as an example of this. The various genderisms of function ranking, the family, relative size, etc. can serve to portray this institutional reflexivity.

The analytical framework in *Gender Advertisements* (1979) is ideally suited for this chapter because its message is that gender is *performed*, that displays are the way in which gender is signalled. Goffman (1979) is explicit in saying how important displays of gender are in all interaction and thus, indirectly, ties gender displays back to performance and the *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959). Goffman (1979) talks about how gender displays can reflect fundamental features of the social structure but they can also counterbalance them. This ties in with the fact that displays are not merely continuous but happen in specific locations. This is significant for understanding hegemonic rugby masculinities lived out by the rugby men in my research and how it impacts of their management of body concerns. In later chapters, I discuss the situations in which the rugby men perform a more hegemonic masculinity (effectively reinforce it) and situations in which they do not. I also discuss the situations where they counterbalance the hegemonic identity for a more private back region audience.

5:3 Media Representations and academic discussions of sports masculinities

In this section I outline how analytical categories of adeptness, aggression and tough body were represented in the 2003 Rugby World Cup media coverage and two fictional sports film. I then illustrate how they are discussed in the existing academic research that describes young men's use of these actions and the social relationships with significant others.

5:3a Adeptness
5:3a) i Sports media representations of Adeptness

Lines (2001) argues that discourses of heroism in British sports media centres on positive images of physical prowess. The British male sports hero embodies valued masculine characteristics of strength, bravery, courage and competitiveness but physical ability, skill and consistent success in the sport inform this heroism (ibid). Athletic accomplishment, elite physicality, speed, skill and physical consistency in the sport (Messner, 1990) were represented as a valued feature of the sports masculinity in the sports media consumed by the rugby men. As discussed in Chapter 2, these physical qualities inform the concept of adeptness.

In the broadsheet and tabloid newspaper 2003 Rugby World Cup coverage and rugby union men's biographies, rugby union men who were agile were represented as admirable men. Furthermore, those men who displayed adept superiority over others in the sport were represented as heroic. In contrast, a lack of physical adeptness, skill and consistent proficiency in the sport were represented in this coverage as the less satisfactory aspects of the masculine identity. They were represented as subordinate, "expelled from the circle of legitimacy" (Connell, 2008: 79). Goffman's (1979) concept of function ranking and ritualistion of subordination are relevant for examining these representations. For example, in the representation of the semi-cup final between England and France, *Figure 5:1*, the England team are represented as controllers of the game, whilst the opposing French team, adopts the subordinate and weaker role. The image portrays England as dominating the line-out. French players are featured trying to inhibit England in receiving the line-out ball, one but shown as less successful in reacting to the line-out ball being played. Ritualistion of subordination is relevant because the French team, are pictured in spatially lower positions. Martin Johnson is positioned higher as he successfully jumped and wins the line out. The French players can be seen fiercely trying to prevent Johnson catching the ball, but failing to do so.

Two fictional sports films *Any Given Sunday* (2000) and *Remember the Titans* (2001) also represented adeptness as part of the sports masculinity. These fictional films dramatise the experiences and relationships of professional and college American football players. In both films adept sporting masculinities are positively represented as they are reinforced in the sport. Less adept, weak, and unfit masculinities are represented as the subordinated masculinity. There are fewer representations of these subordinate masculinities to provide further insight into how sportsmen feel about these aspects of their sports identity.

Figure 5:1, England Kick for home to set up final judgement, *The Guardian*, Mon 17th Nov, 2003:2-3.

5:3a) ii Sports media representations of fathers and coaches (adeptness)

In newspaper articles that represent rugby union men's lives and books that document their biographies, rugby men talk of specific types of relationships with their fathers. Fathers are often described as exposing their sons to sport and encouraging physical adeptness. For example, Johnny Wilkinson's persistently adept performances and winning drop goal in the 2003 Rugby World Cup final encouraged the media to present this young male as an iconic hegemonic masculine idol. In turn, narratives of his lifestyle and biography were frequently publicised. Some of these narratives attributed part of Johnny's success to his father's motivation and expectations of physical adeptness. For example, Johnny and his brother explained to the journalist how their father, their full time manager who has played rugby for twenty two years, enthusiastically encouraged both of them to participate in sport and present persistently proficient performances.

"My dad's got incredible pride...he's very motivated. He introduced us to rugby," says Johnny (Johnny Be Good, *The Times*, Sat 5th June: 2004).

Goffman's (1979:38) analysis of the family is relevant for understanding this representation. In his analysis of "commercial scenes a unity is symbolised between fathers and sons". This differs from the unity symbolised between mothers and sons. "Mothers are more akin to their daughters...whereas sons have to push their way into manhood" (ibid). Following Johnny Wilkinson's winning drop goal in the 2003 Rugby World Cup Final, the Guardian newspaper published an article that represents this difference in unity between mothers and sons. Johnny's mother is featured as shopping in a Tesco store during her son's winning goal. Mothers are thus portrayed in detached roles to their sons' physical participation in the sport, but as will be discussed below, they often adopt an emotionally supportive

role for the pressures their sons experience through participation. In this article Johnny's mothers is described as not attending because "she couldn't bear to watch".

In their autobiographies, rugby union men often describe similar childhood experiences of their fathers' motivated interest in encouraging sports participation. In particular, in Martin Johnson's (the 2003 England Rugby Captain) autobiography he explains how his father encouraged his participation in football. As Johnson's father had a dedicated obsession with Liverpool FC, he would frequently take Johnson to football matches and emphasise the physical superiority and adeptness of his team. Johnson's experiences of his father's admiration encouraged him take an interest in playing the sport at school. However, despite successful participation, Johnson got dropped from the team for his "cockiness". As his father perceived sports participation as important to his son's masculine identity, he quickly developed Johnson's interest in another sport by frequently taking him to professional rugby union matches. Once again, the excitement and thrill of these experiences with his father encouraged Johnson to participate. Like Johnny Wilkinson's father, Johnson's father had a motivated interest in ensuring that his son participated in sport.

Both of these sportsmen's narratives reveal a conventional way of discussing how masculinity is constituted as the men discuss, in interviews, how their heroic fathers taught them that participation in the sport and physical adeptness were prerequisites to this identity. What is also significant about these narratives is that they reveal less of the emotional and expressive nature of men's experiences with their fathers. They discuss little of the concern, disappointment, and fear they may experience in trying to meet and surpass their father's expectations.

More, recently Jonny Wilkinson has published an autobiography (*Jonny: My Autobiography*) in which he discusses the more emotional aspects of his career and the depression he experienced following the 2003 world cup and subsequent injuries. In this book he discusses his father as being influential to his physical ability and performances- and there are some references to the emotions he experiences in trying to meet and surpass his father's expectations. It should be noted that this book was published nine years after the 2003 World Cup and following Jonny's retirement from international rugby in 2011.

The influential relationships between male family members and young men are also conveyed in photographic representations of sportsmen in visual media. Hagaman (1994) discovered newspaper and magazine images of sports often included "Fathers and Sons" representations that show how sons and brothers admire and mimic their athletic male elders. This incorporated images of young boys, all suited up in their sports kit, standing on the side-lines watching their heroic fathers or brothers in which the heading states "Maybe One Day" (Hagaman, 1994:56). These visual images conform to sportsmen's narratives of father-son relationships. What needs to be considered is whether these social relationships are apparent for the rugby men who participated in this research and are they as influential to their hegemonic rugby masculinities. If so do they play a part in developing sportsmen's body concern? This question will be addressed in coming chapters.

In both the fictional sports films and newspaper coverage of the 2003 Rugby World Cup, a particular type of relationship between the central coach and his sportsmen are represented. Coaches

are represented as forceful, authoritarian father figures who have a great deal of influence over sportsmen's bodies and physical performances. These coaches encourage sportsmen to be adept and present persistently proficient performances. Those men who fail to present this behaviour are often chastised and reprimanded by coaches. Similar to the representations of father-son relationships, the sports media infrequently represents how the men feel about these expectations.

In the sports films, the central coaches were represented as influential father-figures. The coach possesses a similar role to the idealised father as he encourages young men to participate in sport and be physically adept. In both films, the relationships between the central coach and particular players are represented as close father-son relationships because the fathers are often absent. Added to this, the young sportsmen were shown to seek approval and respect from the coach, in the same way that sons seek physical approval from their fathers. The following scene, taken from the film *Any Given Sunday*, represents these parallels between the father and coach. In this scene, Coach Boon demonstrates to one of the young players (Gary) that to be part of his team, he can no longer rely on his mother to protect him, because at the training camp he will take orders from him, or as he characterises himself: the "Daddy". He can be seen to categorise Goffman's (1979) parent-child complex as the scene positions him physically and metaphorically as the father. Interestingly, this scene also represents the mother as caring and supportive for her son. She is physically distant in the scene thus reinforcing Goffman's gender display of institutional reflexivity.

Coach Boon:	Gary if you want to play on this team, you answer me when I ask you, who's your Daddy? Who's your Daddy, Gary?
Coach Boon:	Now are your parents here? "Now is that your mammy over there?
Gary:	(softly) yes
Coach Boon:	Good (nods his head at Gary's mother).
	Now you take a look at her, cause once you step on that bus you aint got your mama no more. You got your brothers on the team and you got your Daddy. You know who your Daddy is, doncha? Gary if you want to play on this football team, you answer me when I ask you who your Daddy is. Who's your Daddy Gary? Who's your Daddy?
Gary:	You
Coach Boon:	And whose team is this Gary? Is this your team or is this your Daddy's team?
Gary:	Yours
	Silent pause
Coach Boon:	Do you want to play on this team boy? Now say it
Gary:	You're the Daddy coach, you are
Coach Boon:	Now get on the bus, put on your jacket first and then get on the bus.

In the newspaper coverage of the 2003 Rugby World Cup, England rugby union coach, Clive Woodward, was also represented as the authoritative father figure. News editors used forceful quotes, commanding language and photographic images of him in stern poses. For example, he was described as disciplining less adept performances and relegating players for these inadequate performances. He explains that expulsion from the team "is just part of playing the sport and those men who are not prepared to take disappointment should not be on the squad" (*The Guardian*: 17th Nov: 2003: 3). This authoritative role is also represented through powerful language as he was often described as a "tough"

and "strong" coach who would "roll up his sleeves and work even harder" when the "going got tough" (*The Guardian*: Mon 3rd Nov 2003: s5.) This role is further represented in a later article by Robert Kitson as he describes Woodward's "strange" off-field coaching practices.

> "The coach is also starting to issue some strange-sounding off-field instructions, declining to allow his players to spend their free time relaxing on Manly Beach. Instead, behind closed doors, England will turn their backs on the ocean, draw the curtains and scour their well-thumbed collection of French videos" *(The Guardian:* Tues 11th Nov: 2003: 30).

 In photographs he was rarely seen smiling. The photograph of Woodward's face is hard and menacing. This is featured next to a caption that demonstrates his sole objective is to win comfortably "by design" rather than "by accident". He explains "if we come second in this tournament we are going to be very disappointed. We came with one objective and that was to win it" (*The Guardian*: Mon 17th Nov: 2003: s2, 36). (*Figure 5:2a*) Despite winning this qualifying game, his demeanour is described as being "that of an unhappy man" (ibid). Only after victory (2003 Rugby World Cup) is he represented in a softer role. For instance, in *Figure 5:2b* he is seen as emotional, smiling and celebrating with his men, holding the Web Ellis Cup.

Figure 5:2a *The Guardian*: Mon 17th Nov: 2003: s2, 36)
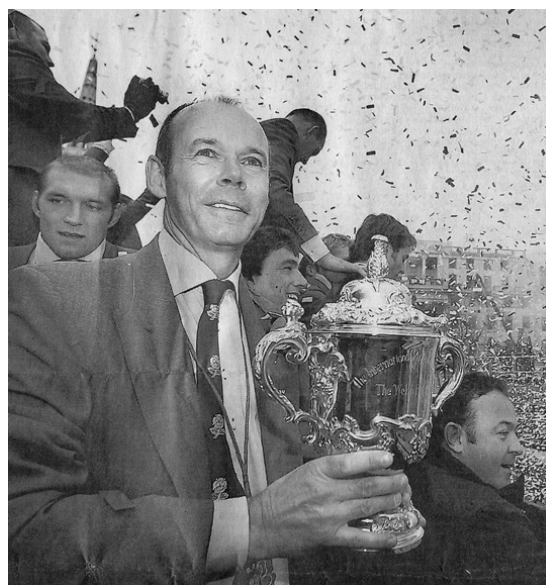
Figure 5:2b Emotions run high in Trafalgar Square MASTER OF CEREMONIES
(*The Daily Telegraph*, Tues 9th Dec: 2003: s5, 1&5)

Academic studies show that fathers and coaches construct adeptness as part of the hegemonic sports masculinities in the following ways. First, they will express their expectations of this behaviour (Fasteau, 1994; Fitzclarence and Hickey, 2001; Holt et al, 2008; Bois et al., 2005; Messner, 1990 Sabo and Panepinto, 2001). Second, they pressurise young men to physically excel in the sport (Fasteau, 1994; Holt et al. 2008; Messner, 1990; Llopis Goig, 2008). This involves fathers and coaches verbally encouraging the young men to work harder, pushing them to physical exhaustion (Light and Kirk, 2000; Llopis Goig, 2008). Finally, they feminise those young men who present the binary opposite (Connell, 2008; Llopis Goig, 2008; Sabo, 1996; Fitzclarence and Hickey: 2001; Sabo and Penepinto, 2000).

Fitzclarence and Hickey (2001), Light and Kirk (2000) and Sabo and Panepintos' (2000) research shows that coaches perceive persistent physical adeptness as being essential to the sports masculinity. Fathers expressed similar expectations of physical competence in Fasteau's (1994), Bois et al., (2005) and Messner's (1990) research. Fathers (Fasteau, 1994; Holt et al., 2008; Messner, 1990) and coaches (Llopis Goig, 2008) will also pressurise young men to physically excel in the sport. Llopis Goig's (2008:690) found that coaches and fathers equally played a role encouraging this feature of hegemonic masculinity for male footballers: "they exalt the hegemonic masculinity, and they make the young men see that this is an indispensable tool for success in football[33]".

Fathers and coaches also pressurise young men to articulate this behaviour by expressing anger and frustration at those men who fail to participate proficiently and thus present the adept body (Madill and Hooper, 2007; Messner, 1990; and Young et al., 1994).

Academic studies show that fathers and coaches also characterise less adept performances as an unacceptable form of feminised behaviour (Connell, 2008; Light and Kirk, 2000; Llopis Goig, 2008; Sabo, 1996; Fitzclarence and Hickey, 2001; Sabo and Penepinto, 1990). Sabo and Penepinto (1990) found that an American football coach frequently embarrassed and feminised players who failed to be adept and persistently proficient. In Connell's (2008) research one of the young men, Adam, discusses similar practices by his father. He explains how his father feminises his attempt to throw a cricket ball:

"I didn't want to throw the ball in front of my Dad because he knew it wouldn't look right, it wouldn't be the way a good strong boy should throw it. I remember once when I was brave enough to throw it, he made fun of me and said I throw it like a girl" (Connell, 1995:62).

These studies show that there is a conventional way of discussing how adeptness is constructed as part of the hegemonic sports masculinity, as young men discuss how their father and coaches taught them that adeptness is important to this identity. These studies provide insight into young men's relationships with their fathers and coaches as they describe less public responses to these expectations of adeptness. Young men discuss concerns about their fathers' and coaches expectations and how they alter their behaviours to present the adept hegemonic sports masculinity. Some sons explain that they respond to their fathers' expectations of adeptness by building the muscularity of their bodies and working harder in their sport and health-related practices (Fussell,

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[33] (In this study coaches and fathers also encourage aggression and the emotional control over their expression of pain and injury; this is discussed in chapter s 8 and 9).

1992;). However, with the exception of a few studies (Connell, 2008 and Pope et al., 2000), these concerns are only discussed momentarily by the men. Some studies show fathers' comments about their sons' bodies and physicality have led to the onset of body dissatisfaction; see Vincent and McCabe (2000) and Schur et al. (2000).

Young men's discussions of their coaches are similar because they too reveal less of the emotionally expressive aspects of the hegemonic sports masculinity that reflect insecurities about being less adept than others. For example, Light and Kirk's (2000) study of Australian High School rugby union, showed that some of rugby boys expressed their fears of the coach, his expectations of adeptness and gruelling regimes but did not describe at length their fears of failing to present the adept body and/or the impact these feelings. Furthermore, the coaches' expectations were rationalised and normalised by the boys as part of the hegemonic rugby masculinity. Descriptions of father-son and coach-player relationships and men's narratives of them reveal less of the emotional and expressive nature of young men's experiences with these men. This raises the question about men's intimate responses to these relationships with their male family members, such as the body concern that they may experience in trying to surpass their expectations.

5:3a) ii Sports Media Representations of Supportive and Caring Women (adeptness)

Sports media coverage of men's sports represents mothers (and female family members) external to the sport, in supportive and emotionally supportive roles. In particular researchers have found that during coverage of men's sports the "television camera will [frequently] pick out moments which are particularly significant for the sportsmen [and then pan to the women] with whom they are emotionally involved" (Mackinnan, 2003:106). Similar media techniques are used to represent the caring role of women, wives, mothers and girlfriends of rugby union men. At matches the camera will pan to the women in the audiences whilst commentators comment on the commitment and support these women have provided rugby union men. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 will consider the role of significant women in the rugby men's sporting lives appearing in the intimate dimension.

Similar representations of women as caring and supportive are also represented in the fictional film *Any Given Sunday* (2000). The writers convey Willie Beaman's mother in a supportive role by panning the camera to her, sat in the stands, at a stressful point in the game that is "particularly significant for the sportsmen" (Mackinnan, 2003:106). This mother is also represented as emotionally supportive as Willie Beaman shares his emotional concerns about his performance in the sport with her.

Although mothers are represented as being considerate and supportive for their sons, they are also seen to have high expectations of their physical ability and therefore command a high level of influence over their physical performances. For example, in *Any Given Sunday* (2000) the mother's initial lack of acceptance affects Beaman's performance. She expects her son to play to a high physical standard and subsequently criticises him for any perceived ineffectiveness. In one particular scene, we see her complaining to her son for being televised vomiting prior to the game. In response to these criticisms, Beaman tries to alter his behaviour to meet her expectations of the sports masculinity.

Women involved in the sport, who play the role of the manager or coach, are represented differently from those women who are external to the sport. For example, the female manager in the film *Any Given Sunday* (2000), articulates high expectations of the players. She commands consistent adept performances and pushes the players to suppress pain and injury for the continued success of the team.

The sports media representations of women are significant because women are represented in caring and supportive roles, outside the frame of action, but women are also represented as contributing to hegemonic sports masculinities. This thesis considers how sportsmen perceive the different women in their rugby lives, how women are located in intimate dimensions and how this can assist in understanding the more emotional aspects of hegemonic sports masculinities.

5:3a) iii Discussions of women (and adeptness) in academic research

There are few academic studies that examine young men's relationships with their mothers and the role mothers have on their son's participation in sport. Cassidy et al. (2006) are some of the few who have examined more extensively the impact mothers have on their children's involvement in sport, their perceived competence, and self-esteem. However, Cassidy et al., (2006) examine the impact mothers have both on the boys and girls collectively in the study. Limited discussion of the role of mothers described in academic work is itself interesting, since it is an area of sports culture that the media have constructed as being important. For example, it has been shown here that fictional sports films convey mothers as caring and compassionate but also as tough women who demand a high level of influence on their sons' sports performances (*Any Given Sunday*: 2000). In light of this it could be suggested that further research on these intimate dimensions of sportsmen's lives would be useful.

5:3a) iv Media representations of male team members (adeptness)

There are limited representations in the 2003 Rugby World Cup newspaper coverage of the male team members pushing one another to fulfil elements of the sports masculinity. However, more adept and skilful players were represented as caring for the players who presented less adept and proficient performances. In the *Guardian* article 'Wrong Foot is right for Boy Bonkers', Mike Catt, is described as being the more proficient player who takes position as inside centre to support Johnny Wilkinson's sudden drop in performance, half way through the world cup. Uncharacteristically for the hegemonic rugby masculinity, Johnny publicly talks about this dip in physical adeptness. He discusses "the pressure he put himself under: his worries, his nerves, his never-ending quest for improvement, his outright fear of letting the team down". Lawrence Dallaglio and Martin Johnson are represented as articulating the more appropriate hegemonic masculinity as they are described as "bodyguards and gorillas", who step in at public events to prevent the "basket case...boy bonkers" from revealing this emotional distress (*The Guardian*, Sun 23rd Nov). They take on the parent role, to prevent inappropriate behaviour.

In both the fictional films, the other men on the team encouraged adeptness. For example, in the film *Remember the Titans*, the players verbally encourage one another to be adept in the sport. The player to player encouragement begins between the defensive captain Gary, and lead offence

player, Julias. They shout in sequence, "strong side, left side, strong side, left side" and the players verbally mimic them and then smash helmets. In another scene, a training session, Gary shouts in the team huddle to encourage the other players to be powerful and strong.

Gary:	What kind of power have you got?
Team players:	I got power,
Team players:	I got power
	Team roars
Team players:	I got soul power.
Team roars:	soul power.
Team players:	I'm strong,
Gary:	How strong?
Team players:	Too strong

5:3a) v Discussions of male peers and/or male team members (adeptness) in academic research

Researchers have acknowledged that sportsmen's practices and interaction with other sportsmen contribute to developing adept sports masculinities (Donnelly and Young, 1988; Hasbrook and Harris, 2000; Pratt, 2000; Plummer, 2006; Young et al., 1994). For example, Hasbrook and Harris (2000) discovered that perceptions of adeptness are encouraged through young men's bodily practices and interactions with one another. What is significant about their study is that the young men acknowledge that the relationships between bodily practices and constructed masculinity are dynamic, as the boundaries of adeptness are negotiated by the other boys. In the study they describe Zeek as a young man who is ascribed a high degree of social status by his teachers for his determined efforts in academia. However, the boys in the school who were tough, aggressive and respected by other lads challenged Zeek's status. Knowledge of these boys' ascribed status and respect encouraged Zeek to renegotiate his masculine identity in order to become an accepted and affiliated member of the lads' culture. Consequently, he mimicked the bodily performances of the other boys, by becoming adept and strong. Although Zeek altered his identity to conform to the required masculinity, the boys continually competed with each other to assert their superior skills. In the school the other boys perceived another boy, Martin, as the ideal masculine role model because he was more adept, but also stronger, bigger and tougher. Although Zeek, and many of the other boys, renegotiated their bodies to present the tough and adept masculinity, they continued to carry out competitive displays of their physical ability in physical activities with Martin. They were trying to attain the superior and greatly admired form of adept masculinity.

5:3b) Aggression

In this thesis, aggression (constructive and destructive) rather than violence is analysed. This is discussed further in Chapter 8. Destructive aggression is conceptualised in this thesis as being synonymous with violence and malicious hostility (Meizdian, 1992) Constructive aggression is conceptualised as encompassing hostile behaviour, but also infers positive "assertiveness and domination" (ibid:43).

In the newspaper coverage of the 2003 England Rugby World Cup, the England rugby union men's use of constructive aggression was represented as exhilarating and laudable. This was in contrast to destructive aggression, typified as illegitimate forms of play carried out by opposing international players and characterised as less acceptable aspects of hegemonic rugby masculinities. International players who used destructive aggression were commonly described as "thuggish" with many accompanying images to emphasise the severity of their acts (*The Daily Telegraph*: Thurs 16th Oct: 2003:3). For example, images of unorthodox play by the Australian Captain George Gregan towards the Ireland hooker Keith Wood were placed on the front pages of *The Guardian's* sports supplement (Mon 3rd Nov: 2003).

England rugby union men who used constructive aggression in response to attacks against them were represented as heroic. For example, in the England v South Africa post-match commentary, journalists discussed how the England forward player, Lawrence Dallaglio, received attacks from numerous rugby officials for slapping Thinus Delport, the South African wing, which drew blood and resulted in Delport needing stitches. In *The Daily Mirror's* (Sat 25th Oct: 2003: 68) article "Dallaglio's Slap of Honour", see *Figure 5:3*, Dallaglio's act is portrayed as acceptable constructive aggression because he is represented as responding to attackers using destructive aggression that detracted from the purpose of the game. The word honour denotes the articles signified concept: Dallaglio's constructive aggression is noble and laudable. To further signify this, Dallaglio is presented as smiling and standing in what could be interpreted as a satisfied, tough and domineering pose with his arms crossed. These direct the reader to admire his defensive actions. Goffman's (1979) concept of relative size is portrayed here because Dallaglio is positioned as being larger than, and thus dominating, the South African landscape behind him.

Figure 5:3, 'Dallaglio's Slap of Honour,' *The Daily Mirror*, Sat 25th Oct: 2003: 68.

Interestingly, aggression was represented in both the tabloid and broadsheet newspaper coverage of the 2003 Rugby World Cup as an exciting and laudable feature of this contact sport played by hegemonic rugby masculinities. Broadsheet newspaper articles regularly dramatised the potential of aggressive matches between the national and opposing international teams. For example, *The Daily Telegraph* (Thurs 16th Oct: 2003: 1) headed their front page with the title "England v South Africa GRUDGE MATCH." (See *Figure 5:4*). The accompanying photograph presents the two teams facing each other, head to head, in their preparation for the scrum. It could be argued that this image was deliberately presented to convey an aggressive image. The word, grudge implies feelings of resentment and suggests the potential for violence and aggression. The colour red has been chosen to present the word. Western cultural codes tell us that red infers danger, violence and trouble. Goffman's (1979) concept of function ranking is relevant here because although the opposing team, pictured on the left appear to be presented equally in preparation for the scrum, closer examination shows that the England players are looking directly at their opponents. In contrast the South-African gaze is lowered. This suggests difference in ranking of masculinity.

Figure 5:4 *The Daily Telegraph* (Thurs 16th Oct: 2003: 1) England v South Africa GRUDGE MATCH.

The accompanying text sought to further signify this message, as the two captains are presented in a similar format to the pre-match visual format of a boxing fight. In most cases these boxing opponents are presented as binary opposites with depictions of good versus evil, or "aggressor versus the weaker underdog" (Hoye vs. Woods, IBL 2005 Lightweight Championships: *BBC Sport*: Sat 4th Mar: 2005.) The title Locking Horns with the Springboks, connotes images of Springboks violently fighting with each other, using their horns, to access the alpha male position and the female springboks. This further works to convey the primary signified concept; the forthcoming game will be a violent battle between men for access to the hegemonic masculine position. Similar to these visual

images and commentary prior to a boxing match, the men's physical and aggressive abilities were compared as pictures of the men in active, aggressive and determined poses featured alongside their physical sizes, body weights, and disciplinary history. (See *Figure* **5:5**). For example, the signifier "bad boy" was used as a heading for the violent acts and penalties they have incurred. This directs the reader to perceive these men as violent aggressors, thus enticing us to view the battle.

Figure 5:5, The Daily Telegraph (Thurs 16th Oct: 2003: 1) "Locking Horns with the Springboks.

Overall the newspaper article represents the potential of aggression as exciting through continued reference to the previous matches in which the South-African team were represented as using destructive aggression as they tried "to maim their opponents rather than playing rugby" (*Daily Telegraph*: Thurs 16th Oct: 2003: 3)[34]. These representations characterise the England rugby union men as sporting heroes through the emphasis of the men's character, courage and bravery. As part of these heroic connotations the matches are narrated as fields of combat in which the nation's players take on the "status of warriors and leaders of men" who battle against their 'evil' opponents (Lines, 2001: 290).

These sports media representations of sportsmen's aggression do not inform us of the men's emotional concerns about these potential 'grudge matches'. They represent sportsmen's willingness to

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[34] As it turned out, the game proved to be far from the aggressive "grudge match" the paper had proposed (*The Daily Telegraph*: Thurs 16th Oct: 2003: 1). Martin Kellner, sports journalist for The Guardian, argues the sensationalised and dramatised prospect of aggression by the potential of a gruesome battle was "purely media hype targeted at getting genuine rugby fans interested and excited" (*The Guardian*: Mon 20th Oct: 2003).

use aggression, feelings of excitement, willingness to face the challenge and put their 'bodies on the line'. There are few representations of sportsmen discussing their experiences of using constructive aggression, such as the fear they experience prior to facing their aggressive opponents and feelings of pain and injury they sustained enacting this tough hegemonic identity. Messner's (2000) study of American televised sports, and their accompanying commercials, supports these findings as he argues they present a narrow portrait of masculinity. Characteristics such as violence and aggression, power and dominance, success and achievement are emphasised but the more distressing and less masculine qualities behind these experiences are represented infrequently. Pringle (2008:218) also argues;

> "Few narratives circulate within the public realm that illustrates the problems that some males ...face given the social dominance of rugby and its linkages to a prevailing form of masculinity. Although these stories exist they tend to be muted"

5:b a) i Sports media representations of fathers and coaches (aggression)

In a number of contemporary American sports films, *Friday Night Lights* (2004), *Varsity Blues* (1999) and *He got Game* (1998), and American soaps such as *One True Hill* (2005), the plots often focus on influential fathers pushing sons to participate and succeed in sports like baseball, American football, ice hockey, basketball and athletics. Whilst this type of father is infrequently violent towards the son, he will show very little emotional attachment to him and will continually drive him to be competitive, dominant, forceful and aggressive in sport. All of the fathers were portrayed as heroic or legendary, at some point in their lives, for their sports performances. The sons will often be shown to imitate the father's superiority in the sport (assertiveness and dominance over others). However, the different type of fathers who try to overcome their own sports failures by pushing the sons too hard and adopting destructive aggression towards the sons, are often represented negatively. Furthermore, sons rarely adopt similar levels of physicality and destructive aggression[35]. There were no media representations of fathers encouraging their sons to use aggression in 2003 Rugby World Cup coverage.

In the sports films *Remember the Titans* (1999) and *Any Given Sunday* (2000) the central coaches push their players to use controlled forms of aggression but they also are represented as father figures, supporting the central characters. In the film *Remember the Titans* there are two coaches. Coach Boon represented as the senior coach, overtly encourages his men to use aggression and is verbally aggressive to the players. The second of the two, Coach Yoast, is represented as the softer character often concerned with the aggressive approach taken by the senior coach. In the first of the quotes below Coach Boon responds to Coach Yoast's concerns about his aggressive attitude towards the players. In this quote Coach Boon is represented as a tough and aggressive enforcer, as he angrily explains to Coach Yoast that sympathy and kindness is not what is required in this sport and it is not going to prepare these young men for life. In the second of the quotes, Boon is further

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[35] Please be aware that representations of the aggressive father are only pertinent to the small-scale analysis of the sports films that have been examined. There are other sports films, made at the time of the research, that represent a more concerned and caring father, who does not encourage his son to use aggression. For example, in the film, *Coach Carter* (2005) Samuel Jackson plays the character of a coach who is also a father. This coach is represented as having a compassionate relationship with his son. He has high expectations of his sporting abilities but aggression is not encouraged.

represented as the tough dictatorial coach. He angrily informs the players that aggression is vital to participation in the sport, but aggression must be used in a controlled manner, not used to fight one another.

Coach Boone
(Shouts at Coach Yoast):

> Now I may be a mean ££$!!!. But I'm the same mean £%$£$% with everybody out there on that football field. The world don't give a damn about how sensitive these kids are... You ain't doin' these kids a favour by patronising them. You're crippling ...them for life.

Coach Boone
(Shouts at players): You got anger, that's good you're gonna need it, you got aggression that's even better you're gonna need that, too. But any little two-year old child can throw a fit! Football is about controlling that anger, harnessing that aggression into a team effort to achieve perfection!

In the film *Any Given Sunday*, the central coach, D'Amato, also encourages constructive aggression, and he is represented as a supportive father figure. For example, Willie Beaman, is portrayed as a young unruly player who seeks personal sports stardom and is therefore unwilling to conform to the shared identity of his team. This often leads Beaman to express anger and aggression towards D'Amato's play decisions.

5:3b) ii Discussion of fathers and coaches (aggression) in academic research

There are studies that have examined whether parents influence their child's articulation of aggression in sport. However, with the exception of a few studies (Ennis and Zanna, 1990[36]; Guivernau and Duda, 2002; Holt, 1992, cited in Meizdian, 1992; Lapchick, 1986; Stuart and Ebbeck, 1995), little research has examined the differentiated effect that parents (mothers and fathers) can have on their children's use of aggression in sport. Guivernau and Duda (2002) distinguished between the mothers' and fathers' endorsement and acceptance of this behaviour. They found that boys were encouraged to be more aggressive than girls, but the individual who was most influential in the boys' use of aggression was not their fathers but their coaches.

Researchers examining men's contact sports reveal commonalities in how sportsmen talk about their male coaches and how they encourage aggression. Analysis of this academic research reveals that coaches play a part in encouraging aggression. Sportsmen describe coaches' expectations of aggression and their reactions to those who fail to articulate this behaviour.

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[36] Ennis and Zanna (1990) found that "Boys (13-14) perceptions' of aggression fulfil their father's perceptions of this behaviour. Fathers encouragement of this behaviour in their sons, leads to sons use of illegal aggression in ice-hockey games. Fathers applauded their son's use of this behaviour (Cited in Russell, 2008:9)."

Research shows that coaches will encourage players to believe that, not only is winning a paramount component of masculine participation in sport, but constructive and in some cases, destructive forms of aggression are the most masculine and appropriate ways of achieving it (Burgess et al., 2003; Grange and Kerr, 2010; Papas et al., 2004; Sabo and Penepinto, 2001). Grange and Kerr (2010) found that Australian football coaches encouraged power and aggression which included the desire to subjugate or dominate, if the end justified the means. Weinstein et al., (1995) have also found that pre-professional hockey coaches viewed their players as more athletically competent if the athletes engaged in physical altercations beyond those required during the game. Similarly, Llopis Goig (2008) found coaches encourage their players to use aggression on the playing field because, according to coaches, this makes them men and strengthens them as footballers.

Researchers have also found coaches will encourage men to use aggression by 'feminising' or ridiculing those who do not use this behaviour (Papas et al., 2004). For example, in Sabo and Panepinto's (2001) examination of football coaches, one coach hung a bra in a player's locker to signify that the player was not tough and aggressive enough.

Although studies show there are male coaches with common views of sportsmen's aggression, they also reveal the diversity of coaching practices and coaches' attitudes towards aggression. For example, in May's (2001) study of a boys varsity Basketball team, he found that the coach's promotion of aggression and response to the players' aggressive competitiveness was contradictory. In certain instances, the coach encouraged players to aggressively compete in ways that led to rule violations, yet in other incidents he reprimanded players for similar acts of aggression.

What is significant about some of the existing research and the sports media representations is that, in both of these, a father-son-like relationship is represented and described as actually being lived out. Coaches are presented in both as influential father figures who encourage aggression. But a less emotionally expressive narrative exists between them because, in both, we hear little about men's fears of living up to the coaches expectations of aggression or their fears of using aggression and the associated pain men can experience when using this behaviour.

5:3b) iii Discussions of women in academic research

There were no media representations of wives, girlfriends or female friends encouraging sportsmen to use aggression. Mothers were not represented as encouraging aggression in their sons', as discussed above mothers more commonly played a more detached role in their son's physical performance in the sport. However, academic research shows that a mother's relationship with her offspring differs dramatically from that of the father, with mothers often reinforcing kindness and empathy (Smith, 1983; Meizdian, 1992: 71; West, 1996) and being embarrassed by, and less sympathetic of, the use of aggression (Hastings and Rubin, 1999). Few studies examine specifically the relationship between mothers and sons and the development of aggressive behaviour because few studies have examined the differentiated effects mothers and fathers have on the child's use of aggression. Furthermore, these types of studies focus on how this behaviour develops through father-son relationships (Karna, 1998).

Some research discusses the protective role mothers can play for sons in sport and, as part of this, involve brief descriptions of the mother's perception of her son's use of aggression in sport. For example, in Smith's (1983) research, one Ontario Junior Ice Hockey player commented:

"My mother doesn't like the rough stuff. I used to get into fights and she wouldn't talk to me...she told me that if I had to be rough I should quit the game" (Smith: 1983: 82).

Connell (1987) refers to the positioning of women in these supportive roles as emphasised femininity: a complement to hegemonic masculinity, because it is oriented to accommodating the interests and needs of men. Although Smith's (1983) study implies mother-son relationships are more caring and generally discourage aggression, Carey (1996) also argues that mothers avoid emphasising the "soft" identity for their sons. With the development of the individualised self in post-modern culture, Carey (1996) argues that women are warned that it is detrimental to be too involved in the lives of their sons. As such, she argues that "women are being told not to overdo their roles... don't love too much [and] don't be too emotional" (Carey, 1996: 88). Conforming to this parenting discourse is the rising cultural concern that men are increasingly becoming too gentle and feminine[37]. In response to this, Carey argues that mothers encourage their sons to be tough, unemotional, aggressive, independent and avoid feminine characterisations as a "mummy's boy" (1996: 85). Hastings and Rubins' (1999: 725) research supports Carey's comments, as they have found mothers characterise their sons' aggression as an acceptable 'masculine trait'. In contrast, girls who acted aggressively were more harshly chastised because they were perceived as transgressing the stereotypical assumptions of timid feminine behaviour.

The implication for this thesis is the recognition of the multiplicity of mother-son relationships and, thus, the recognition that although women (mothers) can serve as an intimate dimension that could lead men to talk more openly about their fears of using aggression, the associated pain and their body concerns, these relationships can also serve as a less intimate dimension. As such, mothers can play a part in making the aggression part of the sports masculinity; but this, in turn, could mean that men are less willing to reveal their fears, pain and body concern to their mothers

5:3b) iv Discussions of male peers and/or male team members (aggression) in academic research

As discussed above, there were no representations of male team members encouraging one another specifically to use aggression. However in contrast, academic research shows that reinforcement of aggression is constructed through sports socialisation as men come to share expectations of this aggressive behaviour (Bredemeier, 1995; Crosset, 1990; Pilz, 1995; Messner, 1990; Muir and Seitz, 2004; Smith, 2008; Tucker and Parks, 2000). Team members reinforce this identity by feminising or ostracising those failing to achieve it (Kupers and Letich, 1995:175). Goffman (1959) discusses the relationship between team members and how team identity is achieved. He argues team identity does not merely happen, team members collectively define social situations and

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[37] Whannel (2002) argues that in the late 1990's, sports critics and journalists examined the masculinity of sportsmen such as David Beckham for wearing a sarong that was identical to his wife's Posh Spice's. Beckham was characterised as being less masculine in a number of media sources because he had appeared to have strayed beyond the hard and aggressive versions of the English football player, such as Vinnie Jones. In contrast to this identity, Beckham was characterised as timid and weak because – not only had he been seen wearing women's clothes – but his wife appeared to dominate him because she had chosen his clothes (Whannel: 2002:210).

the interaction that is to occur in that setting. Thus "the definition of the situation projected by a particular participant is an integral part of a projection that is fostered and sustained by the intimate cooperation of more than one participant" (Goffman, 1959:83).

Pilz (1995: 391) discovered that juvenile football players developed their own "informal system of norms, which allows for [aggressive] rule violations in the interest of success in the sport". They defined and altered the characteristics of the aggressive masculine performance. For these boys, the fair foul did not mean aggressively attacking the opposition without reason or with the intent to harm, but rather "in a fair and very hard fight you have to foul in the interest of the team but you are not allowed to make unfair fouls" (Pilz, 1995: 392). Pilz (1995) also discovered that new members who were unwilling to accept fair fouls and use them, tended to leave the club because they experienced segregation for failing to fulfil the team's tough identity.

Similar practices occurred in the past. Sexton (1969) found that, in male peer groups, each member needed to assert physical aggression, courage and a willingness to fight, because other boys emasculated those who did not. "A young man can be big, strong and athletic, but if he shrinks from a fight, his reputation as a boy [or man] suffers" (Sexton: 1969: 129). More recently, Vaz (1980) and Papas et al. (2004: 303) also found similar practices among teams of male hockey players as they encouraged one another to use aggression and ascribed status to those who used this behaviour. Researchers examining rugby union, have also found similar practices amongst players (Light, 2007; Light and Kirk, 2000; Pringle, 2007). Weinstein et al. (1995) similarly discovered that sportsmen who were unwilling to utilise constructive aggression when being unlawfully attacked were ridiculed, labelled as 'chickens' and perceived as weaker characters by fellow team-mates.

Research with sportsmen involved in contact team sports reveals members of a team try to conceal errors and failed attempts to conform to the expectations of others and a specified role because they fear being stigmatised (Kerr, 2005; Lilleaas, 2007). For example, Lilleaas (2007:47) found that male handball players (and coaches) encouraged tough and ruthless behaviour but living out this identity involved being reserved about difficult feelings "when they were together; [because] this had consequences when crises arose". They contained their feelings, of depression and sustained pain, "to be hard and maintain an outward mask" (ibid).

The comments made by sportsmen in these studies, show that male members of a team create a shared understanding of how sportsmen should act in the presence of one another. More commonly than not, the team members physically and verbally encourage one another to use constructive aggression and to defend themselves and others. Those men who fail to present this identity experience ridicule and humiliation by other men and suppress emotions that expose the more vulnerable aspect of their sports masculinity. Thus these aspects of the self are reserved and concealed.

5:3 c) Pain and Injury

In the analysis of both the fictional and non-fictional sports media, strength and toughness were represented as valued aspects of the hegemonic sport masculinity. Part of this identity involved

suppressing or playing down particular types of less serious, acute pain, conceptualised as being "elicited by substantial injury of body tissue" (Loeser and Melzack: 1999: 1608) and minor injury. Chronic pain is understood as "commonly [being] triggered by an injury" (Merskey and Bogduk, 1994: 211). Severe or serious injuries are defined by researchers examining the epidemiology of rugby union as damage to the body that results in players missing "more than three matches"[38] (Best et al., 2005: 81). Minor injuries are defined as bruises, aches, sores and small cuts, which result in players "leaving the field, missing matches or both" (Best et al., 2005: 813) but does not inhibit the players' long term participation. The conceptualisation of pain and injury is discussed further in chapter 9.

In the 2003 Rugby World Cup coverage, the male rugby union players were represented as playing through less serious injury, and in incidences of more serious injuries they quickly overcame these experiences and returned to the sport. Here, the sports media representations of professional rugby union men's pain and injury and the narratives these men use to discuss these experiences are discussed. What will become apparent is that although these experiences are represented in sports media, only parts of the emotional aspects of these experiences are represented. Furthermore the experiences of pain and injury that are represented are portrayed as customary and unproblematic features of tough hegemonic rugby masculinities.

Representations of Injury

Newspaper articles would focus on serious injuries but represent players' admirable ability to endure serious injury, overcome it, and 'heroically' return to the sport (*The Daily Mail*: Thurs 16th Oct: 2003: 88). For example, in *The Daily Mail* (Thurs 16th Oct 2003: 88) the All Blacks vice-captain Tana Umaga was described as having the ability to actually 'walk on water' because within days of rupturing the 'posterior cruciate ligament' in his knee, he was walking in the pool and cycling", see *Figure 5.6*. As few individuals have been able to attain full range of movement for several months after this type of excruciating injury, Umaga is characterised as Herculean. As part of representing this Herculean identity no mention is made of pain management and medication or the personal stress felt.

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[38] A third type of injury was included and classified as moderate if the player missed two or three matches.

Figure 5:6, Tana Umaga 'Walks on Water'.

Rugby union men's ability to endure or play down minor and serious injuries in favour of returning to the game were also represented through the photographs presented in newspapers, rugby literature memorabilia and rugby magazines. Photographs were accompanied with comments to represent sportsmen's ability to experience and endure minor and serious injury. For example, in *Rugby World*, (Jan 2004: 27) photographs of Scottish and English players having received, or in the process of receiving, head injuries were presented with comments stressing the men's ability to "grimace and bear it". Journalists also glorified players' physical sacrifice and endurance by presenting photographs of rugby men getting on their feet and commenting on how the players had "recovered quickly to go back onto the field [despite being] knocked out cold" (Roberston: 2003:93) (*Figures 5:7 and 5:8*). The dramatised representations of rugby men's ability to sustain and play through acute pain and minor injury provide the audience with more action and thus denote star-studded courageous qualities of the hegemonic sports masculinity that magnetise the audiences (Burstyn, 1999). The image presented in *Figure 5:8*, shows the medical team and coaching staff touching the injured player, helping him get to his feet. Goffman (1979:81) describes this arm support as the "grief embrace...a set ritualistic

manoeuvre", often between men. This extension of help toward the injured player, gives "evidence of commendation or moral approval", for the player's heroic ability to battle against the concomitant pain and return to the field (Goffman, 1979:82).

Figure 5:7, 'Ben Cohen grimaces and bears a boot to the head' (*Rugby World,* Jan 2004: 27) (Jan to Feb Vol. 79).
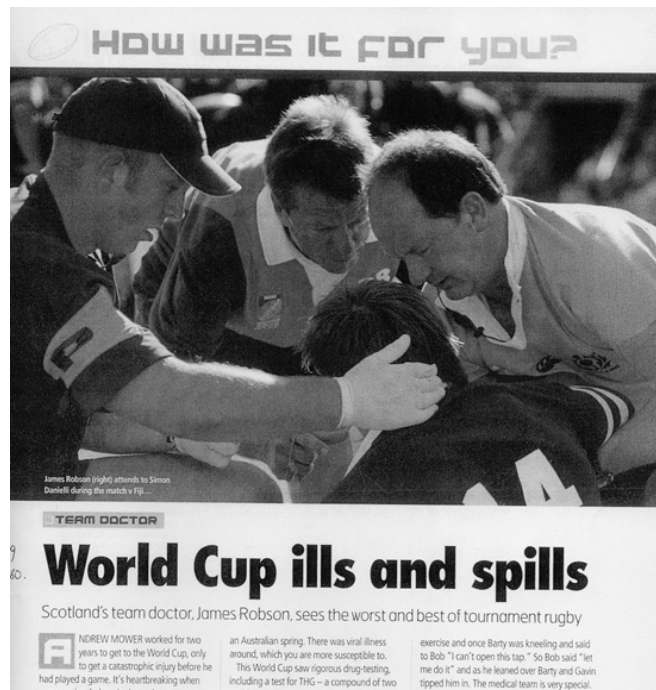
Figure 5:8, Scotland stand-off Chris Paterson is helped to his feet after being felled by an incoming rugby ball during the warm-up (Robertson, 2003:93)

Men's narratives of Pain and Injury

Pain was not represented in the 2003 Rugby World Cup coverage as being part of rugby men's participation in this sport. In the sampled broadsheet and tabloid newspaper articles, none of the professional rugby union men, participating in the 2003 Rugby World Cup, discussed their experiences of pain. Furthermore, their discussion of minor and serious injury, as they are defined in epidemiology studies was minimal. Rugby union men talked more frequently about their experiences of serious injury. However, they were less expressive about their experiences of these injuries as they only expressed their frustration in not being able to participate in the sport. For example, prior to the England vs. South Africa Pool C game, England lock, Kyran Bracknell experienced a back injury, that had previously taken him out of the last (1999) Rugby World Cup. Despite the severity of this injury and the associated pain and discomfort that Bracknell would have experienced, the press only focused on his discussion of the fear of potentially being taken out of the cup and going home.

"It's been really hard. It has brought back bad memories. I was devastated on Sunday night thinking the worst, in that I might be on the plane home" (Bracknell: *The Daily Mail*, Thurs 16th Oct: 2003: 90).

Similarly, *The Guardian* represented Mike Catt's happiness at rejoining the England World Cup team, after a persistent hamstring injury. However, discussion about the pain, frustration and upset this injury would have caused was minimal. Catt focuses on the frustration about being not being picked to play:

"There is a little bit of luck involved, I suppose, but I've been around long enough to know things do happen. Rugby's a very fickle sport and people get injured or left out. But I've also worked extremely hard for it and it has been a lonely ride, especially when nobody wants you." (Mike Catt, *Guardian Sport Pages*, 9th Sept: 2003: 27)

This type of narrative is also apparent in rugby literature, read by the rugby men in this research. In the rugby autobiographies, professional rugby union men rarely talk, extensively about their pain and the emotional distress it causes them. Some rugby union men discuss their injuries as minor and demonstrate a willingness to continue playing or returning to the sport as soon as possible, but they infrequently discuss the discomfort and feelings of hurt experienced as part of the pain and/or injury. For example, in *Martin Johnson, the Autobiography* (2003), Johnson only writes occasionally about his experiences of pain, injury and grief and when they are discussed they are often played down as minor and any associated emotional feelings he experiences are infrequently represented. He comments, in places, on his minor injuries, but it is only when his wife is taken into hospital, and he is forced to take a week out of the sport, that he admits that he had actually been playing all season with an Achilles injury or "Achilles tweak" as he describes it. Having consciously chosen never to miss a game because of it, he explains that if his wife had not been hospitalised, he would have continued to play with this injury and continued to conceal it from others. It is only because of this unintended week off that he admits to his injury and agrees that it would actually allow it time to heal. In academic research, similar narratives are expressed by male rugby union players (Fenton and Pitter, 2010; Howe, 2004). However, players who have sustained serious long term injury, such as spinal cord injuries, have

been more open about their experiences of their injury and concomitant pain and emotional distress (Smith and Sparkes, 2005; 2011).

Researchers examining sport media representations of masculinity in American wrestling have also found that emotional restraint about defeat, pain and injury are part of an idealised masculine narrative (Soulliere, 2006). Wrestlers who 'got worked up', complained, or 'whinged' about these experiences were represented as weak men (Soulliere, 2006). Similarly, in media representations of the American baseball team, the Red Sox, Cavalier and Palder (2006) found that 'playing through pain' was regularly remunerated with respect & admiration. Furthermore, playing injured and leading one's team to success resulted in heroic status.

In sports media representations, rugby union men's experiences and narratives of serious injury are often played down in favour of playing in forthcoming games. Furthermore, as sportsmen discuss these experiences, they refrain from publicly revealing, in depth, the associated pain and discomfort they have experienced. In addition, pain and less serious injury, as they are clinically defined, are normalised to the extent that rugby men experience injuries repeatedly and thus refrain from discussing them.

Emotional Male Screen Characters

Although the above analysis of sports print media reveals that sportsmen are represented as regularly suppressing their injury and associated emotional sensory pain, Lupton (1998) argues that male screen characters are now represented in terms of their emotional behaviour and express interest in their emotions. "While the hardened, muscular hero of few words and cool demeanour may still feature as a dominant archetype in mainstream film, the Arnold Schwarzenegger Terminator type, the sensitive articulate male character willing to discuss his feelings is also common" (Lupton: 1998: 132).

In the American football film *Any Given Sunday* (1999), one of the football players Jack Rooney[39], is represented as being interested in his emotions, the health of his body, and his family. Early in the film Rooney receives a spinal injury but, due to the presence of other players, he tries to endure and conceal his injury from his team-mates. Despite Rooney's attempts, the coach withdraws Rooney from the team[40]. Towards the latter part of the film, a different aspect of the hegemonic sports masculinity is positively represented; Rooney is more verbally expressive about his feelings of pain and serious injury to the coach. He eventually admits to his pain and recognises that his career as a football player is over. In Andersen and Kian's (2012) analysis of the media representations of head trauma injuries in professional National Football League (NFL) they found similar behaviour. They argue there "an increasing cultural awareness as to the devastating effects of concussions, combined with a softening of American masculinity is beginning to permit some prominent players to distance themselves from the self-sacrifice component of sporting masculinity" (2012:1).

In both types of fictional and non-fictional sports media, the typology of masculinity appears somewhat ambivalent as there are less expressive fictional male characters positively represented in

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[39] (Dennis Quaid)
[40] With the unknown third-string quarterback, Willie Beaman (Jamie Foxx)

film. On the other hand tougher sportsmen are glorified as laudable masculine men in print media. The sports media represents the less adept, less aggressive, weaker and more emotional aspects of the hegemonic sports masculinity as being enacted in more intimate dimensions of sportsmen's lives. The question this raises is whether the rugby men who participated in the research enact these different types of narratives or not, and in what public regions and intimate dimensions do they do so?

5:3c) i Sport Media Representations of Coaches (pain and injury)

Sports print media during the 2003 Rugby World Cup represented the England Rugby Coach, Clive Woodward, as a tough enforcer who believed that admitting to pain was a sign of vulnerability. This tough model of masculinity was represented, by Robert Kitson's (sports journalist) discussion of Woodward's unwillingness to face up to the fact that a large number of his players were injured and unfit to play in the semi-final against France. In the article headed: "Hill back to provide spark for misfiring England" Kitson writes:

"England's head coach… believes Josh Lewsey and Iain Balshaw will be ready for Sunday's World Cup semi-final against France.

England's track record of telling the whole truth about injured and replacement players has been so lamentable that scepticism now rules in such matters, but Woodward insists he is 'very confident' that all his players will be available….

Woodward has got the idea that to admit to the existence of a problem [the men's injuries] is to admit to weakness" (*The Guardian*: Tues 11th Nov: 2003: 30).

Whether or not the coach did live out this role, and encourage his men to endure, internalise and conceal their pain and injury, is impossible to tell, but this article represents a particular type of model of masculinity. The signifiers "misfired", in the heading of the article, and "problem" and "weakness", in the accompanying text work together to connote the article's primary signified concept; that injury is perceived as a sign of malfunction, failure and vulnerability. Misfiring has sexual connotations of impotence for men, in which there is a failure to reproduce. Weakness also serves to connote a lack of physical strength and power expressed in the subordinate masculinity. These collectively allow for the creation of a behavioural code for the role of the coach. He is tough on his men; expecting adept performances and perceives injury as a sign of vulnerability for the hegemonic rugby masculinity.

American sports films, produced in the last decade represent a different type of coach. Fictional representations of contact sports coaches will force players not to play through pain and injury and encourage their men to report their injuries. This is particularly apparent, in *Any Given Sunday*, as the coach, D'Amato suffers an attack of conscience when he learns that the team doctor[41] has been clearing injured players for games when they are not healed. Despite being pushed by the financial

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[41] Dr. Harvey Mandrake (James Woods)

backers to play injured players and ensure wins, he believes that football "has got to be about more than winning!" Consequently, D'Amato replaces the team doctor with another one[42], who favours the health of players over winning.

In the following section I only discuss the academic studies that have examined men's social relationships with coaches, other sportsmen and women (wives and friends), because there are few studies (Zeman and Garber, 1996) that examine specifically and in-depth how mothers and fathers affect their sons management of pain and injury in sport. There is also no discussion of the representation of men's relationships with other men regarding pain and injury because there were limited portrayals of this. This in itself is interesting because, this thesis will show that the rugby men's relationships with each other regarding pain and injury are important for understanding how their body concerns are managed in the sport.

5:3 c) ii Discussions of coaches (pain and injury) in academic research

Malcolm and Sheard (2002) argue that, since the professionalism of rugby union in 1995, the players' health has become more important to the rugby club. As professional and semi-professional clubs now pay for players and invest money in them to raise profits and the team's position in competitions, leagues etc, the health of the player is vital. The player is a form of capital exchanged for economic and cultural forms thus altering the clubs position in the field. Professional coaches are now increasingly concerned with preventing long-term injuries and encouraging players to admit to their injuries and seek medical treatment. Although this professionalisation has affected the management of injury in sports, Malcolm and Sheard (2002) also argue that traditional and pre-professional coaching practices that place less attention on the health of the player still exist.

In this section, Noe's (1973) research, carried out over 30 years ago, and more recent research, will be drawn on to show that different types of coaching practices by men still exist. These coaches continue to play a part in making the tough body relevant in the front and back regions of the sport. In his (1973) study of American high school coaches, Noe found three different types of coaches whose approaches to the management of pain and injury were divided into Dogmatic, Judgemental and Objective roles. The 'dogmatic coach' places the importance on winning, rather than the player's health. He will ask players (rather than physiotherapists) whether the player is fit to play, because he knows sportsmen will play regardless of their injuries.

More recently, Roderick et al. (2000) describe similar types of coaches involved in professional football. Those men who were unwilling to "play… whilst in pain or with an injury faced stigmatisation, as the coach raised questions about the players commitment and dedication to the team. Furthermore, injured players were often ignored by managers and/or inconvenienced by physiotherapists" (Roderick et al., 2000: 169). Similarly, Howe's (2001) ethnography of pain and injury, in the case of Pontypridd RFC, reveals similar coaches with a desire to win that was greater than their concern for the health and well-being of the players. Consequently, particular coaches would ignore the physiotherapists request to remove injured players from matches and favour the players' willingness to play.

Noe (1973) found that the dogmatic coach would encourage his sportsmen to play while injured and in pain, until it inhibited their ability to play. This type of coach admired those men who avoided

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[42] Dr. Allie Powers (Matthew Modine)

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public displays of their pain and played while injured. Players who sustained minor injuries were expected to 'take it like a man', 'be brave', 'accept the pain' and return to the game as soon as possible. Similar types of coaches can be identified in the Sabo (1996) and Sabo and Panepinto (2001) studies of American football coaches who taught their men to internalise pain, "toughen up, … take…knocks and sacrifice the body" (Sabo and Panepinto, 2001: 84). Muir and Seitz's (2004) research also shows that these coaches will use demeaning feminised language to illustrate their disappointment of those men who fail to conform to the acceptable standard. The tough practices of the dogmatic coach encourage young sportsmen to perceive the experiences of pain and minor injury as a necessary and customary feature of their public participation in the sport:

> "Boys, …people who say that football is a contact-sport are dead wrong. Dancing is a contact sport. Football is a game of pain and violence" (Coach) (Sabo, 1996:101).

Noe's second type of coach is described as 'judgmental', as he takes a more critical approach to men who conceal injury from both him and his medical team. This coach encourages players to report injury so the severity can be detected, but the tough and less expressive body is still expected because players are encouraged to possess a reasonable threshold of pain by participating with minor injuries, bruises, bloody noses, etc., and by not over-dramatising or moaning in public, on the field or during the game.

The third coach is described as being 'objective' because he takes a more concerned role, ensuring that all kinds of pain are reported. He will consider the medics' diagnoses of an injury and not the players' because – unlike for the dogmatic coach – the game and the importance of winning are secondary to the health of the players. However, men are still not expected to publicly moan or complain about their minor and less serious injuries. Fines' (1987) research into Little League Baseball reveals similar types of coaching practices. Although young players would try to continue playing during minor injuries, some of the coaches pressurised players to leave the field and get injuries treated; but this coach also expected the boys not to complain and express the pain and discomfort they experienced on the field. Similarly in Fenton and Pitter's (2010) study of male rugby union players, coaches expressed concern for an athletes' well-being but admired those who suppressed pain for the purposes of the game.

One element that is similar within these academic studies is that all the coaches are described as encouraging their men to be unemotional and physically inexpressive about particular types of pain and injury. Some coaches expect their men to conceal their minor injuries, and others encourage men to report them to the coach and medical team. However, living out hegemonic sports masculinities still involves being less verbally and physically expressive about minor injuries and acute pain.

In *Any Given Sunday* (1999) the fictional coach, D'Amato is also represented as being disapproving of players who suppress pain and injury, as he sacks the team doctor when he discovers that he has been clearing players for games before they were healed. Despite being pushed by financial backers to play injured players and ensure wins, he like Noe's (1973) judgemental coach, believes that football "has got to be more than about winning!" D'Amato replaces the doctor with another who favours the health of players. Although a caring and more professional coach is

represented in this and following scenes in the film, in his pre-match speech he appears to indirectly push his players to play through pain when he characterises football as a "game of inches" in which his men have to "fight" and "die" in order to win.

5:3 c) iii Talking to Women (pain and injury)

As discussed in Chapter 2, Seidler (2006a) argues that cultural categorisations, including Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, encourages men to conceal or deny emotional aspects of the self to present themselves as controlled and dominant men. Hochschild (2000:57) also argues "cultural conventions...invite women more than men, to focus on feeling rather than actions. [However], men have to wait for particular socially accepted contexts and settings... to feel and express their emotions" (Hochschild, 2000: 68).

Academic research with sportsmen supports these findings. For example, Lilleaas (2007) found that male handball players preferred to talk to women than the other male players about uncomfortable emotional concerns. One player explained "women... are more interested and more able to listen to other people's lives than men are. Women are more serious and open, and they give more of themselves" (Lilleaas, 2007:48). These men were aware that other players experienced distressing concerns but failed to talk about them. In one incident, the men in the team knew that one of the players was suffering from depression, but none of the men talked about it to him or to each other. Madill and Hopper (2007) also found that sportsmen will share these concerns in more intimate contexts, at home, with their wives. These men do not perceive these practices as resulting in a loss of their masculine identity, but rather they "practice... being male in different ways because of the discourse available to [them]" (Madill and Hopper, 2007:46).

This academic research parallels the media representations of women (friends, wives/girlfriends or mothers), external to the sport. The central female characters were represented as being emotionally supportive for sportsmen; often present when the men discussed emotional distress and they were supportive and sympathetic to their concerns. For example, as discussed above, in the film *Any Given Sunday*, Rooney tries to endure and conceal his injury from his team-mates and coaches. However, he shares this injury and the concomitant fears of failure with his wife. She is portrayed as sympathetic and understanding and encourages him to not to suppress this injury and to leave the sport. Following her advice, he eventually admits to his pain and recognises that his career as a football player is over. He relinquishes his tough demeanour and football career as we see scenes of a more emotional and more compassionate masculinity as Rooney is seen hugging his wife, and playing with his children.

Similar representations are apparent in extracts of Martin Johnson's autobiography. Johnson allows us to see his emotional feelings of grief as he loses family and friends. However, he does not talk extensively about his emotions, and only does so in the presence of women. When one of the young England rugby players, Nick Duncombe, suddenly dies of meningitis, Johnson writes very little about his own grief or any of the emotional expressions of distress and upset of his team-mates. The other rugby union men on the team are also distressed about their friend's death, but deal with it by not expressing their emotional pain in the presence of each other. For example, when the men are

informed of their team-mate's death, there is little discussion by Johnson of the men crying or being physically unable to continue in their sports activities. In particular, he mentions how one of his team-mates is saddened by the loss of his friend, but Johnson does not describe him as breaking down and crying, but rather, writes about his tough approach as he courageously plays in the game the following day. Even when Johnson is referring to his own mother's death, he expresses very little emotional upset in his narrative. He admits to having "a bit of a cry", but yet this was only with his wife by his side (2003: 187). The presence of a woman is significant here, as it seemed to allow Johnson to express more of his emotional pain and grief legitimately. Women and cultural perceptions of femininity play a considerable part in influencing how men talk about their pain and vulnerabilities and who they talk to about these emotional aspects of themselves. Lupton (1998:107) argues that because femininity is culturally stereotyped as emotional, "women are regarded as being 'naturally good' at dealing with other people's emotions, because they are believed themselves to be inherently emotional and expressive, while men, on the whole are not". These cultural perceptions of femininity mean that women can serve, for some men, as an intimate dimension in which men are more willing to talk about their pain and other emotional aspects of themselves.

5:3c) iv Discussion of male members (pain and injury) in academic research

Research shows that men's competitive attempts to present the various aspects of hegemonic sports masculinity are a response to the expectations of the all-male peer groups or the teams of men (Messner, 1990; Papas et al., 2004; Swain, 2003). In these teams, men compete with one another to present the superior masculine body and performance because other men ascribe higher status to those who possess them. Other researchers have found that similar practices occur in men's management of pain and injury, but the men in the teams or peer groups encouraged one another to conceal less serious forms of injury; sacrifice the pain for the success of the team; and protect others (Muir and Seitz, 2004; Roderick, 2006; Swain, 2003; Young et al., 1994; White and Young, 2007). They also encourage one another to refrain from discussing the associated hurt and discomfort (Young et al. 1994). Here, some of these studies are discussed to illustrate the role other sportsmen and boys in a team or peer-group, play in encouraging this behaviour.

Swain (2003) discovered that, in three UK junior schools, boys aged 6-11 years were encouraged to present tough and athletic performances in order to conform to the groups' established masculinity. Aggression, athletic prowess and certain styles of clothing were important features of fitting into this group of boys, but "acting tough" or "being hard" was also one of the more significant ways of gaining status and conforming to the constructed masculinity (Swain, 2003: 305). Boys would indirectly encourage one another to endure pain and refrain from displaying experiences of pain and injury involved in their athletic activities. In response, many of the boys would avoid crying in the presence of others because they feared being characterised as 'wimps' or 'sisses' by the other boys. Non-conformity to the boys' expected performances led to subordination by the group and, in some schools, boys were bullied. Similarly, Muir and Seitz (2004) found that male players who suffer injuries that result in blood flow were advised by their teammates to wipe the blood from their bodies. Non-injured players would look at a bleeding teammate or opponent and remark, "He's just having his period". They also perceived injuries as badges of honour.

These studies raise the importance of examining how pain and injury is managed in all-male peer groups and sports teams because we can see that some young boys and/or men place considerable pressure on one another to conform to the groups' expected masculine performances.

Other sport researchers make a connection between these expectations young men place on one another and the development of men's body dissatisfactions. For example, Young et al. (1994) found that, as young Canadian male athletes encouraged each other to endure pain and play through injuries, worries about their bodies and performances in the sport developed and spiralled because they felt they had let both themselves and the team down. All of the athletes followed the philosophy that continuing to play with pain (or "sucking it up") was appropriate male behaviour (1994:177). Moreover, they had established their own set of rules that taught players how to behave when in pain and/or injured. The athletes were encouraged to suppress and conceal all forms of pain and injury unless they were potentially life threatening. Those who revealed or discussed pain and less serious injuries in the presence of other men were seen as destroying team morale. In contrast, the athletes attributed masculine status to those men who were more willing to take risks and sacrifice the pain and injury to their own bodies for the sake of the team.

Young et al.'s. (1994) study does not focus specifically on examining how these relationships impact on the management of the men's body concerns. However, they did find that the men often depersonalised pain in response to other men's expectations, thus concealing and enduring pain and injury. This led the athletes to deal with their pain and injury by objectifying it and perceiving it as not being part of their body in public regions of the sport with other male athletes. To perceive it as belonging to them was an embarrassing sign that their body could not endure the physicality of the sport. As team members perceived endurance and corporeal sacrifice as essential to the tough masculine identity of the team, the injured body induced vulnerability and concern because the athletes felt they were letting the team down and that their bodies were not as strong as those of other players on the team. Apart from Young et al.'s (1994) study, there are few studies in sociological research that have examined whether the expectations sportsmen have of each of other to conceal pain and injury also contribute to sportsmen's body concerns.

5:7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored how sports men are represented in sports media consumed by the rugby men and how this compares with existing academic research.
My analysis is compared later (in chapters 7, 8 and 9) to the data drawn from the rugby men who participated in this research. The findings in this chapter are significant for understanding how these symbolic representations influence the rugby men's management of body concerns in the sport.

Goffman's (1979) analysis of gender advertisements was drawn on to examine the media representations of sports masculinities, consumed by the rugby men, and the role young men's social relationships with significant others have on the development of hegemonic sports masculinities. His analytical categories of parent-child complex and institutional reflexivity, has assisted in illustrating how sportsmen who are adept, aggressive and tough: less emotional expressive about pain and injury, are positioned as superior to those men who are not.

My analysis of the media representations of sportsmen suggests that there is a certain way of talking about how significant others are involved in developing hegemonic sports masculinities. This media discourse claims that heroic fathers and tough coaches often encourage sports participation, physical adeptness, strength and constructive aggression in sport. In contrast women, mothers, wives and girlfriends predominantly represent a more emotional and supportive role for young sportsmen. This chapter has also revealed that there are fewer representations of the emotional concerns and pressures young sportsmen experience in living out hegemonic sports masculinities: this raises the question about how they impact on the development of sportsmen's body concerns and other distressing emotional concerns.

In examining the relationship between this media and academic research that describes sports masculinities the following findings were identified. In both the existing research and the sports media representations of coaches, a father-son-like relationship is represented or described. Coaches are presented in both as influential father-figures who encourage features of the hegemonic sports masculinity. Fathers are also represented in similar influential roles. However, a less emotionally expressive narrative exists between young men and their fathers and coaches because there are few discussions and media representations about men's fears of living up to these men's expectations of this identity or of failing to do so. The narratives of men in academic research and media representations of sportsmen's narratives focus less on the associated, fear, vulnerability, pain and concern men can experience when articulating this identity to these men.

Media representations and academic research that describes the role women play in encouraging hegemonic masculinities vary. What is identifiable in both of these, is that men's discussion of emotions, regarding adeptness, pain and injury are predominantly revealed to, or in the presence of, women. The media representations of men's relationships with other men and the academic discussions of them also varied. There are limited media representations of other men encouraging players to present features of the hegemonic masculinity. In contrast, the academic research did focus on this, but few tell us, in-depth, about how men feel emotionally about these relationships. This thesis questions whether the expectations sportsmen have of each other, to be adept, aggressive and conceal pain and injury contribute to development and management sportsmen's body concerns.

By drawing on Goffman's (1979) analysis this chapter has shown that gender is a display, it entails performance of the self and is dependent on the context in which one is located. It has explained what kind of gender displays, hegemonic sports masculinities are. It has flagged up some of the situations in which different ways of performing rugby masculinities will be outlined within and outside the game, before different kinds of audience. Recognition of this performing identity is important for understanding how masculinity impacts on the rugby men's management of their body concerns.

What is important to consider about hegemonic sports masculinities outlined in these academic discussions and media representations, is that sportsmen's performances are not continually adept and proficient in all social situations. Sportsmen experience temporary and permanent dips in their physicality for a number of reasons. However, the sportsmen's concomitant feelings of hurt, of

weakness, pain vulnerability and body concern that may develop in response to enacting the hegemonic sports masculinity are represented less frequently in sports media and discussed less frequently in academic research. This is not to suggest that sportsmen do not discuss their experiences of this identity, because this chapter has shown that is not the case. These are discussed through less emotionally expressive masculine narratives. In the light of this, sports media representations and academic discussions of this masculinity are perhaps idealised portrayals of how the masculinity is experienced, because we more commonly access the public narratives regarding sportsmen's experiences in the sport, and not the more intimate narratives that this thesis seeks to expose.

Chapter 6, The Rugby Men's Profiles

6:1 Introduction

Prior to the analytical chapters, 7-9, this chapter will present the profiles of a selection of the rugby men involved in the research. Five out of a total of twenty five rugby men were chosen to be discussed here because between them, they reflected the main characteristics and comments made by the rugby men during the research (i.e. the PEIs, interviews and participant observation). I chose these key individuals as representatives because their profiles were particularly interesting and pertinent to the research. For example, during the PEIs Vinnie was identified by the other rugby men as one of the most admired players on the team, the comments he made in the PEI revealed him to be concerned about his body image.

The profiles will provide a background into the personal biographies of these rugby men (e.g. how they became involved in rugby), my perceptions of the rugby men during the participant observation and a discussion of their body concerns (eating regimes, self-perceptions and training regimes). These profiles have been positioned here in the thesis because they allow the lives of the men to become more explicit in the thesis and to invite the reader to have a better insight into the research context.

6:2 The Rugby Men's Profiles:

<u>*Vinnie*</u>

Biography

Vinnie was a white male of dual ethnic heritage. He was in his third year at the university but by the end of the first year of fieldwork, he had completed his degree. He left the university to play for a professional rugby union team. He had extensive experience in the sport as he had played rugby from the age of seven and had played in a number of other countries. Since joining the university, he had played rugby with the club and successfully progressed through the hierarchy of the university teams. In his first year, he secured a position on the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad.

Throughout his extensive rugby career, Vinnie was generally physically active. He enjoyed a number of other sports outside of the seven-day rugby training regime. He particularly enjoyed running because it made him "feel fitter". However, due to a number of injuries, he could no longer run as much as he liked, or participate at his previous level of extensive training in rugby.

Vinnie attributed his athletic abilities and participation in sport to his family background; he described his family, notably his parents, as "very sporty". Both his parents had participated in sport at elite and professional level. He did not feel that his family pressurised him but his sports participation was a compulsory and customary part of his biography.

Before meeting Vinnie, a number of the rugby men and friends of his, outside the rugby club had suggested that he would be a suitable interviewee, as he paid meticulous attention to the physical appearance and performance of his body. This was confirmed during my initial observation of Vinnie because he possessed a muscular physique, was clearly one of the most muscular men in the rugby club and one of the leanest. The rugby men's perception of Vinnie was confirmed during the PEIs; on viewing photographs of Vinnie's body and performances in the sport all of the rugby men discussed their admiration of Vinnie's lean physique and muscular definition. However, although the rugby men discussed Vinnie's physique and superiority to others in the PEIs, none of the rugby men articulated their admiration of Vinnie's body, or their desire to look like him, to each other or to Vinnie.

Figure 6:10; "I don't feel confident with my body at all"

Body concern

In more public contexts of the sport, Vinnie did not talk about his body concerns. However, in the PEI, away from the presence of his team mates, when asked to describe his own physique in the photograph of himself, *Figure 6:10* Vinnie is featured on the left, Vinnie meticulously discussed his body concerns. Initially, he claimed that he was fairly happy with his body but he then revised his statement to reveal, "Ummm, if I am honest I don't feel too happy with my body, I've been in better shape…because of injuries I haven't been able to play as much…so at the moment I don't feel confident with my body." He viewed the photograph again and identified a number of very specific concerns he had with areas of his body. For example, he was dissatisfied with his chest, pectoral muscles; "because my back and lats are so large my chest looks out of proportion, it looks too small". He was also anxious about his abdominal muscles at that point in time, because he believed that one of his lower abdominal muscles was smaller and less defined than the others. He felt that this just made him look 'odd.'

Despite Vinnie's insecurities about his physique, he was admired by many of the rugby men. On viewing *Figure 6:10* this admiration was revealed. One of the younger rugby men, Pat, revealed his approbation as he explained why he took this photograph of Vinnie watching his former team mates play;

'I took it 'cos he's like one of the men who has done so well and is admired; it was funny to see him there watching us'.

Since leaving the club, Vinnie had joined a professional rugby union team and been chosen to play for England in the forthcoming Sevens tournament at the Common Wealth Games. Pat admired Vinnie's physique but also his success in the sport and felt complimented that Vinnie had returned to support his former team-mates.

The collaborative photographs accompanied with the rugby men's admiration and Vinnie's negative comments about the appearance and functional ability of his own body illustrated the existence of body concern.

Vinnie's body concern was also revealed, during the PEI when discussing his healthy eating regimes and his belief that high levels of saturated food will instantly increase one's body weight. Vinnie explained that he possessed an unremitting fear of putting on weight. He explained that foods containing "more than 10% fat per hundred grams" made him "feel heavier" and "disgusted" with his body. His fear of food that contained more than 10% saturated fat was also evident when he discussed his low-fat eating regime. For six days of the week he only consumed foods with less than 10% saturated fats, but the seventh day was described as 'binge day' when he consumed 'some high fat' products. Interestingly Vinnie also explained, on viewing a photograph of Terence semi-naked, *Figure 6:11* below, that knowledge of Terence's lean healthy eating regimes, actually made him reflect on his own eating practices and encouraged him to alter further his scrupulous regime.

His perception of these high-fat foods was vaguely similar to bulimic sufferers. These individuals express guilt and shame when they consume foods that are interpreted as calorific (Andersen, 1990). Vinnie's regime and perceptions differed because he allowed himself one free day to eat all the unhealthy products he deprived himself of in the week. However, unlike the bulimic sufferer, he did not feel guilty about eating these foods on this particular day. Nevertheless, he revealed in an intimate dimension, to his close friend on the rugby team that he would consistently train throughout the week to work off the extra calories he had consumed and if he missed the training session, "he would always say 'I feel fat'." Furthermore, whilst viewing photographs of himself in training, he expressed similar concerns about looking "heavy" and "podgy in places". This behaviour is similar to that revealed in Drummond's (2002a) research; men experiencing body image concerns would use sports to work on their body concerns as a form of weight management.

Although Vinnie possessed the most muscular physique of the men and was admired for this physique and his physical abilities, his narrative, with the aid of photographs of his body, reveals that he was concerned about his body and possessed unremitting fears about putting on weight. His concern was also revealed, as he continually assumed imperfections with his body that were imperceptible to other rugby men and me. However, these concerns were not verbalised in front and back regions of the sport. They were concealed and he used the sport and health-related sport acts to work on overcoming his body concerns.

Terence

Biography

Terence was a white male. He was a third year undergraduate student who had played rugby from a young age. His uncle had introduced him to the sport and he had continued to play for fun. He had been playing at the university club since he first arrived and had slowly progressed through the hierarchy of teams to gain a position in the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad. Like Vinnie, he also went on to play at a more senior level; semi-professional. He too was involved in a number of sports outside of rugby. He enjoyed running, and would meticulously carry out additional training sessions outside of the compulsory regimes.

Initial interpretations and body concern

In the two years of the fieldwork research, I noted dramatic changes in Terence's performance and physique. Throughout the first year he was a medium-sized player, with limited muscular augmentation and definition. However, when he returned for his second year, his physique had developed dramatically; he was larger, more muscular and much leaner than the other rugby men on the team. His performances in the games had significantly improved and he was therefore attracting the attention of the players and spectators[43].

During that the latter year of the research, many of the rugby men commented on Terence's physique and performance in their PEIs. As Vinnie had left the club, Terence represented the latest example of the superior rugby masculinity. Terence was visibly more muscular than the other players and possessed superior size, tone and definition. Furthermore, his physique and athletic ability was very similar to Vinnie's. Consequently, many of the rugby men admitted, when viewing photographs of Terence's body, that they admired his physique; they perceived him as unbelievably strong, muscular and toned. Harry explained on viewing *Figure 6:11*:

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[43] Many of the rugby men explained during the participant observation and interviews (both elicitation and non-elicitation) that the summer period was often a time when they would return home and work to attain more muscular mass and definition and improve cardio-vascular fitness. By developing their bodies they could score higher in fitness testing and thus gain a position in the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad.

"I'd like to have a body like Terence, 'cos he's …big and really strong. If you see him in a game, he can hold a couple of people off just by pushing them. I'd like to be strong enough to dominate people like that."

Despite the admiration of others, Terence explained on viewing the photographs of himself semi-naked, that he was not happy with his physique; he wanted to be more muscular (have a higher level of muscle tone, definition, mass and size) and leaner. One of the photographs he viewed of his body is presented in *Figure 6:11*. He believed that other rugby men only perceived him as big because they were a relatively small rugby team, and in comparison to other professional teams he was "just average…a mute." What is important to recognise is that Terence perceived his body as small and flaccid, which did not correspond with how the other rugby men saw him.

Figure 6:11 "I'm just average… a mute."

One of the sets of collaborative photographs, taken by one of the injured rugby men Pat, contained a large number of photographs of Terence (*Figure 6:11*). When Pat was questioned why he had taken images of Terence, Pat explained that "even though none of us would admit to each other, or Terence, that he is in great shape, most of us secretly want to look like Terence, he's awesome." He also commented on the other men in the photograph who were viewing Terence's body in the changing rooms; see the photograph in *Figure 6:11*. "I caught those boys watching Terence, they know he's stacked and they want his physique but they would never admit that to him." The process of collective civil inattention is identifiable here in this back region, as these men and others only briefly glance at Terence's bodies, to avoid being misperceived as homosexual onlookers (Goffman, 1963; Gimlin; 2010; Scott, 2010). It is only when Pat, adopts the role as assistant researcher that he is able to capture the men looking at Terence's body. Interestingly, the camera allows Pat to move beyond this civil inattention to look for longer.

Although Terence's comments suggest that he is concerned about his body, it is important to be aware that the perception we have of our bodies, as part of the self, is contextual and very much depends upon our interaction with others (Goffman, 1959) and upon whom we situate ourselves in relation to. In this context, Terence is comparing his body to other professional rugby union men, external to the university context. He felt relatively small and flaccid because he trained and interacted with a professional rugby union team. These men were "a hell-of-a-lot bigger" than him and thus, often mocked him for being much smaller. Consequently, the concerns Terence felt of being small and "just average," were not discernible to the other rugby men within the 1st XV Team as they were not training with professional rugby union men.

Like Vinnie, Terence's exercise and healthy eating regimes, were meticulous and compulsive. He also followed a six-day low-fat regime, allowing one day for the consumption of "high-fat foods", containing more than 10% of saturated fat, per hundred grams. For the six days he ritualistically ate every three hours, 'to speed up his metabolism'. Terence followed the compulsive six-day rugby training regime, but would carry out four or more of his own additional training sessions. For Terence, the sport and these supplementary regimes allowed him to gain a sense of control and discipline over his body; size, shape, weight and fitness. Whilst viewing the photograph of his semi-naked body in *Figure 6:11* he explained:

"It's of paramount importance to me to keep my body in shape, regardless of whether I'm playing [rugby] or not, …if I don't [train] constantly I would just be on a permanent downer."

Although Terence appeared in more public contexts, front and back regions, of the sport to carry out these practices to succeed in the sport, he explained, in the intimate dimension of the PEI, that this was not why he worked so meticulously on his body. Possessing a fit and healthy body was vitally important to him and, therefore, his fitness and diet would "unquestionably be the same without the sport". This often meant that he would segregate himself from the other rugby men's training sessions, masculine camaraderie and drinking events. He was generally a quieter character, who only mixed with a few rugby men who shared his dedicated attitude to 'eating lean', and training consistently.

Koote

Biography

Koote was a white male who began playing rugby at a later age than other men in the team, as his interests lay in other sports. However, because of dramatic changes in his physique (see chapter 7) and pressure from his coach at school, he grudgingly began playing rugby union. Despite his initial reluctance, he began to enjoy the sport and continued to play at university level. As this was his fourth year at the rugby club, he presented himself as one of the more affiliated members of the team. He was a jovial character who socialised, and lived with, the most dominant group of rugby men in the club. As these were the oldest members of the team, they commanded high levels of respect from the others. The status and dominant

presence of these rugby men was revealed by the way they continuously sat at the back of the bus [44] and controlled the masculine banter, camaraderie and some of the team's social practices.

Initial interpretations and body concern

Prior to interviewing Koote, on numerous occasions I was invited to watch movies and eat with him and three of the other rugby men, at their house,. Over the course of a two-day rugby tour in London I noted that, although he was an affiliated player, who joined in the masculine camaraderie, he seemed quieter than the men he associated with. Unlike Vinnie and Terence, he was not detached from the group or as quiet, but he was shy and slightly reserved. This coyness was emphasised when I began to seek permission to photograph the rugby men during their drinking events on the tour. Koote asked, away from the presence of the other rugby men, if he could be left out of certain video and photographic shots during the research because he did not like to see himself on screen. During the course of the research Koote later decided to include himself in the photographs and asked to be included. The ethical concerns raised in this decision were discussed in Chapter 4.

"I don't go in for photographs and stuff, 'cos I don't like to look at myself."

This fear of viewing his body was only revealed in the PEI when he was asked to discuss the photograph, of himself, he had brought to the interview, see *Figure 6:12*. After his reluctance to take part in the photographic shots, I was surprised that he had brought a photograph of himself. Personally, I perceived the photograph to be complimentary, as he looked tanned and muscular. These comments were articulated to Koote. However, these positive perceptions were indiscernible to him, as he was not satisfied with the photograph of himself. He had spent considerable time, prior to the interview, selecting a photograph that he was comfortable with. It is interesting that Koote chose a photograph with a scenic and panoramic background, thus taking the viewer's eye away from the image of himself. Although he expressed some contentment on initially viewing the photograph, after further scrutiny he then explained that he was "podgy" and needed to "lose more fat". Furthermore, a fear of viewing his physique was revealed as he found it very difficult to look at his image and talk confidently about his body in the collaborative photographs, he stumbled, "'um…'um, it's alright…I suppose". From my interpretations of the men involved in this sport, and media representations of rugby union men and other rugby men in this rugby context, I did not perceive Koote to be as overweight as he implied. As Koote was a forward player, his physique was synonymous with the images of current professional players who played this position, and were often the larger men of the team (as discussed in Chapter 2).

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[44] During my participant observations of bus journeys with the rugby men, I found that those rugby men who frequently sat at the back of the bus presented a higher form of masculine status. Newcomers to the team and quieter rugby men often sat towards the front of the bus.

Figure 6:12 "I look podgy and I still need to lose more fat".

Although Koote perceived his body as being overweight, he explained that he felt slightly happier than he had been in the past because, as a young lad, he was 'obese; massive…massively overweight'. Since losing the weight, he felt more content with his body, which encouraged him to work on overcoming his concerns and maintaining his new physique. Despite this weight loss, he still perceived his body as large and unattractive to women.

Koote's eating and training regime was different from that of Vinnie and Terence; he was less meticulous. He did follow a low-fat eating regime but preferred to carry out additional training sessions in the gym to manage his weight and compensate for occasionally eating high fat foods:

> "[If] there's a really nice meal that I want to make and it requires using, you know, lots of olive oil…then I'm not going to not make it because I'm worried about it [the fat content]. I'm not like some of the boys who take it to the extreme, but if I want to lose weight, I do more exercise."

Whilst working at the campus gym, I noted that he had recently been training twice a day. When he was questioned in PEI about his frequent visits he explained; "At the moment I'm trying to lose weight, so I'm doing sort of half-an-hour to an hour aerobic exercise, before breakfast most days." However, he did not reveal these concerns in the more public front or back regions of the sport (Goffman, 1959[45]). It is important to recognise that Koote's body concerns, as conveyed by his verbal comments of perceiving himself "podgy", his unwillingness to be captured visually and his training regimes were revealed in the intimate dimension of the PEI and after viewing photographs of himself.

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[45] The application of Goffman's dramaturgical analysis to the data is discussed further in the forthcoming chapters.

Biography

Craig was a white male, in his fourth year at the university when this research commenced. In his first year at the university, he did not secure a position on the 1st XV team/Performance Squad, but joined the second team and gradually progressed his way up to the 1stXV team/Performance Squad. His interest in rugby union developed from the encouragement of his school rugby coaches. As his family, notably his father, did not take a part in rugby union, they did not encourage his participation in this sport.

Craig was a final year student and had played university rugby much longer than some of the other men. He began playing rugby at a young age. He was also one of the more affiliated members of the team and was accustomed to their training practices and behaviour. Despite his attachment, he was quieter than some of the longer standing members. Unlike these men, Craig did not sit at the back of the bus and participate in some of the more masculine rugby banter, but sat somewhere in the middle of the bus with the quieter men.

Initial interpretations and body concern

Craig's reserved nature meant that I infrequently came into verbal contact with him in the early stages of the research. However, during an away game, he began to interact with me; questioning the research objectives. At first, he seemed fairly confident but it was observed that this confidence decreased when he was not in the presence of the other rugby men in front and back regions of the sport. Goffman's (1959) analysis of the team is significant here because these rugby men are in a formal relationship with one another. They are required to act in accordance with a particular role, for their viewing audience and also to each other. Craig articulates confidence in the presence of others on the team because this is part of the role these men are expected to enact in both the front and back regions of the sport. This is discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8.

My initial interpretations of Craig were that he was taller than most of the rugby men, he possessed broad shoulders and a muscular physique. In the PEIs, the other rugby men also revealed similar perceptions of Craig's physique when viewing photographs of him; they described him as being one of the bigger men on the team, who possessed a stature similar to that of Terence. Despite these perceptions of his body by others, Craig did not perceive it in the same way. On viewing the photographs of himself, at the annual Rugby Dinner and during a pre-game warm-up session, see *Figure 6:13*, he explained that he was one of the smaller men on the team because he lacked muscularity (mass and size). He explained; "I'm quite stocky…but not as muscular as I could be. I'd like to increase my weight… the size of my legs and stuff." Whilst viewing a photograph of Terence, in the changing rooms see *Figure 6:11*, he also explained that he admired Terence's body and would like to have a similar physique. However, when comparing his body to others on the team, he preferred to compare himself to

men in similar forward positions. Craig did not like to compare his body to that of Terence because he was a "winger" and believed Terence's body to be physically superior to his own.

Whilst viewing a photograph of himself, *Figure 7:13,* during the PEI, Craig revealed that he possessed concerns about his body. However, the rugby men did not perceive Craig's body in this way.

Figure 7:13, "I'm quite stocky…but not as muscular as I could be".

Pat

Biography

Pat was a white male, in the first year of his degree when the research fieldwork commenced. He secured a position on the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad in his first year at the University rugby club. Pat's interest in rugby union developed through the influence of his friends. His father did not introduce him to the sport, as he was more interested in other sports. Pat particularly enjoyed football but due to experiences of isolation and bullying, he found it difficult to participate in this sport. He was bullied by other boys for being shorter than average but for also being overweight. Subsequently, he played rugby because this allowed him to legitimately "smack the people that had been saying stuff about [him]." This is discussed further in chapter, 8.

Initial interpretations and body concern

During the participant observation, I noted that Pat was a very amiable and jovial character; he was continually interacting with all of the rugby men and would always take time to help me with conducting the research. As he was one of the youngest members of the team, he seemed quite impressionable but was also angered by some of the rugby men's established practices. For example, he did not agree with the more brawny players who "would stand back from the fights" that occurred in games and felt that bigger team members should defend their slighter team mates. Despite anger at their practices, he was also influenced by their comments and routines, as he would try to mimic them by altering his supplement use and eating habits. Pat was muscular, but was small and carried a little more weight than some of the other rugby

men, discussed above. However, this modest amount of extra weight is often common in rugby players who play his forward position; they are required to have more strength and power than the men playing back positions. Despite this requirement, he too explained in the PEI, on viewing photographs of himself that he was anxious about his physique,

> "I'm short and stocky…. [but] I want to be taller, I want to be tall and stocky rather than short and stocky…I want an extra inch or two…[and] an extra stone [of muscle.]"

Pat's concerns were further revealed when he discussed his perception of his body; he frequently checked his body, but could not recognise the changes in his shape. He just saw a small flaccid player and subsequently, strove to gain muscle mass.

> "I go in the shower in the mornings and you do look at yourself…you think have you got bigger? I don't know when I have got bigger…if other people say I have got bigger I don't believe them. But you always want to be bigger, I don't think anyone ever gets to their ideal body shape because you can always push to do and want more."

Pat's exercise routines also revealed his body concern because, without maintaining his current exercise regimes or participation in the sport, former fears of being small and out-of-shape heightened. A lack of training and disciplined eating led to a feeling of a loss of control and discipline over his body and performance.

Although Pat was a 'well-built player', he perceived his body as flaccid and small and failed to acknowledge his body confidently and would refute those who commented positively on his muscle augmentation. Discipline provided by his training and eating, allowed him to control his body and perceptions of being small. Without these practices, his corporeal concerns increased.

Dezza

Biography

Dezza was a white male of an average height and possessed a mesomorph physique. Dezza described his physique as being "medium". Dezza secured a position on the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad in the first year of his degree, and was positioned as a back. Dezza was another player who was encouraged to play rugby union by his father. He had enjoyed playing football as a child; however his Dad encouraged him to play rugby; "I use to play football and I use to love it…but then…my Dad took me down to play rugby and I loved it." Dezza felt that he currently played rugby because it allowed him to improve his body- both its muscular appearance and performance. By improving his body he felt that he could gain the respect of other men and accentuate the University status. He also explained that he enjoys being part of the team and the social aspect of the sport; "you don't play rugby for your own personal glory, …it's got a lot of the camaraderie and that's the best thing, …I wouldn't enjoy it if I won a thing on my own, whereas in a team you work together…all for one."

At the time of the interview with Dezza, he was positioned as Captain of the team. This role involved a position of authority over the rest of the team but also entailed organising events and tours for the club. Unlike the other Captains that I had interviewed and observed (Doops and Jimbo) he seemed reserved and he did not accentuate his Captaincy to me or his team mates.

From my fieldwork observation, I noted that Dezza seemed very shy during games and training sessions. He appeared very quiet and shy in my presence, but also he was not very overt, loud and talkative in the presence of the other men. However, when he went out with the team socially he was very talkative, and always intoxicated. He seems to be the only player that frequently got *heavily* intoxicated during social activities. He was also identified by his teammates as the 'stripper', as he stripped his clothes off more frequently than the others when he was drinking. On one occasion during a tour, he took down his trousers and other men burnt his pubic hair. I asked the player during the interview why he took his clothes off. He explained: "I love to do it and because I train hard in the gym".

Although Dezza appeared to be confident with his body whilst intoxicated, on viewing photographs of himself participating in the sport 6 months earlier, he explained that he was concerned about the level muscle mass he possessed. During the interview with Dezza, I had noted that his level of muscularity had changed since the summer period. He explained that he had worked hard to 'get bigger over the summer'. Whilst some of the other men had commented positively on this muscle augmentation, he was not satisfied with his development or enthused by these comments. He believed he was not "big enough" and wanted to get bigger, "gain another stone and a half". Dezza trained seven days of the week, and some weeks twice a day. He felt that he visited the gym more frequently than the other men on the team, because "they just don't attend the gym as much as I do and no-one in the club can keep up with me". Dezza played the sport to work on building his body; however he felt that he would train just as much, "perhaps even do more", if he wasn't playing rugby.

He, like many of the other players in the club, followed the six day eating regime. However, he too was unaware of these shared practices. He focused on eating foods that contained minimal fat, and experienced embodied shame and guilt after consuming "unhealthy foods"- high fat foods, but unlike players such as Terence, Vinnie and Pat, he did not express concern that these foods would impact on his performance in the sport. He was not concerned about losing weight because he felt that he has a very fast metabolism and thus could eat quite a lot of food. However, he did feel that in order to get bigger in muscle, he had to reduce his level of fat intake.

John

Biography

John was a white male. He secured a position on the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad in his second year of his degree, and was positioned as a forward. During the final stage of interviewing, John was in his third year and due to finish at the university at the end of the term. John started playing rugby in his teens. John's brother pushed him to play the sport even though he did not play it himself. From this initial encouragement he followed a group of mates who already played the sport.

John appeared to carry slightly more weight or what he described as "fat", on his body, notably his stomach, than some of the other forward players on the team. During the time of the interview, he had recently been dropped from the first team by the senior coach because he possessed a hamstring injury. This, and an argument with the coach, had made him lose faith in playing rugby for the University. However, despite this he was still training twice a day five to six days a week.

From the interview data I felt that this player was not as concerned about the appearance about bodily physique as the majority of the other men. Whilst he explained that needed "to lose some fat and get more muscle …and bulk up," when viewing photographs of himself, he did not perceive his body appearance negatively. He did feel that these physiological changes his body would improve his performance in the game. As he had recently been signed to a semi-professional rugby team in his home area, he felt that he needed to work on this.

Unlike many of the men in the club, he did not follow the six day healthy regime at the time of the interview, and "was not really bothered about it". He also no longer trained with the 1st XV quad in the gym or at training sessions because he was no longer on the team. He explained that because "I'm not elite anymore I have to go to the gym at eleven... I no longer get subsidised membership or unlimited access to the gym and I can't be with the boys in training or anything". John expressed disengagement and from the rugby club, but most importantly the team masculinity and the focus on presenting the ideal physique: "I not really interested in the team, the training and pushing myself to look like that anymore".

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to introduce a selection of the rugby men. This chapter has also brought attention to the biographical nature of the men's lives and provided insight into the research context. Data from the profiles will be used in chapters 7, 8 and 9, in conjunction with other data from all of the rugby men involved in the research to analyse the rugby men's body concerns. In each of these chapters I look at how different features of rugby masculinities (adeptness, aggression and tough body) are expressed by the rugby men and developed through their relationships with significant others. I also look at the impact this has on their body concerns. Importantly, I will analyse the effect on these concerns when these features cannot be sustained.

Preface to Chapters 7, 8 and 9

As previously discussed, features of adeptness, aggression and the tough body (management of pain and injury) are used as analytical categories to understand hegemonic rugby masculinities lived out by the rugby men who took part in this research. Before discussing the adept body in this preface, I will run through the relationships of these categories to the concepts that inform the theoretical framework. This is necessary to show how my data was analysed and the analytical processes involved. I also return to Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach and outline how it is used, as part of the theoretical framework, to show how the rugby men performance of their masculinity differs depending on the regions and intimate dimensions in which they are situated. I outline the regions and the dimensions the rugby men experienced and the different ways of performing rugby masculinities in these contexts. This provides an important context for the discussion of rugby masculinities and body concerns in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

As discussed in chapter 2, Bourdieu (1984) argues that physical capital is the achievement of specified bodily (physical) attributes that develop through training and social practice. This concept has been used to inform the three analytical categories of adeptness, aggression and the tough body used in this thesis[46]. This preface, and the following chapters, show how these features are expressed through the personal front (see chapter 2 for Goffman's, 1959, dramaturgical approach) as part of hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 2008) lived out by the rugby men. Connell uses the concept of body reflexive practices to show how hegemonic masculinities are developed. I will use this concept to show how the rugby men's body concerns developed and were managed. During both forms of the interviews and participant observation the rugby men themselves articulated the importance of not only being adept, tough and aggressive but being "the best". In the following chapters I will show that when the rugby men experienced disruption to these featurea (physical capital) their body concerns were developed and/or reinforced.

As discussed in Chapter 2, rugby union possesses a front region in which players express themselves to a public audience (Goffman, 1959). Analysis of the participant observation data revealed that for the rugby men involved in the research, the front region included training sessions, in which coaches assessed their bodies and performances. As discussed in chapter 4, these regions also included the university campus, the rugby matches, bus journeys prior to matches, the gym and social events (pubs, restaurants, night-clubs) when other spectators, such as friends, family and competitors observed them.

In this front region the rugby men expressed their hegemonic rugby masculinities, and effectively reinforced them through more dramatised personal fronts (Goffman, 1959). As discussed in Chapter 2, Goffman's concept of the front refers to the way the body is used to express one's role. It refers to the expressive equipment that can be identified with the individual personally and thus follows

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[46] Understanding of this identity and these categories have developed from my findings from the research, the existing academic studies and my analysis of the sports media (see chapter 5).

the performer in their day-to-day behaviour. An individual's personal front also entails stereotyped expectations, which include the use of dramatic behaviour to convey their performance in different regions. "Sign vehicles" [that are part of the personal front can include] office or rank; clothing; sex, age, and racial characteristics; size and looks; posture speech patterns; facial expressions [and] bodily gestures" (Goffman, 1959:34). Goffman explores how presentation of the personal front changes depending on the region in which one is situated at any one time.

As mentioned in chapters 3 and 4, the rugby men involved in the research were part of the 1st XV Team (or Performance Squad). They spent most of their rugby lives in public, front regions, and semi-public, back stage regions (Goffman, 1959). Front regions included rugby tours or bus journeys *prior* to rugby games. For example, during these outward journeys, the rugby men were in the presence of an audience. This audience included the rugby coaches and other sports teams from the University who were travelling to the same venue. On these journeys, the rugby men were emotionally inexpressive. Although one-to-one interviews (PEIs) with the rugby men, revealed that these rugby men possessed fears about their forthcoming game, insecurities about existing or former injuries, their physical abilities and even fears of the opposition, very few discussed these concerns on these bus journeys. Those few rugby men who did momentarily discuss their fears, insecurities, and concerns about the forthcoming game, did so quietly and often discretely slid below the back of the seat level, to avoid being heard by others.

In contrast to the front regions, there were also back regions (Goffman, 1959) in which the rugby men were located solely in the presence of other rugby men on the team. As discussed in chapter 4, this included bus journeys *after* match tours, training sessions, changing rooms, and, in some cases, at home where they lived with other rugby men. Similar to Goffman's analysis, I found that these regions allowed men to "relax:..drop [their] front" and act in different, sometimes deviant, unruly ways that were less acceptable in front region performances (Goffman, 1959:115). There was a marked difference here to the expression of masculinity through the personal front (Goffman, 1959).

Although performance of the masculinity, through the personal front changed in different regions (Goffman, 1959) the type of masculinity was still significant. They continued to enact their perceptions of hegemonic masculinities in front and back regions, as the rugby men were overtly competitive, keen to articulate adeptness, toughness, superiority over other male and female players, in their ability to sustain pain and to show commitment to the team. For example, the drinking games following matches reflected the importance they placed on this identity, notably the deployment of elite adeptness and physical success in the sport. The drinking games were used by the rugby men to celebrate the success of players who had contributed to the win of the team by administering drinking tasks to the rugby men. For example, players who had scored a 'hat-trick', three tries, or who had physically pushed themselves to the limit to assist in the success of the team, were given surplus amounts of alcohol to drink, or 'pints of mess', that included spirits and random items, such as peanuts, to drink in a limited time amid great celebratory cheer. Rugby men who had failed to contribute to the successful performance of the team, by failing to be adept, aggressive and strong and unemotional about playable pain and injury were given more extreme and humiliating drinking tasks, such drinking pints of mess that included pubic hair. However, the purpose was to publicly condemn them for failing to publicly enact the three core aspects of the hegemonic rugby identity the team sought to present to

the audiences. For these men this was a process of schooling (Goffman, 1959). Songs were also used in similar ways, as the rugby men would display their physical superiority and marginalise the abilities of other rugby men through the song. This was a form of invitation to confrontation as the rugby men expected other rugby men to display their ability through song. This continued until there was an ultimate winner. Whilst many adhered to these qualities, it will be shown that there were ambiguities in this identity, and not all the men responded in similar ways.

As discussed above, the concept of the back region implies that individuals can relax, and express parts of themselves that they would not normally display in the front region. However, the rugby men did not express their emotional concerns about fear, pain, injury and body concern in back regions. I argue that this is not a back region as Goffman (1959) defined it. The rugby men have high expectations of each other and themselves, and so they were still 'on show' and performing more public and dramatised personal fronts, to each other even though there was no public audience. Rugby men who were disappointed with their own performances in the game, anxious about being taken off because of injury or unsuccessful performances, or concerned about their body image, did not reveal these concerns in back regions in the presence of other rugby men. The rugby men revealed these emotional concerns in more intimate dimensions; one-to-one interviews with me the female researcher, to women (friends, girlfriends) or with one or two rugby men with whom they had a particular friendship or trust. Their participation in photographing their lives and presentations of these photographs in the interviews were vital in encouraging the men to discuss these concerns. This will be discussed further in chapters, 7, 8, and 9. In these intimate dimensions, the style of personal front changes from that which is enacted in both the front and back regions.

Chapter 7 Adept Bodies

7:1 Introduction

In this chapter I show how the adept body is understood by the rugby men, in this research, as being part of their rugby masculinities and that it is implicated in understanding the development and management of their body concerns. The theoretical framework set out in Chapter 2 is applied here, to analyse sociologically how the adept body is integral to understanding how the rugby men's body concerns develop and the ways in which they conceal and/or work to overcome them.

In this chapter I begin by discussing how adeptness is understood by the rugby men. As discussed in Chapter 2, I illustrate how body image (physical appearance), notably the lean and muscular physique are associated with feeling adept. Furthermore, I discuss how embodied feelings of adeptness (experiential embodiment) impact on the development and management of their body concerns (Watson, 2000). I draw on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach to understand how performance of adeptness is expressed in different regions of the rugby men's lives in the sport. Bodily deployment of adeptness for the rugby masculinity entails the use of the personal front, through bodily gestures, facial expressions, speech and props (Goffman, 1959). I then discuss how adeptness is developed through the rugby men's relationships with significant others at the local level and the influence they have on each other's body concerns. I also argue that the rugby men's back region relationships with each other are crucial to understanding how their body concerns are reinforced and managed.

Goffman's dramaturgical ideas are drawn on to analyse how bodily performance of adeptness, as part of one's physical capital (Bourdieu, 1984), is expressed through the personal front. For the rugby men, this aspect of physical capital is an important part of their sports participation because it is objectified and given particular value in this field. In chapter 2, I drew on Wainwright and Turners' (2006) application of this concept to show that sports participation and training can enhance adeptness and in turn enhance economic and cultural success in sport. They argue that physical capital requires "agents [to] create and mould their bodies in accordance with the fields in which they are involved and the demands of those specific fields" (Crossley, 2001a:107). In this chapter I apply this concept of physical capital to my analysis of the research findings to illustrate how the adept body is understood as part of hegemonic rugby masculinities. I show that the adept body (as a form of physical capital) is continuously on display and is scrutinized by others, such as the other male participants involved in the activity. Those rugby men who fail to possess and maintain this form of physical capital are characterised as being less masculine than other rugby men and thus less successful in the sport. The pragmatic dimension of embodiment is drawn on here for understanding the importance of the functional performance of the adept body for these men (Watson, 2000). The ethnographic research: i.e. collaborative participant observation, in-depth interviews and importantly the PEIs, inform this analysis to show how adeptness informs these rugby men's body concerns.

7:2 Expression of adeptness

Here I discuss how adeptness is presented, and effectively reinforced, by the rugby men through various forms of expressive equipment that are part of their personal front. A selection of sign vehicles of bodily gestures, facial expressions, language and props are discussed to illustrate this. It will be shown that there is minimal difference between the rugby men's presentation of adeptness in front and back regions of the sport.

The rugby men's perceptions of the adept body were symptomatic of the recent changes to the physique and physical abilities of professional male rugby union players (Duthie et al., 2003; Olds, 2001). Irrespective of their different playing positions, data from the participant observation and PEIs revealed that all of the rugby men in the research valued the adept body and perceived it as an essential part of their rugby masculinities. Whilst, a prop forward would arguably require less agility than a winger[47], the rugby men described players who demonstrated these abilities in the games, training sessions and gym training regimes as 'real men' and thus attached symbolic capital to them. This feature of physical capital exists and functions because of the valuations made by the rugby men and significant others in this field.

Analysis of my participant observation and interview data revealed how adeptness was expressed through the personal front (Goffman, 1959). Through bodily gestures in games, training sessions and social activities, the rugby men constructed and expressed adeptness, as part of their rugby masculinities. This was communicated by the physical acts of running, sprinting and "lifting weights". For example, as part of initiation tests for joining the club, the captain Dezza at that time, arranged for the "newbe" fresher players to be given copious amounts of alcohol by the other affiliated rugby men, stripped naked and taken in a mini-bus a few miles away from the university campus. During this activity, I observed the captain instruct the men to "sprint" back to the university campus. They were informed that the purpose was to assess which player/s could handle the pressure and perform and be adept under duress. Dezza explained to me, later that week that it was also for comic value. This incident actually resulted in Dezza losing his captaincy, as a female driver was distracted by the naked rugby men and crashed her car, she later complained to the local press. The senior coach was appalled by the captain's action, explaining that Dezza had not conformed to the "professional" identity this team sought to present and had historically portrayed. He later withdrew Dezza as captain of the team. The influence of the global level (is identifiable here (Connell and Messerschidmt, 2008), as the coach, a former professional rugby union player, articulates his expectations of the hegemonic rugby masculinity. His former professional position in the sport is influential to his expectations of his rugby players at the local level. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 3, the historical reputation of the rugby club positions these men in the public eye, and ensure that they are well-known within this field. Thus they are culturally required to behave in a certain way- in accordance with former hegemonic rugby masculinities.

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[47] A prop, known as tight-head and loose-head prop, and one of the three players at the front of the scrum, are required to work in a small amount of space and likely to possess more strength as they come up against, and have more contact with, more players. Props take most of the impact in the scrum and are perceived to have plenty of strength in their upper body. In contrast a winger, one of the fastest players on the team, is required to cover a large area quickly and requires less strength as they come into contact with less people. Their main responsibility is to finish off the attacking move, created by the backs, and score tries.

Similar to the biker boys discussed in Willis (1975) and Radleys' (1991) research, discussed in Chapter 2, the body and its physicality plays an important role in the rugby men's establishment and assertion of masculinity. Facial expressions, such as grimacing, were used by the rugby men to express the quality of physical exertion employed. They also used a variety of language based behaviours. For example, the men would grunt whilst 'lifting/pushing' weights, 'hitting the pads', and tackling one another. Pat explained on viewing a photograph, *Figure 7:1a*, he had taken of a training session in which the men were "hitting the pads", that these bodily expressions allowed them to physically verify their ability to dominate others. These verbal and non-verbal codes allowed the men to assert their masculinity through a process of displaying physical strength and endurance:

"I took this to show the effort the boys put in training, it's intense, there's a lot of grunting and shouting ...I guess it's a way of proving we are strong, that ...you can take the hard hits. You don't want to look soft."

He made similar comments on viewing photographs I had taken of the annual fitness testing, *Figure 7:1b*: "We did the same in this session, everyone's around watching, so you've got show that you are pushing yourself to the max."

Rugby "bant", banter, was also important for verbalization of adeptness. It was described by one of the rugby men, Koote, as: "chat or spice...that draws everyone's attention holds it and makes everyone laugh... if you've got the bant the boys look up to you".

Figure 7:1a

Figure 7:1b

Bam also explained that part of being adept involves "talking the talk", and showing others that you are "the shit". If "you don't have the bant you're pretty useless to us". The rugby men draw on this language-based behaviour in physical sports practices, i.e. rugby matches and training sessions. This would allow them verbalise their physical adeptness and thus superiority to the opposition players in matches but also to each other. It was experienced as positive feelings of empowerment, once again allowing them to assert their power and control over "weaker men". For example, common phrases were; "you can't take me boy", "I own you", "do you know who I am?" and "I'll piss all over you". They also used comical banter that sought to make others laugh at the physical inferiority of the other player or opposition.

Although hegemonic rugby masculinities for these men were informed by the rugby context and lived out here, they sought to display this identity in contexts outside of the field of rugby union. The rugby men drew on more subtle forms of "bant", in these, often non-physical contexts to demonstrate to other rugby men on the team, that they were physically superior outside of the sport. For example, on a bus journey prior to an away rugby match, Bam discussed how he used "a bit of bant" to assert his superiority verbally at a recent job interview. When one of the rugby men on the bus asked him about this experience he explained:

"The other candidates were weak they hardly spoke, so I killed it... I just gave it some bant".

Whilst Bam appeared to believe that he asserted his masculinity in the interview, it is unknown whether this aspect of hegemonic masculinity was equivalent to that required in the different field of business. He later revealed to me that he was not offered the job.

Within the rugby contexts, the rugby men also wore identifiable sports kits, props, that were perceived as "serious kit" (Scarvo and Paddy) to express their adept bodies. One of the players Scarvo, a former 200m sprinter, chose to wear his athletics training shorts during a speed and agility training session. This was recognisable to the other rugby men as setting himself up as potentially quicker than the others. Interestingly, Scarvo noted in the PEI on viewing *Figure 7:1c,* that this was intentional, as he wanted to show the other men that he was physically superior to them. He also felt that he had "more than proved himself" as he "beat everyone" in the speed (bleep) test.

Some of the newer players to the club, the freshers, also identified padding, worn during rugby games, as "serious kit". However, the older and more affiliated rugby men described the padding as a sign of weakness. In a photograph, *Figure 7:2a* Koote is featured wearing a form of padding in the back of his jumper and is positioned in what the rugby men described as a "Zoolander pose". Koote explained that his pose, was a comic imitation of the central male characters Derek Zoolander and Hansel in the film Zoolander (2001). The fictional characters' preoccupation with their appearance leads to the portrayal of their overt femininity and assumed homosexuality. They were described by Koote, and the other the rugby men as 'camp' male models. This presentation serves to criticise and feminise those rugby men who fail to present the adept and muscular body by wearing pads. These men parody symbolic representations of masculinity that do not adhere to their assumptions of hegemonic rugby masculinities, in order to assert their own identity. This is where the regional level (cultural dimension) informs local level practices. Koote explained on viewing this photograph:

> "If you need pads in the game, you are just covering up your puny body...some of the boys will do it to try and look bigger than they really are. The freshers often come to club with pads, but once we get hold of them they ditch them". I was doing the Zoolander pose and taking the mick of the padded boys".

For these men, muscular appearance of the body is important to their rugby masculinity and thus their body image. However, those who express overt interest in it with the use of certain props (notably pads), are not perceived as conforming to the rugby masculinity and the pragmatic embodiment that is tied to this adept body.

Figure 7:1c

Figure 7:2a

The rugby men also used props to temporarily distance themselves from their embracement of the adept masculine role (Goffman, 1961). By distancing oneself as part of one's performance, they sought to reflect their confidence in their embracement of the adept body. For example, in photograph, *Figure 7:3*, one of the rugby men Doops is featured posing and grimacing in his housemate's athletics training kit. The photograph is taken, by one of the rugby men, in the back region of the home of a group of the rugby men. Doops is positioned in a pose that is regularly taken by bodybuilders to accentuate the augmentation and tone of their muscles to the public spectators. The male bodybuilder's motivated interest in their visual image and display of the semi-naked and beautified body is culturally characterised as embodying femininity (Roof, 1996). Whilst the rugby men perceived the male 100 and 200m sprinters at the university athletic club as being adept, they criticised their corporeal narcissism. Performance of the adept body, and hegemonic rugby masculinity, for these men did not entail public displays of bodily vanity, expressed through the bodily adornment of skin-tight clothing. Doops is caricaturing this narcissistic sports masculinity. He explained on viewing this photograph of himself:

"I was taking the piss out of my housemate and the other sprinters...they spend far too much time worrying about how they look, in their skimpy suits... pumping up their muscles just for the look, and worrying how much body fat they have".

Figure 7:3

This form of role distancing entails a self-conscious placement outside of his hegemonic rugby masculinity in order to express a different element of the self, i.e. "know that I am not who I appear to be" (Goffman, 2009:102). What is interesting about this photograph is that during the PEI, this player

discloses his concern about his physical adeptness and body weight. He is concerned about being overweight and slower that other players. In the presence of his team mates in the back region, he steps aside from the adept role to mock those who differ from it, but in more intimate dimensions he expresses his concerns of failing to maintain it. Koote's presentation of the Zoolander pose in *Figure 7:1c* discussed above, is also symptomatic of this role distancing.

In the front regions the rugby men dramatised their personal front for the purposes of the sport and they continued to do so in the presence of each other in the back regions. What is significant about these back regions is that the rugby men suppress the more emotional fears and worries about failing to present adept rugby masculinity to the other rugby men in them (this is discussed further below). Valuations made by those in this field make it less feasible for the rugby men to express fears and worries about not maintaining this form of physical capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

7:3 Developing adept bodies: impact of social relationships with significant others

In Chapter 5, I discussed how perceptions of adeptness are understood and developed as part of sports masculinities through young men's social relationships with significant others (Burgess et al., 2003; Connell, 1995; Madill and Hopper, 2007; Swain, 2003; Whitson: 1990). In this section I discuss the influence of the rugby men's relationships with significant others within their immediate communities, local level, to their body concerns. I show that the most influential relationship is the rugby men's relationships with their team mates. I discuss the key role they play in encouraging adeptness as being part their hegemonic rugby masculinities, but first there will be a discussion about the influence of other social relationships.

Interestingly, the rugby men discussed the coaches (the senior coach and two assistant coaches), during the PEIs, as key people in developing their perception of adeptness. Fathers were not seen as significant as academic studies (Connell, 1995; 2008; Fasteau, 1994; Bois et al., 2005; Holt et al., 2008; Messner, 1990) and media representations have suggested. My observations of the senior coach, and the rugby men's discussion of him, are similar to the academic studies, discussed in chapter 5, as this coach also feminised and chastised his rugby men for inept performances. In certain instances, he chastised inept ability but the actions of the coach were not as dramatic and humiliating as some of the research studies (Sabo and Penepinto, 1990) have indicated. Instead, the senior coach would define poor performances and physical ineptness as "shameful" and "dishonourable". He expresses his authoritative role, through these prohibitions and criticisms (Jones et al., 2011). From these, the rugby men were aware that physical adeptness was important to living out the successful adept rugby body in the front regions of the sport.

For example, Pat explained that when the senior coach (supposedly) believed a player to have under-performed, he would say; "you've been a disgrace to this team" and reprimanded them with harsh language in front of the other men (Pat). In most instances, he would even "drop" players to the lower team for their lacklustre performance. One of the rugby men, Bam explained, the coach "gets livid if you under-perform, he says 'what's the point in selecting you next time for the team when you've let people down', and then he will drop people willy nilly". The coach's attitude to poor performance is conveyed further in Koote's comments, as he explains that the coach immediately relegates rugby men

from the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad for a single uninspiring performance. Koote believed that this was because, "…he didn't want anyone to think that…they can just walk back into the 1st XV Team. Therefore, if you under-perform…you always have to start in the lower team" (Koote). As discussed in Chapter 2, Jones et al., (2011) identify similar practices amongst sports coaches, in their application of the dramaturgical approach. In order for athletes to buy into the coach's authoritative role, coaches have to adopt dramaturgical principles, such as impression management. This entails excluding and prohibiting practices that might discredit the impression he seeks to convey. This coach wanted his men to recognise that he was a former professional player, with elite physical abilities, and thus he expects similar qualities from his players.

Away from the front region, in the PEIs the rugby men reflected on the coach's expectations of the adept body and how this impacted on their body concerns. In combination with the influence of former embodied experiences, (this will be discussed further below) the senior coach played a role in reinforcing some of the rugby men's existing concerns. In the PEIs the rugby men described the coach as pushing them to work harder on improving their bodies and adept performances. Craig discusses his responses to the coach's expectations. Early in the interview, on viewing photographs of himself *Figure 7:4a and 7:4b* [48], at the annual Rugby Dinner and during a pre-game warm-up session, Craig's revealed concerns about the size of his legs. However, later in the interview on viewing photographs of the coach talking to his players, *Figure 7:5*, he commented that these concerns were influenced by the coach's criticisms:

Interviewer   (shows photograph of Craig, *Figure 7:4a and 7:4b*):"Are you happy with your body?"

Craig: "There's still a lot that I could improve on…I'd like to increase my weight [muscle mass] and the size of my legs…

Interviewer: (shows photograph, *Figure 7:5*) "How do you feel about your coach and how do you think he perceives your body and performance?"

Craig: "Last year the first thing he said to me was 'right you have got five weeks off, when you come back I want your legs to be massive'…but he had compared my legs to someone else in the team, a back I'm not a back, …that person was not as strong as me but he was faster than me."

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[48] These photographs are also presented in chapter 6, *Figure 6:13*. Craig is featured in the centre of *Figure 7:4a* and to the right in *Figure 7:4b*.
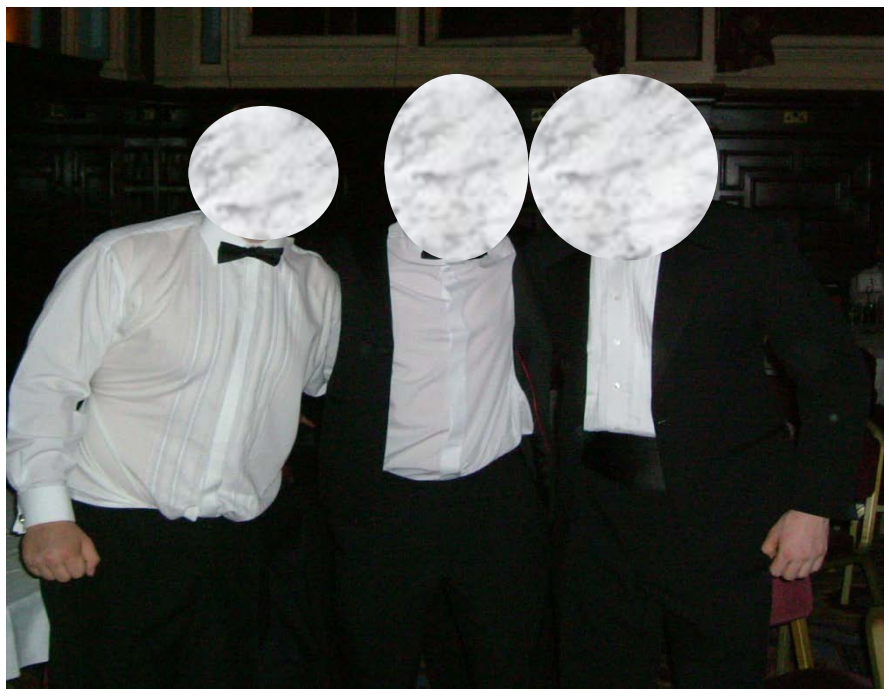
Figure 7:4a

Figure 7:4b

Figure 7:5

A similar relationship, between the coach's criticisms and the rugby men's body concern was identified during Pat's PEI. Pat felt that many of his former coaches had condemned his small physique; he interpreted his body through the perceptions of others (Featherstone, 2010). What is significant about this intimate narrative is that it reveals how body reflexive practices work (Connell, 2008) and the influence these experiences have on the rugby men's body concerns. Body reflexive practices comes into play through Pat's former embodied experiences of feeling small, disappointed with his body, and being bullied because of his size. Furthermore, the coach's expectations of his body contributed to reinforcing his concerns. Like Craig's interview, early in the PEI Pat discussed his body concern, but later revealed his concerns are also influenced by the coach's criticisms.

Interviewer (shows photograph of Pat participating in training)
        "Are you happy with your body?"
Pat: "I'm short and stocky…I want to be taller…I want an extra inch or two… [and] an extra stone [of muscle.]"
Pat: "I've always been encouraged by coaches to be bigger…in the past they would say…if you are looking too fat… or you need to get bigger…I've always wanted to prove them wrong."

Whilst Pat's body and bodily practices in the sport are influential to the development of his rugby masculinity (Swain, 2003), they are also influential to his perceptions of his body and his body concerns. Pat's comments show how valuations about the adept body, made by coaches within the field of rugby informed his body concern when this identity could not be presented and maintained. The embodied feelings of being small and the concomitant corporeal discomfort (experiential embodiment) are part of this circuit of body reflexive practice, as they encourage his body concern.

Relationships with Mothers

An emergent theme from the PEIs was the rugby men's relationships with their mothers. Many of the rugby men described their mothers as being emotionally supportive during their involvement in the sport. These findings differ to the role of mothers described in academic work. As I discussed in Chapter 5, there is limited discussion of men's relationships with their mothers and their influence to their son's sports participation. In my research she functioned as key to an intimate dimension and discussion of emotions, along with other specific females in their lives. Two of the rugby men (Koote and Craig), however, revealed that their body concerns were reinforced by their mothers comments and expectations of the adept body, as they were both compared to the physique and ability of a brother.

From Koote's and Craig's PEI data, I identified the influence former embodied experiences have in contributing to their body concerns and how their mothers' expectations of how the adept body was influential to reinforcing these concerns. On viewing photographs of himself Koote explained that although he had lost approximately five stone since the age of sixteen, the unpleasant feeling of being massively overweight, "obese" and out of shape remained in his psyche and led him to continually perceive his body as large and "hefty" (Koote). As discussed in Chapter 1, narratives of embodiment that describe the sensory discomfort of the overweight and fat body have been presented by both men

and women (Bordo, 1993; Gimlin, 2002; Gill et al., 2005; Monaghan, 2005; Throsby, 2007). For Koote, a reflexive process of embodiment is identifiable here, because the sensations and feelings of his overweight body informed his perceptions of it and what to do with it (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Crossley, 2006). The following quote illustrates Koote's former experiences of being overweight, but also shows how these concerns contribute to reinforcing his current concerns about possessing too much fat. He expresses these feelings whilst viewing a photograph of his body that he brought to the interview, *Figure 7:5*

Koote (introduces photograph of himself, *Figure 7:5*):

> "When I was at school I was really fat…then I broke my jaw. I had to have it wired together. I lost lots of weight … from not being able to eat and stuff … and that sort of spurred me on. The feeling of losing weight; feeling physically good and …like changing habits and stuff."

Interviewer: "So are you happy with this new physique?"
Koote: "No I would like to lose fat…have less fat."

These comments indicate that Koote's perceptions of his overweight body conform with the narratives of fat embodiment and a stigmatised personal identity as discussed by Gill (2008) and Warin et al., (2011) (see Chapter 1).

Although Koote's former experiences of being overweight led him to perceive his body negatively, he felt that his mother's comments also influenced his perception of the adept and lean physique and contributed to his existing body concern. She plays a role in the processes of constructing this feature of hegemonic masculinities within the local level (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Koote did not openly explain that her perceptions of the lean physique encouraged him to perceive his body as overweight and less adept, but he did explain that her comments did influence the problems he perceived his body as having. His mother acknowledged his weight loss, but often negatively compared his physique directly to his brother's body.

Figure 7:5

Unintentionally, she expressed that Koote's new leaner physique was beginning to become more acceptable and more masculine because it resembled his brother's body. As his brother was "very lean and slim", Koote expressed uncertainty about her comments. Although the reader could interpret her remarks as positive, Koote revealed how he felt about her comments and his brother's idealised adept body. His mother's comments led him to believe that his brother was much "slighter" and encouraged him to believe that his body was "too big" and "podgy:"

Koote: "When I have lost weight, my Mum will always say something. But I guess...it's not a big issue...when you see me compared to my brother's, I'm clearly a lot bigger. Like, she came up the other day and she said, 'you can see your brother's face in you now'; I'm not sure but I think she means it in a nice way."

Koote felt that his brother's leaner body was seen as more masculine and thus his experiential experiences of his overweight body threatened his own sense of masculinity (Atkinson, 2011; Monaghan, 2008; Watson, 2000). This was further reinforced by his mother's comments.

Craig revealed similar concerns as he explained that his mother often praised his brother's physique and abilities and was less complimentary about Craig's body.

Craig: "I know that my mum thinks my brother is more athletic than me. She comments a lot on his physique and stuff...and compares us... and it does piss me off. You have then got to live up to him"

On viewing a photograph of his body *Figure 7:4b,* Craig, like Koote also discussed how childhood corporeal experiences of being overweight and small encouraged his body concern in adulthood. In Throsby's (2007) research similar narratives are expressed by obese women. The women commonly held the conviction that being overweight as a child would result in being overweight as an adult. Although Craig lost what he described as, "the excess weight" and increased his muscle size, he continued to experience former corporeal feelings of his small and overweight body. These simulated his existing concern, as he recurrently feared returning to his previous size and the associated feeling of discomfort and disgust with his body. He exercised "persistently" and meticulously and followed a low-fat restricted diet to gain control over his body weight and to prevent revisiting his previous physique:

"Compared to how I used to be...I used to be a lot bigger, two stone heavier...and a lot of fat, being fat and small is not something that I would like to go back to and to just stop training; I don't think I could ever do that."

Throughout the interview, Koote talked recurrently of his brother's lean physique and the belittlements he faced as his brother mocked his bodily performances. These comments encouraged Koote to compete with his brother, to assert superior adept performances. He discussed how he tried to

be more adept and leaner. He also discussed his mother's prohibitions, as she categorised his eating behaviours as unrestrained "grazing." These criticisms remained with Koote long after he left the family home, as he explained that his current eating patterns and worries of overeating were influenced by her comments. For example, as his mother suggested his eating was an "uncontrollable excuse for boredom", he worried about any free time he had because he believed he would overeat, or do what his mother perceived as overeating. Although the mother did not engender Koote's body concerns, her criticisms and her discussion of his brother contributed to his existing body concerns. This relationship encouraged him to interpret the ideal masculinity as adept, but also lean. Therefore, in order to overcome his belief that his body was "podgy" he restricted his eating patterns.

Koote's photo-elicitation narrative also reveals that both social and embodied experiences explain how his body concern is produced and managed in his health-related sports acts. In particular, Koote's embodied experiences of corporeal discomfort engendered his body concerns but it was the social relationship with his mother that played a part in reinforcing them. Similar to Wellard et al., (2007) examination of ballet dancers, discussed in Chapter 2, we can see how the circuit of body reflexive practice occurs for Koote (Connell, 2008). His sensory experiences of being overweight; his social experiences with his mother, and his responses to these had an influence on his courses of conduct. His embodied experiences illustrate that he is the agent of his practice but the social influences, and the resulting structures within which the hegemonic masculine body is defined, also illustrate that his body is an agent of practice (Connell, 2008).

Whilst the comments made by Koote and Craig in the PEIs reveal that the rugby men's relationships with women can create an intimate dimension in which men are more expressive about the reflective and emotional aspects of the self, gendered perceptions of women cannot be homogenised. Koote and Craig may have perceived their discussion with me, as creating an intimate dimension in which they could talk about their body concerns, but the expectations their mothers had of their physical appearance, and the ideal masculinity, meant that, at that time, they did not express these particular intimate emotions to their mothers. Yet her expectations were influential to their perception of hegemonic masculinities.

Relationships with Rugby men (team mates)

As discussed in Chapter 2, Goffman (1959:88) argues that because individuals are part of a team, understanding of the required performance is also developed through the shared interactions or "familiarity" between the actors within it. Consequently, not only do the members have to present a particular impression to the external audience in the front stage, but they are required to perform and maintain this role to one another, in the back stage or more private dimensions of their interaction. Those who diverge from the public performance and established role could potentially disrupt the overall performance of the team and, therefore, face embarrassment from both the external audience and others within the team. In the following section, Goffman's (1959) concept of the team and understanding of back region behaviour are drawn on here to show how adeptness is constructed as part of the adept rugby masculinities in men's relationships with other men on the rugby team within the local level.

Similar to the academic studies discussed in Chapter 5, that discuss young men's relationships with other men in sport (Donnelly and Young, 1988; Hasbrook and Harris, 2000; Pratt, 2000; Plummer, 2006; Young et al. 1994), the rugby men in this research also carried out similar competitive displays with their team mates. For example, Vinnie explained in the PEIs that although there are differences in the physical abilities required for forwards and backs there is competitiveness between them. During the participant observation it was revealed that in most weeks the forward players and the backs would often train separately. However, Vinnie explained in the PEI that when he is training with the forwards, "the backs will often come over and join in, we will be like come on…do one of the other boys show them what the forwards can do." This competitive practice also entailed ridiculing one another for being less adept. They would use derogatory names such as 'pussy' 'wossy' and claimed mistakes were only made because the forwards or backs "never win the ball allowing others to do something with it". By using these expressive signs (Goffman, 1959) to criticise those who fail to conform to the adept body, they could display their conformity to it. As will be discussed below, these relations escalated into further competitiveness because the men who were perceived as weak, worked harder to assert their physically abilities. The important point to note is that these competitive practices resulted in the boundary of adeptness to continually shift, as the rugby men would persistently compete with their team-mates to prove they were physically more adept. This competitiveness and physical desire to be better than others was most visible in the participant observations and discussions of photographs I had taken of the annual fitness testing in the PEIs.

Each year, the coach and external fitness testers would assess the rugby men's speed, agility, and strength to ascertain those men who were more physically suitable for recruitment to the 1st XV team. They assessed whose fitness had regressed. This test proved to be a masculine battleground of physical abilities as all the men were very keen "to be the best" (as quoted by Terence, Koote, Bam and Doops). The forward players would try to prove that they were the strongest in their group and the back players would try to prove that they were the fastest and most agile. Most players even tried to be "the best" in both domains, symptomatic of the changing physique and ability of the professional rugby union players (Duthie et al., 2003; Olds, 2001). In *Figures 7:6a, 7:6b, 7:6c* the rugby men can be seen observing one another as they take the tests and examining the adjudicator's score sheets to check their ranking against other men in similar positions. Interestingly, one of the players can be seen in the left hand corner of *Figure 7:6a* using the cross-trainer, while he waits for the next set of cardio-vascular tests. On viewing this photograph in the PEI he revealed; "I warming-up for the next speed test, the aim was to give me an advantage over the other boys".

All of the rugby men, who participated in PEIs, viewed a photo-set of the annual fitness testing. (See Appendix 5 (b)[49] for sample of these photographs).In the discussion of these photographs, some of the rugby men revealed that they would then compare scores to ascertain what they needed to do in the next test "to beat" the other men. In certain instances, some of the men would discretely make additional attempts to place themselves at the top of the score sheet, see. For example, on viewing *Figure 7:6d* Craig explained that he was originally placed in first position in the agility and speed tests. However, another player, (Doops) featured in the photograph, discovered that he was placed in second

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[49] Please note the rugby men did not view the same photo-set for the annual fitness testing.

position below Craig on the score sheet. So while others moved to the next test, Doops took additional tests to gain first place position, which he achieved much to Craig's disappointment.

Figure 7:6a
Figure 7:6b
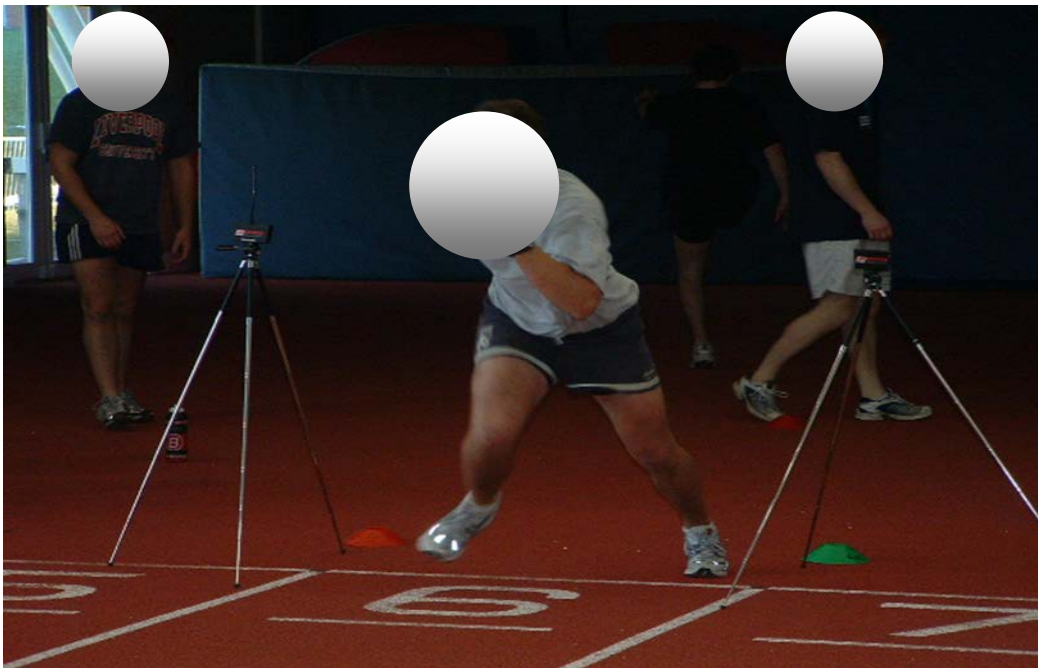
After viewing the photographs of the annual fitness testing, Bam, John and Dezza stated this competitive behaviour was consistent throughout the rugby men's sports practices because certain players strived to be more adept than their team-mates. This is somewhat similar to the practices of school boys described in the study by Harris and Hasbrook (2000), discussed in Chapter 2. The

difference here is that these men are not only competing for status and success amongst others within the local level, but they are seeking to attain a semi-professional position in the sport at the global level in the future. John sums this up in the following comment; "you are competing with everyone... you want to win games... you want to be the best as a team and an individual player...but you want to be on the first team and you want to be better than all the rest." These competitive practices, encouraged Bam, and others, to work harder in the rugby training and gym sessions and use verbal banter to undermine others perceived physical abilities. For example, on viewing the photograph of Urwin in *Figures 7:6a* Bam explained, "I will try to beat Urwin on everything just to piss him off...[and] Doops just because he is so competitive". Although Bam claimed that his acts were an attempt to simply aggravate others, Messner (1990:108) argues that "being better than other guys; beating them is the key to acceptance and successful masculine identity in men's sport".

As these rugby men were consistently competing with one another to assert and prove their superior physical abilities, they continually pushed each other to be more adept. Thus their experience and social practice results in the shifting requirements of this form of physical capital (Bourdieu, 1984). The significance of investigating how the adept body is relevant in the back regions is raised here, as my examination of this region draws attention to the impact men's relationships with other men on their team can potentially have to sportsmen's body concerns. Although the back region implies a male team member, "can relax; ...drop his front" (Goffman, 1959: 115) the margins of this feature of physical capital keep altering in these rugby men's relationships with each other. The result is that the adept body is continually on display and scrutinised in front *and* back regions.

7:4 Body concerns: impact of rugby men's relationships with their teammates

Drawing on Goffman's (1959) analysis of the back region and back region behaviour, I argue that the rugby men's relationships with their team-mates in this region contribute to reinforcing their existing body concerns. After viewing the comments made by the rugby men in the PEIs, away from their team-mates, I discovered that knowledge of other rugby men's superior physical abilities, bodies and health-related sports practices encouraged some men to become self-reflective and work harder on asserting the adept rugby body. For many, these experiences simply generated a back region culture of competitiveness, where an idealised standard of the hegemonic rugby masculinity is perceived as being physically superior to other men. However, for others, knowledge of this type of masculinity also provoked corporeal scrutiny, habitual exercise and encouraged meticulous 'healthy eating' regimes. This impacted on how these rugby men managed their body concerns in this back region.

Pat revealed in the PEI that he persistently failed to perceive his body positively and thus would "always push and do more" in his health-related sports acts. As Schwalbe and Wolkomir (2001), cited in chapter 4, argue masculine narratives denote autonomy and self-control, I questioned whether Pat would have admitted that his concerns were influenced by other rugby men's practices. Despite initial reservations I had about this, he actually felt relaxed in the photo-elicitation discussions, away from the presence of other men. He subsequently explained on viewing photographs of the other rugby men that

his compulsive acts were influenced by the other rugby men's increasing muscular physiques and adept performances.

> "Everyone is looking to see if you are in good shape or are you in bad shape…I came back in the summer and a few people said…that I was looking bigger…but I wouldn't say that I was the talking point.
> My body…my lifting…it's nothing exceptional…this is part of the reason I train so much, trying to lift this …and that. I want people to say look at this body…[make] like compliments.
> When we all (the 1st XV Team) take such good care of our body…it [becomes] one of the big things on my list…you know the things that we want compliments about".

Terence's PEI narrative also revealed that knowledge of the other rugby men's training practices and their increasing physical abilities created self-reflection and a feeling of a lack of control over one's body. In the first year of the research, Terence explained that "being better" (stronger, fitter and more muscular) than other men did not concern him. However, as the years progressed and he became a more affiliated member of the rugby men's competitive practices and ideals, he also wanted "to be the best, better than all others and second to no-one." This meant that he would work continuously to be consistently faster and stronger than the other rugby men. However, the implication of living out this aspect of the hegemonic rugby masculinity was revealed in the PEI, as he expressed fears of personal inadequacy on viewing a photograph of his body, *Figure 6:11*.

> " [After a game] It drives me round the bend because for days I'm thinking about my performance…if I haven't played quite so well I will psycho-analyse everything just to try to justify to myself that I did do all right…but in the back of my mind I know I didn't and it cuts me up".

Other rugby men, such as Dezza and Bam, expressed similar concerns on viewing photographs of their bodies and those of other rugby men in the PEIs. They also felt the persistent need to compete with others because they feared being perceived as weaker, less adept, than the other rugby men.

Although adeptness was encouraged by other rugby men as being part of the hegemonic rugby masculinity, the rugby men, directly and indirectly, encouraged one another to follow a particular 'healthy eating regime', as part of this identity in the back regions. During observations of the men's eating regimes, comparable behaviour was identified as there appeared to be an expected back region culture of healthy eating that encouraged the men to mimic the eating regimes of others. Although knowledge of this culture is apparent in existing research about men's relationships in sport and exercise contexts (Drummond, 2002a), it is important to show that the men's photo-elicitation narratives (as part of an intimate dimension beyond the back region) because they illustrate how the men actually feel and respond to the low-fat and scrupulous nutritional practices of others. The rugby men revealed that 'healthy eating regimes' are instrumental to being adept. Consumption of unhealthy foods resulted in the corporeal feeling of being "heavier" and "not good" (Koote, Vinne and Alan) and thus impacted significantly on their personal perception of their speed and agility.

Before discussing the rugby men's expected culture of "healthy eating", here I will discuss my reason for use of this term rather than 'diet' or 'dieting'. The term 'diet' for men, in both this research and in previous studies, has been found to be limiting as men find it difficult to admit to being on 'a diet' in public narratives or formal discussions with others (Andersen, 1990, De Souza and Ciclitira, 2005). Therefore, research into men's eating behaviour indicates that very few men are 'on a diet' or 'have dieted'. For example, studies indicate that 25% of men have dieted compared to 95% of women (Grogan, 1999:67). However, there is a 'dark figure' of dieters because the men hide their food restriction and weight management practices in more public narratives and contexts because they perceive it as a woman's concern (Drummond, 1999; Wilkins, 2001). By admitting to dieting behaviours, they feel emasculated. Moreover, dieting is perceived as a vain objectification of the body that is also associated with femininity (Brownmiller, 1984; De Souza and Ciclitira, 2005; Gough, 2007a; 2007b) or homosexual men. Gough (2007a) notes that men are now being included in media features on diet and health, but they will be represented in ways "which critique 'fad'...feminine diets and recuperate cooking and food as masculine domains" (Gough, 2007b, cited in Gough, 2007a:60). Subsequently, this infers that men will more willingly admit to 'healthy eating' than 'dieting' or being 'on a diet.' However, researchers in this field have adopted the term 'diet'. They have also categorised healthy eating men as 'non-dieters' (Rozin and Fallon: 1988). By doing this they are implying that the men are unconcerned with weight management and their body image. It is tenuous to categorise these men as 'healthy eaters', and subsequently 'non-dieters', when the term is a masculine way of expressing diet and weight management behaviours in public narratives. If researchers are not explicitly aware of the gendered language, then there is a danger that some men with body concerns who use the term 'healthy eating' rather than 'diet' may be excluded. In this research the term 'dieting' has been avoided and 'healthy eating', used by the rugby men, has been adopted in order to avoid any perceived threat to gender identity which may impact on their discussion or participation in the research. Thus, I am able to explore the different ways men articulate and classify their weight management behaviours. This approach recognises that 'healthy eating' and 'diet' can manifest as the same thing.

Although the majority of the 1st XV Team/Performance Squad followed healthy low-fat eating plans, in the PEIs the rugby men verbally displayed an expectation to consciously monitor and lower the fat content of their food. For some rugby men, this back region culture encouraged them to become critical of their own eating patterns, as they tried to follow the practices of others. In particular, Pat revealed that he was persistently conscious of not eating food that was high in saturated fat in the presence of other men;

Pat: "When we are on the bus…you are sort of thinking who is going to judge me if I buy that."

Knowledge of the other men's lean bodies and eating regimes encouraged him to make choices that were dependent on what he thought others expected him to eat. For example, on viewing photographs of Terence's body (*Figure 6:11*, see chapter 6) he explained that he felt anxious about foods containing high levels of saturated fat because, "Terence always preaches about how saturated fats affect[s] your stomach and performance a day after eating them…so hearing things like that…I start to worry about it…and just being put back [in the sport]…for like ages." Other young players (freshers) made similar comments on viewing this photograph of Terence;

Jimbo: "Terence is a lean machine. At the last away game, we tried to pay Terence to eat McDonalds on the bus, but he was adamant that he would not do not even for a million quid. When you see you him, you just think shit I need to work harder, get more cut and get quicker, he's an awesome player".

Research into sports subcultures illustrates that when new members join a team they will often "deliberately adopt the mannerisms, attitudes…and behaviour they perceive to be characteristic of the established members of the achieved subculture" (Donnelly and Young, 1988: 224, see chapter 5). As Pat and others were new players, they adopted the practices and behaviours of others in an attempt to be become a more closely affiliated and accepted team member of this masculine group of men. As discussed above, similar practices were identifiable as younger players changed their views of padding, props (Goffman, 1959), once they became integrated into this team of rugby men.

Vinnie revealed during the PEI that existing affiliated members were also affected by the eating practices of others. Even though a number of the rugby men frequently commented positively on Vinnie's superior lean physique and his meticulous low-fat eating plan, Vinnie himself explained, on viewing photographs of Terence's body (*Figure 7:11*, chapter 7), that knowledge of Terence's lean regime actually made him reflect upon his own practices. This encouraged him to question his own nutritional plan and alter further his scrupulous regime. Similar practices were evident throughout the club as knowledge of Terence's and Vinnie's eating regimes (that focused on foods containing less than 10% fat, per hundred grams, for six days of the week) was copied by the other rugby men.

The comments made by the rugby men in the PEIs reveal that their collective understanding of healthy eating led to self-reflection that pushed some to follow the restricted low-fat healthy eating regimes of others. What can be learnt, from the rugby men's comments in these more intimate dimensions, is that the sportsmen's relationships with other rugby men in the team that occur in the back regions of the sport are potentially problematic. Not only do these relationships play a part in raising the boundaries of physical capital, that include adeptness, they also contribute to reinforcing sportsmen's body concerns influencing how these concerns are managed in this back region.

Chapter 2 brought together a theoretical framework to understand how the rugby men's body concerns are developed and managed. The next section will discuss how Goffman's dramaturgical approach is combined with Connell's concept of body reflexive practices to understand how the rugby men's body concerns developed and how it interacts with the notion of adeptness. If the rugby men did not feel adept and the concomitant pleasures of embodiment they became anxious.

7:5 Body Concerns

As part of the theoretical framework Connell's (2008) concept of body reflexive practices is combined with Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical analysis to understand how adeptness is relevant to rugby men's body concerns. As discussed in Chapter 2, this concept draws attention to the embodied and reflective aspect of the self in the development of masculinities. Although this allows for recognition of the agency of bodies in social processes, bodies also share in the social agency of generating and

shaping courses of conduct (Connell, 2008; Wellard et al., 2007). Therefore, intimate corporeal experiences that include feelings of adeptness, or being overweight, small and injured are not only internal to the individual, but occur via socially structured practices. However, this is not to suggest that "social meanings or categories imposed on [ones] body, through meanings...but rather body reflexive practices call them into play, ...bodily experience... energizes the circuit" (Connell, 1995:62).

Goffman's approach to the self is also important for understanding the rugby men's body concerns because he recognises the reflective self. Drawing on Mead's (1934) theoretical approach to the self, he argues that the self involves both the 'I' and the 'me'. The 'I' is part of the impulsive self and the 'me' is part of the socialised self that is influenced by one's social experiences, meanings and categories. In this thesis Connell's body reflexive practices are combined with Goffman's dramaturgical approach because Goffman does not focus specifically on the embodied self and the impact "reflexive embodiment" has to one's behaviour, identities and practices (Crossley, 2004). This combination allows for recognition of the impact both embodied and social experiences can have on the development and management of the rugby men's body concerns.

Goffman's dramaturgical analysis of region and region behaviour is also important for understanding the rugby men's body reflexive practices because the rugby men discussed more about, and reflected, on their body concerns in intimate dimensions, than they did in the front and back regions. They were more communicative in the former about how they felt about other's expectations of the adept masculinity, their embodied feelings of being less adept and the impact they have on their body concerns.

As highlighted above, Connell (2008) argues masculinities are constructed through circuits of body reflexive practices. Different elements are implicated in body reflexive practices and play a part in forming gender relations (Swain, 2003; Valentine, 1999; Wellard et al., 2007; Wellard, 2009). The circuit of body reflexive practices for these rugby men involves moving through the institutionalised requirements of the hegemonic rugby masculinity, the social expectations that others have of the adept rugby body within the local level and regional level and the personal and embodied practices of training their bodies. It has been shown above, that their social relationships with coaches, fathers, some mothers and other rugby men contributed to the development of their adept rugby masculinities. Their embodied experiences of participating in the sport; the matches, training sessions, healthy eating and gym regimes contributed to constructing and presenting the adept body and the boundaries of adeptness that is part of rugby masculinities. For these rugby men, masculinities are constructed through `doing' the adept body rather than simply `being' adept (Drummond, 2010; Hearn and Morgan, 1990). Attention to body image (size, shape, weight and muscle mass) informs this identity, but performance in the sport is also important. Koote articulates this in the PEI as he explained that training and playing rugby:

"Is a physical sacrifice... you can feel what needs to be done, you can feel how hard it is, and your body has to be up for it. You have to be able to put your body through it."

The rugby men were reflective about the influence these embodied experiences and social experiences, with significant others, had on how they presented and developed their adept bodies in

front and back regions of the sport. In these more public regions the rugby men did not discuss how they felt about these experiences and how this impacted on the development and management of their body concerns. However, in the more intimate dimension of the PEI the rugby men revealed the impact of social relationships with others, embodied experiences of discomfort and how these experiences contributed to their body concerns.

Unlike the academic research discussed in Chapter 5, that describes young men's social relationships with male family members (Connell, 1995; Fasteau, 1994; Messner, 1990; Sabo and Rutherford, 1980), very few rugby men talked of heroic and influential family members in the PEI. However, the rugby men talked of their former experiences of being overweight, small and/or bullied and how this contributed their body concerns and played a part in influencing how they worked on them in exercise and healthy eating regimes. For example, as discussed above Vinnie possessed a superior muscular physique and was admired by many of his team mates. However, through the PEIs of others it was discovered that Vinnie had admitted his body concerns were influenced by his childhood experiences of being small and harassed[50]. During a two-day rugby tour, one of Vinnie's close team-mates informed me that Vinnie's superior physique was due to his experiences of being small, overweight and bullied as a young boy:

> "Yeh Vinnie told me that he is like that...he works out frequently; he is muscular now because he was fat and used to get picked on at school for being small and stuff."

In the PEI, Vinnie did discuss his body concern, but he did not discuss his childhood experiences of being overweight, small and bullied. His biographical narrative was expressed more in terms of a more public masculine narrative identifiable in rugby biographies discussed in Chapter 5, as he discussed his ability to play rugby at a young age, with boys two years his senior and his overall greater physical abilities.

The information provided by the other rugby men reveals how these rugby men will discuss their bodily concerns in intimate dimensions. It also shows the character of how men's intimate narratives operate; as the rugby men are generally aware that these intimate experiences exist and not talked about in front and back regions, but can be shared amongst a few of the rugby men with whom they are close or in an interview away from the team of rugby men[51].

In the PEI Pat and Terence also revealed how the distressing childhood experiences of their bodies provoked their existing concerns and played a part in influencing how they work on these concerns in their weight training, rugby training and low-fat eating regimes. Body reflexive practices occur here, illustrating how these rugby men's body concerns developed. In their intimate narratives the rugby men discuss how their corporeal experiences of being overweight, small, and less adept influence their body concerns and how their social experiences with significant others contribute to reinforcing them.

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[50] Although this information was initially accessed from Vinnie's team-mates, a year later Vinnie discussed these experiences with me.
[51] Without observing the admiration of others and accessing the intimate narratives of others, in photo-elicitation interviews, it would be difficult to discover why these body concerns occur and recognise how they are managed.

When Vinnie left the University team, the majority of the rugby men described Terence in the PEIs as the new superior masculinity because they believed he was physically bigger than most, "stacked", slender "lean machine" and possessed higher levels of muscular definition in his upper body (Harry, Pat, Alan)[52]. Although these players recognised these physical qualities about Terence's body, many only glanced momentarily at his naked and semi-naked body in the back region of the changing rooms. As discussed in chapter six, through the process of civil inattention the rugby men collectively sought to give the impression of having no interest in other players' bodies, for fear of being perceived as homosexual (Goffman, 1959).

Despite the undisclosed admiration of others, Terence revealed in the PEI how he perceived defects with his body that encouraged him to work compulsively on augmenting his muscular body, achieving a leaner physique and thus developing his physical capabilities. Regardless of this tough and muscular appearance, in this interview he talked of how he is reflective about his former embodied and social experiences, of being overweight and how this made him feel about his body and adeptness. He also revealed that his concerns were influenced by his childhood experiences of being overweight, and being harassed for his physique. He also explained that he used the sport and additional aerobic and anaerobic weight training exercise to manage his weight, to "work on" the unremitting fear of returning to his previous size; corporeal experiences of discomfort and thus create feelings of control over his body. A feeling of well-being or temporary "physical vibrancy" is achieved through this participation (Monaghan, 2001; Watson; 2000).

> "I've been chunky and I've been fat and I've been poorly conditioned…I was called fat and stuff…and I hated it, it ruined my life, [so] maybe it's just a deep fear of getting like that again I don't want to be average and this is why I train so hard"

Pat's PEI narrative reveals comparable negative experiences. His body concerns were attributed to the embodiment feelings of being shorter and smaller, but like Terence other boys marginalized him for his size:

> "When I was younger I was short…I had a lot more fat…I was always quite wide [and I] had massive legs…I could never wear trousers and I was a really chubby kid, …I wasn't particularly well liked [either.][53]"

Although the intimate dimension, away from the front and back regions of this sport, provided a space for the rugby men to discuss their body concerns, some of them, Terence, Pat and Koote, would assert tougher and less expressive aspects of their selves after revealing their vulnerabilities in this interview. For example, although Pat admitted that he had experienced harassment and segregation in childhood sport, he was keen to assure me that his participation in rugby union, and use of aggression in the sport, allowed him to gain control and superiority over these tougher boys, thus allowing him to

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[52] The participant observation and interview (both photo-elicitation and non-elicitation) data revealed that all of the rugby men associated the lean and muscular body with adeptness.

[53] He went on to discuss his experiences of exclusion and name calling from the other boys at his new school.

re-assert the strong and inexpressive part of his hegemonic masculinity[54]. This assertion of masculinity was tied to his pragmatic embodiment; his desire to present the functional body (Monaghan, 2001; Watson, 2000). Terence carried out similar practices. Like Pat, he verbally asserted his willingness to be adept, competitive and strong after revealing his vulnerable childhood experiences of corporeal discomfort in the PEI. Koote articulated a similar narrative in the PEI. After viewing photographs of himself that he brought to the interview and ones taken of him playing the sport, he explained that as a child he was restricted from taking part in most sports because of his size. He explained that he had tried to take part in canoeing, but unfortunately found that he could not physically fit into the canoe:

> "When I was younger I was obese, I couldn't fit anywhere...it was pretty crushing for me. Like even now I have to think about how I will fit into cars and stuff. They don't really make cars for people my size".

After revealing these corporeal feelings, he explained that he chose to play rugby because he was encouraged by his rugby master that his size would be an advantage for him. He explained that whilst playing rugby as a child, he experienced feelings of being assertive, competitive, powerful and dominant over other men. As he experienced his body more comfortably in this setting, he felt more confident about his body weight and size. A reflexive embodied process occurs, as these pleasurable corporeal sensations also altered his perceptions of his body (Merleau- Ponty, 1962; Crossley, 2006).

7:6 Concluding comments

Through application of the developed theoretical framework, in this chapter I have shown that adeptness, as a feature of physical capital, is important for understanding how the rugby men's body concerns are developed and managed.

Adeptness was understood by the rugby men as being the quickest, most agile, the strongest and most physically proficient in the sport. It informed their understanding of the hegemonic rugby masculinities. Body appearance, notably body weight and muscularity, (the lean and muscular physique) were attached to feelings of adeptness. These men expressed this aspect of their rugby masculinity through use of the body and bodily practices, notably via their personal front. Bodily gestures, facial expressions and props aided the presentation of this body in front and back regions and in intimate dimensions particularly when they felt they had verbally revealed too much about their experiences and feelings of being less adept.

Similar to the academic studies and media representations, the rugby men discussed coaches as key people in constructing their perception of adeptness. Fathers were not seen as significant as academic studies have shown and sports media have portrayed. Whilst mothers played a role for some men, it was the other rugby men who played the most important role for the majority of them. Through their bodily interaction with each other in the team they sought to make this feature of physical capital relevant in the front and back regions of their rugby lives. Whilst the values of this field put the body adept body on display, the rugby men's scrutiny of one another and competitiveness to present its

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[54] Pat's use of aggression to work on his body concern is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

superior form lead to the boundaries of this physical capital to continually shift (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus maintenance of this physical capital and accumulation of symbolic capital tied to their masculinity was more difficult.

Through a sociological analysis, this chapter has expanded existing analyses of body concern as it has shown that the rugby men's narratives, away from the front and back regions of the sport are important. It is here that the rugby men revealed how the adept body, as a feature of physical capital and thus their hegemonic rugby masculinities, are relevant to their body concerns. Through examination of body reflexive practices it was shown that social expectations of the adept body, notably by the other rugby men, contributed to reinforcing these men's body concern and influencing how their concern are managed in front and back regions of the sport. Furthermore, it was shown that former embodied experiences of corporeal discomfort, that included feeling less adept, less muscular and overweight, contributed to engendering their body concerns. Thus presentation of the rugby masculinity through expression of the adept body is important for understanding the development and management of these men's body concerns.

What is important to note is that these rugby men did not continually express the adept rugby masculinity. Their gender display is about performance of the self and is dependent on the region and dimension in which they are located. I have shown the situations in which the rugby men effectively reinforce the adept masculinity and situations in which they do not. Through role distancing they illustrated their temporary detachment from this role. Yet, this distancing sought to illustrate further their embracement of the role and confidence in it, to the other rugby men in back regions of the sport. In contrast, in intimate dimensions the rugby men felt freer to express their insecurities and concerns that arose from living out this aspect of the rugby masculinity. Revelations of the less stable and emotionally expressive part of the sports masculinity differs from the idealised representations of adept bodies in sports media and academic research that describes them.

Chapter 8, Aggression

8:1 Introduction

The ethnographic findings of this research reveal that aggression is constructed and understood as part of the hegemonic rugby masculinities for the men who participated in my research. Whilst body image concerns often focus on appearance alone (Atkinson, 2008), for these rugby men their bodies' ability to be functional and fulfil their perceptions of the masculine role is important for their body image. This is expressed and understood through their ability to use aggression. Thus this chapter focuses on the functional dimension of body concern - aggression.

A similar approach to that of Chapter 7 is adopted here. The theoretical framework set out in Chapter 2, is used in this chapter to analyse sociologically how the aggressive body is also integral to the way men conceal and/or articulate body concerns. This chapter begins by outlining how aggression is conceptualised in this thesis, and discusses how this behaviour was expressed through the rugby body and bodily practices, as part of their personal front (Goffman, 1959). I then show how aggression is developed through the rugby men's relationships with significant others at the local level and the influence they have on the rugby men's body concerns.

In the final part of this chapter, I will show how aggression influences the development of the rugby men's body concerns and how they use it in different ways to work on overcoming and/or concealing their body concerns in front and back regions of this sport. The findings reveal how the rugby men feel when they use aggression. Some experience it in a pleasurable way and have successfully used it to manage their body concerns, whilst others have found the subsequent feelings of embodiment to be negative, as resulting injuries are perceived to be detrimental to their functional ability (physical capital) and thus reinforce body concerns.

8:2 Conceptualising Aggression

In this thesis, aggression rather than violence is analysed because examination of the historical development of English contact sports/games, reveals that violence is a less appropriate term for analysing men's hostile and competitive behaviour in contemporary sports (Elias, 1978, 1983). Aggression has been characterised as informing the hegemonic sports masculinities since the 19th century (Dunning, 1986, as discussed in Chapter 3). Aggression that illustrated self-control over one's physical force and a respect for authority was characterised as an acceptable feature of men's public involvement in this sport (Burgess et al., 2003; Collins, 2002; Dunning: 1986). In contrast, destructive forms of aggression characterised as malicious hostility (and being synonymous with violence) (Meizdian, 1992: 43) was perceived as a less civilised form of aggression[55].

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[55]Researchers have shown that measures taken to civilise and control disruptive behaviour during the 19th century ensured that violence gradually became a less acceptable feature of everyday interaction (Dunning, 1999, Elias, 1978, 1983). As part of this process Dunning and Elias (1986) argue that competitive sports developed as an alternative to public displays of violence, thus providing "people with opportunities... to release accumulated aggression against each other in a manner and setting that [was] not disruptive to the co-operative

Since the 20th century, the influences of professionalism and further rule changes have meant destructive forms of aggression (violence) have been curtailed in rugby union. Smith's (1983) categorisation of varying levels of violence and consequent penalties in the 21st century illustrates this, because destructive acts of aggression (such as stamping, head-butting and eye gauging) has been prohibited and sanctions imposed on them. However, due to the high level of contact and consistent damage to the body that is apparent in this sport, particular forms of constructive aggression are respected in this field (Maxwell and Visek, 2009). Furthermore, willingness to physically defend oneself and others through the use of constructive aggression, is a valued aspect of this behaviour because it allows men to demonstrate to others that they possess the strong, tough and dominant bodies required for this team sport (Light, 1999b; 2007; Light and Kental, 2010; Light and Kirk, 2000). Therefore, whilst acts of aggression (such as late hitting and high tackles) are prohibited by the rules, they can occur routinely.

The term violence is also not adopted in this thesis because Hearn (2003) and Guilbert (2004) have found that researchers examining men's violence have adopted broad definitions of this concept that do not distinguish between violence and aggression. Grange and Kerr (2010), Hemphill (2002) and Russell (1993; 2008) also argue that some of the existing research does not recognise that aggression is defined contextually. Examining how aggression is defined in the context of contact sports: certain acts of aggression on a rugby pitch, carried out by rugby union players, can now be perceived as appropriate and legitimate within this field, by the players, coaches, sports officials (Maxwell and Visek, 2009) and the audience, but can be interpreted as violent and illegal behaviour to those outside this field (Barnes, 2005; Kerr, 2005).

Grange and Kerr (2010) Hemphill (2002) Russell (1993; 2008), and Kerr (2005), adopt definitions of aggression that focus on how this behaviour is defined within the sports context. For instance, Russell (1993:181) argues that "sport is perhaps the only setting in which acts of interpersonal aggression are not only tolerated but enthusiastically applauded by large segments of society". Kerr (2005: 105) also argues that "the subjective interpretation of the aggressive behaviour of the athlete concerned…is crucial" to understanding sportsmen's aggression (Kerr, 2005: 105).

In this thesis I use a definition of aggression that is informed by the men's interpretations of this behaviour. As discussed in Chapters 5, I adopt the concept constructive aggression which encompasses hostile behaviour but also implies positive "assertiveness and domination" (Meizdian, 1992: 43). I classify constructive aggression as a form of physical capital, because it possesses power, status and symbolic forms that hold value in this field of sport (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu (ibid) argues physical capital (in its embodied form) shapes an individual's position in social space. Researchers have shown that these qualities are valued in the game of rugby union because male players who use forms of constructive aggression are culturally characterised within this field as hegemonic, heroic and successful men or boys (Light and Kirk, 2000; Light, 2007; Light and Kental, 2010; Pringle, 2001). These acts are perceived and sanctioned by society as acceptable and laudable features of the dominant sports masculinity. Furthermore, as this behaviour is culturally valued in this field, it is

system" (Dunning, 1971: 43). Rules and penalties were also gradually employed in sports to impose restraint and discipline certain forms of violent behaviour (Dunning, 1999).

"implicated in the… buying and selling of labour power and the accumulation of other forms of capital" (Shilling, 2004:474). Rugby union men use this behaviour aT the different levels of the geographical framework, as a way of being accepted as hegemonic men, but also to heighten their success, status and economic value in this field (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Messner, 2000). As such, constructive aggression is perceived by these men as being important to the hegemonic rugby masculinity. In this thesis I also discuss destructive aggression (Meizdian, 1992).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 832) argue that understanding hegemonic masculinities involves recognising the pattern of gender relations or "the pattern of practice (i.e. things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allow[s] men's dominance over women" in society. For hegemonic masculinities to exist in sport, others, such as women, are located in less dominant positions with role expectations of how they should articulate and present themselves (Connell, 2008; Price and Parker: 2003). Therefore, to understand how men's aggression is relevant in contact sport as part of hegemonic sports masculinities, it is useful to consider how the rugby men express their masculinity by marginalising women's use of comparable behaviour

Research shows that women who use aggression and are confrontational in sport are often perceived by the public as aping masculinity (Liu and Kaplan, 2004; Ezzell, 2009). Furthermore, women who use aggression in sport are often represented in visual and print media as "unnatural villains… cross[ing] the stereotypical boundaries of heterosexual femininity" (Theberge and Birrell, 1994: 335). In contrast, as discussed in Chapter 5, men's use of aggression in sports is culturally perceived as being more acceptable and laudable (Bryson, 2002; Gard and Meyenn, 2000; Messner, 1992; Rowe, 2004). I discuss below how the rugby men understand women's perceptions of their aggression.

The rugby men in this research understood aggression as being essential to their participation in rugby union. They made a distinction between aggression that was a necessary part of the sport (constructive aggression) and unnecessary (destructive) aggression that did not seek to defend oneself or others from the opposition. The former was perceived as essential to their rugby masculinity. Those men stepping outside the borders of constructive aggression who utilised destructive aggression other than as a means of defence or to serve retribution for illegitimate attacks in the game (on the pitch) and in training sessions, were perceived as "selfish" and "thuggish" (Koote, Pat, Vinnie, Terence). This approach was encouraged by the men at the local level but also enforced through the rules (laws) of the game at regional and global levels within this field (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). For example, one of the rugby men (Koote) explained:

"If the opposition did something to us and you stood up for yourself and then fair enough... but sometimes Joe fights for no reason, quite selfish reasons and that just detracts from the game if he is sent off."

For these men, this aspect of their hegemonic rugby masculinity also involved being less expressive in front and back regions of the sport about the corporeal discomfort aggression can cause. Similar to the sportsmen in Kerr (2005) and Lilleaas's (2007) research, discussed in Chapter 5, the rugby men willingly used constructive aggression; hostile, assertive and dominating behaviour to defend one another in the games and training sessions, but they were not verbally or physically

expressive about their fear and concomitant pain in these regions. Neither did they reveal these emotions in the back regions of their relationships with the team of rugby men, for fear of the ramifications. Those rugby men who expressed this ideal standard of rugby masculinity were characterised by the men as 'real rugby men' by other players. One of the rugby men, Harry, explains:

"Real rugby men do not get wound up about anything...they will show no emotions, take no nonsense...and don't give a shit about what they are doing here. These men will be aggressive if it's necessary...but if they are going to do something they'll just do it and not moan about it."

Vinnie also explains:

"We don't do cheap shots, if you see one of the boys getting filled in, then you've got to go and help them, but that doesn't mean you go in fist flying, that's not who we are".

8:3 *Expression of aggression*

The participant observation field notes and comments made by the rugby men in the in-depth and PEIs revealed that they used their bodies as a medium of expressing (constructive and destructive) aggression in different regions of the sport. Their expression of this behaviour through their personal front included the use of bodily gestures, facial expressions, speech, and props (Goffman, 1959).

The rugby men used physical acts of hostility and physical dominance over others to express constructive aggression. They expressed these acts in rugby games against the oppositional team and training sessions with one another. For example, when the rugby men were illegally attacked by the opposition in rugby games, some of the players would "shove" or "take out" the opposition during the game as a means of serving retribution for illegal play. Jimbo, one of the rugby men explained to me, whilst watching one of the 1stXV BUSA games, that some of the rugby men would deliberately "take out" (tackle) the opposition harder than was required in the sport. The purpose was to illustrate their disapproval of illegal attacks against them and demonstrate dominance over the opposition. Similar practices were used by the rugby men in training sessions, towards men on their team who used destructive aggression that deferred from the purposes of the training session. Harry explained to me in the in-depth interview:

"Some of the boys get really heated in training and take it too far, like the other day Jimbo got into an argument with Doops because Doops was messing around and getting macho with everyone. When Jimbo had a go at him about it, Doops flew off the handle and shoved Jimbo. After that, Jimbo and some of the other boys just kept taking him out in the tackling session... you know hitting him   pretty hard with the pads and tackling him to the ground. Doops deserved it. We need to be aggressive, but it's got to be controlled you can't just go off on one".

During my participant observation at rugby games and training sessions I noted similar physical acts were employed by the rugby men to express destructive aggression, but these gestures were more physical. For example, Koote and Bam explained that they had previously "throwN punches" or "brawled" with other rugby men.

Verbal derogatory and abusive language accompanied these constructive and destructive bodily gestures in front regions of the rugby game. The men would shout, but this was more commonly expressed through the context of expressing their dominance over others. For example, I noted that the rugby men would shout "I fucking own you boy" and "you've got nothing on me", after they had tackled players who had illegally attacked them. Some of the rugby men also used verbal banter, or "bant", as an alternative to using physical acts of aggression (Koote, Harry, Pat, Bam, Urwin). They used sarcastic, comical and derogatory banter to verbally encourage oppositional players to use aggression on them. Bam explained:

> "I will start a few [fights] deliberately: to get them to start on me. I start rubbing someone's face just to piss them off or start chatting, giving bant, discretely in their ear saying 'fucking hell you're fit...or you've got a tight ass'. They get so annoyed: they punch out, they lose focus on the game, and usually try to attack me. Then they will get sin binned. I love doing it to them; it's so hilarious cos it shows how weak they are. Then I tell them 'I own them' or 'I did an Ali on you boy'".

Whilst this use of banter, appears to reflect ambiguity in the understanding of hegemonic rugby masculinity, Bam's use of this behaviour serves to assert his hegemonic status. Campbell argues (1998: 55) that when men are at the mercy of other men, they lose their sense of self-respect. Therefore, men will use aggression to prove to others (and themselves) that they deserve self-respect. However, Campbell also adds that "kudos can only be gained by beating someone else "fair and square" – by confronting them openly and by being *seen* to do this by as many… as possible" (1998: 76). The rugby men who used verbal aggression to instigate the opposition's use of illegitimate aggression against them supports Campbell's findings, as these men experienced self-worth. As the opposition player did not use aggression in a "fair and square" manner, the player's self-respect is diminished because he is clearly at the mercy of the rugby men. For some of the rugby men on this team, dominating other men in this way assured their self-worth, greater self-esteem and a different form of hegemonic status – but, as will be discussed later, they still received admiration from others on the rugby team because the team valued this behaviour.

Intentional facial expressions also accompanied the bodily gestures and language to express both constructive and deconstructive aggression. These expressions centred on grimacing and frowning. Following their attempts to verbally encourage illegal attackers to use aggression toward them in the game, some of the rugby men would also shake their heads and smile at the opposition players who were sin binned. The purpose was to assert and reaffirm their dominance.

Props were also used as symbolic expressions of their constructive and deconstructive aggression. During the games and training sessions, I observed the rugby men throw gum shields, scrum caps and water bottles on the ground, or kick the rugby ball off the pitch into obscure locations. They would also throw these items at other rugby men on their team or at opposition players. The latter were more commonly used as expressions of deconstructive aggression. For example, I observed Doops, the captain of the 1st XV Performance Squad, at that time, throw the rugby ball at one of the oppositional players after the whistle was blown,. The ball hit the player in the face and he fell to the

ground. Doops was sin binned by the referee and sent off of the pitch. Koote, Urwin and Bam explained to me on viewing *Figure 8:1a*, in which Doops is featured walking off of the pitch with his head lowered:

"Doops was a fool he was getting frustrated at being overpowered, the other guy was all over him in the game".

Koote explained: "Doops couldn't handle it, he just lashed out and he paid for it...that's not what we are about[56]".

External to the sport, in front region settings, I observed the rugby men also use bodily gestures, facial expressions and props to express facets of the personal front to express their constructive aggression. However, the level of physicality was more restrained and controlled[57]. For example, whilst the rugby men attended a bar in central London during one of the rugby tours, I observed how all of these were deployed by the rugby men. Whilst the rugby men were celebrating their recent win; singing rugby songs, drinking alcohol and interacting with one another, a middle aged man began loudly complaining to other customers in the bar. He objected to the presence of the team and the noise they were making. Although he complained to the bar manager, his complaint was not acted upon because the manager explained to the team Captain and me, that he did not feel that the rugby men were disturbing the other customers. This frustrated the man, who then became agitated and was aggressive towards the rugby men; shouting profanities at them and making threats of violence.

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[56] The coach reprimanded Doop's destructive aggression, by withdrawing his captaincy of the team. The coach later awarded Jimbo the captaincy

[57] (During the ethnographic fieldwork I did not observe the rugby men use destructive aggression in contexts external to the sport. The rugby men also did not talk about how they or others had used it, in the in-depth or photo-elicitation interviews)

Figure 8:1a

Some of the younger rugby men, Timo, Pat, Bam, explained to me and the captain that they were becoming increasingly "pissed off by this little man". However, the Captain at that time (Goody) told them that he would "sort it". He tried to apologise to the man for his team's behaviour, whilst the other men stood back. He explained that they were celebrating their recent win and that they would be "moving on shortly". Despite this, the intoxicated man continued complaining, shouting at Goody and attempting to shove him. Goody walked away and told the team they were leaving, and they should "follow [his] lead". I then observed Goody walk over to the man, consume the remainder of his pint without stopping to take a breath, smile at the man and slam his empty pint glass on the table at which the man was sitting. He then walked out of the pub. A number of the rugby men, who had drinks in the hand at that time, sequentially mimicked Goody[58]. The man was then left with a table full of empty glasses. As I was last to the leave the pub, I interpreted the man as being embarrassed by the rugby men's actions, as he stood silent and red faced. These men actively construct their interpretations of aggression and their concomitant masculinity in this different field, but this practice is also informed by the historical and international reputation of the university rugby club and its players, identifiable at the global level (Connell and Messerschmit, 2005). Goody explained to me as we walked to the next pub:

> "I don't want my players kicking off and reacting uncontrollably to people who are pricks
> towards us. We get a lot of other guys like that: who just look at us, you know in our suits and
> stuff, and they will try and start something just because of who we are, but we have a

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[58] Some of the rugby men slammed the glass down whilst others simply placed it.

responsibility to be respectful to this team and the old boys. However, abuse towards us is not acceptable, so as Captain I make a decision and we as a team handle it together".

The bodily gestures of drinking the alcohol, placing the glass on the table and the facial expression of smiling, served for this team as demonstration of their constructive aggression. These sign vehicles express their hostile behaviour but also imply positive "assertiveness" and "domination" over the man (Meizdian, 1992: 43). The team's collective acts of slamming or placing their pints on the table and walking out of the pub add to the team's dramatic realisation for the audience (Goffman, 1959). The front region audience is thus aware of the rugby men's collective masculine identity. Whilst the aggression required in this field external to the sport, differs to that within the field of rugby union, the men adapted their use of aggression to express their hegemonic masculinity. This achieved individually but also collectively.

There now follows an examination of how aggression was encouraged through the rugby men's relationships with significant others and the impact they had to the rugby men's management of their body concerns. The rugby men's relationships with coaches, women and other rugby men emerged in the PEIs as being influential to their use of aggression and discussion of feelings associated with using it in the sport and domains external to it.

8:4 Use of aggression: impact of social relationships with significant others aggression

Fathers and coaches

The comments made by the rugby men in the PEIs differed from the findings in the academic research, discussed in Chapter 5 that describes fathers as encouraging their sons to use aggression and the sports media representations of these relationships (Guivernay and Duda, 2002). Five of the rugby men who participated in this research discussed their fathers' and uncles' participation in sports with admiration, yet these men were not perceived as enforcers of sports participation or constructive aggression in sport. Two of these rugby men, Bam and Vinnie, did discuss how they would often end up using aggression in 'play fights' or mock battles with their athletically successful fathers. However, their use of constructive aggression in the sport was not attributed to their fathers' influence[59]. Bam explained:

"I love being aggressive in the sport, it's just great, but I can't say that my Dad played a role in my behaviour".

During my participant observation I noted on observing the rugby men's relationships with coaches (senior and assistant coaches) in games and training sessions, that these men played an influential role in encouraging the rugby men to use constructive aggression in the sport. These findings are comparable to the studies discussed in chapter 5, that have found male coaches encouraged males involved in team contact sports to use aggression (Burgess et al. 2003; Grange and Kerr, 2010; Llopis Goig, 2008; Papas et al. 2004; Sabo and Penepinto, 2001; Weinstein, et al.,1995). The players in my

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[59] The remaining rugby men did not discuss in the photo-elicitation interviews, their fathers and/or male family members as being influential on their use of aggression in sport.

research were not perceived as more athletically competent if they engaged in physical altercations during the game (as found by Weinstein, et al.,1995) and they were not feminised or ridiculed for not using this behaviour (Papas et al. 2004; Llopis Goig, 2008; Sabo and Panepinto, 2001). However, constructive forms were valued if they served the purpose of winning or defending other players.

Interestingly, the rugby men were aware of the sport media (fictional) representations of the sports coach who encouraged his men to use aggression. They drew on these representations to assert their own willingness to use aggression in forthcoming games. Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) concept of the regional level and its level of influence is identifiable here, as symbolic representations of hegemonic exemplary masculinities have meaning for rugby masculinities at the local level. What is significant is that these men do not draw on exemplars of rugby coaches within the field of rugby union, but rather American football coaches. For example, when the men travelled on coaches to games, they watched the film *Any Given Sunday* (1999) and repeatedly played the iconic speech made by an American Football coach (Coach D' Amato Al Pacino), to his team of American Football players prior to the Super-Bowl Final. As discussed in Chapter 5, the coach metaphorically characterises this sport as "the game of life" in this speech, where every step in men's existence must be perceived as "an inch" on the football field (or "a game of inches" in war and life) in which men are required to physically sacrifice their bodies, use aggression and have the physical determination to succeed. The aggression and corporeal ability to physically protect others are perceived as the vital qualities of successful hegemonic sports masculinity. The coach is portrayed as the classic hegemonic masculinity, represented as a former successful player who is positioned hierarchically superior to other men and women institutionally (Connell and Messerschmidt (ibid). As this speech played, the rugby men mimicked the coach's exact lines and roared in agreement. This fictional representation of the coach was used by the men as a means of preparing themselves for the game. Consumption of the coach's speech illustrates that they acknowledge the level of aggression required for the game and verbal recital of the speech demonstrates their willingness to use it to succeed as a team. The film serves as a prop that is part of displaying their personal front (Goffman, 1959). Deployment of it allows the men to draw on cultural expectations, which include the use of dramatic behaviour to convey their performance to others (Goffman, 1959).

Coach (Al Pacino):

> "Life is a game of inches – so is football – because in either life or football, the margin of error is so small, it is the inches we need. In this team, we fight…for that inch…we tear ourselves and everyone around us to pieces for that inch….'cause we know …all those inches are gonna be the fuckin' difference between winning and…dying."

Rugby men:
> Mimic words, cheer, and shout in agreement "hell yeh".

Coach:
> "I tell you, in any fight, it's the guy that is going to die, who is going to win that extra inch, and I know that if I'm going to have any life anymore, it's because I'm still willing to fuckin' fight and die for that inch."

Rugby men:
> Mimic these words and stare into the air, or out the window (These actions were interpreted by researcher as expressions of re-assurance and acceptance.)

Coach:
> "You gotta look at the guy next to you, look into his eyes, and you're gonna see a guy who will go that extra inch for you, you're gonna see a guy, who will sacrifice himself for his team because he knows when it comes down to it he is going to do the same for you.

Rugby men:
> " HELL YEH," Cheering and reciting of these words

This recital and the rugby men's admiration for the coach's speech were unexpected. However, it demonstrates how sports media representations (in the form of the coach) are used by the rugby men to represent themselves as living their understanding of their aggressive rugby masculinity in the presence of other rugby men. Interestingly, when Clive Woodward (2003 Rugby World Cup coach) visited the university to receive his Honorary degree later that year, he explained to the audience, which included some of the rugby men, that he played this speech to his players prior to their World Cup games. The level of influence of the regional level to rugby masculinities at the global level is identifiable here (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Relationships with women (how do the rugby men understand women's perceptions of their aggression)

In the PEIs and during the participant observation the rugby men discussed how they understood women's perceptions of their aggression and how they perceived women's use of aggression in rugby union as unfeminine. The rugby men's perceptions of how women perceived their use of this behaviour impacted on their use of it internally and externally to the sport.

In incidences when the rugby men toured with the women's 1st XV rugby union team, the rugby men were critical and disapproving of the women's use of aggression in the sport. The men's 1st XV Performance Squad regularly shared bus journeys with the women's 1st XV rugby union team. During a return journey from Durham, the rugby men located at the back of the bus expressed disapproval at these women being aggressive on the rugby pitch but also in other contexts such as their current bus journey. Jimbo explained to his team mates that "aggressive women are just not attractive". At that time, I had observed the rugby women drinking for several hours and they were intoxicated. They were singing rugby songs, some of them were being sick and peeing in a dustbin and others were play-fighting.

I followed up this theme in the PEIs and found that all of the rugby men were disapproving of rugby women's participation in rugby union and their use of aggression in the sport. Terence, Scarvo and Alan explained that some of the women were "as skilful as men in the game" and "their ball

handling skills are awesome", but the aggression and contact is "not right", "surely it's not good for them" (Terence and Alan). Terence also explained:

"I don't think women should play union, because they are much more umm-delicate than men, you know what I mean, they have different parts that can get seriously damaged...don't they?"

Despite their disproval of women using aggression in the sport, during the participant observation I noted that the rugby men eroticised women's use of aggression outside of the sport toward one another. They were not critical of "playful" aggression between women (Jimbo). *Figure 8:1b*, taken by one of the rugby men Jimbo, features two women from the women's rugby team slapping each other as part of a drinking game. On viewing this photograph, Jimbo explained to me that he and the rugby men, featured, were so fascinated by these women that they started to take photographs. They perceived play-fighting between women external to the sport, as acceptable forms of eroticised and sexualised aggression. The rugby men's photographic involvement is symptomatic of the pornographic position of the male observing the female porn actress. This photographic involvement positions the men in their hegemonic position, as they are somewhat dominant over women, who present themselves for the pleasure of the male observer. In contrast, when the men were asked how they felt about women's aggression on the rugby field, they perceived it as inappropriate.

This hierarchal relationship is potentially significant for understanding why the rugby men felt more comfortable discussing their emotional concerns about failing to maintain the hegemonic masculinity in intimate dimensions with women. Women are perceived by the rugby men as the binary opposite to men, good at dealing with emotions (Lupton,1998), yet not positioned in an aggressive role that potentially threatens and competes with their presentation of the aggressive hegemonic rugby masculinity. Thus men's perceptions of women and their subsequent practices play a role in the construction of this gender identity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Lusher and Robins, 2007).

Figure 8:1b

During the participant observation and the PEIs, there were incidents in which the rugby men also discussed how women's perceptions of aggression impacted on their use of aggression. During one of the rugby tours, whilst we attended a bar in central London, a group of the rugby men discussed their concerns about being perceived as aggressive by women. Timo, one of the rugby men, explained:

"Women often see us as being too aggressive. I know this because I have female housemates who said they 'would never date a rugby player because of their aggressive reputation'".

Jimbo agreed:

"The 1st XV team have a pretty bad reputation. I remember when we first came, a group of us were walking into Orange Tree (pub) and a group of girls behind us said 'oh no let's not go in there because the rugby boys are going in there and they will just cause trouble'. She didn't realise we could hear her, but for us that is pretty gutting. Most of the girls see us as rugger buggers, because of the boys before us. The old boys got into fights on and off the pitch all the time and this has influenced how women see us".

Alan agreed and explained:

"Women generally avoid us, so now I just lie: I don't tell them I play rugby...I tell them I play lacrosse". (He and the other men laughed).

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Whilst viewing photographs of women, *Figures 8:2a*, during the PEIs, some of the rugby men explained that women's perceptions of them impacted on their use of aggression on and off the rugby pitch. For example, on viewing *Figure 8:2a,* Koote explained that he was not popular with women. Although he was featured with two women at his side, he explained that they were not attracted to him because of the size of his body. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 he perceived his body as being "too podgy" and overweight. He also explained that women are not attracted to the 1st XV rugby players because their aggressive reputation "is a turn off". I questioned Koote about this because during my observation of Jimbo taking this photograph of Koote, the women appeared to be happy to be seen with Koote and to have their photograph taken with him. Koote, responded to this comment: "they were just being polite".

These perceptions of how he thought women perceived him were influential to the level of aggression he used off the pitch. He explained that he avoided it because he did not want to be seen as a "rugger bugger". The rugby men used this term to refer to a *particular* group of "old boys" (who were previously part of the 1st XV team) who were heavy drinkers and perceived as fighters. Thus they were seen as 'unprofessional' as they failed to conform to the behaviour of the professional rugby union players at that time. Furthermore, they did not perceive these men as possessing a powerful body (physical capital). In Proctor's (2011) research, similar negative connotations have been attached to this rugby identity in Australian elite schools. He found that the term "rugger-bugger" referred to a traditional form of rugby masculinity in the 1990s,where male players were encouraged to be tough, violent and strong. Beard (2003) also utilises this term to refer to a previous generation of middle and upper class English rugby union players who played in the south east from the 1980s onwards. He argues rugger buggers are "…marauding Old Boys…, a beer swilling, guffawing circle of hell well-stuffed with solicitors, surveyors and desperately small businessmen…unreflectively masculine and unthinkingly prejudiced…pissed young conservatives with muscles" (Beard, 2003:6). In my research Koote, recalled an incident in which he had abstained from presenting this identity. He explained that whilst the team and I, attended a professional rugby match, Saracens vs Bristol Shoguns 2003, a group of intoxicated male Bristol Shogun supporters, were disruptive and abusive towards the Saracens players on the field, some of whom were mixed-race (white/black). They used profanities and racist and homophobic language toward them during the match. Koote, explained:

"Those idiots really pissed me off, but I avoided getting into it with them because I knew it would have ended up in a fight between us and them and this would have just made our reputation worse than it already is".

Whilst his use of constructive aggression on the pitch allowed him to experience bodily power, it also allowed him to work on his concerns about his size. However, for Koote, the use of aggression off the pitch resulted in feelings of corporeal discomfort.

Figure 8:2a
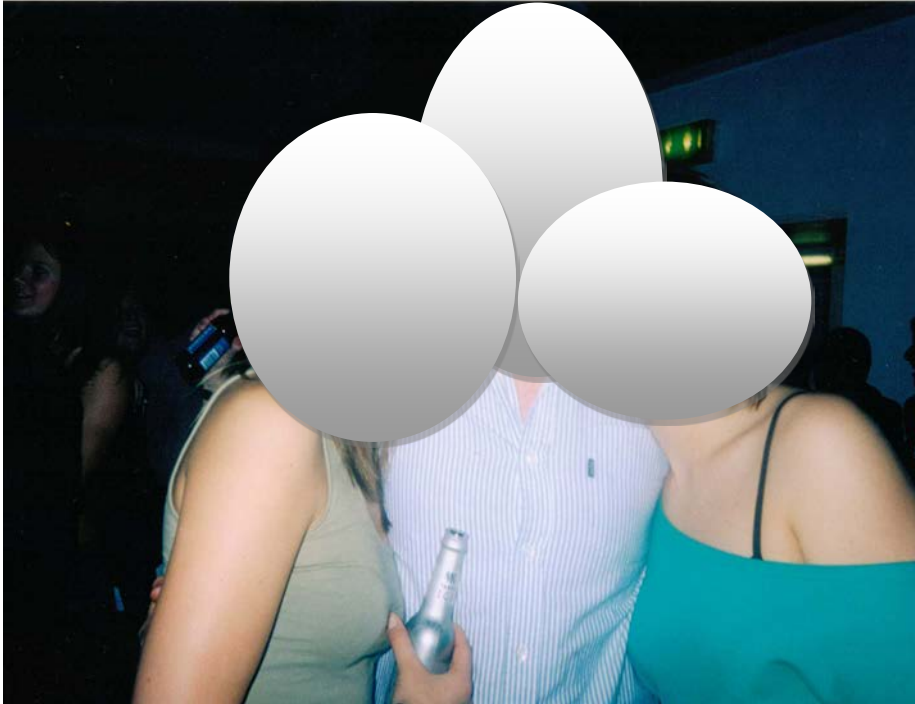
For some of the rugby men, women's perceptions of them as aggressive impacted on the level of aggression they used on the pitch. For example, Terence explained: "I avoid using it...I'll stand back from trouble on the pitch because I don't want to be seen in that way, especially by the women". He explained on viewing photographs of himself, detached from the team huddles, *Figure 8:3:*

"I try to detach myself as much as I can from the image of the ~~rugger~~ rugby player just because some of the boys take it too far, they get all hyped up about defending each other and getting into it, but that's not what I'm about."

The ambiguities in the display of hegemonic rugby masculinities through the expression of aggression are apparent here. Koote's decision to avoid the presentation of the aggressive body off of the field and in the presence of women illustrates the fluidity of this identity. He avoids confrontation completely. He was also one of the players who chose not to mimic Goody during the altercation with the man in the London pub.

Figure 8:3

Mothers

Whilst the rugby me viewed photographs of themselves playing in the sport, sustaining injury and spectators watching the game and, some of rugby men discussed their mothers' perceptions of aggression and how it impacted on their use of aggression in the sport. They identified their mothers in compassionate and caring roles that were unforgiving of their sons' aggressive behaviour. For example, one of the rugby players, Harry, commented on viewing a photograph of himself leaving the pitch due to a laceration to his eye:

"My mum gets concerned about aggression and all the cuts and stuff I get. I think she still sees me as her little toddler walking around".

For these rugby men, their relationships with their mothers serve as an intimate dimension because their mothers' sympathetic and caring roles also allow them to talk more about their fears of using aggression and the associated pain and injury they sustain. Mothers potentially position themselves to complement the hegemonic masculinities, emphasised femininities, as they orientate themselves to accommodate the emotional needs of men (Connell, 1987; 2008). Jimbo explained:

"I always talk to my mum... I talk to her about everything that I can't talk about to the boys, so I'll tell her when I'm worried about the next game, especially when I know they're a pretty dominant and aggressive team. She motivates me and helps to get over the fear ...of not being good enough: aggressive... and stuff.

Pat also explained:

"When I have taken some hits from taking it to the opposition and being aggressive, I will moan to my mum (Pat laughs). I don't say a word to the other boys, but as soon as I get home in the holidays and stuff I'm like ' mum you need to look after me: feed me and stuff, because I'm in pain, it's been so hard'. I feel sorry for my mum sometimes because she always has to listen to me moaning about my training... concerns and stuff, but I know she loves it really"

What is also significant about these relationships is that some of the rugby men admitted to discussing with their mothers how their body concerns arose from using aggression and how they used it or avoided it to work on overcoming their body concerns. This is discussed further below. For example, John explained on viewing himself playing in the sport:

"My mum won't come and watch me play, she doesn't like the aggression. She hates to see me getting hurt or getting into fights. But she listens to me when I talk to her about how it makes me feel. I use it to feel better about myself, you know to get over my worries about being overweight and not big enough for my position, she's good like that she understands."

While the existing academic research that describes men's relationships with their mothers and fictional sport media representations of these relationships, in Chapter 5, have shown that different types of mothering exists, this thesis explains more about the intimate roles mothers can provide for their sons. For these rugby men, the intimate dimension of their relationships with their mothers and in the PEI with me, a female researcher, allows them to reveal more about the vulnerable and intimate aspects of themselves that they conceal in the front regions of the sport and the back regions of relationships with other rugby men.

Other Rugby Men

Connell (2008) argues that the development and expression of masculinity has a collective dimension. In her analysis of Eel, one of her interviewees, she found that Eel's motorbike fraternity deployed their violent masculine identity collectively. Established members of the group schooled other members about the required violent role and "dumped" those who failed to adhere to it (2005:106). My observation of the rugby men during the participant observation and comments made by them during both types of interviews, revealed a comparable collective process. These practices are interpreted using Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach to a team. Through their interaction with one another, members of this rugby team developed a shared understanding of how the aggressive rugby masculinity should act, and thus present the personal front, in front regions but also in the presence of one another in back regions.

In this section I will show that the team members physically and verbally encouraged one another to use constructive aggression to defend themselves and others in the front regions of the sport but also in the back regions of their interaction with each other. Those rugby men who failed to present this identity experienced ridicule and humiliation by other rugby men and thus suppressed emotions that exposed the more vulnerable aspects of their rugby masculinity. Thus these aspects of the self were reserved and concealed in front and back regions of the sport.

Whilst viewing photographs, during the PEIs, of themselves participating in the sport, sustaining physical wounding and using aggression the rugby men were verbally communicative about how they reflected upon their embodied feelings of being overweight, small and injured. They also discussed how they felt about the other rugby men's expectations of the aggressive rugby masculinity. Some of the rugby men revealed that they used constructive aggression as a means of working out

their concerns about being overweight, small or insignificant (amongst others). Others also discussed how they avoided it to prevent reinforcing their existing body concerns. This is discussed further below.

The rugby men's shared perceptions of what they considered as appropriate, constructive, and inappropriate, destructive, aggression in the front and back regions of the sport were developed by their verbal and physical interaction with each other. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, similar collective practices of reinforcement amongst male rugby union players are identifiable Pringle (2009), Light and Kirk (2007) and Lights' (2007) research. The rugby men, in my research often congratulated one another, 'patted them on the back' or put their arms around one another for using constructive aggression that involved physically sacrificing their bodies for their team-mates. Interestingly, this arm support is reflective of Goffman's (1979:81) discussion of the "grief embrace...a set ritualistic manoeuvre", often between men, discussed in Chapter 5. This extension of support towards the player,gives "evidence of commendation or moral approval" for the player's heroic ability to use aggression (Goffman, 1979:82). Harry explained on viewing a photograph of Jimbo and Aussie with their arms around the back of one their team mates, *Figure 8:4*, that they congratulated players who used aggression for the success of the team. He explained "we respect these players because they put aside the risks of injury and penalisation", by using aggression to succeed and defend other boys that had been unlawfully attacked by the opposition. Vinnie echoed these views:

"If someone is getting stamped on and then one of the boys will go over, stick up for them and get involved. You do respect them for putting their body on the line to protect someone else, but we all do it, so it's not a big issue."

Figure 8:4

Shared perceptions of the aggressive rugby masculinity in this team were also established, as rugby men in the team used physical aggression to demonstrate their willingness to physically sacrifice their bodies and sustain pain for other team-mates. On viewing *Figures 8:5a and 8:5b*, during the PEI, Jimbo describes a dispute between an oppositional player and himself when, as expected, his team mates come in to 'back him up'. After the whistle has been blown, one of the rugby men (Jimbo) bends over the opposition to retrieve the ball, but the whistle has been blown and play has been given to the opposition. An opposing player is angered by Jimbo's actions and tries to instigate 'a fight' with him.

Other members of the team witness this hostility and hastily come in to support him, by either trying to "break up the brawl" or use aggression to defend Jimbo.

Figure 8:5a

Figure 8:5b

The rugby men's shared perceptions of how aggression is to be used in the front and back regions of the sport were also reflected in their public displays of wounds and scars sustained in using aggression to defend themselves and other rugby men from illegitimate, destructive, attacks. A number

of the collaborative photographs taken by the rugby men included photographs of these scars, lacerations and wounds, *Figures 8:6a, 8:6b, 8:6c.*

For these rugby men, public displays of physical wounding to the body (or what they perceived as 'wounds of honour') were part of displaying to other men the physical requirement of the aggressive masculinity in the front and back regions of the sport. When one of the rugby men (Pat) was questioned, in the PEI, about why he had taken these photographs, it became apparent that these men attached superior tough masculine pride and status to the resulting injuries. On viewing these photographs, Dezza explained "when you have got wounds or scars from the game the boys like to show this wounding our bodies... its shows everyone inside and outside the club that we have put our body on the line and that they have worked hard". In Smith's (2008) examination of professional male wrestlers, discussed in Chapter 5, similar associations of status were tied to wounds, bruises and scars. The wrestlers flaunted their wounds and bruises in a sadomasochistic manner, to affirm their legitimacy. In my research Pat explained that certain men, such as Koote and Bam, had asked for photographs of their wounds to be taken. Their participation in having these photographs taken allowed the men to publicly exhibit, at the local level, that they had used physical and verbal constructive aggression: essentially sacrificing themselves for the team. For these men, it was thrilling and enjoyable to show others the level of their corporeal sacrifice through the photographs. Whilst these photographs (props) are not symbolic representations at the regional level, they served as the expressive extensions of the aggressive masculinity in local practice (Goffman, 1959). In the following comment, Pat explains how the rugby men deployed their wounds as symbolic badges of honour:

> "I remember, Bam was moaning about his ear, that it needed stitches and stuff, but it wasn't that bad...but yet he still wanted a photo of it. When we all went out… that night, I think he only needed a couple of stitches in it, but he had a massive bandage on it (*laughs*) and he loved it, showing his wounds… I guess we all do."

The rugby men's participation in visually portraying their wounds reveals the social prestige these men attached to those who sought constructive aggression, and were injured as a result of defending themselves and/or others. However, the rugby men's participation in the collaborative photographs – and discussion of these photographs in the intimate dimension of the interview away from the other rugby men – also reveals how some men used aggression and the resulting wounds as a way of working on their existing body concerns.

Koote was one of the rugby men who – at the start of the ethnographic research – asked to be excluded from all the photographs and camera recordings, because he did not like viewing his own image. However, Koote was one of the rugby men who had actually asked for his wounds to be photographed. His keenness to display his wounds, like so many of the other rugby men, illustrated the status and honour the rugby men attach to "putting their bodies on the line" to defend themselves and others. However, on viewing photographs of himself participating in the sport and of his wounds (*Figure 8:6a and 8:6b*), Koote also revealed how he experienced his use of aggression, during a game, as pleasurable. He used it and the associated physical sacrifice for others, as a way of affirming his rugby masculinity, but more importantly for concealing and working on overcoming his body concern. For example, he explains:

"It is important to show that you are aggressive, that you can take the hits, but being aggressive works for me... I work out the worries I've got about my body and stuff. I want them to see I am the greatest."

Similar sensual pleasures of participating in the sport, the use of aggression, the risk of injury and sacrifice for others has also been found in Pringle's (2007) research. The embodiment of pleasure for the rugby men in my research differs from players in Pringle's research, because it is derived in the discomfort of their body and the satisfaction of having managed it.

Figure 8:6a Bleeding Ear and Torn Lobe

Figure 8:6b Head Wound and Eye Grazing

Figure 8: 6c Cauliflower ears

As this team of rugby men admired those who used aggression to sacrifice their bodies for team-mates, Koote and others – such as Pat – also used constructive aggression as a way of becoming distinctive and respected within this team. However, these two rugby men were also influenced by more personal concerns, as they used aggression to work on overcoming former experiences of being overweight or small.

In Chapter 7, I discussed how Koote's former embodied experiences of being overweight and Pat's similar experiences of being small led them to lose weight, build their muscular physiques and improve their physical performances by participating in this sport. Although their embodied experiences engendered their current concerns, these men's experiences of being bullied and of being seen as insignificant amongst others contributed to reinforcing their body concern. Despite the fact these two rugby men had now lost weight and had developed their muscular physiques, they still perceived their bodies as either overweight or small and inconsequential. This, together with the hegemonic masculine status applied to those men who used constructive aggression to defend others and present superior physical abilities, pushed them to use aggression in the game. Thus experience of vibrant physicality (experiential embodiment) develops through embodied experiences and during social interaction with others (Mongahan, 2002). On viewing photographs of their wounds and their participation in the sport, Pat and Koote discuss how they thrive on using this behaviour and asserting this hegemonic identity.

Pat: I play rugby…and act like I do because I want people to think of me as disciplined…hard… and to let people know that I can handle myself.
At school I got stick…so I produced the sort of attitude of I don't give a shit…I'll prove you all wrong.

Koote: I'd say I'm pretty much tougher than most of the others. When it comes to it [it's about] who can throw their body on the floor. I sort of think I can stay up. I'm one of the most aggressive players…and have got the most sendings off … I love it.

From Koote and Pat's narratives in the intimate dimension of the PEIs, we can, once again see how the process of body reflexive practices occurs for these men, but here further social and embodied dimensions come into play (Connell, 2008). Their social experiences with the other rugby men about aggression, in the back regions of the sport, encourage them to use constructive aggression in the sport, but their embodied experiences of corporeal discomfort also encourage them to use this aggression in the sport to work on overcoming their body concerns. As part of the theoretical framework, Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical analysis helps understand how the rugby men manage their body concerns because these rugby men do not talk about their body concerns in the front and back regions of the sport. However, as it can be seen, they are more verbally communicative about them in intimate dimensions, such as the PEIs.

Although this team expected other rugby men to use aggression to defend others, some players admitted in the PEI that they avoided it and stood back from fights when they occurred on the pitch. The injuries sustained as a result of using aggression to defend others, had actually escalated existing body concerns because it prevented them from participating in the sport and its associated training regimes. Consequently, these rugby men felt that they had less control over their body size, weight and physical fitness, and, in turn, feared returning to former experiences of being out of shape and overweight. Ambiguities in the performance of hegemonic masculinities exist here- as these men fail to utilise behaviour that conforms to expectations of this role in the local level. This is discussed further in the next chapter. Pat and Koote used aggression to work on their existing concerns, but it is illustrated here how others, such as Craig and Vinnie, *avoided* its use to work on overcoming their body concerns.

As I discussed in Chapter 7, Craig and Vinnie expressed concern about returning to their former embodied experiences of being overweight. In order to work on these concerns, they explained in the PEI that their participation in the sport and health-related regimes allowed them to change their physiques in an attempt to overcome their body concerns. As the rugby men on the team attached superior masculine status and respect to those players who used aggression to defend others, they both initially used aggression in an attempt to be admired by the other rugby men for their body. Vinnie explained:

"When I first joined, I used to use aggression to show the other boys I was part of the team".

However, both Craig and Vinnie explained that during attempts to defend other players, they experienced a lack of support from some the team-mates and got 'beaten up' or 'given a kicking' by the opposition. As both of them used the sport as a form of controlling their body weight, their body concerns and becoming significant amongst others, the inability to participate in exercise because of injuries led to reinforcing their body concerns and former feelings of being overweight. Therefore, in order to prevent revisiting this embodied discomfort they chose to physically abstain from the team's aggressive masculinity by avoiding the use of physical aggression in certain instances. Craig explained

on viewing a photograph of him being treated by one of his team mates for a recurring shoulder injury, *Figure 8:7:*

Figure 8:7

Craig: When someone is doing something like stamping on your man…then people will go in and protect their team-mates, and you do get respected. But now I just try and split it up because when I have gone in and tried to fight before I just got beaten up. I now worry all the time about getting injured.

The presentation of impression management, dependent on masculine norms regarding the expression of emotion, apparent in Butera's (2008) analysis of male friendships, are identifiable in Craig's narrative. (see Chapter 2).The impression management (Goffman, 1959) occurs as embodied vulnerability is suppressed by Craig for fear of ridicule from other men within the team. Craig admitted to me that he did not inform the other rugby men that he avoided using aggression, because he was concerned about being mocked by the men for his actions. As the rugby men saw it as important to 'back each other up' in brawls with the opposition, he verbally asserted the importance of using constructive aggression to support his team-mates in back regions of the sport with them, but avoided expressing the physical aspects (bodily gestures) of his aggressive personal front. He did not get physically involved for fear of damaging the level of bodily power he possessed from participating in the sport. This for him, served as an alternative to maintaining the presentation of the aggressive rugby masculinity in the presence of the other rugby men in front and back regions. Whilst Craig may feel that he achieved this, ambiguity in the existence of his hegemonic rugby masculinity is apparent as he failed to reveal to his team mates that he avoids physical aggression. Other rugby men, such as Vinnie, Alan and Terence, who had chosen to avoid using aggression in the presence of the other rugby men, also admitted, in the PEI, that they did not reveal these actions, feelings of fear and their body concerns in the presence of their team-mates for fear of being mocked and feminised. This mockery, served as imposing on the bodily power they possessed amongst other men.

Whilst academic studies describe how aggression is encouraged as part of the sports masculinity through men's relationships with each other (Bredemeier, 1995; Crosset, 1990; Kupers and Letich, 1995; Pilz, 1995; Messner, 1990; Muir and Seitz, 2004; Tucker and Parks, 2000), examination of the back regions of these relationships is important for understanding the emotional concerns that arise from them. For some of the rugby men, concerns arose from using aggression, but were concealed from other men in the team for fear of the ridicule and shame associated with failure to use it. Furthermore, some rugby men used aggression as a means of working on and overcoming their existing concerns about failing to conform to the aggressive rugby masculinity. There were also other more significant consequences that arose for some of the rugby men who sought to present and conform to the aggressive masculinity expected by the other rugby men on the team. For example, one of the rugby men John explained on viewing photographs of his team mates participating in the sport that he had become frustrated by "the whole rugby team identity of standing side by side and looking out for each other". He had sustained injuries (more recently a hamstring injury) whilst using constructive aggression, to defend his team mates from the opposition who had used illegal forms of play against them. Due to this injury he was not participating in the sport as he had been dropped by the senior coach from the team. Since joining the team two years ago he had followed the aggressive rugby masculinity: "using aggression to willingly back up my team mates". However, he no longer believed in utilising this behaviour for the team and was angered by the temporal and superficial nature of the men's relationships within the team:

> "Where are my teammates now? Helping them didn't help me and now I haven't   seen any of them for weeks, they're not bothered. It's like you're suddenly dropped from the team, but also by your teammates. As this is my last year, I am not bothering to go back to the club and play anymore. I can go in at the lowest team but what's the point of that. I've realised that this whole team idea of sacrificing your body for the team and putting it on the line, it's all for show,   look at where it has got me now".

He also explained that the injury he sustained from using constructive aggression had led to reinforcing his concerns about being overweight and smaller than the other rugby men. He, like Pat and Koote, had also previously used aggression in the sport to work on overcoming his concerns of been "chubby" and small in muscular size. However, since leaving the team, he had become less concerned about trying to present an ideal body that adhered to what many of the other rugby men expected and possessed. He explained:

> "Since my injury, I worry more about by body weight and size. Cos I'm not playing and training I don't look like a rugby player and I'm out of shape and can't use the front up, the aggression and stuff to work on it, but what is the point now. I'm not playing and I'm not part of the team".

The importance of physical capital to the rugby masculinity in this field is identifiable here because rugby men, like John, feel that they can no longer exist successfully in this field when they cannot utilise it. Whilst Butera's (2008) study, discussed in Chapter 2, is significant for examining the practices of men's relationships, it is also relevant for understanding the impact of men's relationships with each other. John's narrative reveals the breadth and depth of men's relationships within rugby union, as the men cannot talk openly about the perceived failing of their functional body and the

associated body concern in the presence of other men on this team in back and front regions. They continue to present the expressive signs of the personal front, regarding the expression of emotion, loyalty and support for other men. As a consequence this leads to the suppression of body concern associated with the aggressive body.

Interestingly, John's practices also draw attention to the limitations of Goffman's dramaturgical perspective, because of what happens to John now after his exclusion from the team. Will he now experience his day to day life nonperformatively? (Manning, 2007) Is he no longer on a stage and can we still perceive the rest of his life a theatre? John now expresses different level of interest in his self-presentation, and thus sheds some doubts of the applicability of metaphor. Perhaps it does, and we can analyse this in the context of a different type of masculinity expressed by John in a different field.

8:5 Conclusion

In Chapter 5, I discussed the existing academic research that describes significant others: fathers, coaches, and other rugby men as playing a part in encouraging constructive forms of aggression. An important parallel exist between the sports media representations of these relationships and the academic discussions of them. In both, aggression is described and represented as being encouraged and constructed as part of sports masculinities through these relationships. Some of the academic studies describe how the sportsmen feel about these relationships and how it impacts on their use of their behaviour, but there were few studies that describe the fear, vulnerability and concern that may arise or escalate through sportsmen's use of this behaviour. This chapter has revealed more about how the aggressive body is implicated in understanding how the rugby men's body concerns developed and were managed in the sport.

The theoretical framework, developed in chapter 2, has allowed me to analyse sociologically how the aggressive body is integral to the ways in which the rugby men's body concerns are developed and managed in the sport. It has been shown that for these rugby men constructive aggression is constructed and understood as part of their hegemonic rugby masculinities. This feature of physical capital is required for participation in the sport itself, the team's performance of masculine identity and the men's individual representation of this identity. Through examination of the personal front, it has been shown that the rugby men verbally and physically express this behaviour in front and back regions of the sport. Expression of constructive aggression and the concomitant bodily power in these regions, allowed the rugby men to assert their rugby masculinity but importantly, for some conceal and/or work on their body concerns. Whilst some of the rugby men used physical acts of constructive aggression to work on existing body concerns, others who had sustained injuries from using this aggression, avoided it and articulated it verbally. Recognition of body reflexive practices revealed that for the latter rugby men, embodied experiences of being injured from using aggression, reinforced their body concerns as former embodied experiences of corporeal discomfort returned. How the men feel when they use aggression and following its use, plays an important part in their further use of this behaviour. More importantly, it influences how they feel about their body concerns and manage them with this behaviour.

Social relationships with significant others were identified as also encouraging constructive aggression as part of hegemonic rugby masculinities. Whilst coaches are described in the academic

research as being most influential to young men's use of aggression in sport, the men interacted with symbolic representations of coaches. The relationship that played the most important part in developing this identity for the rugby men occurred between the rugby men in the back regions of the sport. Their interaction with one another encouraged aggression as part of their hegemonic rugby masculinity. Similar to the expression of adeptness, the rugby men's aggressive acts, the way they talked about and displayed them through wounding in more public regions, allowed them to accumulate symbolic capital, gain respect, status and acceptance from their team members. However, the pressures the rugby men placed on one another to present this identity, led the rugby men to use aggression to conceal and work on overcoming their body concerns in these regions and front regions. These relationships also led others to discretely avoid physical forms of aggression for fear that the resulting injuries would escalate and/or reinforce their body concerns. Discussion with these rugby men away from the front and back regions of the sport in PEIs, revealed that the rugby men's embodied experiences of using aggression and the injuries sustained in using it impacted on the development and management of their body concerns.

For some of the rugby men, their relationships with their mothers and women's perceptions of their aggression impacted on their use of aggression internally and externally to sport. Whilst photo-elicitation assisted in creating an intimate dimension for the rugby men to discuss their body concerns to me, women in the other sportsmen's lives can potentially serve to create intimate contexts for them to discuss these concerns. Sportsmen are more likely to talk to those women who present the binary opposite to the aggressive sport masculinity and thus pose little threat this identity.

Chapter 9, Tough Bodies: Management of Pain and Injury

9:1 Introduction

The level of contact and injuries (Brooks et al., 2005) sustained in contemporary rugby union is significantly higher than any other British sport (Nicholl et al., 1995; Fuller et al., 2010). As I discussed in Chapter 5, this activity had been described in academic research characterised as a masculine experience, often distinguishing men as being more able to cope with, and conquer, pain and injury. Boys and men perceive the game as a battle ground in which they learn how to be tough and less expressive about their emotions (Light and Kirk, 2000; Kerr, 2005). Studies reveal that some young sportsmen suppress these experiences of pain and injury and associated emotional concerns for fear of the implications to their masculine identity and also to their sports participation (Light and Kirk, 2000; Howe, 2001; Young and White, 1997; 1999).

In this chapter I will look at the rugby men's experiences of pain and injury, the 'tough body', and how it is implicated in understanding the development and management of the rugby men's body concerns. The tough body, discussed in this chapter, is conceptualised as the emotional and physical management of pain and injury. For the rugby men, involved in this research, this involved sustaining specific types of pain and injury, but also required mental toughness; downplaying and suppressing these experiences and the emotional distress resulting from them. In the previous analytical Chapters 7 and 8, adeptness and aggression were shown to be aspects of physical capital and thus features of hegemonic rugby masculinities. Here, attention will be drawn to the importance of the tough body for this identity, as the rugby men reveal the impact disruptions to the functional body, in the form of pain and injury, have on their body concerns. It will be argued that examination of men's embodiment of pain and injury is important for understanding their body concerns. Physical changes to the body (experienced through visceral embodiment of pain and injury) impact on their pragmatic and experiential embodiment, which inform their body concerns (Watson, 2000; Monaghan, 2000; Robertson, 2001).

This chapter loosely follows the structure of the previous two chapters, but by necessity will deviate slightly focusing on how pain and injury is conceptualised in academic research and how this compares to the rugby men's subjective interpretations. I also discuss the social relationships with significant others that were influential to the development of this hegemonic rugby identity and the rugby men's body concerns.

As part of the theoretical framework, Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach is drawn on again to consider how the tough body becomes relevant for the rugby men in the front and back regions of their rugby lives in this sport. This involves examining how pain and injury are understood and dealt with by the rugby men in different regions and dimensions of their lives, and whether significant others influence how they manage their pain and injury as part of the hegemonic rugby masculinity. Recognising the importance of the tough body in this sport, through the concept of physical capital (Bourdieu, 1984), I argue that disruptions to the body in the form of pain and injury are influential to the development of the rugby men's body concerns. I also show that the rugby men's relationships with

each other regarding the tough body, that occur in front and back regions (Goffman, 1959), are most influential in how their concerns are reinforced and how they are managed. The comments the rugby men make in the intimate dimensions of the PEI are also important for understanding these concerns.

9:2 Conceptualising Pain and Injury

Conceptualisations of pain and injury are diverse because there are clinical, psychological and emotional understandings of these experiences. As part of the classical approach, researchers adopt clinical definitions of pain and injury that refer to the biological basis of the body; "described accurately and causally" (Loland, 2006: 50). This approach encompasses the Cartesian, dualistic, view of the body, where the mind and body are independent from one another (Bendelow and Williams, 1995). Ontologically, pain is understood as a component of a physical reality, and located through physical damage to the body. If the clinician cannot locate physical damage, it is perceived that pain is imagined by the athlete (Loland, 2006).

Clinical definitions of pain and injury have been commonly used in sports research, but social-constructivist approaches have found sportsmen's subjective interpretations of pain and injury can differ from the clinical definitions (Malcolm and Sheard, 2002; Maguire et al., 2002; Messner, 1990; Young and White, 1999). In response to these findings, I examined the rugby men's subjective understandings of pain and injury, alongside the clinical and academic interpretations. I have found that the rugby men manage their tough bodies in the same way as they manage their body concerns in the different regions of the sport. They perceive both issues as feminine emotions which are not consistent with their understanding of hegemonic rugby masculinities. Furthermore, the rugby men's individual understandings and corporeal experiences of pain and injury are significant for understanding how the rugby men's body concerns were developed or reinforced.

Clinical Interpretations of Pain and Injury

According to the International Association for the Study of Pain:

"Pain is an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage, or described in terms of such damage" (Merskey and Bogduk, 1994: 210).

Clinicians have identified three types of pain: transient, acute and chronic. Transient pain "is elicited by the activation of nociceptive transducers in skin or other tissues of the body in the absence of any tissue damage" (Loeser and Melzack, 1999: 1604). In the clinical setting, transient pain is understood as routine pain and is not perceived as warranting medical attention.

Acute pain, on the other hand, "is elicited by substantial injury of body tissue and activation of nociceptive transducers at the site of local tissue damage" (Loeser and Melzack, 1999: 1608). Drawing from his research with rugby union players in South Wales, Howe (2004: 74) argues that "acute pain is a short sharp sensation that is experienced when the injury occurs and for a limited period after".

Chronic pain, as it is clinically defined, differs from acute pain in that it is "commonly triggered by an injury or disease, but may be perpetuated by factors other than the cause of the pain" (Merskey and Bogduk, 1994: 211). This type of pain occurs when an injury has damaged the nervous system in such a way that the body is unable to heal and restore itself. Howe argues that this type of pain is unrelenting because "it recurs at intervals for months…or years after injury" (Howe, ibid).

Although pain can be experienced as part of an injury, injury refers to the actual hurt, damage to the body or "breakdown in its structure" (Howe, 2004:74). There are three general criteria that are included in clinical conceptualisations of sports injury. These are anatomical tissue diagnosis, loss of time from participation in sport and medical consultation (Pargman, 1999). Sports researchers examining injuries in rugby union define injury as "a loss of time from training and match play" (Garroway et al., 2000; Brooks et al. 2005: 767). As discussed in chapter 5, rugby union injuries are often classified as minor or mild when the player has "left the field or missed a match, or both", and injuries are defined as severe or serious when the player misses "more than three matches" (Best et al., 2005: 813).

Howe (2004) conceptualises injury as "damage to the body caused by mechanical stress which it cannot adapt in time or space" (Howe, 2004: 91). He argues that injuries that occur as a result of participation in sport can be classified as either primary or secondary injuries. The former is due to "a specific stress or overload on a given region of the body", such as a groin strain or sprained ankle. Secondary injuries are often injuries that have been provoked by some previous untreated and/or undetected injury (Howe, 2004:92). For example, a rugby union player suffering from anterior cruciate ligament damage to their knee may be unaware that a collapsed arch in their foot contributed to the knee pain and thus provoked this secondary injury.

These definitions of pain and injury have been significant for sports research because they have allowed researchers to focus on the physical body and, similar to sports medicine, on the damage to one's body. These definitions are incorporated in the biomedical approach in which there is a split between the mind and body of the athlete (Heil, 1993; Kontos, 2000). Loland (2006:50) argues "the mind is a thinking substance [and the] body is understood separately as a physical object existing within a determinist natural world".

These conceptualisations of pain and injury focus on the sensations, as though they can be objectively measured. The usefulness of this approach to sports research is that it allows researchers to recognise pain and injury as part of a physical phenomenon, which must be recorded, diagnosed and treated accordingly.

Although this biomedical model and the clinical definitions are regularly employed in sports studies, researchers adopting the social constructivist approach and phenomenology have also revealed the contextualised (Nixon, 1992) and subjective nature of pain and injury (Collinson, 2003; Maguire et al., 2002; Smith and Sparkes, 2002). This is somewhat similar to arguments made by Grange and Kerr (2010), Hemphill (2002), Russell (1993; 2008) and Kerr (2005) about how aggression in sport should be conceptualised, discussed in Chapter 8. This has led researchers to recognise that sportsmen's own understanding of pain and injury is very different from the clinical classifications

(Howe, 2004; Malcolm and Sheard, 2002; Maguire et al., 2002; Messner, 1990; Young and White, 1999). For example, although the clinical description of pain (above) indirectly implies a degree of harmful risk to the body and is closely associated with a potential or actual injury (embedded in visceral embodiment, Watson, 2000), researchers have found that some sportsmen do not often recognise or discuss acute pain as it is defined clinically and subjectively perceive it, and the resulting minor injuries, as unproblematic and playable. In particular, Malcolm and Sheard (2002:160) found that a group of Premiership rugby union players defined minor injuries subjectively as physical conditions that did not prevent players from missing matches and, therefore, the resulting pain was insignificant for them. Oral painkillers and anti-inflammatory drugs were taken, but to these rugby men, the pain was hardly relevant. Young et al. (1994) and White and Young (2007) found similar conceptualisations amongst Canadian male athletes.

In this chapter I am primarily concerned with the subjective accounts of pain and injury of the rugby men because it is relevant for understanding how their body concerns were engendered and how they concealed these concerns in the front and back regions of their lives in this sport.

9:3 Conceptualising Tough Bodies (management of pain and injury)

As discussed in Chapter 5, presentation of the sports masculinity involves presenting tough bodies that are physical and strong. In contact sports such as rugby union, researchers have found that this involves sustaining acute forms of pain and minor injury (Gard and Meyenn, 2003). There is a cultural expectation that these sportsmen will be emotionally inexpressive about the pain and discomfort they experience (Light and Kirk, 2000; Loland, 2006; Muir and Seitz, 2004; White et al. 1995; Young et al., 1994). The acceptance and endurance of pain and injury is seen as a means of succeeding in the sport, but also a means of being accepted as hegemonic sportsmen. Bourdieu's (1984) analysis of the field of sport is significant in understanding why pain and injury is managed in this way.

Following Bourdieu's (ibid) analysis of the field of sport, it can be seen that success in sport involves the presentation of particular forms of physical capital. To increase their performance in the sport, sportsmen work on their physical capital through participation in the sport itself, but also through further training, exercise and diet. In Chapters 7 and 8, I have shown that adeptness and constructive aggression are forms of physical capital that are part of the rugby habitus lived out by the rugby men within the field of rugby union. As men's participation in rugby union involves physical contact and high levels of pain and injury (Travisano, 2004; Nicholl et al., 1995; Fuller et al., 2010), participants are also required to be physically strong enough to sustain this pain and injury, but also mentally strong enough to deal with the consistent damage to the body. Bourdieu (1984: 213) notes;

> "Rugby ...[involves], the ...use of 'natural' physical qualities (strength, speed etc.), has affinities with...popular dispositions, the cult of manliness and the taste for a fight, toughness in contact and resistance to tiredness and pain".

While women's participation in this sport requires similar physical and mental toughness, the masculine discourse associated with the sport often characterises men as being more able to cope with and conquer the pain and injury (Duncan and Messner, 1998; Madill and Hopper, 2007; Pringle, 2001;

Price and Parker, 2003; Rowe, 2004). As I discussed in chapter 5, this form of physical toughness expressed by men is valued within the field by others, coaches and male players, as part of the sports masculinity (Roderick, 2006; Swain, 2003; Young et al. 1994). Furthermore, suppressing feelings of the hurt and discomfort in public contexts of the sport, working hard to overcome more serious injury to quickly return to the sport are valued features of this identity. Similar portrayals of this behaviour were identifiable in the exemplary rugby masculinities portrayed in symbolic representations, discussed in Chapter 5 (Connell and Messerschdmit, 2005).

As the tough, strong and physical body are valued in this field, disruptions to physical capital (in the form of pain and injury) are potentially problematic for rugby men since it affects training and limits participation. As discussed in Chapter 2, Wainwright and Turner (2006) make a similar argument, through application of Bourdieu's concept of physical capital to professional ballet, but they argue that the inevitable biological decline of the body through ageing disrupts physical capital.

What must be considered is that the tough body in this sport and its field is important to the formation of the rugby men's self-identity. As such, rugby men's concerns about their bodies and sports performance may develop or become current because acceptance and success in this sport and the different levels within the field is dependent on the tough body. Disruptions to this aspect of the functional self and a resultant decline in physical capital could lead rugby men to worry about their position in the field (Bourdieu, 1984). This is dependent on the geographical level in which they are situated, discussed in Chapter 2. What is also important to recognise is that, because the strong and uninjured body is central to their rugby masculinity, rugby men are more willing to mask and conceal the injuries and pain they experience. Exclusion from training and playing matches will affect their fitness thus leading to concerns about their bodies and bodily performance.

Bourdieu's concept of physical capital is important for understanding how this type of physical capital, the tough body, is constituted through performances in different regions of the sportsmen's lives. For example, in the 2003 Rugby World Cup newspaper coverage (discussed in chapter 5), serious injuries, such as concussions, ligament damage, etc., that inhibited play were represented and discussed in rugby union men's narratives. However, these types of injuries were represented through particular frames of hegemonic heroism. For example, England rugby union men heroically sustained serious injuries, but quickly overcame them and returned to the sport. Acute pain was represented infrequently, but when these experiences were discussed in professional rugby union men's narratives, these experiences would be downplayed as a customary part of 'real men's' involvement in the sport. As such, pain and less serious injuries were normalised to the extent that rugby union players experienced these injuries frequently, but they did not affect play and were not represented as being part of the hegemonic rugby masculinity that is lived out in the front and back regions of the sport.

These symbolic representations of rugby union men's pain and injury (and their conceptualisation in the sports media) are similar to the definitions and interpretations of pain and injury that are examined academic research. As discussed above, academic studies that have described sportsmen's interpretations of pain and injury have found that clinical interpretations of particular types of less serious pain and playable injury differ from sportsmen's subjective interpretations of this behaviour (Malcolm and Sheard, 2002; Maguire et al. 2002; Messner, 1990; Young and White, 1999).

In Malcolm and Sheard's (2002) study these sportsmen did not perceive particular types of acute pain and less serious injury (as they are clinically defined) as being significant. Furthermore, in Young and Whites', (1999) study the sportsmen normalised these experiences of pain and injury to the extent that they were not perceived as being part of the self.

In my research, the rugby men's conceptualisations of pain and injury, echoed the clinical interpretations presented in academic research. However, their understanding of acute pain and minor injury differed between the region and dimension in which they were located. For instance, in the intimate dimension of the PEI, clinical understandings of acute pain and minor, playable injuries were recognised and discussed by these rugby men; but in the front regions of the sport, in their public narratives, their interpretations and discussion of them differed. They also described these experiences as being less significant to them.

In contrast, the rugby men's interpretations of chronic pain and serious injury did not differ between the intimate dimensions and front regions. In particular, the rugby men's understanding of chronic pain echoed the clinical definitions adopted by Howe (2004) in his research, as they all described this more serious pain as continuous and unrelenting. Furthermore, their interpretation of more serious injuries reflected the definition of severe injury adopted by researchers examining rugby union injuries (Garroway et al., 2000; Brooks et al., 2005). As shown in these studies, the professional rugby union players defined serious injury as being unable to participate in a few games. Koote explains:

"You know it is serious when one boy doesn't get up after taking a hard hit, but also you know it's pretty bad when he is out for the whole season".

In the intimate dimension of the interview, the rugby men's interpretations of pain and less serious, playable injuries, are comparable to the clinical definitions. On viewing photographs of themselves playing, in previous games, they revealed the physical and emotional experiences of pain. These descriptions were symptomatic of the clinical understanding of acute pain, as outlined by Howe (2004:74) above.

They also talked about how they experienced minor injuries, such as hamstring strains, cauliflower ears, etc., (as they are clinically defined). Furthermore, they discussed much more of their sensory experiences of the acute pain that accompanied these injuries. For example, Vinnie explained on viewing a photograph of himself playing:

"I pulled my hammy in that game last week and it's been bloody killing me. It really hurts when I'm training; I get this aching feeling when I run".

In this intimate dimension, the majority of the rugby men explained that they had consciously chosen in the front and back regions with the team of rugby men to "suck it up and play on" through these experiences. The central purpose was to maintain their place on the team and not be perceived as 'weaker' than the other rugby men. Thus presentation of the personal front as part of the tough body

was scrutinised by the front region audience, but most importantly monitored and scrutinised by the team members within the local level. (Goffman, 1959).

John: I've had this hamstring tear for weeks now, and it bloody hurts. But I know that it's near the end of the season, so I just keep strapping it up, and icing it after training. I need to keep it hidden from the other boys and the coaches, cause I'll just get stick from the boys and I will be out again. I'll do this until the season is over cause then I can go home, rest it and come back next season fit again.

Although the rugby men's interpretations of chronic pain and serious injury did not differ between the front and back regions and the intimate dimensions, the rugby men talked more openly about their physical and emotional experiences of chronic pain and serious injuries in the intimate dimension of the PEI, than they did in the front and back regions of the sport. This will be discussed later.

The implication for researchers examining rugby men's experiences of pain and injury is that the clinical definitions of pain and injury should be examined alongside the men's subjective interpretations of these experiences. However, what also needs to be considered is that the regions or dimensions in which they discuss and display these experiences also influence the interpretations of acute pain and minor injury they employ and, thus, their discussion of the concomitant physical and emotional experiences.

9:4 Developing tough bodies: impact of relationships with significant others

As discussed in chapter 7, the senior coach[60] expected consistent adept performances from the rugby men, and relegated those who failed to maintain it. Despite this tough approach, the rugby men described him as being sympathetic to injured players who had sustained minor and more serious injuries. He encouraged injured players to admit to their injuries as soon as possible. In contrast, the rugby men's descriptions of second assistant coach, are similar to Noe's (1973) definition of the 'dogmatic' coach who was disapproving of those players who failed to conceal their minor injuries and refused to play when hurt. For example, whilst on a return bus journey from one of the rugby games, the rugby men commented on the second assistant coach and his reactions to men who displayed their injuries to me. In the PEIs, whilst viewing a photograph of this assistant coach, *Figure 9:1,* three of the rugby men presented almost identical narratives of the assistant coach's introductory speech to the club. This coach is featured on the right side of the photograph. In this speech, he had described his first viewing of this team as "one of the weakest sides he had ever seen", because they were consistently coming off the pitch for "girly injuries" that were "bloody playable". He went on to explain that, during his experiences of playing professional rugby, he had never given in to his injuries until after his matches. Therefore, he expected his rugby men to take a similar approach to managing less serious injuries. In Jones et als., (2011) research, discussed in Chapters 2 and 7, similar practices were utilised by sports coaches to express and maintain their authoritative and leadership role. These

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[60] The rugby men in the 1XV Team/Performance Squad, who participated in this research, were primarily coached by three men: the senior and two assistant coaches.

coaches would refer to their most successful practices in the sport, in their interaction with their athletes.

Figure 9:1

In the first of the three comments below, Bam reiterates part of the coach's speech and the coach's disapproval of those men who admitted to injuries during games. In the second of the three comments, Harry's comments illustrate how this speech was not simply pushing the rugby men to put in more physical effort – because the coach had also encouraged Harry to continue playing while hurt.

Bam: "I remember his first speech he ever made. He said to us 'I don't care how injured you are, I don't want wimps on my side…going off for stupid injuries'. I'll never forget the story he told us about how he broke his fucking ribs and his hand and still carried on playing…but without even knowing [about his injuries]."

Harry: "Coach was telling us about that when we are playing and stuff, we should not show the opposition that we are injured or hurt. I guess it's a very masculine thing. Like the other day I put my two front teeth through my [bottom] lip and it was bleeding and stuff and he told me that I had to 'wait until the next breakdown' before I let them know I am injured, because 'it can make you look weak to the opposition'".

Craig: "His opening speech on injury was just mad; he played with a broken hand and ribs and he didn't even know. He wants us to be tough and hard like him".

Whilst the rugby men commented extensively on the assistant coach's harsh approach, not all believed that it was necessary to conceal serious injuries as he expected. For example, Bam explained, "if I broke my hand [like he did] I'd be like 'fuck off' I'm off [the pitch]".

Like the 'judgmental' coach outlined by Noe (1973), the senior coach adopted a more critical approach to men who concealed minor and serious injury from both him and the medical team. Injuries were expected to be reported, but players were still expected to possess a reasonable threshold of pain and not over-dramatise minor injuries, bruises, bloody noses, etc., in front region, at games and in training sessions. Vinnie, explained in the in-depth interview that their coach would encourage them to inform him when they were hurt and told them that if they were injured they should "come off [the pitch

and] don't push it". Comparable descriptions of male baseball and rugby coaches are identifiable in Fines (1987) and Fenton and Pitters' (2010) research, discussed in Chapter 5.

One of the rugby men, Alan, explained on viewing photographs of the senior coach, *Figure 9:2* that the coach's sympathetic approach allowed him to feel comfortable admitting minor and more serious injuries and incidents of chronic pain to this coach. He explained that he talked to him about these concerns in the back regions of the sport, away from the game, training sessions and the team of rugby men. He felt that their senior coach understood how injured players felt because the coach had also experienced repeated injuries during his professional rugby career. He empathised with them during their experiences of injury and made Alan feel less ashamed.

Interviewer: "How does the coach react when you have been injured?"

Alan: "Cause he has been injured quite a lot in his career… he understands and talks to me, away from the others. But he does it in a joking sense, so you don't feel so bad".

Although the senior coach encouraged the rugby men to admit to the minor and more serious injuries and to avoid playing when experiencing chronic pain, the majority of the rugby men (apart from Alan and John) explained in the PEIs that they persisted in hiding this type of pain, minor and sometimes serious injuries in front and back regions of the sport. However, Alan was much more verbally expressive about his experiences of all types of pain and injury to the coach, in the back regions of sport. Alan's comments in the PEI and my participant observations revealed that this had implications for Alan's presentation of the tough rugby masculinity because he was regularly ostracised by the other rugby men for these displays of pain and injury. For example, I observed a number of the other, more vocal, rugby men regularly mocking Alan. They often referred to him as "wossy" and/or "Beckham". Whilst watching one of the rugby games Pat explained to me that they referred to Alan in this manner because:

 "He's like bloody footballer, he even looks like Beckham: he's got gay long hair, he dresses
 like a footballer, he wears that girly hair band like him and moans like one. Man...he's
 always moaning about his injuries".

For the remainder of the team Alan failed to successfully express the sign vehicles of the personal front that encompass the tough body (Goffman, 1959). Verbal expressions of less acute pain accompanying less serious injury were not perceived by them as an acceptable part of the tough identity required for their team performances. Furthermore, they perceived the male football player as regularly feigning injury and their narcissistic attention to bodily presentation, such as interest in one hair and clothing was incompatible with this identity. Whilst these expressive practices are perceived as feminine in this context by these men, as discussed in Chapter 3 they have been identified as being increasingly socially acceptable expressions of this rugby masculinity and the concomitant metro-sexual identity in professional rugby union (Harris and Clayton, 2007). Whilst the rugby men in my research sought to move beyond the 'rugger bugger' identity associated with destructive aggression (discussed in Chapter 8), they believed that the expression of the metro-sexual identity was beyond the boundaries of their rugby masculinities. The ambiguities of hegemonic masculinities are identifiable here in Alan's behaviour, because whilst he expresses aspects of this identity, through participation in the team,

through social relations with others, and his expression of personal characteristics such as former adeptness, this aspect of his behaviour fails to conform the rugby men's understanding of this identity.

Figure 9:2

In explaining why the majority of these rugby men suppressed their pain, injury and body concerns in the public front regions of the sport and from their coaches, it can be argued that the assistant coach has played a contributory role. However, as will be argued later, there are other social relationships amongst this team of rugby men are influential and play a more significant role.

What the findings in this thesis and other sports research illustrates is that different types of coaches do exist, but the influence they have on how these rugby men manage different types of pain and injury is very specific. Therefore, simply because the discussion of pain and injury is encouraged by rugby union coaches does not mean that all of these rugby men revealed these experiences and – more importantly – their body concerns to them.

Talking to Women

In Chapters 7 and 8, I have argued that in this research the rugby men's discussions with the female researcher (me) in the intimate dimensions of the PEI were significant. The rugby men talked more about their body concerns and how aggression and the adept body were implicated in understanding them in these interviews than they did in front and back regions of the sport. The rugby men's discussion of pain and injury revealed a similar pattern, as the rugby men were more forthcoming to me about their pain and injury and the contribution these experiences made to their body concerns.

This was made particularly apparent when Terence discussed his response to being interviewed by a woman. Terence was surprised by the extent to which he had talked about his emotional concerns: pain, injury and body concern. However, he was not distressed by what he had disclosed because he explained that he actually felt at ease talking to a woman who "understood" and empathised with his worries.

Interviewer: "That's all the questions I have for you, how do you feel about the interview?"
Terence: "Excellent I got all that off my chest; a lot of stuff that no one else has heard of has come out. I can't believe it. If you went and sat in the corner and looked down I would probably think, 'my god you worry too much Terence', because people frown upon it, just because they don't know about it or they don't understand. But because you understand, so then I don't think it's bad [to talk to you about it]".

Although the rugby men talked to me in the PEIs about their injuries and feelings of pain, in situations where I was also in the presence of other rugby men in the front and back regions of the sport, they concealed these injuries and primarily talked to other rugby men about their frustration about not being able to play. The rugby men also did not discuss their experiences of acute or chronic pain (when they had been injured and taken off the field), but rather downplayed this pain and talked only of their disappointment at not being able to play. However, in the PEI, many of the rugby men abandoned this approach and revealed more of the pain and emotion they were experiencing. For example, Pat commented on a photo of himself sitting on the bench due to injury and how, at the time, he tried to conceal the pain he was experiencing from the other men in the team. Pat initially admitted that he did not want me to know how much pain he was experiencing because they were in the public, front region, of the match and the presence of a number of other rugby men. However, the PEI was a crucial factor in dissipating this reservation as he openly discussed the extent of his pain and fear.

Pat: I just remember being in a lot of pain and I was, like, just trying to move it and just try and get up on it, and see what I could do, but I just I was in such pain I couldn't really move anything. The physio started to move it and… then I could feel that something was definitely up with my knee. Then I just I really got worried… I remember just being in loads of pain, and I remember you were there and I didn't want you [the researcher] to know. I didn't want to seem to be like, you know…worrying about stuff like that in front of the boys.

Then I got up and I was sort of like 'hold on, it can't be that bad', and I could put a bit of weight on it but then I started moving my knee a bit and it just was going all over the shot and I was like 'oh shit what do I do'. So I just forgot about it and got back in the changing room, but I was just in so much pain. Everyone was coming in asking me how it was and I obviously I didn't want them to know that I thought I was screwed, so I was like 'it's just a knock it will be alright… maximum two weeks off'. But while I had been trying to kid myself, I had managed to kid them as well that it wasn't that bad, but I was gutted.

In Chapters 7 and 8 I have also demonstrated how the rugby men experience a number of direct and indirect pressures from other rugby men in the back regions of their relationships with each

other to present adept and aggressive body. The result of this pressure is that the rugby men find it difficult to talk about their injuries and their associated fears, vulnerabilities and body concerns in the front and back regions of this sport. It was the intimate dimension with the female researcher, using the stimulus of photographs, which allowed Pat to discuss his pain and injury issues. This reiterates the argument that sportsmen may be more willing to talk to women about pain and injury but only away from the front and back regions; away from the other rugby men. My analysis supports Lupton's (1998) and Hochschild's (2000:57) arguments, discussed in Chapter 5, that "cultural conventions...invite women more than men, to focus on feeling rather than actions". These findings also support Hochschild's (ibid) argument that men do "have to wait for particular socially accepted contexts and settings... to feel and express their emotions". For these men, women are perceived as emotional caregivers for them, but they also play a role in providing an intimate setting in which men feel they can discuss their emotions. These findings are comparable to studies, discussed in Chapter 5, that have found that sportsmen preferred to talk to women rather than the other male players about uncomfortable emotional concerns (Madill and Hopper, 2007; Lilleaas, 2007).

All of the rugby men in the research explained in the PEI that, unlike the coach, the physiotherapist and the other rugby men, I posed minimal threat to their masculinity when discussing their pain and injuries. I did not have the power to relegate them from the team. And, unlike the other men I would not ridicule them for being 'womanly' or 'weak'. Therefore, these rugby men did not perceive me as being implicated in the power relations that the others possessed; the rugby men perceived me as part of the safe and non-threatening intimate dimension in which they could discuss their injuries and body concerns.

The senior coach articulated similar perceptions of me, as he explained to me, that I provided a more supportive and understanding position than the rugby men were accustomed to in the front and back regions of the sport. Furthermore, because I took them to an intimate dimension that was located away from these regions, this allowed them to feel more relaxed about dropping their personal front, and thus permitted them to talk more openly about these intimate feelings.

Despite these interpretations, I also discovered that some of the rugby men were less willing to discuss the experiences of pain and injury with me in the interviews. As discussed in Chapter 4, one of the rugby men (Dezza) was interpreted as being shy and reserved in his interaction with me and other players in front and back regions of the sport. Whilst he was forthcoming about his body concerns when he viewed photographs of himself during the interviews, he was cautious about discussing his experiences of pain and injuries. He responded to questions about this theme revealing that he had previously been injured for a long period of time, but he chose not to comment on how this made him feel about his body and performance in the sport. He responded "yeh I felt bad when I pulled my hamstring, but that's just how it is really." On reflection, it is questionable whether my position as a woman, and being of a similar age to the men, made it less feasible and potentially more embarrassing for Dezza to talk to me about these emotional concerns. I also have to recognise that not all of the rugby men, who were affiliated to the team, were willing to volunteer for the interviews with me. There is no evidence that any of my personal characteristics, such as gender, race or age, may have impacted on this. It may simply have been their personal choice (irrespective of interviewer) not to participate.

Although the majority of rugby men discussed their injuries and concerns with me, their discussions and displays of these concerns with other rugby men were different. The rugby men's relationships with other rugby men are discussed below to reveal the impact these relationships had on how individual rugby men felt about their bodies and how they managed their body concerns in the sport and health-related activities.

Team-mates

Masking the pain and injury: 'get up, shut up and stop being a fanny'

The participant observation, interviews and PEI data revealed the existence of the tough body and that the rugby men's relationships with each other played an influential role in determining how these men managed their pain and injury. Through their interaction in the front and back regions of the sport they developed an understanding of how the tough body should be presented in these regions. They were not permitted to be verbally or physically communicative about their experiences of acute pain and less serious injury in the front regions or in the back regions with each other. Importantly, the PEI data revealed how the rugby men felt about living out this identity and the expectations of the other rugby men.

As part of expressing the tough body the rugby men drew, once again, on the dialogue from media representation of the American football coach Tony D'Amato, in the film *Any Given Sunday* (1999), in order to reinforce this tough identity. As discussed in Chapter 8, they watched D'Amato's half-time speech during their pre-match bus journeys and recited it during training sessions. Whilst they drew on this prop (Goffman, 1959) to express other aspects of the rugby masculinity they also used it to show that they were willing to "put their bodies on the line" and fight through the pain for the team in order to win. In addition to this, the more senior rugby men used phrases from D'Amato's speech to illustrate to new recruits of the team, the importance of conforming to their expectations of this less expressive tough rugby masculinity. Once again we can see the level of influence between the regional level and the local level practices of hegemonic masculinities. This was particularly apparent in the Captain's, Jimbo, pre-match speeches that he made to the team, as he regularly recited phrases from this film. Similar to the fictional coach, he characterised the forthcoming match as a "game of inches" and a metaphorical physical war in which his rugby men would "take knocks" and "hard hits" but they had to show the determination and "sacrifice the pain" to win. The difference between the fictional public narrative and the rugby captain's narrative is that the latter actually refers to the pain they experience and pushes his rugby men to "shut it out", "suck it up" and not "moan about it". Before leaving the bus to begin a pre-game training session, I observed him state to his team mates:

> "In last night's session, you boys showed that you have the character and ability to take this team, so now it's time to prove your fucking worth, sacrifice the bloody pain, shut it out, don't moan about it, suck it up, don't give into it and take this bunch of pussies".

What is also interesting about this particular fictional media narrative is that some of the rugby men drew on particular phrases in this speech in the instances where they felt they had discussed their vulnerability, body concern and failings of their injured body in the intimate dimension of the PEI. For

example, after Terence, Koote, Bam, Craig and Pat had discussed these types of concerns in their PEIs; they later drew on particular phrases and key words from the fictional coach's speech to represent the tougher aspects of their rugby masculinity. Koote discussed his corporeal experiences of being injured and the disappointment he experienced with his body, but later in the interview he expressed he was keen to assert that he was much stronger than the other rugby men because, unlike them, he had the ability "front up, take hard hits, to stay up when needed" and was willing to "fight to win for that inch" (identifiable in Coach D'Amato's speech). Similarly, after Pat, Craig, and Bam talked about the emotional distress they experienced when being injured, they sought to reassert the tough rugby masculinity as they talked how they had the ability to "put their bodies on line"..."suffer the pain and push for that extra inch". Application of Connell and Messerschmidt's (ibid) geographical framework is useful for analysing the interdependency between the different levels of practice, but here it has been shown specifically how these work in the micro contexts of the rugby men's lived practices, through the imitation of exemplary masculinities. This examination of how men utilise symbolic representations to conceal their body concerns actually draws us back to how hegemonic masculinity in understood in the day to day lives of men (Seidler, 2006a; 2006b; Hearn and Morrell, 2012), notably the "the hurts, insecurities and sufferings that," men experience (Seidler, 2006a:13).

In the intimate dimension, when viewing photographs of their injuries, many of the rugby men explained that they would not inform other rugby men of minor injuries and their experiences of acute pain because they knew that the other rugby men would characterise them as "pretty boys", "fannies", "wimps", "jessies", "girls", etc. Those men who were described as "persistently moaning" about minor injuries were given permanent names, such as "Campo" and "Donkey". For example, on viewing a photograph of Jimbo, *Figure 9:3*, the rugby men referred to him as "Glass Man". Urwin explained on viewing this photograph that they referred to him in this way because they perceived as being similar to this fictional character, played by Samuel Jackson in the film *Unbreakable*. This character experiences a genetic bone disorder, osteogenesis imperfect (brittle bone disease), in which the smallest of bodily movements results in fractured bones. Although, Jimbo and this character were of similar racial identities, the comments the rugby men about this player were not directly about race.

"Jimbo is always getting injured every week he was moaning about some injury or another- so we just take the piss and call him Mr Glass".
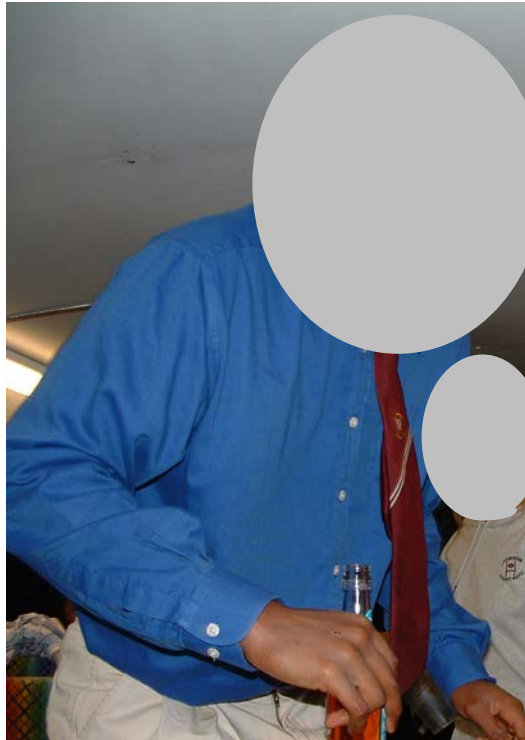
The rugby men would also push those who were injured to 'get up', and play through their injuries. In particular, Bam explained how he often told players who were lying on the ground "complaining" of minor injuries to;

"Get up, shut up and stop being a fanny".

Urwin would tell these players;

"Get up man; you play like Tarzan but you fucking moan like Jane."

Figure 9:3

Although the rugby men explained that these comments were never intended to be malicious and were carried out in a "joking way", they had ramifications for how the men discussed and managed their injuries in the front and back regions of the sport with each other. For example, on viewing the photographs of the annual fitness testing, ***Figure 9:4a***, Craig explained that, after realising he was injured, he pulled out of the speed tests and moved to another side of the sports hall. He wanted to move "as far away from the other rugby men as possible" and later moved to a darker area so that he could conceal the pain he was experiencing from them. He explained:

"When you're injured you don't tell the other boys, you just say; I'm a bit tired, I just want to stretch something' (that is what I am doing in that picture, ***Figure 9:4a***). I don't want them to know I am injured because it just shows weakness".

Jimbo, made similar comments when viewing a photograph of himself 'stretching' at the back of the sports hall during the annual fitness testing, ***Figure 9:4b***:

"You feel embarrassed because you are supposed to be a tough rugby player...if you admit to minor tweaks you just get a reputation in the team as someone who whinges all the time,...it's just not a big enough deal to bring it up, it not worth the stick".

On viewing these photographs, other rugby men admitted to adopting similar practices to conceal their experiences of corporeal discomfort during the annual fitness testing. They chose to do this, because they possessed fears about being mocked by the other men on the team for failing to present the tough rugby masculinity. Comparable findings are identifiable in the narratives of boys and young men

involved in contact and non-contact sports discussed in studies by Muir and Seitz (2004) and (Swain, 2003), see Chapter 5.
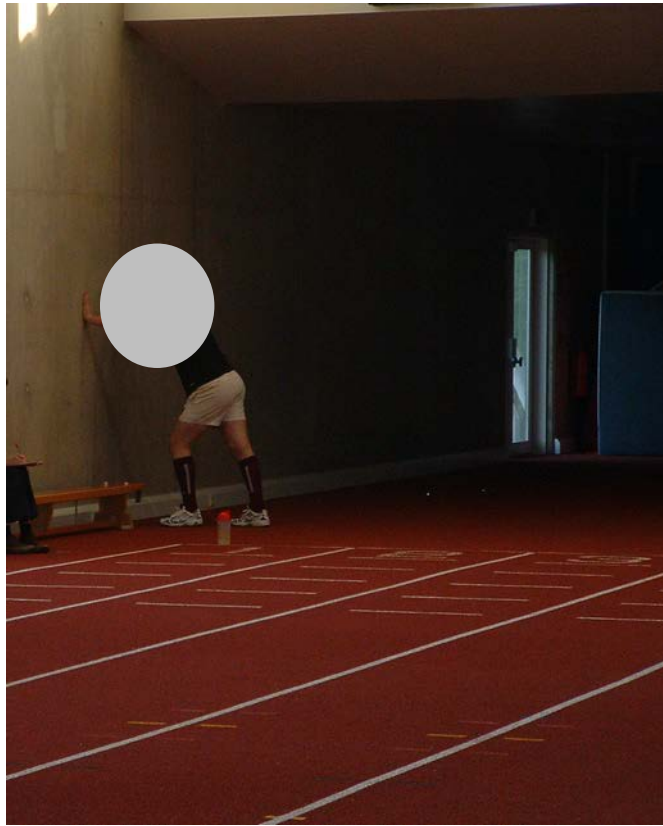
Figure 9:4a
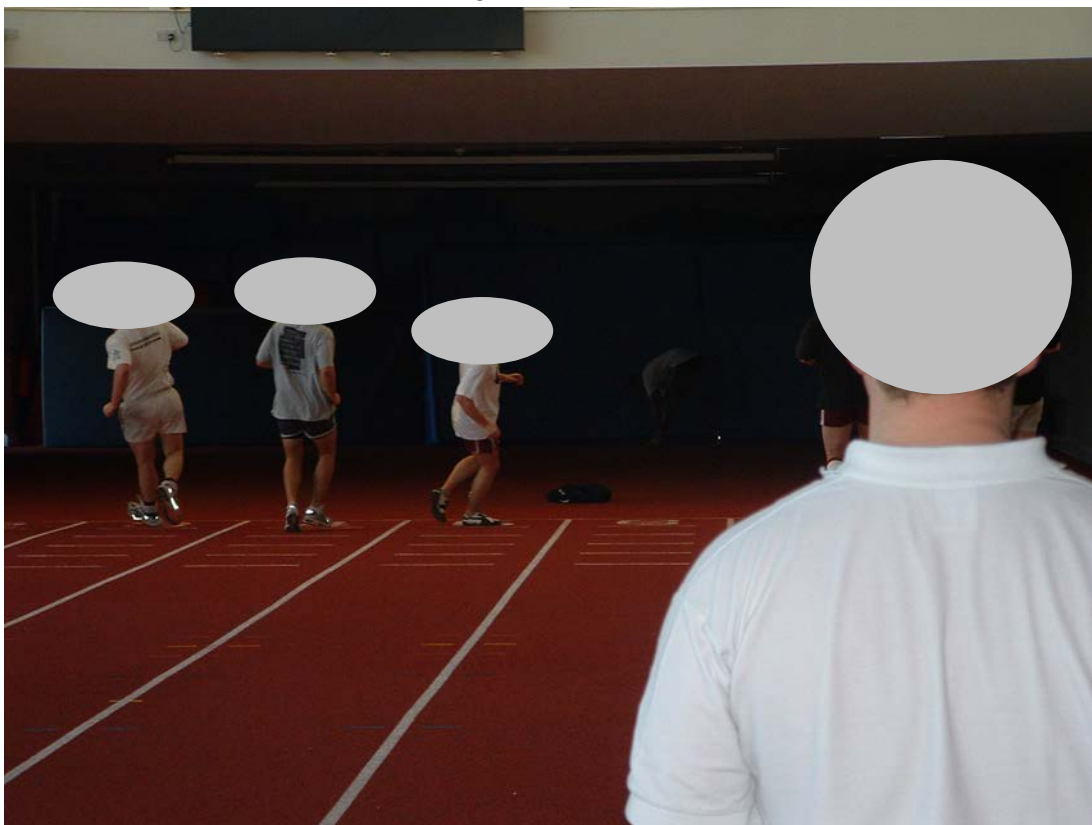
Figure 9:4b

The pressure the rugby men placed on each other to be verbally inexpressive about their pain and injury was also apparent during training sessions. For example, during one of the sessions I observed one of the rugby men Doops accidentally kick a ball into Craig's face. During the incident, all of the men sighed with an air of empathy at the level of pain Craig must have experienced. One of the rugby men, Urwin, expressed this sympathy as he commented to another: "God, that must of bloody hurt."

However, in spite of his initial consideration for Craig, Urwin became aware of the other men around him, looked towards them and then proceeded to laugh, as did the other men. Although the injured player did not hear or see some of these men laughing, he showed no emotional response to the excruciating pain he experienced and continued with the training session.

Although the men were expected to conceal minor injury and concomitant feelings of pain, they also were expected to show disappointment about not being able to participate in the forthcoming games and practices. The rugby men expected each other to conceal their pain and displace it into anger and frustration at not being able to play or train. They expected one another to present the appropriate personal front (Goffman, 1959:28), by presenting disappointed facial expressions. This front adds to the dramatic realization for the audience (Goffman, 1959:40-42). They sought to display to their audience, in both front and back regions, that they were "tough rugby men" who were "willing to front up …take the hits …and put their bodies on line". Dramatic realization highlights the distinction between expression and action, because as Koote explains, on viewing a photograph of himself being taken off the pitch for a hamstring cramp:

> "If you are not seen to be really depressed that you are injured and that you are not playing at that moment, you are seen to be less of a tough rugby player…you almost have to play act that you are upset."

These examples illustrate that the rugby men perceived minor (playable) injuries and the associated infliction of acute pain involved in this sport as customary. Therefore, by displaying and discussing this pain in the presence of one another, they were viewed as failing to live out the tough body as part of the hegemonic rugby masculinity. In light of this, they were more willing to discuss their emotional feelings about their pain and injury and the contribution these experiences made to their body concerns when viewing photographs of these injuries in more intimate dimensions of the PEI.

On viewing photographs of themselves whilst injured, the rugby men explained that they used "supplements", and or performance enhancing drugs to aid, or "speed up" recovery from injury. They also used pain-killers and anti-inflammatory drugs for this purpose. Interestingly, successful performance in sport was identified by them as the key factor for their use of these substances; however the rugby men's relationships with each other in the front and back regions and their expectations of the tough body played a more significant role. Harry explained;

"I take creatine, glutamine and HMB. You have to cos all the boys are taking it: you see the other boys doing it and think 'I should be doing it' to increase my performance and to recover quicker. It's just part of the culture in this squad. You look like a jessy if you don't".

Terence explained;

"I take HMB, most the boys use it because it can make you massive and it aids recovery, but it's not illegal".

Pat also explained:

"The other boys actually recommend what we should take. They provide research articles with the pros and cons of the supplements. I never would have thought of taking glutamine or even protein before coming to this team.

Dezza explained:

You have to take the supplements because the other boys see you as unprofessional if you're not taking something."

In the intimate dimension of the PEI, some of the rugby men also revealed that their body concerns were reinforced through the team's expectations of a tough body. In the presence of other rugby men, the tough body allowed the rugby men to demonstrate their physical abilities and impress others. Those rugby men who endured their minor injuries, concealed the associated pain, and 'played through it' for the success of the team, were ascribed a higher form of tough hegemonic status by the other men. As the rugby men attributed this status to those rugby men who were more adept and more aggressive than others, the inability to live out this impressive identity contributed to reinforcing their existing body concerns. For example, Terence and Koote were two rugby men who possessed body concerns about being average amongst other men. In Chapter 7, I argued that their embodied experiences of being overweight and 'chunky' and social experiences of being average and/or bullied engendered concerns about being seen insignificant amongst others men, and thus encouraged them to use this sport, their healthy eating and exercise regimes to work on overcoming these concerns. As the other rugby men in this team glorified those rugby men whose physical performances were better than others and who endured pain and injury, Koote and Terence had previously used their bodies to gain this praiseworthy identity. However, due to injury resulting in lack of functional ability and control over the body, former embodied experiences of being overweight, insignificant and "average" returned. Although these two rugby men were no longer overweight, they explained on viewing photographs of themselves that they carried continual concerns about their weight and the embodied experiences of being injured engendered similar corporeal experiences because they felt insignificant amongst members of the team and anxious about their bodies. The physiological changes to the body developed through injury (visceral embodiment) affected their experiences of pragmatic and experiential embodiment (Watson, 2000; Robertson, 2000; Monaghan, 2001). Experiential embodiment (or physical vibrancy) occurs only through their participation in sport and exercise and results in feeling good about their bodies' appearance and function (Monaghan, 2001:331). During their experience of injury and

disabling pain, they feel unable to present a functional body and thus are unable to maintain their understanding of the acceptable rugby masculinity (pragmatic embodiment). In the following quote, Terence described how his corporeal discomfort of injury (visceral embodiment) contributed to reinforcing his body concerns because he could no longer experience embodied pleasure from being physically impressive in the sport and to the other rugby men (pragmatic embodiment).

Terence: "I have this certain surge of panic: 'Oh my god what have I done what I have done?'. Then I'll start to walk off but I don't want to go off, I definitely don't want to go off, that's the last resort, because I think maybe I can still do something which is going to be impressive and then they might think it's impressive, or it's an opportunity lost.
Going off is the last resort for me and I know that's bad for me. I remember a few months back, I stayed on with a very bad dead leg, I was limping around like a leopard and I just I was rubbish, I was worthless and no good to anyone, and that didn't do me any favours. I need to know when to go off, but I hate being injured it worries me".

Similarly, Koote's body concerns were reinforced during his physiological experience of injury because (like Terence) he wanted to be impressive and just as strong, if not stronger than, the other rugby men in the team. As the team ascribes status to those who endured injury and played through it, being injured frustrated Koote. As discussed in Chapter 8, aggression was utilised by him in a pleasurable way to work on overcoming his body concerns. However, injury prevented him from using this aggression. Here, we can see how the experience of injury is embedded in the circuit of body reflexive practices (Connell, 2008), because his embodied experience of being injured contributed to reinforcing his body concerns because he no longer had physical control of his body and, thus, was unable to experience physical vibrancy by being physically impressive in the presence of others (Monaghan, 2001) Therefore, he was unable to maintain the hegemonic masculine respect and status socially attributed to these rugby men. In turn, his former experiences of being overweight and insignificant amongst others became more apparent. In the following quote, he discusses these experiences as he explains how injuries made him anxious about his physical ability. However, the knowledge that he was not living out the tough body expected by the team also contributed to these body concerns:

Koote: "Come start of the season, I was pretty happy with myself, but by the end of pre-season I wasn't, because I've been injured I hadn't done enough fitness work and I feel shit.

I get frustrated because I like to think of myself as a tough player, you wouldn't think of it as someone who was tough who gets injured all the time so you see the other tough people and I think that he is quite a tough rugby player and you don't you don't ever see him getting injured."

Although the team's expectations of the tough masculine body contributed to reinforcing some of the rugby men's previous body concerns, for two other rugby men, the actual corporeal experiences of being injured contributed to engendering their body concerns. The experience of being injured and the physiological changes to their bodies led to experiencing a lack of control over their bodies, weight,

shape, muscular size and physical performances. Alan and Harry were the only two rugby men who did not discuss their body concerns, at depth, in their PEIs, until they were discussing photographs of themselves injured. In these photographs they could be seen, sustaining injury, sitting out of games on the bench, and coming off the pitch. While discussing their recent experiences of injury, they revealed that experiences of limited physical ability engendered their body concern.

Although Alan was mocked for his recurring injuries and discussion, he was described by some of the rugby men in the PEIs as one of the more attractive players, renowned for his conscientious 'healthy eating' and exercise regime. Unaware of this recognition, Alan discussed during his PEI, how recent injuries had made him considerably unconfident and anxious about the physical appearance (size, weight) and performance of his body. Whilst viewing photographs of himself, he discussed how he had become disillusioned with his body and no longer had confidence in his strength, physical fitness or appearance because he was repeatedly injured. Because of his readiness to discuss these injuries in the front and back regions he recognised that he was often ridiculed by the other rugby men.

In his comments below, Alan explains how his injuries engendered his body concern. Alan also discusses how his experience of repeatedly being injured led him to give up on his body, as he ceased all his training and diet regimes and certain aspects of his academic life. Smith and Sparkes (2005;2011) have discovered a similar type of 'disordered' and 'chaos' narrative amongst their interviewees who were disabled amateur rugby union players. According to Smith and Sparkes, this type of narrative is 'chaotic' because there is a lack of narrative order that reflects the rugby men's lack of hope and their belief that their body is fatally 'flawed'.

Valentine (1999), discussed in Chapter 2, identifies comparable behaviour and lack of hope in Paul's narrative following his experience of spinal injury and disability. Like Paul, Alan discusses his decision to give up on his body, overeat and withdraw from his daily life. This leads Alan to put on weight and to feel further "dis-abled from his gender identity" (Valentine, 1994:174). Whilst Alan, is not experiencing a long term spinal cord injury, the circuit of body reflexives practices comes into play through his disablement from social and embodied experiences. His injury and physical inability has social consequences as it restricts him from social space and presentation of the social requirements of masculinity. His decision to overeat, stay at home and withdrawn from physical activity and other social interaction further disables his presentation of his identity. The body reflexive practices also assists in illustrating how his concerns are engendered through social and embodied experiences. His masculinity is threatened through the disruption to his physical capital. Repeated injury leads him to feel socially and physically disengaged from the sport and his identity within this field. Embodied experiences of his injuries and feelings of 'letting go' as he gives up on his social and physical activities, leads him to feel further disengaged from his rugby masculinity and thus his concerns continue. His body, which he describes as "being a state", is no longer acceptable in representational terms.

Alan's body concern was most apparent in the PEI when he viewed himself earlier in the year. He explained that he felt ashamed by his body because his recent injury had meant that he had lost muscular size.

Interviewer: How do you feel about your body at the moment?

Alan: "I hate seeing myself now. I've lost so much weight because of my injuries. Because I'm injured, I'm just not too happy at the moment... but um there is a lot of work to be done, I just don't feel in that good shape. Also, from a body point of view, I have noticed – you look in the mirror and you think 'I look a state '. You just look at it and you're like anyone else who doesn't play sport: you are just letting go … and this is on my mind quite a lot".

Interviewer: How have you felt since you have been missing training?

Alan: "I'm like loose…it doesn't make me feel too good, I always feel like a bit of a bum… 'I mean look at yourself.' Since my injury…I have just let it all slip. I've been going out a lot, missing lectures, eating a lot of crap and not going to the gym. I could take it the other way and work really hard, eat really good food and then go to the gym all the time, but I just get injured all the time and I've done all that stuff before, and now it just seems like a waste 'cause I've done that before and come back and got injured again, so what's the point?"

Harry, Pat and Vinnie revealed similar concerns in their PEIs. When viewing photographs of their injuries they explained that their physical experiences of injury made them anxious about their bodies. The inability to train and participate in the sport removed the feelings of physical excitement, "feeling good" and a sense of achievement at having exercised their bodies and worked at developing their fitness and muscular size. They describe a sense of pleasurable power embedded in their pragmatic embodiment, as their bodies were instrumental in fulfilling its tough masculine role in this context. Harry was the only one of the rugby men who made positive comments on viewing his uninjured body in photographs, See *Figure 9:5.* He discussed his physical size, muscular augmentation and level of body fat. However, the corporeal experience of being injured and having no control over his physical ability in the sport influenced his body concern. In the first of the three comments below, he discusses this.

Figure 9:5

Pat and Vinnie expressed similar embodied feelings when they explained that their experience of being injured also contributed to making them feel anxious about their bodies. However, their body concerns were not engendered solely by their embodied experiences of injury, but also (as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8) by their former embodied experiences of being small and overweight. Thus, the impact of experiential embodiment to their body concerns was multi-dimensional. In the second of the three comments below, Pat reveals the extent of the anger he experienced as a result of being injured and unable to participate in the sport. Vinnie experienced similar concerns during his injury, but his concerns extended to the weight and muscular size of his body. Vinnie (like Terence) was one of the rugby men who was most concerned about losing his new lean and muscular physique. As discussed in chapters 7 and 8, the fear of returning to his former childhood body pushed him to carry out additional eating and training regimes. The corporeal experience of injury also threatened his new physique as he could no longer carry out his health-related sport regimes and, thus, control the appearance and performance of his body, as discussed in the final comment.

Interviewer: How do your injuries make you feel about your body?

Harry: "When I was hurt last year, I was out for most of the year and I felt crap all the time, cause you just can't do anything. Because we are used to training so much and feeling good after training and stuff, if you take that away and you're not doing any training you feel guilty that you haven't done any training. You don't get that buzz that you normally get after training. And you miss that so you just end up feeling shit about yourself."

Pat: "Because of my injury I'm not happy with my physical fitness at the moment. It's ridiculous how it makes you feel…you just sort of go mental. You don't like it, [being

injured, because the sport, it's] a big part of life. So to just cut out instantly, it's weird, I am like some sort of weirdo… I find myself almost like trying to confront people."

Vinnie: "I've been in better shape I think I am quite well built but… because of injuries I haven't been able to keep playing as I want to and I haven't been able to go to the gym as much, so I don't feel confident… with my body as I normally do. [I'm not happy with my physical fitness at the moment] not at all because before my knee injury… I was always…making runs …training [with professionals], and I felt really fit. Then this happened and that meant I couldn't do the training and ever since I've never felt as fit, or fit enough. I'm struggling because I'm not as fit as I use to be and I don't feel too great."

Unlike Alan, these rugby men did not respond to their injuries by perceiving their bodies as faulty and by giving up on their bodies and their training and eating regimes. Like Alan, they experienced repeated injuries, but unlike him they responded to their concern with hope. Harry and Vinnie did not choose to abandon the sports and training regimes, but rather sought control over their bodies by training other, uninjured, areas of their body and were positive about returning to the sport. Pat also took a more positive approach because, rather than becoming disillusioned by his injury, he adopted a different type of discipline over his body size and performance: he adopted a new training and 'healthy eating' regime. This assisted him because, unlike Alan, he then possessed more confidence in his body and his physical ability to return to the sport.

Smith and Sparkes (2005) identified similar narratives in their interviews with their disabled rugby union players. A number of the rugby men in their study adopted a "restitution narrative" in which they displayed "concrete hope, [that was] orientated towards specific results" (Smith and Sparkes, 2005: 1096). However, the rugby men in Smith and Sparkes' study responded differently to the rugby men in this research because their rugby men were disabled and suffering from spinal cord injuries, and thus referred to the prospect of medical advancement and cure for their spinal cord injuries. In contrast, the rugby men in my research possessed the ability to work on other areas of their body, so there was future in the sport for them. Despite these differences, both studies show that rugby men adopt similar types of narratives about their embodiment to discuss their responses to pain and injury.

Smith and Sparkes (2005: 1097) also recognise that these narratives are drawn from media discourses, published biographical material and social relations with others internally and externally to the medical rehabilitation setting. They argue that "narratives do not spring from the minds of individuals but are social creations, [that are] draw[n] from the knowledge, [and] narratives…from others". Smith and Sparkes' (ibid) findings are useful for understanding the rugby men's narratives of pain and injury in this research because the rugby men also drew on the tough and less expressive masculine narrative that exists amongst this team for their discussion of pain and injury. However, my research argues for a closer focus on the embodied individual than Smith and Sparkes allow for in their interpretation, through Connell's concept of body reflexive practices, because there is also an element of embodied individuality, tied to the varying dimensions of their embodiment, that assists in understanding how each of the rugby men body concerns were engendered and managed.

Despite parallels between the narratives of those rugby men in Smith and Sparkes research and these three rugby men, all of those interviewed in the PEIs revealed that it was actually the corporeal feeling of being injured, and the associated inability to function and participate in the sport as they normally did, that played a part in engendering or reinforcing their body concerns. Unable to participate in physical activity, the rugby men felt a lack of control and discipline over the size, strength, fitness and weight of their bodies which led them to correct their bodies. It is these corporeal experiences that are part of the body reflexive practice that made them feel inadequate about their appearance and performance of their bodies. Their social relationships with each other in the back regions contributed to reinforcing these concerns and influencing how they concealed them and worked to overcome them in the front and back regions of this sport. What is important to recognise is that it can be detrimental for these men to perceive their bodies as faulty and oblige themselves to correct it, as the body can physiological fail to correct itself. The pressure to present and maintain the rugby masculinity drives their desire to conceal their injuries but, most importantly, conceal their body concerns.

9:5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the relevance of pain and injury for the rugby men's body concerns. Parallels have been drawn between the academic research and media representations of the tough body (how men should manage pain and injury) and the social relationships that construct it. Although there was seen to be diverse representation of coaches in both the sports media representations and academic research, all promoted varying notions of the tough body. However, this research has shown a greater influence arising from the rugby men's relationships with each other in front and back regions of the sport. These helped construct the tough body (how the rugby men should manage pain and injury) and the ways in which it is expressed through the various sign vehicles of the personal front as part of their hegemonic rugby masculinities. Similar to adeptness and constructive aggression, physical and verbal displays of the tough body allowed the rugby men to accumulate symbolic capital.

As part of their body reflexive practices, embodied experiences of pain and injury, and being excluded from full participation, engendered and reinforced the rugby men's body concerns. The rugby men's perceptions and expectations of the tough body (the social aspects of the body reflexive practice) impacted on how the rugby men managed their body concerns i.e. how they concealed themselves in front and back regions of the sport.

Their concerns were more commonly revealed whilst viewing photographs of them in intimate dimensions of the PEI. Women were seen to be influential to the intimate dimension because they did not embody the hegemonic rugby masculinity. Therefore the rugby men's relationships with each other were influential to reinforcing their body concerns. These relationships are potentially problematic because the rugby men hide injuries that later become more serious injuries and they use supplements to aid recovery as part of conforming to the team's expectation of the tough body. However, these practices were also advantageous as they helped them to maintain the required physical capital in this field.

This chapter has shown that there is a cyclical process that impacts on the rugby men's development, reinforcement and management of their body concerns. Crucial to this process is the

rugby men's relationships with each other in front and back regions. These impact on the presentation and expression of the tough body and thus lead the rugby men to conceal minor injury and acute forms of pain. They use supplements as a means of concealing these injuries and to aid recovery. In response, the rugby men's embodied experiences of injury reinforced some of their existing body concerns, but the rugby men's relationships with each other, lead them to worry more about this disruption to their physical capital and thus once again to conceal their body concerns in the sport and with the aid of analgesics and performance enhancing substances.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

10:1 Introduction

Drummond (2001; 2002a; 2005; 2010) and other researchers (Hasse et al., 2002; Ricciardelli, 2006) have found that young men use sport and health-related sports acts to conceal their body image concerns. The research discussed in this thesis sought to examine how the rugby men's body concerns developed, how they used the sport and health-related sports acts to overcome and conceal them from others. It also sought to examine the implications of this concealment. It has been shown in this thesis that the rugby men experienced body concerns and social and embodied factors influenced the development of them. They used the sport to conceal and work on overcoming their body concerns. Management of their body concerns *differed* between the *different areas* of their lives in the sport. The men's performance of hegemonic rugby masculinities was important to understanding this management.

The research has contributed to the existing knowledge of body concern and its management in three ways. Empirically, it has examined, body concern and management amongst rugby union men for the first time. On a theoretical level, a combination of existing sociological theories and concepts has been used in an innovative way to study this problem. A theoretical framework has been developed that enabled me to expand the understanding of men's body concerns by approaching them sociologically. The methodological contribution has led to advancing the use of visual methods for researching men's body concerns in sports contexts. This, for the first time, combined visual research methods with ethnography to understand the rugby union men's body concerns.

To understand the research problem a theoretical framework was developed that drew on concepts from three key theorists: Connell, Bourdieu and Goffman. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinities was drawn on to understand the masculinities lived out by the rugby men who participated in the research. Concepts from Connell and Bourdieus' work were combined to explore the disruption to the body (physical capital) in the field of rugby union. Connell's (2008a) concept of body reflexivity was drawn on and extended to look at other dimensions of embodiment, such as pain, injury, concerns about height, being overweight or out of shape and the impact these had to the development of the rugby men's body concerns. This concept was also used because it allowed for the understanding both of the embodied and social experiences that contributed to the development, reinforcement and management of the rugby men's body concerns.

Bourdieu's (1978, 1984) concept of physical capital i.e. physical aspects of the body (in the form of body shape, size, gait, posture) was drawn on to show the features of the hegemonic rugby masculinities. Physical capital was perceived as the ideal standard of performance and appearance, for hegemonic rugby masculinity. For these men, this included being adept, constructively aggressive and tough men. Experiences of pain, injury, discomfort etc. were important to this identity because, as Connell (1995) suggested, the inability to sustain the hegemonic masculinity because of these experiences could have a detrimental effect on the presentation of this identity. I have argued that failure to present their understanding of this required masculinity, notably the features of physical capital, in the field of rugby union, led the rugby men to conceal their body concerns (and possibly other

emotional concerns, such as acute pain and minor injury) from others through their participation in the sport and use of health-related sports practices. The rugby men also concealed these concerns from others through the bodily expression of their hegemonic rugby masculinities. This is discussed further below.

This thesis has provided further insight into the discussion of hegemonic masculinities by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). Whilst they have extended the theory of hegemonic masculinities to include a geographical framework for understanding the different levels in which hegemonic masculinity is expressed, they do not explore, at depth, what happens to hegemonic masculinities when they cannot be sustained. Seidler's argument, discussed in chapter 2, that the predefined concept of hegemonic masculinity does not consider the *ways* in which men suppress emotional concerns, was significant to developing understanding of the rugby men's body concerns. The rugby men involved in the research suppressed their body concerns in public and semi-public regions of the sport through expression of their hegemonic rugby masculinities. I also have adopted Connell and Messerschmidts' (2005) geographical framework and applied to the field of rugby union to understand how hegemonic masculinities operate at different levels and the influence these levels have to the rugby men's practices and management of body concern.

Goffman's dramaturgical analysis was incorporated into the theoretical framework to aid understanding of this, as it allowed for recognition of the situational nature of hegemonic rugby masculinities. Whilst criticisms of this analysis were recognised (Giddens 2009; Edgley, 2003; Gimlin, 2010; Scheff, 2006 Sharrock, 1976; Smith, 2006; West, 1996), it was draw on, and extended, to show how performance of the hegemonic rugby masculinity influenced the rugby men's management of their body concerns. Importantly, it was used to draw attention to how the rugby men's body concerns were consciously managed *differently* in *different* areas of their rugby lives. Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach was also included in the theoretical framework to understand how features of the hegemonic masculinities, adeptness, constructive aggression and the tough body, were constituted in men's relationships with significant others and expressed by the rugby men through their bodies and bodily practices, notably the personal front. Expression of this personal front differed between the region and dimensions in which the rugby men were located.

The methods drawn on to understand the rugby men's body concerns included a combination of visual research methods and conventional ethnographic methods. These combined methods allowed me to access the rugby men's lives in the sport and regions within it, that would not otherwise been accessible to the non-participant female researcher. The PEI, as part of the collaborative and participant photography, allowed for an *intimate* look at the front and back regions of the rugby men's lives in this sport. Furthermore, the visual research techniques allowed for reflection, recall and invoked memories and emotions regarding body concerns that are presented less frequently by men in conventional qualitative methods and are concealed by them in sports practices (Drummond, 2002a, Hasse et al., 2002; Ricciardelli, 2006).

10:2 Findings

The majority of the rugby men who participated in the research expressed body concern. These included concerns about their weight, muscular augmentation, strength and height. These concerns were coupled with concerns about sustaining injuries. Those rugby men who experienced embodied discomfort of injury, weight gain and loss, muscle augmentation or loss, and being small in height, developed body concerns and that exacerbated existing body concerns. Social experiences of exclusion related to their bodies: that of bullying and exclusion from sports, contributed to this development.

The most significant finding of the research is the influence of the rugby men's relationships with each other. Social experiences, notably relationships with significant others, such as mothers and coaches contributed to reinforcing some of the rugby men's body concerns. They understood and encouraged adeptness, constructive aggression, and the tough body as key features of their rugby masculinities, all of which are features of the rugby men's physical capital. The rugby team members played a more influential role in reinforcement and management of their body concerns. Their expectations of their masculinity, as adept, constructively aggressive and tough, encouraged each of them to compete with one another to present the superior form of this identity, and to use it to conceal their body concerns. Furthermore, whilst embodied disruptions resulted in them being less able to sustain this hegemonic rugby masculinity, the fear of not sustaining this identity amongst each other's, was also significant to this concerns. It created a culture that relied on the dependence on the rugby men to use performance enhancing substances and analgesic drugs to maintain presentation of this identity in front and back regions of the sport.

Parallels were identified between the media representations and existing academic work that described young men's relationships with significant others regarding the constitution and understanding sports masculinities. Sport media represented coaches and fathers as encouraging adeptness as part of hegemonic sports masculinities. These practices were also identified in academic studies. There were fewer media representations about how sportsmen emotionally felt about these expectations. Furthermore, academic articles have not described at length men's narratives about their emotions.

There was limited discussion in academic research of the role mothers have in relation to their son's participation in sport. Nevertheless it is an area of sports culture that the media has constructed as being important: mothers were conveyed as emotionally caring and compassionate. Some mothers were also represented as tough women who demanded a high level of influence on their sons' sports performances. Interestingly, the rugby men in this research discussed coaches, during the PEIs, as key people in developing their perception of adeptness as part of the hegemonic sports masculinity. The rugby men did not describe fathers as significant, as previous academic studies have suggested and media representations have shown. More importantly, they described other rugby men as playing the most influential role.

In both the sports media representations and the academic discussions, aggression is represented as encouraged as part of the sports masculinities through young men's relationships with fathers, coaches, and other rugby men. Academic studies (Burgess et al. 2003; Grange and Kerr, 2010; Hastings and Rubins', 1999; Llopis Goig, 2008; Papas et al. 2004; Pilz: 1995; Sabo and Penepinto,

2000; Vaz, 1980) and media representations showed how the sportsmen felt about the relationships and how it influenced their use of aggression. However, none describe or represent, in depth, the fear, vulnerability and concern that may arise or escalate through sportsmen's use of aggression. In contrast the rugby men in this research discussed the emotional feelings and concerns that arose and were concealed through their use of aggression in the sport.

Parallels have been drawn between the academic research and media representations of the tough body (how men should manage pain and injury) and the social relationships that encourage it. Whilst there are diverse representations of coaches, all encouraged the tough body as part of the sports masculinity. This research discussed in this thesis differed as it has shown a greater influence emanating from the rugby men's relationships with each other in front and back regions of the sport. These helped to construct the tough body as part of their hegemonic rugby masculinities.

Drummond's (2002a) argument that men use sport to conceal and work on their body image concerns is supported in this thesis because all the rugby men used rugby union and health-related acts for this purpose. However, their concealment and management of these concerns also took different forms to those identified by Drummond. As discussed above, they were managed differently in different regions and dimensions of their lives in the sport. This conclusion is discussed further below. Similar to Drummond's research findings, these men used the sport, cardio-vascular and anaerobic exercise (as part of the required training regime and also their own training) to work on overcoming their body concerns. However, presentation of hegemonic rugby masculinities through their personal front was significant to understanding how they managed their body concerns in different regions of the sport. Furthermore, my research differed because it revealed that both social and embodied factors contributed to their development and concealment of these concerns. Experiential, visceral and pragmatic embodiment were important for understanding how the rugby men's body concerns developed, but also how and why they were concealed in the sport and health related acts (Watson, 2000; Monaghan, 2000; Robertson, 2001).For these men the body is experienced as a corporeal resource that is influential to success in the sport but also to their gender identity.

Whilst their body concerns were rooted in their perceptions of their physical appearance, the functional ability of their bodies and the concomitant embodied feelings (feeling of pleasure and/or discomfort) were influential to these concerns. In chapters 7, 8 and 9, I have shown that the rugby men's body concerns are associated with the bodies' ability to be functional and thus fulfil its masculine role in the sport. They utilise their bodies to participate and succeed in the rugby game, but this entailed achieving the social requirements of the rugby masculinity. Body concerns arise, or become, current when they experience embodied disruption to their ability to present possess and present these functional features. Furthermore, former and current embodied experiences of embodied discomfort (experienced through visceral embodiment of gaining or losing weight, pain and injury) inform the men's body concerns and how they are managed with the sport and through masculine behaviour. Embodied pleasures of using aggression and/or working on the body through participation in the sport an exercise also influenced their positive experiences of body concern.

To conceal their body concerns the rugby men used participation in the sport and health-related sports acts to assert or reinforce the adept, aggressive and tough body in these regions. For

example, in chapter 7 it was shown that they were consistently, physically and verbally, competitive with each other to be adept in training practices and fitness testing. These practices allowed them to conceal their body concerns from one another. In chapter 8, it was shown that some used physical forms of constructive aggression and presented the resulting wounds and scars to conceal and work on overcoming existing concerns about being overweight and small in height. However, some of the rugby men avoided physical forms of constructive aggression for fears of injury and the associated embodied feelings of discomfort that engendered or exacerbated their body concerns. The ambiguity in the display of hegemonic masculinities expressed by rugby men was identifiable here as they traded physical aggression for verbal assertions of aggression or avoided confrontation completely. The fluidity of this identity between the regions was also raised as some utilised on the pitch but avoided confrontation completely in the presence of women in front regions. In chapter 9, I argued presentation of the tough body, through the concealment of acute pain and less serious injury, also allowed some of them to mask their body concerns in front and back regions of the sport. However, it was shown exceptions existed in this performance of hegemonic masculinities - as some failed to utilise behaviour that conforms to expectations of the rugby men's understanding of this identity in the local level.

By asserting and reinforcing these features of the hegemonic rugby masculinity in front and back regions, they believed that they were less likely to be perceived by their public audience and, notably, the other rugby men as experiencing body concern. In contrast, in intimate dimensions of the PEIs they were more forthcoming about these concerns. Part of this concealment involved them also drawing on props (Goffman, 1959), such as athletics kit, gum shields, pint glasses, rugby attire. Their involvement in displaying their wounds and scars also served as props to display this identity. They also drew on media representations of hegemonic sports masculinities identifiable at the regional level that presented these masculine qualities and those coaches who encouraged it (Connell and Messcerschimdt, 2008). They drew on these props in front and back regions and sometimes in intimate dimensions of the PEI. In the latter they used quotes from these representations after revealing their body concern to overcome their prior expression of vulnerability.

10:3 Contributions to knowledge

This thesis has contributed to existing academic knowledge of body concern and its management in three ways: empirically, theoretically and methodologically. In chapter one I introduced these contributions, here I elaborate these further.

Empirically, it has identified for the first time, body concern and management amongst rugby union men. As discussed in chapter one, there are no existing sociological or clinical studies that examine the body concerns of rugby union men; how they are developed and managed by them in this sport. My research has contributed to this gap in knowledge but also extended work by Chung (2001) that has found professional rugby players are *likely* to experience concerns about gaining weight, but these are disguised in the requirements of training for the sport and the athletic culture. Furthermore, this thesis has extended research by Drummond (2001; 2002a; 2005; 2010), Hasse et al., (2002) and Ricciardelli (2006) that have found young men will use sports and health-related acts to mask and work on overcoming these concerns, because it looks at how this is managed differently in different regions and dimensions of their sports lives.

My concept of body concern contributes to existing sociological definitions as there are few established definitions and they are not researched extensively in the sociological literature. It also extends definitions adopted by Drummond's (2002a; 2005; 2010; Duncan, 2007; 2010; Grogan and Richards, 2002; 2007) because it recognises body *image* perceptions inform this concern, but also perceptions about the *functiona*l use of the (rugby) body and feelings of embodiment that relate to the functional performance of their bodies. Furthermore the embodied ability to possess and experience the required physical capital is tied to these concerns.

Theoretically, it combines existing sociological theories and concepts to study this problem. Whilst other researchers have combined aspects of these theoretical positions to examine other social phenomenon (Swain 2003; Wainwright and Turner, 2006; Wellard et al., 2009), no researchers, as yet, have done so in this way to examine sociologically rugby union men's body concern. This contributes to the interdisciplinary study of men's body concerns as I propose a specifically sociological theoretical framework that recognises the phenomenological interest in embodied experiences and the interactionist approach, for analysing them. This sociological approach is also adopted to conceptualise body concern. Whilst others such as Monaghan (2000), Robertson (2001) Swain (2003), and Watson (2000) have adopted these theoretical approaches to examine men's health and body modification practices, this has not been drawn to examine body concern amongst rugby men. Importantly, a new concept has been formed for understanding the rugby men's expression of body concerns: that of the intimate dimension. It has been shown in chapters 7, 8 and 9, that Goffman's (1959) concept of the back region does not allow for examination of the pressures that can exist between the male team members, such as the competitive relationships between men. It is not a space in which men relax, but rather a region in which we can still see the impact hegemonic masculinity has on these rugby men's lives. As the outside region is not intended to extend our examination of more personal and intimate, behaviour, it does not allow us to examine and understand the more private relationships between men that are not articulated in public sports contexts. The new intimate dimension contributes to sociological research examining masculinities and relationships between men (Butera, 2008; Donnelly and Young, 1988; Harvey, 1999; Hasbrook and Harris, 2000; Pratt, 2000; Plummer, 2006; Young et al. 1994) and it has implications for further research examining sportsmen's body concerns. This is discussed further below. It has also been recognised that Goffman's dramaturgical framework is seen as sociological common sense rather than as a powerful analytical tool (Giddens, 2009; Smith (2006) However, I have addressed this by combining his work with other theoretical approaches and concepts allowing for a new sociological understanding of rugby men's body concerns. Out of the theoretical framework, I have developed a sociological approach to the concept of body concern, which has not hitherto been explored extensively in the literature.

Methodologically the research has advanced the use of visual research methods for researching men's body concerns in the sports context. This research, for the first time, combined visual research methods, such as collaborative and participant photography, and ethnography to understand the rugby men's body concerns. These methods, particularly photographs of the sportsmen, have not been used to examine clinical and non-clinical forms body concern amongst men. However, it has been shown that they are potentially feasible because they are employed by therapists to help people, experiencing clinically diagnosed body concerns, to overcome them. Furthermore, as

elite and amateur sportsmen are accustomed to the use of visual methods in their sports lives to analyse performance and to represent them, these methods could be a more appropriate way of encouraging sportsmen to verbalise their body concerns. My research has also contributed to the study of men's body concerns, as few researchers have examined men within their own environment or settings. As discussed in chapter 2 and 4, many clinical and non-clinical studies draw their sample of male participants from clinical setting or self-referral groups (Phillips 2011; Drummond, 2002).

10:4 Limitations of the research and implications for future research

The empirical limitation of my research lies in its representativeness. The case study data is drawn from one of six rugby teams: the 1stXV Performance Squad. Although this team were perceived to be more likely to experience body concern, by the rugby players and by me, the remaining six teams were not examined. Therefore the case study may not be representative of the rugby club and thus it may be more difficult to generalise the research on the basis of these findings. Furthermore, as this case study focuses on an elite British sports university, it is difficult to generalise these findings to other universities that are not socially classified in this way. However, further research could expand the case studies, to include men in these universities and how their masculinities are understood.

The theoretical limitations of my research rest in the developed theoretical framework. The framework could be developed further by drawing on more of the theoretical concepts. Whilst I have adopted some of Goffman's additional concepts and ideas, these could be utilised further and extended to address some of the criticism of the dramaturgical approach. Furthermore, this research does not utilise Bourdieu's approach in great depth. It only utilises physical capital and does not apply all facets of the habitus. This could be developed in further publications. It can also be argued that the theoretical framework is complicated, especially to the clinical researcher, non-sociologist and rugby participants who will potentially use the research to inform their applied practices with men experiencing body concerns. However, the sociological framework, can be removed to adhere to the requirements of clinical and rugby publications. I have adopted this approach for two of my past publications within these fields.

The methodological limitations of this research reside in the social positioning of the researcher. Whilst I have argued that the female researcher has been advantageous for accessing and representing the rugby men's body concerns, reflexivity led me to recognise that my presence in the research may have influenced its reliability and validity. As I discussed in chapter 4, a male researcher could adopt different observations and interpretations to a female researcher. Furthermore, as there is no real way of checking the findings of observational research, it can be argued that there is no real evidence apart from the observations and interpretations of the researcher. Whilst the male researcher might regard some behaviour and comments as important, they may be missed or seen as less important by the female research and vice versa. Also the gendered and embodied position of the researcher within the sport may be influential to their observation and interpretations. In future research, two researchers of different genders, could be utilised to ascertain whether there are differences in their positioning and interpretations and response from the male participants.

A methodological limitation also rests in the validity of the research data. In-depth unstructured interviews are criticised from the positivist position because respondents can lie to the researcher. Whilst the intimate dimension of the photo-elicitation interview allowed the rugby men to express the more intimate features of the self, preservation of the hegemonic masculinity particularly to a female researcher may have lead some of the rugby men to self-censor.

The final methodical limitations of this research involve the ethical considerations. Although the right to withdraw and reengage in the photographs was significant to understanding the rugby men's changing perceptions of their bodies, critics may argue that reengagement should be limited. In addition to this, the sports context made it difficult to adhere concisely to some of the ethical recommendations. For example, the rugby men's intensive daily exercise regimes made it difficult for the researcher to gain pre-consent to individual photographs chosen by her for the photo-elicitation interviews. Also dissemination of the research is limited because many of the rugby men gained professional rugby contracts and have a presence in contemporary media. Whilst the identity of these men has been preserved with pseudonyms and fuzzy faces, there is always the possibility of discovery by media journalists. This has resulted in careful management of the photographs in research articles and international conference presentations.

The research's greatest potential lies in the development of collaborative projects in which sociologists could work with clinicians to explore the dimensions of body concerns. Clinicians and general practitioners seeking to ascertain why men fail to present the full extent of illness to the medical profession could utilise and/or extend the findings to examine the factors that prevent men's disclosure. Whilst a sociological definition has been developed for the purposes of my research and its theoretical underpinning, this concept could be extended to include a clinical definition. To apply this to clinical science the diagnostic criteria for Body Dysmorphic Disorder (Phillips, 2005) could be drawn on and the assessment measures employed in this research could be altered. The assessment measures in this research lie within the qualitative field and thus differ from the quantitative more structured measures taken in clinical science. This could be extended within inclusion of photo-elicitation. However, as I have shown my research extends studies that have sampled men from clinical setting, as men are less likely than women to self- refer their body concerns to these environments (Phillips, 2011). Where it may be difficult for clinicians to access men in their own environments, studies with men could be located in virtual environments. I am currently conducting a research project with Dr Maria Kontogianni that examines players within their sport environment but also utilises this virtual approach to examine the well-being of professional rugby union players

Researching examining the clinical forms of body concern Body Dysmorphic Disorder and Muscle Dysmorphc Disorder, can also draw on the methods and findings of this research to understand these concerns amongst men, in general. The visual research methods, particularly collaborative and/or participant photography, can be used alongside existing qualitative and quantitative assessments tests. Furthermore, identification of intimate dimensions within the men's lives may be particularly useful for facilitating discussion about the photographs of themselves: their bodies and practices. Furthermore, at the International Rugby Injury Conference 2010 at which I presented this research, medical professionals commented on the potential for these methods to be used to allow discussion of injury in a clinical setting. This method was perceived as potentially feasible because,

surgeons, doctors and physiotherapists were currently using photographs of injuries to discuss the player's future in the sport and rehabilitation.

The research findings are potentially significant for the field of professional rugby union. As there are no existing studies that examine the body concerns of rugby union men, these findings draw attention to the body concerns and pressures other rugby men experience and conceal in this sport. Furthermore, the findings can also draw attention to the existence, and/or likelihood, of other emotional concerns rugby men have about performance and pain and injury. These may lead to further studies in professional, semi-professional and amateur rugby union for men of all ages: children and adults. Future researchers considering in extending this research to professional rugby union should consider the following ethical considerations. Professional and high performance rugby union players partake in intensive daily exercise regimes that can made it difficult to access these men and gain pre-consent to individual photographs chosen for the PEIs. Furthermore, potential dissemination of the research must be addressed because their professional or forthcoming professional status means that are or likely to be presence in contemporary media. Thus the implications of revealing emotional vulnerability may be more damaging.

Future research also lies in the examination of men's relationships with other men. As this research illustrated the impact of the rugby men's relationships with each other to the reinforcement and concealment of their body concerns, these relationships can be explored in other sports. For example, whilst presenting these findings at a conference in Freemantle, Australia, one of the audience members asked whether the Australian national rugby union players, the Wallabies, could potentially experience similar influential relationships. Furthermore, a national Australian newspaper journalist also asked whether these relationships could exist in the workplace amongst young Australian professional men.

The influential impact of these relationships could also be used to consider more contemporary concerns in sport and the forthcoming 2012 Olympics, about the increased use of performance enhancing supplements amongst male athletes. Whilst this research has focused on a team sport, other research could examine individual athletes who are part of athletic training groups and consider if similar competitive pressures exist between them. However, future researchers should be aware of the potential limitations that lie in the collaborative collection of the visual data to examine sportsmen's relationships with each other. Sportsmen's competitive relationships with each other, particularly their desire to present a superior masculine body and performance to other sportsmen, could affect how they photograph themselves and how they respond to viewing images of themselves and others.

Finally, the developed theoretical framework and new concept of the intimate dimension could be used to understand a wide variety of other social phenomena. For example, chapter 8 recognised that there are few sociological studies about the relationship between mothers and their young sons involved in sport. Yet the sports media represents the role of mothers as being influential to their son's sports masculinity. Future research could be conducted about the intimate dimensions that are created in relationships between sportsmen and their mothers. Hence we can gain further in-depth understanding of how vulnerable and emotional aspects of hegemonic rugby masculinities are managed by men at local levels (Connell and Messerschimdt, 2008).

This research has been the first to examine the body concerns of rugby union men. Through the innovative combination of visual research methods and ethnography it has brought to light how these concerns are developed and managed. They arise through embodied experiences of disruption to the adept, aggressive and tough body. But crucially, through their social relationships with their team mates, these reinforce body concerns when the rugby men feel unable to perform or maintain their hegemonic rugby masculinities. Examination of rugby men's body concerns is significant because rugby union entails a masculine culture that promotes suppression of emotions that reveal the weakness and vulnerability of hegemonic rugby masculinities. It is important for researchers to attend to them, because their research provides an avenue for men to talk about these and other suppressed emotional concerns.

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Appendix One; Interview Guide

Central aims;
Explain here what the research is about:

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Relaxing the participant: (Include comical photographs)
-Name
-Age
-Occupation
-Course at University
-Nationality
-Married/Single
-Sports or exercise other than the rugby
-Are there any sports they don't like and why?

<u>Introducing the researcher</u>
-Name
-Age
-Research
-Home town
-Occupation; researcher and gym instructor

<u>Pictures:</u> ask the participant to discuss the photographs he has brought

-Tell me about this photograph
-Please describe yourself to me, the type of person you are, with friends and family etc.
-Discuss your body image, how do you feel about it in these photos, why?
-Who took the photos?
-Why have you chosen these photos of yourself?

<u>1. The body</u>

(Insert photographs of rugby men- bodies, performing etc)

a.) Describe your body to me (in the image)?
b.) How do you feel about your body (in the image)?
c.) Are you happy or unhappy with your body?
d.) Is there anything you would like to change about your body? (Size, shape and weight)?
e.) If you are unhappy, how often do think about it? (A lot, excessively or infrequently)
f.) How would you compare your body to other players (in the images)?
g.) Would you say that your body is unique?
h.) Why is your body unique?
i.) Do you have an ideal body image that you have seen in another player (ask them to discuss photographs of other men)?
j.) How would you compare your body to his? (Do you compare?)
(Insert images of professional rugby men to ascertain perceptions of conventional rugby masculine body)

k.) Are you happy with your physical fitness in your sport? Why are you happy/unhappy with your fitness?

l.) How have you achieved this fitness level? What has it given you?

m.) What would you change about your body, fitness and skill?

n.) Do you feel that your body image is a sign of your performance in the sport?

o.) How do you feel about your performance in games?

2. Rugby masculinities and body concerns in sport

a.) (The term 'real man' is often used by the men on your team; what does a mean to be a 'real man' to you? Is it important to you?

b.) Why is it important to you?

c.) Is rugby about being a 'real man' to you?

d.) Do you think the combat in rugby allows you to be a real man? Consider rugby league, how do you feel about it?

e.) Why did you start playing rugby? Did it have anything to do with your body image?

f.) Do you think there is an ideal body image for men in your sport? (This may depend on what position you play.)

g.) How do compare you own body image to this ideal? Do you think your body represents something you could achieve?

h.) Is this ideal image important to you? Why is it important to you?

i.) Do you feel that men with large muscular physiques gain equal respect to a player who is small but skilful?

j.) How do you feel about other players that are larger in muscular physique than yourself?

k.) Are you competitive in your body size, shape and/and or weight with other men? In what ways and why?

l.) Do you display competitively your abilities to other men? For example, do you jokingly pass comments like we only scored that try because I am so quick!

m.) Within in your team do you mock each other's performances? For example in basketball players would say 'you are so slow your fat mamma could move faster than you!'

n.) Do you have any kind of celebrations for the player of the match? Why do you think you do this? Do you have anything for the worst player of the match? Have you been in this position, how did you feel?

3. Training and diet

a.) What is a normal day for you? Describe a typical day for me, in terms of training with and without the team.

b.) Describe your team training regime to me? What do you outside of this regime? Why do you put in the extra training?

c.) How do you feel after your gym or training sessions?

d.) Describe how you feel after a game? In both winning and losing? Why do you feel like this?

e.) Do you think you maintaining your physique is important to you other than for your performance in the sport?

f.) Would you say you are on a diet?

g.) Describe a typical week of your eating habits? Or even the last couple of days?

h.) Do you cook your own meals?

i.) Do you eat your meals with the team? Or mates or girlfriend? (Does this vary to how you eat in private?)

j.) Do you worry about eating unhealthy foods? (What do you perceive as unhealthy foods)

k.) When you last eat something unhealthy how did you feel afterwards, if anything?

l.) Why do or don't you worry? What are you afraid of?

m.) If you don't worry is this because you are satisfied with your body image?

n.) Do you take any supplements/steroids to improve your performance and body image?

o.) If yes, why would you feel the need to take them? If no, explain why not?

p.) Do think there is a pressure to take supplements/supplements in the sport? Where do you think this pressure comes from?

q.) Do you feel that you are being pressured in other areas of your life? For example, in sexual relationships or from your peer group?

4. <u>Social relations</u>

a.) How do you think other people see your body?
-Team players
-Coaches
-Friends outside the team
-Family (Your mum or your dad)
-Girlfriends
-Girls/women you know (Photographs of women, and men featured with women presented)
-sexual partners

b.) Does this compare to how you see your body?

c.) Do you family comment on your body image? If yes, does this influence how you feel about your body image and diet?

d.) What do you think women view as the ideal body? Where did you get this image from, past relationships/friends?

e.) Do you think this ideal influences how you approach women, if you approach women? How do you think you compare to this ideal?

f.) Do you have the confidence in your body image to approach a girl you are attracted to?

g.) What would you do if you want to attract a girl?

h.) If you had a different body image would you approach girls in a similar way?

i.) Do you use your presence in your sport to attract women? E.g Do you approach girls with teammates, do you discuss your sport?

j.) Are you single at the moment or are you in a relationship?

k.) How do you feel about being single or in a relationship? What does it mean to you?

l.) Are you happy being in a relationship or single? Why?

m.) How do you feel about your body in your sexual relationships?

5. <u>Family</u>

a.) Do any other members of your family play, or have played rugby?

b.) How does this make you feel?

c.) Have you been pressurised by them to do well in the sport?

d.) How do other members of your family feel about 1) your body image 2) participation in the sport?

e.) Do you talk to members of your family about your body image and participation in the sport?

f.) Do you talk about the distressing aspects of the sport and your personal worries eg regarding your body image?

6. <u>Injury and masculinities</u>
   (Show photographs of injuries, scars, and wounds, sitting on the bench etc)

a.) How do you feel when you (see the images of yourself) when you have been injured?
b.) How do other men within the team react to men who get injured? (Look at the   photographs)
Can you give me an example of their reaction?
c.) Is minor injury and pain ridiculed by players? E.g Are there comments about being a 'sissy' or a
woman for displaying injury and poor performance?
d.)   Do you openly admit experiences of injury and pain to other men?
g.) Why do or don't you admit these experiences to other players? How do you think they would
      react?
h.) Do you feel that you will lose the respect of the other men if you are open about your injuries?
i.)   How do coaches react to injury and/or poor performance in your sport? Can you give me an
      example
j.)   How do other people, such as family members react to the display of injury and poor
      performance your sport? Can you give me an example

7. <u>Competition, control and dominance</u>
   (Insert photographs of men's relationships with each other, back regions)

a.) Do you feel that your sport allows you to be competitive? (In what ways?)
b.) Do you feel that your sport allows you to be controlling over other men? How does this control
      make you feel about yourself?
k.) Do you feel that other men in the team encourage you to be competitive? How do they do this?
l.)   Do you feel that other men encourage you to be domineering over other men? (How do they do
      this, do you feel you that you have to improve your body to do this?)
m.) Do you think there is any form of competitiveness between the forwards and the backs, in
      terms of body image, performance and fitness?
n.) Would you say you are segregated?

8.   <u>Coaches</u>

a.) Do you feel that coaches encourage you to endure particular types of pain and injury?
b.) Do you think coaches encourage you to be adept, and have endurance?
c.) Do you feel that coaches encourage you to dominate and control the opposition?
d.) Do you think coaches have views about your body image and performance? For example, how
      do they comment on your body and do they make recommendations for change?

9. <u>Aggression</u>
   (Insert photographs of aggression).

a.) How do you feel about men who carry out aggression in the sport? Can you give me an
      example when you used aggression, did you get away with it, or not, and how did it make you
      feel?
b.) Do you feel that it is a necessary part of the game?
c.) Do you feel that you can gain respect for using aggression?
d.) Can you describe how your own players have reacted to aggression within the game from their
      own team players?

e.) Do you feel that you are encouraged by coaches to use aggression in the game?

10. Rugby Union Women

a.) How do you feel about women who play rugby?
b.) How do you feel about the body images of women in rugby?
c.)) Do you feel that women do have the skills to play the game successfully?
d.) Do you feel that the sport is more suited to men's physical capabilities exclusively?
e.) Despite women's increasing skills in rugby do you think they have the power and strength for rugby?

11. Articulating the body

Which of these statements applies to you?
a.) Is rugby about conditioning and improving your own body? (For you personally)
b.) Is rugby about conditioning and improving your body for the reputation of the University/team?
c.) Is rugby about conditioning and improving your body to gain the respect of other men?
d.) Are there any other comments you would like to make about your body image, performance and participation in the sport?

12. Final comments

Do you want to ask me any questions?
Is there anything you like or disliked in the interview?
How do you feel about the comments you have made about yourself

Thanks, you have been a great help. If you want to access the information you have given please feel free to contact me

Appendix Two; Sample Observation Guide

<u>Rugby Union Team; Two- day tour 30th April</u>

<u>-</u><u>Observation, field notes, video coverage of the game</u>

-Interaction and behaviour made in game contexts and social situations by the men and coaches.

-Responses to questions presented to the players and coaches by the researcher.

-*Bodily performances* in the game and social situations (Bodily performances are centred on the main themes; adeptness, management of pain and injury and aggression)

- Discussion or comments regarding body concern, development and management.

-Times at which notes will be taken: pre-match interaction, performances and comments, during the match, bodily performances and comments after the match.

-Video coverage of the game.

<u>Main themes</u>

<u>-Body Image</u>

-Body presentation and performance of
A.) individual players within the team, socially and in game situations.
B.) team's initial impressions of opposition; body physique. How did the men feel about their opposite players?

-Hierarchy of men; body image/physique, respect, control, authority both socially and in game situations.
A.) Is there a dominant player/s, respected and influential over the other men?
B.) Forwards and backs, is there a hierarchy at a social level?

-Aspects of physical fitness and body image, comments made socially/and in the game.

-Dissatisfactions/ concerns in regard to image, fitness and injury.

-Miscellaneous comments by both players and coaches; body image, gender and social relations

<u>Masculinity and body image in the sport</u>

-*Competitive* masculine performances, between players and opposition; interaction regarding body size, shape, weight, physical fitness and skill.
Socially
-How this competitiveness is displayed; comments, jokes/banter, performances within the game, between players.
-How is competitiveness constructed; coaches/players developmental team role.

-*Achievement/ respect* for other men; between players and opposition, celebrations for hegemonic status, eg player of the match, rituals etc.

-*Representation of masculinity*; which players, in their own team and opposition/ coaches were representative of '*real rugby* men' for the players.
-How does the team feel about the way they present/ presented themselves on this trip; physically and socially?
-How does the coach encourage the team to present themselves, physically and socially?

Training/diet

-Observation and comments regarding consumption, diets, food restriction; before and after the match.
-Attitudes towards 'unhealthy' eating/ drinking while preparing for the game and after.
-Coaches attitude towards the players diet and alcohol consumption
-How do the men feel about their health after the Easter Break?

Injury, pain and aggression

-Injury

-Injured players during the game; what is the reaction by the players, within the team and from the opposition
-How do the players feel about getting injured, exclusion, loss of respect/ frustration etc?
-Is injury feminised by other men in the team or opposition; socially and during the game?
-Admitting minor injuries/twinges to other men; comments and observations.

Aggression

- Are there episodes of aggression from the players; how do the other men react to this violence, respect, support or disparagement?
- How is aggression from the opposition regarded by the players/ coaches?
-Aggression and control; is aggression encouraged as part of success? (From the players and coaches?)

Additional field notes

Social relations/ interaction/ front and back regions

-Describe the social networks and interaction between the men
-How do the men present themselves outside of front and back regions in the sport, to the non-rugby peers, opposite gender, supporters and opposition?

Role of the other: coach/s

- Socially and Professionally
- Aspects of encouragement; endurance, skill, aggression and power.
- Players attitudes towards the coach/s; physically, socially and professionally

Miss Natalie Darko
Rm U.1.24
……………….
Heal University
Tel: ....
(Internal)   8871
E-mail: ....

Dear Tim,

It's Natalie, the 'airy fairy' Sociology PhD student. I just wanted to say thank you for taking the time to see me and setting up a group interview with the first team rugby players. They were very helpful and the interview went well. Due to this success and the key issues raised by the players I would like to ask your permission to continue studying the team. (This letter is a follow up to the e-mail sent earlier this week.)

The aim of the research is to carry out a visually ethnographic study of the players and the coaches. The aim is to examine body concerns. This would entail, for example video-recording games, training sessions, the men's daily lives in the sport and feedback meetings. Finally I would also like to interview the players and the coaches. The research will be carried out over the three-year period of the PhD depending on the available time of the players and coaches. My aim is not to intervene with any of the games, training practices and the general routine. The intention is solely to become a background observer. I know this is a lot to ask but I am trying to open up the under-researched area of men's rugby both within the social and sport sciences. I would also like to assure you that the collected visual research material will be anonymous. Also if there is any way that my research could be of use to you, please don't hesitate to ask.

This is just a rough proposal of the research. A more detailed piece will be available on request. Please could you let me know your response to the intended study? Furthermore, if you have any enquires please contact me on the above numbers or through e-mail.

Thank you again for your help so far and I look forward to hearing from you

Miss Natalie Darko

Appendix Four; Group and Interview Informed Consent (Coach & Rugby Men)

Statement of Ethical Practice and Informed Consent:

Relationships with research participants

"As far as it is possible sociological research should be based on the freely given informed consent of those studied. This implies a responsibility on the sociologist to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, **what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be promoted"** (www.britsoc.org.uk accessed 31st March 2003.)

<u>What is the research about?</u>
The research focuses on studying men's approaches to sport and their body image. My research focuses on '*The Making of Men's Bodies'* in contemporary society. Areas of concern lie in men's body image and their involvement in sport and exercise. The central aim is to discover whether exercise and sport are an expression of men's concerns about the performance and appearance of their bodies. By researching men's approaches to sport (in this case rugby) I intend to find out how men view their bodies and approach masculine identities. As the research is based on visual methodology, audios, video recordings and photographs of the men will be used. This will involve videos and photographs of the men participating in the sport and social activities. There will also be video interviews of the men and available coaches.

<u>Who is undertaking?</u>
There is only one researcher carrying out the interviews and collecting the data; Miss Natalie Darko, Department of Social Sciences, Heal University.

<u>Who is financing the study?</u>
The study is being partially financed by Department of Social Sciences at Heal University.

<u>What is the purpose of the study?</u>
The study aims to widen our understanding of men's body experiences and practices within sport. By carrying out this study I aim to improve the limited field of research into men's body experiences in rugby.

<u>How will the data be used and promoted?</u>

Depending on the success of the research the data will be used by the researcher, academics, health professionals, and sports associates to promote understanding of men's health issues and body experiences. As the intention of the research is to provide this information to the public and widen our understanding of men's practices in sport the data may be published. *At this point you are required to state whether you provide your consent for the research to be carried out and you agree to future publication.* If you consent please sign below;

PRINT NAME …………………………………………SIGNATURE……………………………

You should be made aware of your right to refuse participation whenever and for whatever reason you wish

P.T.O

Visual methods: Photographic, audio and/or video recording of you

Identities (names) will be kept anonymous, but you must be made aware that the study is based on visual methodology. This means that as part of this project the researcher intends to take photographic, audio and/ or video recording of you and you players. Are you willing to consent to these photos, audios and/or videos being presented to other researchers and the public? *If you are willing for your images and audios to be published and available to the public; researchers, health professional and sports associates please sign below.*

PRINT
NAME ……………………………………SIGNATURE……………………………

At this point you should be made aware of your right to refuse participation whenever and for whatever reason you wish

At the same time all the data and information you provide will be accessible to you when required

Thank you for your help

Adapted from Statement of Ethics at BSA (www.britsoc.org.uk accessed 31st March 2003).

A. Sample of photo-set utilised for photo-elicitation interview

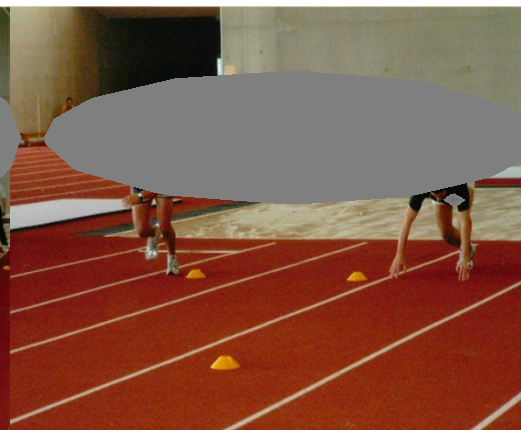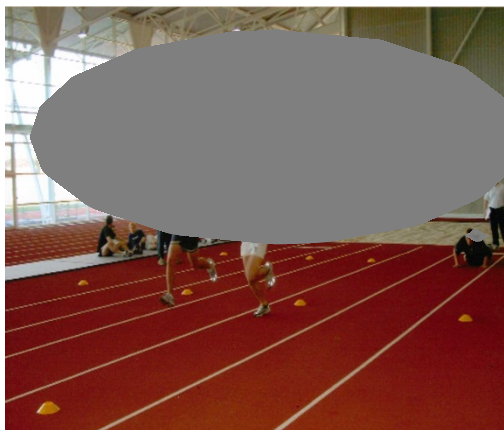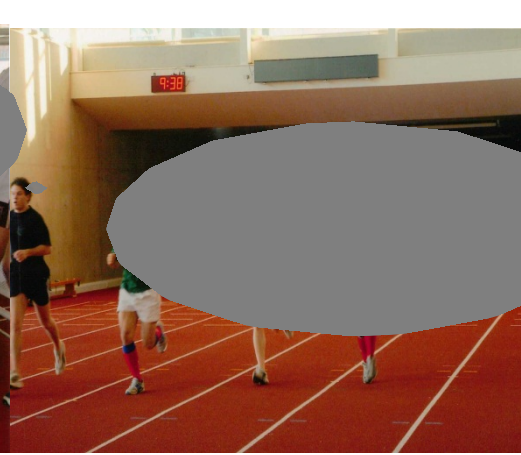**B.** Sample Annual Fitness testing photographs drawn from photo-set for photo-elicitation interview

Aggression

	How do feel you about players that use aggression? Have you used aggression?
Mr V	There's obviously aggression…and I think that's' really good I don't like cheap shots but if you see a mate get in a fight you tend to go over there and break it up …I've learnt …I use to stand back but now I tend to run in and not hit someone but try and get people away to show your back up to your team mates I can't stand people on the floor trying to strangle people while the ref can't see…I don't ever hit back.
Mr T	I don't have that kind of steak in me although if I'm pushed I do but I don't look down on them cause it's just the way rugby is its been like that for centuries…unless it's seriously out of order like a stamp on the head I just think that's completely out of order.
Mr A	I don't get involved but its' up to them…I don't really see a need for it it shows weakness…a sign of getting wound up and they can't play the game…I think it's a lot better to just smile and walk away…I would just laugh and walk away…if something happens I'd rather get the ball and …target that person next time…try and get pass them and then once you've scored just walk past and smile at him. I play on the wing so when we stand out there and something kicks off…you stand there and just let it go…like the refs there
Mr K	I probably got one of the most sort of sendings off or maybe -----. If someone stamped on me nine times out of ten I'd get up and punch them I'm not normally that aggressive in everyday life…I'm not a cheap shot [person] I'm more like react to [things] I don't think many player in our side are going round [doing it] it more of a reaction to it…it's mainly in league team sides…that the fighting occurs…they are obviously in their team talk…right we are going to beat up these students…and destroy them.
Mr B	Yeh I start a few…I would start like rubbing someone's face just to piss them off or chatting to them in the line out saying fucking hell you are fit mate huh huh he will look at me and say what sorry…you've got a tight ass just winding him up and then he will go what fuck off you puff be like sorry mate just like commenting you're gay or something …so they will get annoyed and they'll punch out so you get the advantage they are not thinking abut the game they are thinking about getting you… …so then you become not the master of them but you are controlling them. Fighting; I get involved
Mr TH	I don't have time for people who starts…swinging punches at people…take scrumaging …that's a very aggressive thing its controlled aggression…so you are not just plundering out at someone you're doing something as part of the game which requires aggression…but its controlled. If we are out and just mucking around then there's probably a bit of pushing and shoving but it's just playful **Do you join in?** I normally just watch and smile…if someone is getting filled in then you've got to go and help them but that doesn't mean you go over fists flying…I think there is no need for there to be a massive brawl on the pitch. If someone starts throwing their fists around and then they're probably lashing out because you know they're losing the game they're losing focus.
Mr CH	I don't have a problem…is people go out deliberating looking for it then I do see a problem…that's annoying but if somebody is doing something like stamping on your man then people then people will go and protect their team mates **Do you stand back or join in the fights?** Is there's somebody who is in a fight I would generally go in and try and split it up as oppose to just stand back and let it happen. I know from my own experience where I have gone in and tried to fight before…I have just got beaten up. Do individuals get respect for its use? If they are getting stamped on and then they go and stick up for them and get involved you do respect them for putting their body on the line to protect somebody else but I think most people do so there is not really that much of an issue.
Mr P	Depends on the severity like if someone has gone in and blatantly stamped on someone's head that's always been a big thing…like you can throw cheap shots…like players at the club will look down on you. I'll try and rile them into doing it because I know if they are hitting me they are not playing rugby and that's how we will beat them. Example; quite a few times especially in my younger days…I have always been an aggressive player and I suppose people say its because of my small man's syndrome…I wouldn't say I just go out intentionally to hit player…but obviously if it started to happen and stuff I will react to it **Stand back or get involved?** Certain players use to really wind me up and they are always telling me to clam down but I am five nine and…about twelve and a half stone and he is telling me to calm down you are all right you are like six foot four and sixteen stone. I don't have a problem with it but loads of players here do like with professionalism but I think there is just as much of it within professionalism but they just don't moan about it they accept it and get on with it. If there is two or three player on one …I will just go in guns and blazes…to get them off…it use to really annoy me how…certain players are going like what are you doing I was up there they were stood off watching their own players getting hurt…juts blatant assault nothing to do with the game of rugby.
Mr D	See below
Mr	Depends cause rugby is quite aggressive so there are certain things like raking and stamping like its all part and parcel…I don't

J	know cause I have been eye gauged a couple of times …that's pretty shit that's shouldn't happen at all. Its used a bit like as an intimidation especially by some teams not so much by Lboro Get involved or stand back? I tend to stand back cause its often only a little thing it depend if what you see is out of order.

	Is it a necessary part of the game?
Mr V	I think it is necessary that you show that you are backing up your team mates…sometimes you have to show that you are not scared of backing off other players especially the forwards tend to get physical …but I won't get involved.
Mr T	I don't look down on them cause it's just the way rugby is its been like that for centuries- the rugger buggers you know.
Mr A	(See above. He doesn't believe its' necessary because it shows that you are wound up.)
Mr K	It's not within in the game it might be more mature to say I don't want to be like that cause then it's like an advantage to them cause I can hit someone in the face…that gives them a compliment…I don't want to play second fiddle to them…[but] you have to stand up for yourself and if it you get sent off that that's all…I'm not going to step down to it. **Other players**; J ----- sometimes fights for no reason…selfish reasons for fighting I think that detracts from the game if he is sent off or sin binned that's quite selfish but if it was just they did something to us and you stood up for yourself then fair enough…I would prefer players to stand up to them rather than just be punching bags.
Mr B	N/d
Mr TH	If someone starts throwing their fists around and then they're probably lashing out because you know they're losing the game they're losing focus.
Mr D	AGRESSION; yeh, Violence; sometimes …when you are playing against a league team sometimes there is unnecessary violence fists and stuff are part of the game as well but they are not really part of the game. **Justified aggression**; has there been incidents where you have been violent or got you mad? I was sent off last year in a game for throwing a punch…this guy their big number eight was just pounding into Doops and broke his nose so I ran in and pushed this guy and two other guys out of the way I just flung as hard as I could …I thought that was justified but I still got sent off for it…I can't stand back…I am very keen I love it.