RESEARCHING BRITISH UNIVERSITY SPORT INITIATIONS

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

The study of sport initiations is in its infancy. So far, the North American-centric research has focussed on 'exposing and condemning' morally unacceptable initiation activities, which are referred to as hazing. Hazing moral panics in North America has resulted in universities utilising sport initiation empirical research to construct anti-hazing policies; policies proven to be ineffective in banning sport initiations. The purpose of this research is to address some of the gaps in the knowledge of sport initiations. A two stage ethnographic research approach was utilised to collect information on British university sport initiations. An international student embedded himself as a student-athlete within a British university to learn the cultural meanings of a foreign sport culture and to possess an emic perspective. Semi-structured interviews were then conducted with key policy actors possessing differing organisational cultural perspectives (differentiational and fragmentational), specifically university staff and sport - rugby union, football, and track and field - club members from multiple higher education institutions. The researcher's ethnographic confessional tale of his experience as a self-funded international student is combined with the data from interviewee participants to construct British university sport initiations as a resistance research topic.

Dedication

To all the university students and athletes that have had someone make a very, very difficult rite of passage process even more harder and unpleasant than it really had to be.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is a cultivation of 12 years of inquiry into the phenomenon of initiations. In 1999, I was an undergraduate student requiring a topic for a seminar course. The professor's academic background was in military studies and I concluded that selecting a military topic would hopefully impress her as well as facilitate access to her as an educator. Influenced by the frequent media coverage of initiations in the Canadian and American military, which sparked regular moral panics throughout the 1990s, I selected military initiations as my topic. My peers perceived me as foolish to tackle any military topic given the secretive nature of militaries. I naïvely posited that the complexity of studying the Canadian military would be eased by focusing on initiations. After all, there were frequent media reports of military and fraternity initiations. Also, I came from sport and it seemed that everyone in Canadian sport knew about initiations. So, how difficult would it be to get useable empirical knowledge about initiations?

At the time, I only located three key empirical initiation studies - one military study (Winslow, 1999) and two sport studies (Bryshun, 1997; Hoover, 1999). According to Bryshun (1997, p. iii), "while many people in the world ... know something about hazing, almost nothing has been written on the phenomenon". Winslow (1999), an anthropologist, first detailed the Canadian Airborne Regiment's organisational structure and formal initiation into the regiment via its indoctrination course (military training). She then situated the informal initiation rites within the organisational structure and culture in order to discuss and thus understand them.

Winslow (1999) concludes that military initiations reinforce group bonding, military identity, and organisational cultural normalcy. The lack of any additional publications on Canadian military initiations or hazing led me to examine sport initiation literature. As a sociologist, Bryshun (1997) sought to understand the nature and extent of Canadian sport initiations. Situating the phenomenon and activities that constitute it within masculine sport culture, he found that initiations are driven by hierarchal power relationships (rookie, veteran) within sport. Bryshun (1997) concluded that initiations and hazing are a key means for socialisation into sport subcultures as well as the construction and confirmation of gendered athletic identities. In comparison, Hoover (1999), an objectivistic quantitative researcher, identified the extent of certain activities being performed in American university sport initiations. The activities that are frequently utilised in sport initiation rites are removed from their organisational sport cultural setting and classified by the researcher utilising a weak absolute approach as acceptable initiation or unacceptable hazing. Hoover (1999) reports that most university athletes are hazed. Her description of hazing gives the impression that athletes who engage in these unacceptable activities are returning to a Hobbesian State of Nature.

In 2000, the media reported on a professional Canadian football player being taped-up to a goal post by his teammates (Turner, 2000). Whereas Hoover (1999) classifies this as an unacceptable activity, it was perceived as a prank and rationalised as 'boys will be boys' (acceptable) by the Canadian public. The contradiction between Hoover (1999) and Canadian society is compounded by a contradiction within Canadian society: a minor moral panic had recently occurred concerning the initiation activities of Canadian amateur university sport teams (Johnson, 2000). The

lack of empirical knowledge of initiations, the conflicting rationales of why they occur, the conflicting moral perceptions of the associated activities, and the overall ambiguous nature of the topic itself all led to my confusion about initiations. This confusion, coupled with my strong disagreement with Hoover's (1999) descriptive and atheoretical approach of 'exposing and condemning' the actions of others, and the use of Hoover's findings to inform policy, inspired me in 2001 to pursue the option in my master's program to do empirical research and write a thesis.

My thesis (Wintrup 2003) sought to understand Hoover's (1999) position whilst determining the validity of her findings. Specifically, I surveyed athletes to garner their experience and perceptions of Hoover's (1999) acceptable and unacceptable activities. I found that many athletes identified their experience as being positive despite them being identified by researchers as unacceptable. However, in becoming knowledgeable and appreciative of Hoover's (1999) position and contribution, my research study left me with more questions and concerns. These related specifically to: how the research of the phenomenon was unfolding, the trend in policy that sought to deny athletes pleasure, and the increased possibility of physical and emotional harm from performing activities, some of which are sexual and erotic in nature, that are held in secret to prevent being morally judged and disciplined.

1.2 Rationale

Research examining sport initiations is in its infancy, with almost all of it being North American-centric. Additionally, the majority of empirical studies have been conducted by researchers utilising an absolute moral approach. These studies have aimed to: construct hazing as inappropriate and unacceptable, identify what activities

researchers define as hazing, expose and condemn the hazing activities of athletes, discredit the athlete position that these activities are pleasurable or beneficial, and inform policy makers in order to control the actions of athletes. The lack of research outside of North America indicates that sport initiations are not a policy issue in other countries. However, one empirical ethnographic British case study of a women's university rugby initiation by Taylor and Fleming (2000), proves that the phenomenon exists within the United Kingdom and also provides insights into how it is conceptualised.

The intent that drives this research is to produce fresh and meaningful insights into sport initiations. Arguably, this could be accomplished by adopting a relativistic moral approach and a constructionist or subjectivist epistemological stance to do a qualitative study on Canadian or American sport initiations. However, this approach would not overcome the "sport think" (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002, p. 70) that exists in sport initiation research. Anti-hazing proponents have utilised the fear of moral erosion in allowing unacceptable and 'dangerous' activities to guide and impact upon the research and findings of any study (i.e., either the study will argue for or against the entrenched stance). Nor does it expand our knowledge of the phenomenon in other nations, which could assist or benefit the research area and policymaking in North America. For instance, Taylor and Fleming (2000) did not identify whether university sport initiations are even a social or policy issue in the UK, and thus this raises the question: do sport initiations and hazing within British universities need regulation?

It should be questioned whether a Canadian is suited to studying sport initiations in another nation. Sexual harassment and abuse in sport is a policy issue that is tackled by researchers in multiple nations. The success of a research area can be partly determined by researchers conducting sensitive research studies who are knowledgeable of their national sport structure and culture. However, this global research area was never dominated by knowledge obtained from a specific regional sport culture. Any research study on sport initiations begins with reviewing the findings of North American studies. As a Canadian, I possess intimate knowledge of the sport cultural meanings that have socially constructed North American initiations. As such, I can situate the phenomenon of initiations as well as the findings and the terminology of the sport initiation research within that culture. My greatest limitation would be my lack of intimate knowledge of any foreign sport culture, such as Great Britain's. The possibility exists my conceptualisation of sport culture and initiations (e.g., a sensitive research topic in North America), including terminology, could be imposed onto (e.g., is hazing a term utilised within British sport?) or utilised mistakenly (e.g., has hazing been constructed in British sport with the same negative connotation as in North America?) in any study or explanation of British sport initiations. Thus, to ensure the trustworthiness of the findings and produce useable knowledge, which can be utilised by policy actors, the principle aim of this investigation is to understand initiations and hazing *within* British university sport. Specifically, I seek to first become knowledgeable of the cultural meanings that construct the phenomenon. My objective is then be to explain the nature of initiations within three university sports - rugby union (rugby), football, athletics (track and field). It is also to explain how sport initiations are conceptualised and interpreted by multiple stakeholders that posses integrational (nongovernmental sport

organisation administrators), fragmentational (university sport staff), and differentiational (athletes and coaches) organisational cultural perspectives within the British university sport delivery system.

A social constructionist epistemology is adopted here to undertake the task of conducting policy research on the relatively unknown phenomenon of British university sport initiations. A phenomenology approach would be well suited to uncover and explore sport initiations as a ritualistic social construct sustained by actions/interactions based on common organisational cultural meanings. However, I possess knowledge and preconceptions of sport initiations, and thus a symbolic interactionism perspective is utilised. This theoretical perspective allows me to understand the social phenomenon whilst also facilitating my adoption of the culture in which it occurs.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter Two sets out the landscape of sport initiation research. Habermas' (1978) three types of knowledge are utilised to categorise previous empirical studies on the phenomenon. Grouping studies by the type of knowledge they produced allows their commonalities relating to purpose, focus, and projected and actual outcomes to emerge. This facilitates a critical examination of each study individually, as a group, and between the different groups. The examination identifies the strengths and weaknesses of each study, group of studies, and the sport initiation research area as a whole. A research approach is selected to design a study to address some of the gaps in knowledge that are revealed in previous research.

Chapter Three describes the social constructionism theoretical tools and mechanisms

utilised to guide the research process. First, organisational culture is examined with

special attention to the key concepts of subculture and initiation rites. Also, the

means of how organisational cultural researchers conduct studies are identified.

Notably, this section demonstrates the emphasis they place on cultural meanings and

the existence of differing organisational cultural perspectives (integrational,

fragmentational, and differentiational) on those cultural meanings for creating

cultural functions and practices. Next, the literature on the sport advocacy coalition

framework is reviewed. This framework conceptualises how organisational culture

policy research should be undertaken by a policy researcher. It identifies that

multiple stakeholder actors, who operate in a policy subsystem with differing beliefs

and perceptions, should be sought out as participants. This chapter sets the stage for

the next on British university sport delivery structure and culture.

In Chapter Four, I identify the origins of the heteronormative masculine cultural

meanings of British university sport. Also, a review of empirical research studies on

modern university sport culture is undertaken. The connection between the British

sport delivery system and the British university sport delivery system is shown. All

potential key policy actors and their organisational cultural perspectives in university

sport are revealed.

Chapter Five identifies the ethnographic methodology and two stage methods

process (participant observation and semi-structured interviews) utilised to collect

data. The chapter further describes how the research process to obtain interviewees

unfolded. It reveals how the resistance I encountered led me to transform this from a conventional empirical enquiry into a sport confessional ethnographic study.

The findings of the interviews I was able to conduct with actors possessing a differentiational organisational cultural perspective (athletes and coach) are discussed in Chapter Six. These participants are categorised by their club membership in rugby, football, and track and field. The cultural meanings of each sport, the initiations they construct, and the policy perceptions of these actors are presented.

Chapter Seven utilises the results of data from the participants possessing a fragmentational organisational cultural perspective to identify sport initiation as sensitive research topic. The data is then combined with my reflections on the research journey over the past five years to construct a new type of sensitive research. The chapter concludes by describing resistance research.

Chapter Eight concludes this thesis and considers its limitations and recommendations. Limitations with utilising the sport advocacy coalition framework in researching British university sport and sport initiations are identified. The recommendations are aimed at others who may wish to conduct resistance research on this, or any other, topic as a PhD student.

**CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH ON SPORT INITIATIONS:
EPISTEMOLOGY AND APPROACH**

2.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies the epistemology and theoretical perspective utilised in this

study on British university sport initiations. The chapter begins by examining the

aforementioned concepts, notably that of epistemologies, utilised by previous

research. By exploring the theory of knowledge and identifying how epistemology is

important to, and relates to, the other elements of a research project, it is possible to

select the most appropriate perspective on knowledge for this particular study. It is

posited that this can be accomplished by utilising Habermas' (1978) three types of

knowledge to review previous, predominantly North American based, sport initiation

academic research studies. In the context of North American sport initiations, it is

also possible to utilise Habermas' (1978) three types of knowledge to identify the

policy outcomes of existing sport initiation policies that have been implemented

utilising the recommendations and findings of academic researchers. Additionally,

the three forms of knowledge are broadly aligned with the research objectives of this

project, which seeks to explain a social phenomenon, look for a means to regulate it,

and prevent subjugated people from 'running a gauntlet' that seeks only to cause

pain, suffering, and hardship for an individual aspiring for success within sport. The

chapter concludes with a description of social constructionism and symbolic

interactionism utilised for this project.

2.2 Types of Knowledge

Hobbes (1651/1996) and Locke (1689/1967) both wrote about the State of Nature:

however, their conceptions of it differed considerably because of their differing

knowledge, circumstances, and political philosophies. The differences relate to the transitional *rite of passage* that people took to enter the social world of civil society. This begs several questions, such as: what counts as knowledge of the social world? And, how and why is one form of knowledge valued over any other? In other words, what criteria should be used to judge the merits of different epistemologies?

Crotty (1998) suggests a research project possesses four elements: epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods. Theoretical perspective is conceived as an optional element (it is dependent on whether the qualitative research type needs to be theoretical) and both methodology and methods are perceived as essential elements: epistemology, on the other hand, is considered a pivotal element (Carter & Little, 2007). Epistemology is the only element connected to knowledge and, as such, is the base that a research project is built upon (Carter & Little, 2007; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe, 2002; Gray, 2009). All facets of a research project, including all methodological choices, are influenced by, and need to be compatible with, a chosen epistemological stance (Carter & Little, 2007). However, there is generally insufficient epistemological discussion within qualitative research reporting (Carter & Little, 2007). Academics tend to focus on the other elements, notably how they utilise methodologies and methods (Lee & Lings, 2008). The lack of discussion on all methodological terms has consequently resulted in academics possessing and utilising various differing views and positions on methodological terms, including epistemology (Carter & Little, 2007; Crotty, 1998).

Guba (1990) and Crotty (1998) suggest three main epistemological stances are utilised by academic researchers to guide their disciplined inquiry: objectivism,

constructionism and subjectivism. Objectivistic researchers seek to be detached from the phenomena they are studying since they assert that only objective, unbiased, and systematic inquiry can produce valid and reliable results (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). These researchers perceive meaning as being independent of any consciousness and residing as an object within meaningful entities waiting to be discovered (Crotty, 1998). Objectivistic researchers adopt a positivistic approach, which incorporates the theoretical perspectives of positivism and postpositivism, and assert that all human behaviour is determined. Positivists put forward grand theories that attempt to predict and explain human behaviour, which are either supported or refuted by utilising a 'manipulative methodology' referred to as Scientific Method (Schwandt, 1990). Postpositivism acknowledges that it is impossible to completely manipulate and control all the independent variables in a research project. Baird and McGannon (2009, pp. 381-82) state "that sport psychology research tends to subscribe to postpositivism". As a result, sport psychology research on deviant behaviour (i.e., aggression, violence, and initiations and hazing) is primarily grounded in an objectivistic epistemology.

Subjectivist researchers view meaning as being inscribed upon objects by human beings (Crotty, 1998; Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Meaning associated with an object does not come from interaction between subject and object but rather is imported from elsewhere without any interaction occurring (Crotty, 1998). Theoretical perspectives associated with subjectivism, including feminism and postmodernism, are ideologically driven and collectively referred to as Critical Science/Theory (Guba, 1990; Jackson 1999; Schwandt, 1990). Subjectivists adopt the premise that differing groups within society seek to enhance their interests at the cost of other

groups. Critical researchers act as advocates seeking to transform the existing social structures and to improve conditions for oppressed groups. Thus, the values of the researcher are heavily intertwined within a research project which seeks to enlighten others in order to reduce inequality. Sport sociologists researching bullying, harassment and abuse (see Brackenridge, 2001; Brackenridge & Fasting, 2002; Kirby, Greaves & Hankivsky, 2000) tend to subscribe to feminism. Consequently, sport sociology research on deviant social practices that occur off the field of play and typically in the private realm (e.g., sexual abuse) is primarily grounded in a subjectivist epistemology.

Constructionist researchers perceive meaning as being constructed through human beings' interpretations of their lived realities (Crotty, 1998; Guba, 1990; Patton, 2002). Meaning is not uniform or eternal since individuals can interpret and construct different meanings for the same phenomena. A collective can share the same constructed meaning if it is transmitted through a social context/construct (Crotty, 1998). Social constructionism incorporates culture into constructionist thinking in order to consider how social phenomena contribute to the construction of meanings within social reality. The focus for social constructionists is on examining how social interaction impacts on reality. Researchers seek to uncover and explore common social constructs, including the structures that have been created around them, that reinforce social reality for individuals who create social phenomena (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). They acknowledge that human beings construct (typifications), sustain (habitualised) and reproduce (institutionalised) social reality (Greenwood, 1994); social reality thus possesses an historical dimension. Previously constructed institutions are designed to inform meaning to present day individuals to

enable them to reproduce social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Social constructionists typically utilise an interpretive theoretical perspective, such as symbolic interactionism (Crotty, 1998; Jackson, 1999), which seeks to understand human behaviour. Interpretivism views all human beings as unique individuals who possess unique views of the world. An interpretivist researcher's findings are typically reflective of a particular time, place, and culture in which an individual makes sense of their life and the situations and interactions that occur within it (Crotty, 1998; Jackson, 1999).

There is no single perspective from which to view or collect knowledge of the world since each epistemology possess inherent limitations for researchers. Arguably, knowledge reflective of each epistemological approach is potentially required to fully conceptualise a social phenomenon. Thus, prior to selecting an epistemology for a research project, researchers should consider the knowledge each episteme approach will potentially obtain and what it can accomplish. An epistemological based review of previous research conducted in an area, such as sport initiations, will provide a deeper insight of existing knowledge and potentially identify gaps within that knowledge. Habermas (1978) offers a structured means of identifying, deconstructing, and examining existing academically based epistemological knowledge of a research topic.

Habermas (1978) identifies three types of cognitive interests/knowledge that is reflective of a potential epistemological approach to research sport initiations. The cognitive *technical* interest is based on the theory of objectivistic knowledge. Researchers employ an empirical-analytical science that utilises hypothetico-

deductive reasoning. They identify and manipulate variables to predict and/or control

nature with the intent of reducing irrationality (Habermas, 1978). *Emancipatory*

interest is a critical science that employs the fundamentals of subjectivism.

Researchers acting as advocates espouse the difficulties of a subjugated group within

society in order to reduce inequality (Habermas, 1978). *Practical* cognitive interest

utilises the ideals associated with constructionism. Researchers seek to understand

human interaction and their interpretation of social phenomena. It is an historical-

hermeneutic science that seeks to improve our understanding of human existence,

whether or not there is any utility for that knowledge (Habermas, 1978). Habermas'

(1978) three cognitive interests have the potential to operate in conjunction with

epistemologies in order to explore how the phenomenon of sport initiations can be

researched.

2.3 Knowledge of Sport Initiations

Table 2.1 identifies previous sport initiation and hazing research projects utilising

each epistemology. The key purpose of the sport initiation research within each of

Habermas' (1978) cognitive interests is identified along with the research focus, and

the projected and actual outcomes. Although these are reflective of specific forms of

knowledge, they are also interconnected within each of Habermas' (1978) cognitive

interests.

All three of Habermas' (1978) cognitive interests are required to explain sport

initiations. Sport initiations exist due to the unequal social interaction of two groups

of athletes – seniors/veterans and newcomers/rookies - on one team/club with the

veterans 'dominating' the rookies (emancipatory cognitive interest). This is further

compounded by sport administrators and coaches who 'dominate' the sport policy process and implement policy that regulates, eliminates or deflects athlete initiation practices because such social practices have been deemed deviant and inappropriate (technical cognitive interest). Athlete attitudes' and practices are affected by initiation policy, changing the phenomenon of initiations (practical cognitive interest). Thus, the selection of one cognitive interest in order to research sport initiations will also require incorporating elements from the other cognitive interests, notably concepts and data from previous researchers.

2.3.1 Deviance and Moral Panics

Table 2.1 identifies that athlete deviant behaviour during initiation rites is a key instigating research element for technical researchers. The classification of social practices as deviant is subjective and malleable since norms and moral standards vary and change. As such, there are no particular practices that can be utilised to illustrate deviance across all cultures. Thus, deviance is constructed "as an action, trait, or idea that falls outside a range of acceptance as determined by people with the power to enforce norms in a social world" (Coakley & Pike, 2009, p. 184). Social practices that fall outside the range of normative acceptance are classified by individuals with social world power as either underconformity deviance, overconformity deviance, or tolerable deviance.

Tolerable deviance is an underconformity or overconformity deviant "act that is accorded legitimacy and has a level of threat low enough to refrain from actively opposing it. The behaviour is enacted by a small proportion of community members yet the welfare of the community is still believed to be preserved" (Stebbins, 1988,

Cognitive Interest	Previous Research	Purpose of the Study	Focus	Projected Outcome	Actual Outcome (Result)
Technical	Hoover, 1999; Campo, Poulos & Sipple, 2005; Van Raalte, Cornelius, Linder & Brewer, 2007; Allen & Madden, 2008; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009; Kowalski & Waldron, 2010; McGlone, 2010	Identifying the prevalence of, as well as the perceptions/attitudes/ beliefs/behaviours (i.e. create team cohesion) towards, deviant initiation practices. Evaluating researcher-identified initiation practices and/or exposing those who engage in or support researcher-identified negative activities – referred to as hazing - deemed inappropriate and deviant by researchers.	Athletes perform hazing activities + hazings produce no benefits (i.e. team bonding/cohesion, socialisation) + athletes are abused and injured as well as viewed by society as deviants = develop and implement policy to control/prevent athletes performing sport hazing and initiations.	Athlete initiation behaviour/ social practice is controlled and/or prevented (perceived hazing deviance is eradicated)	Have served as the basis for sport initiation/anti-hazing policies within universities and government. Perceived deviant initiation practices are banned by administrators but still continues in secret (driven underground) and administrators often turn a blind eye (do not enforce the policy unless they have to).
Practical	Bryshun, 1997; Taylor & Fleming, 2000; Wintrup, 2003; Hinkle, 2005; Crow & MacIntosh, 2009	Constructing the phenomenon of initiations and/or the impact that experiencing the phenomenon has on athletes	Greater understanding of why human beings (athletes) have: created and/or accepted the phenomenon of sport initiations; what purpose, if any, they serve; and/or the effects hazing/negative initiations/negative team building exercises/negative rites of passage have on athletes.	Greater understanding of sport initiations in particular settings (specific sports, clubs, institutions, or countries)	Provide insight into the phenomenon of sport initiations that can be utilised by others, including for further academic study

Cognitive Interest	Previous Research	Purpose of the Study	Focus	Projected Outcome	Actual Outcome (Result)
Emancipatory	Johnson, 2000; Caperchione, 2001; Johnson, 2006	Exploring the negative sport feature of hazing by examining one or both categories of unequal power relations as well as the gender differences that may exist within each of the categorical groups Category 1 – sport hazing/initiation formal and informal policy/regulation/rule relations that consists of the implementers/governors administrators and/or coaches and the athletes target subjects Category 2 – sport hazing practices which consist of senior/veteran athletes and novice/rookie athletes	Category 1 Administrators and coaches implement policy/rules/regulation that affects athletes (controls their athletic and social practices) which athletes themselves have very little input into. Category 2 Rookie athletes are forced to perform hazing activities by senior athletes that only accomplish re-affirming the unequal hierarchal power relations. Failure to comply with veteran demands results in the rookie athlete being ostracised from the group or in more severe hazing/bullying/abuse experience. Potentially the athlete is forced off a team or out of a sport	The concepts of 'Respect' and 'Equality' are promoted within sport (all actors develop greater respect for each other) and initiations are transformed to prevent perceived suffering	Initiations are rebranded (i.e. Fun Day, Orientation, Welcoming Party) and reconstructed by others (i.e. administrators). As a result, athletes feel they: have no clear conception of what they are, do not completely replace their traditional initiation activities, have no input and are thus powerless over the activities that are required, are being forced to do silly things, and/or feel it is 'goofy'. As a result two initiations ceremonies are held - a public initiation that is considered acceptable and a private initiation that occurs in secret with no accountability/control mechanisms in place. Initiation practices deemed inappropriate or deviant still continue but out of the 'eye' of society. However the risk level of the activities being performed is potentially lowered.

pp. 3-4). Those with social world power view the act as abnormal but it is not extreme enough to be considered immoral. Deviant underconformity is when individuals demonstrate a weak adherence to norms either by rejecting or being ignorant of them (Coakley, 2009; Coakley & Pike, 2009). Widespread underconformity leads to anarchy. Sport overconformity deviance occurs when athletes over-adhere to the sport ethic. The sport ethic consists of four general norms - making sacrifices for the game, striving for distinction, accepting risks and playing through pain, and refusing to accept limits in pursuit of possibilities (winning) - that are utilised by individuals in power and performance sports to construct their athletic identities and interactions with others (Coakley, 2009; Coakley & Pike, 2009; Hugh & Coakley, 1991). According to Hughes and Coakley (1991), athletes overconform to these sport norms because they are either encouraged to overconform by people with social power or unwittingly overconform. Coakley (2009) asserts that, whilst underconforming deviant behaviour demonstrated by athletes is typically not tolerated, overconformers are generally praised, especially in the media, for reaffirming acceptable moral values. However, determining the type of deviance is dependent on the moral approach utilised to judge the overconformity and underconformity deviant behaviour and whether it can be considered tolerable deviance.

Coakley (2009) and Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) identify two approaches to deviance: absolutism/objectivism and relativism/constructionism (see Figure 2.1). An absolutist approach utilises moral absolutism to evaluate an idea, trait, or action as deviant. According to Honderich (1995, p. 2), moral absolutism is "the view that certain kinds of actions are *always* wrong or are *always* obligatory, whatever the

Range of acceptable
ideas, traits, and actions

Strong Absolute
Moralist

Weak Absolute
Moralist

Relativist
Construction
Moralist

Underconformity Deviance	Tolerable Deviance	Conformity	Tolerable Deviance	Overconformity Deviance
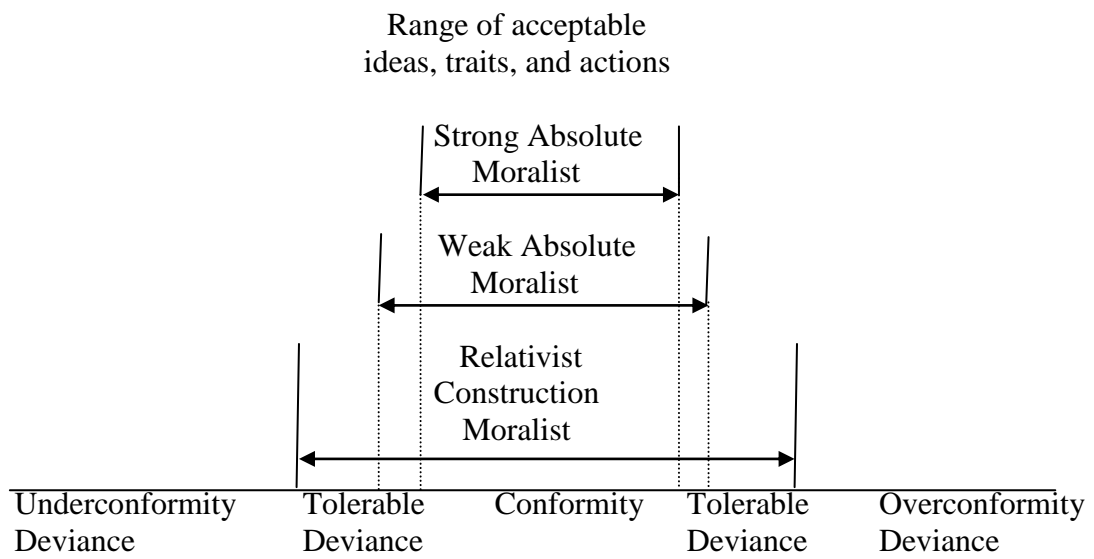
Figure 2.1: Absolute and Relativist Moral Views of Deviance. Original model, adapted from *Sports in Society: Issues and Controversies* (p. 144), by J. Coakley, 2009, NY: McGraw-Hill.

consequences". McDonald (2010, p. 455) elaborates that "absolutism, which has also been referred to as 'universalism', dictates that an omni-present set of standards should apply universally, being equally valid in all places and times". An absolute approach identifies deviance narrowly since it has a low threshold or tolerance for anything that deviates from the ideal set of standards of what is right. The narrowness of the approach is dependent on whether an individual or group possesses a strong or weak absolute position. Jarvie (1983, p. 46) states that "absolutism in its strong form is the position that the only truths there are are absolute", thus no tolerable deviance is acceptable. The weak absolute moral stance allows for some relative truths or tolerable deviance to exist.

The constructionist approach utilises a relativistic moral stance to judge the ideas, traits, and actions of athletes. McDonald (2010, p. 453) states "relativists claim there are no ultimate universal ethical principles and that all value judgements are relative to particular cultural contexts ... relativists assert that moral judgements are grounded in deeply held cultural values that have withstood the test of time and are in the nature of basic beliefs as to what human welfare is all about". Constructionists allow for a greater degree of deviance and thus possess a higher tolerance for deviance as people negotiate, play with, subvert, and test the social world boundaries of acceptance (Coakley, 2009). Individuals, groups, and organisations that possess power and authority within a social world or society have the ability to determine the tolerable deviance levels of ideas, traits and actions. Overconformity or underconformity deviant behaviour that is exposed and demonstrates a strong rejection of absolute and/or constructionist moral values can result in a societal moral panic, discussed below.

Cohen (1972) posits that deviant ideas, traits, and actions that undergo a sensitisation process, whereby key societal sector actors – the media, public, law enforcement, politicians, action groups – escalate and distort the seriousness of the deviance, is referred to as a 'moral panic'. This is defined by Cohen (1972, p. 9) as:

> A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or ... resorted to; the condition then disappear, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the subject of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way the society conceives itself.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) argue that moral panics can originate from one of three sources. First, a widespread grassroots movement over a particular deviant threat occurs within the general public. Secondly, small and powerful group(s) engineer a campaign over a non-issue and heighten fear, panic, and concern in order to divert attention away from an issue that could undermine the elite group(s). Lastly, groups perceived to serve the public – media, law enforcement, legislators, religious and educational organisations, and professional associations – are seized by

a particular issue in which they possess an independent interest and benefit for advancing it. All sources expose, in a volatile manner, a group's deviance in order to heighten the concerns of the majority of societal actors. The deviance is constructed to a disproportionate threat level to society, particularly societal moral values, and a high level of hostility toward the exposed group occurs (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994). Moral panics typically erupt very quickly; however, they do not always subside as fast. It is possible that moral panics over a particular form of deviance may reappear and can become ritualised as people continue to negotiate and test the boundaries of the social world.

Sport has been a frequent site from which societal actors elicit moral panics. Violence by athletes or fans (football hooliganism) is a recurring moral panic (see Fleming, 2008; Ward, 2002). Sport-based moral panics have also been constructed around the deviant issues of the inclusion of women in sport (see Williams, 2010), doping (see Houlihan, 2008), and sexual exploitation (see Brackenridge, 2001). The concept of moral panics has itself been constructed within sport as a response mechanism. Sport organisations that are accused of and fear public exposure for condoning deviant social practices sometimes respond with a moral panic, by either seeking to aid those individuals who are accused of the deviance or making systemic cultural changes (Brackenridge, 2001).

2.3.2 Technical Knowledge of Sport Initiations

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 identifies that all previous technical sport initiation research is American based. These studies primarily sought to establish that university athletes

Researchers	Moralist Approach	Conception of Initiation and Hazing Utilised for/Emerged from Research Study	Target Participants	Data Collection Method	Response Rate	Major Findings
Hoover, 1999	Weak Absolutism	Initiations fall on an acceptable/unacceptable continuum, however only acceptable activities are referred to as initiations. All other categories on the continuum - questionable, alcohol-related, and unacceptable and potentially illegal activities - are types of hazing	Athletes: Random sample of 10,000 male and female athletes from 224 universities representing 20 sports Administrators and Coaches: 5, 458	Mail out survey	Athletes: 20% (2009) Administrators and Coaches: 27% (1498)	"100% of athletes responding to the survey were involved in some form of initiation onto their athletic teams. 80% reported being subjected to one or more typical hazing behaviors as part of their team initiations." p. 8 "Only 12% reported being hazed". p. 8 "While students would acknowledge a wide range of hazing-type behaviors, they most often were reluctant to label them hazing". p. 8
Campo, Poulos & Sipple, 2005;	Weak Absolutism	Initiations fall on a continuum possessing 3 categories. Positive and tolerable deviant activities are labelled as initiations (positive team-building and initiation activities and other negative team-building and initiation activities). Negative initiations are labelled as hazing.	Random sample of 2000 undergraduate students (athletes and non-athletes) at an American university	Email sent out inviting participants to complete web-based questionnaire	37% (74 athletes, 665 non-athletes)	"Hazing is occurring on campus, although not always recognized as such by students". p. 137. Researchers identified that 49% of student athletes engaged in hazing activities. p. 144 "There was a clear discrepancy between self-identification as participating in hazing and participation in hazing as defined by university policy [that is based on previous research]". p. 146

Researchers	Moralist Approach	Conception of Initiation and Hazing Utilised for/Emerged from Research Study	Target Participants	Data Collection Method	Response Rate	Major Findings
Van Raalte, Cornelius, Linder & Brewer, 2007	Weak Absolutism	Initiations fall on a continuum with two categories - acceptable team-building behaviours and unacceptable team-building activities – as poles. All unacceptable sub-categories, which include all hazing activities, are labelled as abuse. The acceptable category contains three positive sub-categories and one tolerable deviant category labelled "coerced deviant behaviours". These deviant activities may appear to be unacceptable to members of society but are not severe enough to be considered abuse/hazing and were identified by athletes as acceptable.	Male and Female athletes representing 6 sports from 6 American Higher Education Institutions	Questionnaire	167 athletes	"Arguments that justify hazing because it increases team cohesion are not supported by the data and analyses reported in this study. In contrast, appropriate team building activities are related to higher levels of social attraction and integration". p. 502 "many of the acceptable team building behaviors were the ones most widely reported. Thus, hazing is not confined to the highly negative events that are reported in the mass media". p. 502
Allen & Madden, 2008	Strong Absolutism	Only one negative deviant hazing category containing unacceptable activities (no positive/acceptable categories). Anti-Hazing Research Advisory Group identified Hoover's (1999) questionable, alcohol-related and unacceptable activities as hazing.	Random sample of 95, 683 undergraduate students (athletes and non-athletes) at 53 universities. Each institution supplied contact information for 25% of their full-time undergraduate population	Email sent out inviting participants to complete web-based questionnaire	12% (11,482 athletes and non-athletes)	With 74% of varsity athletes and 64% of club sport athletes identified by researchers as participating in hazing activities, students affiliated with varsity and club sports are more likely to experience hazing than most non-athlete students. p. 16 "Alcohol consumption, humiliation (i.e. sing or chant by self or with select others of groups in public in a situation that is not a related event, game, or practice), isolation, sleep-deprivation, and sex acts are common athlete hazing practices". p. 2 "9 out of 10 students who have experienced hazing behavior in college do not consider themselves to have been hazed. More students perceive positive rather than negative outcomes of hazing". p. 2

Researchers	Moralist Approach	Conception of Initiation and Hazing Utilised for/Emerged from Research Study	Target Participants	Data Collection Method	Response Rate	Major Findings
Waldron & Kowalski, 2009	Strong Absolutism	Hazing/initiation rituals are overconformity deviant behaviours. There are 3 types of hazing: physical, psychological and alcohol-related.	21 (11 males, 10 females) current and former athletes with high school or university sport hazing experience (hazing experience as identified by the researchers).	Background questionnaire and semi-structured interviews		"Many participants had difficulty or were hesitant to label their experiences as hazing. Many reported that hazing was fun". pp. 293-4 "Both the values of sport as well as the desire to be accepted by teammates encouraged hazing". p. 291
Kowalski & Waldron, 2010						"A variety of perceptions by participants associated with the coaches' role and actual involvement in team hazing experiences, including taking a proactive stance against hazing and accepting hazing". p. 88 "Coaches need to implement strategies to prevent hazing from occurring on sport teams. Sport administrators and sport psychology consultants should also be working with coaches to implement positive team building activities". p. 98
McGlone, 2010	Strong Absolutism	There are two distinct hazing types: physical and mental (psychological). However, due to their high prevalence, alcohol-related and sex-related hazing are classified independently as two additional types.	University athletes: 5065 Athletic Directors: 326 Senior Women's Administrators: 326	Web-based survey	Athletes: 31.8% (1609) Athletic Directors: 22.4% (70) Senior Women's Administrators: 36% (112)	"administrators overall correctly identified and/or recognised hazing activities 81.8% of the time. Athletes recognised hazing activities only 55.52% of the time". p. 125 "differences exist in how hazing is perceived. These differences may decrease the overall effectiveness of a hazing policy, unless a clear succinct hazing definition is created". p. 119

Table 2.2: Technical Researchers' Hazing Conceptions and Findings (continued)

perform various types of initiation activities, specifically that absolute moralist researcher-identified deviant initiation activities labelled as hazing occur. Hoover's (1999) hazing prevalence study of more than 325,000 athletes at over 1,000 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) universities has been instrumental in guiding technical sport initiation research. Subsequent technical research has utilised Hoover's (1999, p. 8) definition of hazing – "any activity expected of someone joining a group that humiliates, degrades, abuses or endangers, regardless of the person's willingness to participate" – or a variation thereof, to classify initiation activities reported by athletes as: acceptable, tolerable deviance, and unacceptable hazing activities. In 2002, Kirby and Wintrup noted that Hoover's (1999) categories are confounding and redundant. Labelling of the first category as acceptable implies that the remaining categories are unacceptable, regardless of their label. Hoover (1999) herself identifies that the questionable, alcohol and unacceptable categories form a hazing typology. However, labelling one category as 'questionable' leaves ambiguous whether some forms of bullying and abuse identified within this category are acceptable or unacceptable. Additionally, these categories are not mutually exclusive since alcohol consumption, aside from being an activity in itself, may occur with any activity listed under another category. This suggests that the presence of alcohol, regardless of the amount, during any activity would inherently make it hazing. Subsequent technical researchers have attempted to address Hoover's (1999) problematic and ambiguous category labels in their research whilst utilising her list of initiation and hazing activities to expose the existence of university sport hazing. Their findings support Hoover's (1999) results; the majority of athlete participants have partaken in researcher-identified hazing activities.

Technical researchers addressed Hoover's (1999) problematic categories and labels in their research by eliminating perceived troublesome or redundant categories and/or renaming ambiguous category labels. The majority of researchers (Allen & Madden, 2008; McGlone, 2010; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009) adopted a strong absolute moralist stance and focused on the hazing side of Hoover's (1999) initiation-hazing continuum. McGlone (2010) and Waldron and Kowalski (2009) expanded upon Hoover's (1999) hazing typology by specifying the different types of hazing activities, additional to alcohol-related, that existed. Waldron and Kowalski (2009) identify two additional hazing types: physical and physiological. McGlone (2010) asserts a forth hazing type, sex-related activities. In comparison, Allen and Madden (2008) collapse the hazing typology and only identified one category within their study, that of hazing. According to Allen and Madden (2008), the majority of sport initiation activities performed by university athletes (identified by weak absolute technical research as tolerable deviance or hazing) are inherently wrong. For them, there are no tolerable deviance initiation activities since all deviant initiation behaviour (hazing) goes against the universal valid moral system. By this account, regardless of the situation, circumstance, or the organisational culture/sub-culture in which initiations occur, they are unacceptable hazing activities and the means never justify the ends.

Campo, Poulos and Sipple (2005) and Van Raalte, Cornelius, Linder and Brewer (2007) incorporated all aspects of Hoover's (1999) initiation-hazing continuum, notably tolerable deviance. Campo et al. (2005) utilised Hoover's (1999) university hazing policy for their research. Policy formulators utilised a weak absolutism stance to: rename the category headings, re-categorise Hoover's (1999) list of activities, and

eliminate the hazing typology. The acceptable initiation category was changed to positive team-building and initiation activities. On the other end of the continuum, the unacceptable deviant category, which included all alcohol-related activities, was relabelled as hazing. The third category, representing tolerable deviant activities, was classified as other negative team-building and initiation activities.

Van Raalte et al. (2007) utilise only two categories and divided Hoover's (1999) list of initiation and hazing activities amongst sub-categories. They identified four acceptable team-building activity subcategories – skill development or assessment, team socialization activities, required positive behaviours, and coerced deviant behaviours – and three types of abuse – passive victim of abuse, coerced self-abuse or degradation, and coerced abuse of others - as unacceptable team-building activity subcategories. Terminology such as 'passive', 'victim' and 'coercion' implies that athletes would never actively or willingly choose to engage or perform these activities; athletes are forced to participate in deviant activities. The classification of activities as acceptable or unacceptable was determined by the majority of respondents; however, the majority of participants represented individual sports rather than team sports. These and other technical researchers, with the exception of Waldron and Kowalski (2009) and McGlone (2010), ignore the influence of sport culture and subcultures. Additionally, Van Raalte et al. (2007) identified and classified the activities within their constructed subcategories. Participants did not identify that they engaged in coerced or deviant activities, or considered them as such.

Hazing activities identified by Hoover (1999), Campo et al. (2005) and Allen and Madden (2008) were reclassified as acceptable activities by Van Raalte et al. (2007). An alcohol consumption activity, as well as activities that can be construed as bullying and abuse, were classified as acceptable coerced deviant behaviours. For Van Raalte et al. (2007), the severity of these activities is not as high as previously identified by earlier researchers (who have informed policymaking) but, rather, are minor and considered acceptable. An increase in the tolerance level for deviant activities results in fewer hazing activities being included as such. Van Raalte et al. (2007) assert that hazing is not as widespread as is portrayed in the mass media, which frequently utilise the results of technical researchers when reporting on hazing.

The inconsistent re-classification of Hoover's (1999) list of activities as acceptable, hazing, or tolerable deviance, without any research-based substantiated rationale has caused confusion and raises two pertinent questions: who is classifying the initiation activities as unacceptable/negative deviant hazing, acceptable/positive, or tolerable deviance? And, what criteria are being used to classify initiation activities? Waldron and Kowalski (2009) and McGlone (2010) overcome the confusion and avoid the questions by not revealing how they classified each of Hoover's (1999) activities or not providing a complete list of activities within each of their categories utilised in their data collection and analysis.

Kirby and Wintrup (2002) argue that there is a discrepancy between what technical researchers, specifically Hoover (1999), have identified as hazing and what athletes self-identified as hazing. Table 2.2 reveals that a significant gap exists between how

many participants are researcher-identified as being hazed and how many athletes self-identify as having been hazed. The ambiguity of what constitutes hazing created by the discrepancy between researcher-identified hazing activities and participant athlete-identified hazing activities is further compounded by the inconsistent views of athletes. Kirby and Wintrup (2002, p. 72) note that "... amongst athletes, there is considerable disagreement over what constitutes hazing" since performing the same activity can be viewed vastly differently by different athletes socialised into the same sport culture and subculture.

2.3.3 Masculine Sport Culture

McGlone (2010) and Waldron and Kowalski (2009) utilise sport culture and subculture to either explain or explore the discrepancy between technical researcher identification and athlete identification of hazing. McGlone (2010) identifies NCAA sport as a subculture of the larger cultural institution of sport to explore the discrepancy. McGlone (2010) utilises Donnelly and Young's (1988, pp. 223-5) conception of subculture: they define subcultures as "small social structures within the larger dominant culture". A subculture exists when a group shares values, attitudes, social practices (e.g., rituals), language, and symbols (e.g., clothing) that differentiates and separates it from the larger dominate culture (Donnelly & Young, 1988). McGlone (2010) asserts that the NCAA subculture includes different groups and she selects administrators and athletes to explore hazing perceptions. She does not specifically discuss gender; however, her research does fill a gender gap in technical research by targeting female athletes and administrators as research participants. Hoover (1999) discovered that slight differences between male and female hazing activities do exist. Subsequent technical research has largely ignored

gender by aggregating the responses of female and male athlete participants.

Targeting females as participants provides unique information pertaining to "both the

extent and perceived severity of hazing in women's collegiate athletics" (McGlone,

2010, p. 119). McGlone (2010) asserts that hazing activities and perceptions are

gendered. Gendered hazing differences exist because the socialisation process within

society and the masculine dominated culture of the institution of sport is gendered in

order to reinforce constructions of gender appropriate roles.

As a social institution, sport is "one of the central sites in the social production of

masculinity in societies" (Whitson, 1990, p. 19) that promotes the masculine ideal

image (Connell, 1987). Sport socially excludes others on the basis of gender, race,

disability, age, geography, and sexuality (Collins, 2008) or non-masculine groups

that do not possess and demonstrate ideal virtues of masculinity. Kay and Jeanes

(2008, p. 131) argue that "... the increasing prominence of women in other areas of

society ... leaves sport as one of the few areas left in the public domain where ...

constructs of masculinity are acceptable". Masculinity is constructed within sport by

Kirby et al. (2000) as being a homogenous dominant culture that exists to some

extent in the majority of subgroup sports. Dominant sport culture possesses three

primary constructs that perpetuate masculinity - development of a nation; upward

mobility; and sex, sexuality, and the family. These three categorical constructs

possesses seven cultural imperatives - patriotism/nationalism, militarism,

competition, media sport, work ethic, heterosexism/hypersexuality, and familism -

that dictate the shape of decisions and actions for those who have been socialised to

possess a masculine sport identity (Kirby et al., 2000).

The nation development categorical imperatives (patriotism/nationalism and militarism) possess elements of traditional masculinity (aggression, resiliency, toughness, focused perception, pride, and self-control/control) and team cohesion. These elements construct a masculine identity that requires athletes to display similar social practices as those found among military personnel. Athletes are provided with team uniforms and expected to adhere to and demonstrate: developing an espirit de corps with team members, following commands, and making self-sacrifices when required in order to win for the team (Kirby et al., 2000).

Sport masculinity's upward mobility construct perpetuates competition and work ethic cultural imperatives. These imperatives promote individualism and the masculinity elements of competition, independence, aggression, toughness, focused perception, self-assertion, and rationality. These cultural imperatives inform the athlete that they "train and perform within a competitive environment" (Kirby et al., 2000, p. 109). Athletes are constantly competing against something, someone, or even themselves. Successful attainment of personal and team goals can only occur if the athlete makes personal sacrifices and pushes themselves to work hard and diligently. These masculine cultural imperative values are reinforced by public media discourses. The media often emphasises and exacerbates competition and the level of violence of masculine constructed sport (Kirby et al., 2000). It also has a tendency to identify and single out exceptionally skilled and/or winning athletes to make them sporting heroes. In the media, "the cultural polarities are clear: sport is a wholesome place for you and sport is a violent place where you have to learn to take care of yourself" (Kirby et al., 2000, p. 111). A decline in performance jeopardises

status, position, and rewards since anyone performing below par and/or losing is replaceable.

The heterosexism/hypersexuality imperatives of the sex, sexuality and family construct sport as a heteronormative masculine culture. Kirby et al. (2000) assert that sport is the domain of an organisational masculine culture that promotes the homogeneity of heterosexual, tough, competitive, and aggressive males. Kauer and Krane (2006) state that a heteronormative masculine culture typically exists in institutions which were historically dominated by males and that promoted male gender and masculinity. Hence, males establish and propagate various discourses that promote, reinforce, and demonstrate heterosexual masculinity within sport. Athletes are led within the social institution of sport to possess and demonstrate masculine traits and to conform to the ideal masculine/manly image that overcomes obstacles to win. Hypersexuality provides an avenue for athletes to demonstrate sport-based heteronormative masculinity. "The ideal image of a male athlete presumes characteristics of great virility and super-active sexual (and heterosexual) appetite" (Kirby et al., 2000, p. 114). This masculine cultural imperative seeks to prevent athletes from demonstrating inferior feminine characteristics and to consider those constructed as weaker (i.e., females, homosexuals, non-athletic males) as being equal or superior. Possessing non-heteronormative masculine characteristics implies being unfit to do the job of man and designates a lower status (Weinstein, Smith & Wiesenthal, 1995; Young, McTeer & White, 1994).

The familism imperative of the sex, sexuality, and the family category counters the individuality and independence elements of heteronormative masculine sport culture.

These sport-based cultural values embed within athletes the importance of other group members. Kirby et al. (2000) assert that sport organisations (sport governing bodies or teams) are constructed to reflect the traditional patriarchal family. Administrators/Coaches are 'parents' and athletes are 'children' (with athletes on the same team like 'siblings'). The sport organisation 'family' emphasises loyalty, cooperation, and the ability to command and obey, including the command to make self-sacrifices (i.e., physical and moral courage). A basic tenet of any family is to keeps one's family troubles within the family, hence the *dome of silence*. The dome of silence refers to how sport family members keep quiet about pertinent issues, such as harassment and abuse, to protect the sport or team from outsiders and to avoid the risk of ruining the reputation of the family (Kirby et al., 2000).

Kirby et al.'s (2000) sport culture imperatives are reflected in, and similar to, Hughes and Coakley's (1991) four sport ethic values. The cultural imperatives are a broad range of general masculine sport cultural values and normative behaviours that construct an athletic identity, both in and outside of sport training and competition. In comparison, the sport ethic values are a specific subset of key masculine sport values that are utilised by athletes to assure compliance with the cultural imperatives during training and competition. Thus, these cultural imperatives, as well as the sport ethic values, are the foundation that construct the power and performance model of sport. "This model, especially common in men's sport, focuses on strength and power to dominate others, views opponents as enemies, uses a hierarchical authority structure, and regards the body as a weapon or machine" (Waldron & Krane, 2005, p. 315). Waldron and Krane (2005) utilise this model to develop a conceptual framework that is later used by Waldron and Kowalski (2009) to explain both why

athletes first perform researcher-identified hazing activities and why they do not or are reluctant to identify these social practices as hazing.

Waldron and Krane's (2005) health compromising behaviours framework seeks to explain why female athletes perform unhealthy and risky masculine activities, including hazing. They assert that female athletes "adopt the power and performance approach" (Waldron & Krane, 2005, p. 315) to gain equality and athletic acceptance within the existing male-dominated and constructed institution of sport. In the process of seeking all the rewards - acceptance, social status, respect, and privilege - of the power and performance sport model, female athletes overconform to the sport ethic values. The strong adherence of female athletes to men's sport culture, particularly aggression and domination, consequently results in deviant health-compromising behaviour (Waldron & Krane, 2005).

Waldron and Kowalski (2009) aggregate their data on researcher-identified hazing participants and apply the female-oriented athlete health compromising framework to all athletes, regardless of gender. This suggests that hazing activities and perceptions within masculine sport culture are not gendered. McGlone's (2010) results indicate that gender differences do not exist but rather that differences in hazing perception lie in the role (i.e., athlete or administrator) one has in sport. According to McGlone (2010), the majority of Senior Women Administrators and Athletic Directors (mainly males) identified almost all the same activities as hazing (see Table 2.2). In comparison, the majority of female athletes did not "correctly identify" hazing activities (McGlone, 2010, p. 125). This indicates that female athletes perceive and indentify hazing in a similar way to their male counterparts.

Waldron and Kowalski (2009) assert that female and male athletes perform and perceive overconformity deviant hazing similarly because of masculine sport values. Male and female athletes are socialised into the same power and performance model and utilise the sport ethic values to adhere to the sport cultural imperatives.

For Waldron and Kowalski (2009), the sport cultural imperatives are the reason a hazing perception discrepancy exists between athletes and other groups (i.e., administrators and researchers). They assert that the masculine values serve first as the foundation utilised by athletes to perform hazing and then as the reason athletes are reluctant to identify hazing. Waldron and Kowalski (2009, p. 299) state "the dome of silence [constructed by the imperatives] ... depicts an unquestioning adherence to the sport ethic, especially making sacrifices for the game, and the overwhelming desire to garner approval from teammates". Breaking the silence to identify hazing is perceived as: questioning the sport ethic, unwillingness to follow the sport cultural imperatives by demonstrating weakness and feminine traits, and potentially resulting in an athlete being shunned by teammates for specifically not adhering to, and reinforcing, the power structure while exposing family secrets (Bryshun & Young, 1999; Kirby & Wintrup, 2002; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009). McGlone (2010) provides an additional rationale for the hazing dome of silence by athletes – the legality of hazing activities. She states that "there may be some reluctance to classify an activity as hazing, due to the fact ... these activities might be illegal. Administrators and athletes who reside in states which have anti-hazing laws may be reluctant to label an activity as hazing" (McGlone, 2010, p. 128). McGlone (2010) asserts that the dome of silence is only one of two reasons that a hazing perception discrepancy exists between athletes and administrators. She further

supports Kirby and Wintrup's (2002) position that a lack of definitional agreement

on hazing hinders the ability to address it. Only a standard definition of hazing and a

common educational program for everyone in sport can lead to the elimination of

hazing (McGlone, 2010). In comparison, Kowalski and Waldron (2010) assert that

coaches are instrumental in preventing hazing from occurring. Coaches have the

authority to ensure that proactive anti-hazing strategies (i.e., researcher-approved

positive activities as substitutes for initiations) are successfully implemented

(Kowalski & Waldron, 2010).

2.3.4 Emancipatory Knowledge of Sport Initiations

Tables 2.1 and 2.3 identify that the emancipatory researchers – Johnson (2000, 2006)

and Caperchione (2001) - focus on the unequal power distribution of the patriarchal

hierarchal structure within heteronormative masculine sport subculture as both the

reason for and solution to sport hazing. As with McGlone (2010), these researchers

utilise Donnelly and Young's (1988) concept of subculture to identify that university

sport includes various roles, each with a different level of power. Specifically, four

groups are considered key in the area of initiation: those of rookie/novice athletes,

veteran athletes, coaches, and administrators. Rookies possess the least amount of

power and consequently are hazed by veterans that seek to instil masculine sport

culture imperatives while perpetuating the "cycle of initiation" (Johnson, 2000, p.

103). Johnson (2000) identifies that university administrators posses policy power

over coaches and athletes. During a time of hazing moral panic, administrators

unilaterally develop and implement anti-hazing policies. According to Johnson

(2000), athletes typically make structural changes (e.g., moving them off campus,

designated athletes staying sober) rather than cultural (i.e., changing the activities) to

Researchers	Moralist Approach	Conception of Initiation and Hazing Utilised for/Emerged from Research Study	Target Participants	Data Collection Method	Response Rate	Major Findings
Johnson, 2000	Strong Absolute	Initiations are a gendered socialisation, identity formation and rites of passage process that possesses positive and negative aspects within its' three stages, that of: separation/pre-initiation anxiety, luminal/transition – hazing, and integration/temporary membership. As a cycle, initiations reinforce heteronormative sport masculinity, and establishes or reproduces hierarchal power-based structure/relations while educating membership of appropriate subcultural conduct. Initiations should be replaced with transitional orientations that do not create moral panics since they emphasis group bonding rather than power imbalances.	Athletes, coaches, and administrators from two Canadian universities Athletes: 12 (6 male, 6 female) representing 9 sports Coaches: 3 Athletic Directors: 2	Interviews		"Both male and female initiations function to establish a gender and sexuality order. Male and female athletes are being socialized into that structure which features elements of hegemonic masculinity". p. 171 "Most male initiations tend to be more violent and 'brutal' than female initiations". p. 171 "The timing of this study coincided with a minor moral panic, in response to which both universities responded by instituting policies designed to curb such customs". p. 166 "As a consequence of the introduction of specific policies by several universities addressing the initiation practices of their varsity teams, the practice of hazing for the most part has been driven underground. Most teams reacted to the policies by making superficial rather than structural changes in a bid to preserve their ability to maintain their cycle of rite of passage". p. 172
Johnson, 2006			Athletes: 16 (8, male, 8 female) Coaches: 4 (2 male, 2 female)	Interviews of university athletes and coaches who attended an orientation session	Data from 7 male athletes, 5 female athletes and 4 coaches was utilised	"The orientation ceremony was found to be an effective replacement for traditional forms of entry rituals as it creates a more egalitarian plane which diminishes veteran-rookie power imbalances, restructures the team hierarchy and allows for a more democratic environment". p. ii "Although all traditional forms of hazing were not completely eliminated after their orientation event on the teams that participated, it was effective in humanizing the first year players and creating a kinship which did lessen the extent to which they were hazed during their team organized ceremony". p. ii

Researchers	Moralist Approach	Conception of Initiation and Hazing Utilised for/Emerged from Research Study	Target Participants	Data Collection Method	Response Rate	Major Findings
Caperchione, 2001	Strong Absolute	Hazing, or initiations, are gendered socialisation, identity formation and rites of passage process that possesses positive and negative aspects within it. Initiations reinforce heteronormative sport masculinity, which normalises health compromising actions such as enduring pain, and establishes or reproduces hierarchal power-based structure/relations while educating membership of appropriate subcultural conduct.	109 Canadian university coaches (85 male, 24 female) of five team sports	Email sent out inviting participants to complete web-based survey	47 (43%) - 35 male and 12 female	"The sensitivity associated with the topic of hazing is a limitation that should also be addressed". p. 28 "Results of the analysis indicated that there were no gender differences in coaches' responses to hazing statements". p. 85 "Participants in the current study did not support any forms of hazing and attempted to maintain a zero tolerance hazing policy within their athletic program". p. 62 "communication between coaches/athletic personnel and athletes regarding hazing is inadequate. Coaches perceive things differently from their athletes, however neither party is clearly aware of this". p. 93

avoid detection and thus reinforce the dome of silence. However, Johnson (2000) discovered that athletes, especially female athletes, were open to changing initiation practices but only if they were involved in the policy process. The typical response of coaches to policy in his research was to remove themselves from the initiations and ignore them. As with technical researchers Kowalski and Waldron (2010), Johnson (2006) asserts that coaches are pivotal in eliminating hazing; coaches have patriarchal power to successfully implement anti-hazing policies and replace initiations with absolute morally approved transitional experiences.

Emancipatory researchers perceive initiations as part of an instrumental process that reproduces and entrenches masculinity within sport. The purpose of the cycle of initiation is to socialise new members by instilling the imperatives of masculinity and reinforcing gendered – specifically masculine - constructions of sport. Individuals who successfully complete the initiation process are transformed from being an outsider (of the team and sport) to an insider. Insider status in sport is closely associated with the process of gendering athletic identity described in the previous section; only those aligned with stereotypically masculine values are accepted. The insiders then repeat the initiation cycle to transform subsequent outsiders to insiders. Johnson (2000, 2006) and Caperchione (2001) assert that the gendering process within sport culture constructs initiation activities and perceptions in particular ways.

Johnson (2000) gives qualitative support to Hoover's (1999) quantitative findings that gender initiation differences exist. Hoover (1999) showed that female athletes participated in more acceptable initiation activities and alcohol-related hazing

activities. Male athletes participated in more physical and degrading activities. Johnson (2000) found that, although female athletes performed similar initiation activities to their male counterparts, females had constructed them in a different manner. Female initiations focused on altruism and inclusion whilst male initiations concentrated on degradation and exclusion. According to Johnson, (2000, pp. 119-20) "Men tended to be more brutal and exacting of their demands of the rookies. Male initiations tended to involve both private and public forms of nudity as well as involving sexual games and sexual acts". Although female initiations also possessed a highly sexualised element - wearing sexually explicit, revealing, and degrading outfits - the women often highlighted their femininity and portrayed themselves as explicitly heterosexual, highly sexual women. Public nudity was not common in female initiations while male initiations had more defined and explicit sexual content (Johnson, 2000). However, the prevalence of female sport hazing in media reports has indicated that a transformation of female initiations has occurred. This has led Johnson and Holman (2009, p. 6) to state "women's teams have adopted and enforced hazing rituals similar to those of male teams, rife with humiliation, degradation, and brutality". Although this transformation raises many questions, the fundamental one is posed by Lenskyj (1999, p. 171): "If sport makes boys into (heterosexual) men, then what does it do to girls?"

In his second study, Johnson (2006) sought to evaluate the impact of implementing an initiation alternative orientation. Specifically, he examines how successful the alternative orientations are in effecting change within the male sport culture, notably the masculine patriarchal power hierarchy aspect of the culture, and eliminating abusive, degrading, and humiliating hazing. Johnson (2006) empowered athletes in

the orientation process by acting as a facilitator between university administrators, who implemented an anti-hazing policy, and individual sport teams. Athletes were given an opportunity to have input on the alternative team-building, non-competitive, and non-alcohol orientation activities at the weekend retreat. Johnson (2006) found that the success of the orientation as a team bonding event that socialised rookies onto the team and diminished the hierarchal team power imbalance was dependent on coaches. The more committed and valued the coach perceived the orientation to be, the more successful the orientation. He found that male coaches of hyper-masculine aggressive male team sports were the least supportive of the orientation. The athletes from these teams found some of the activities to be feminine and made them feel uncomfortable (e.g., males having to hold hands in a public space) or they perceived them as pointless due to the lack of a competitive physical component.

The majority of teams at the orientation had an initiation, with alcohol consumption, later on in the academic year. The orientation, despite generating the same outcomes of socialisation and team bonding that initiations are argued to do, failed to replace initiations as an alternative event. However, as indicated in Table 2.3, the orientation did impact on the initiations that were conducted. Some of the athletes stated the benefits (e.g., team bonding) of the 'public' orientation were present in the 'private' initiation. The initiation was transformed to possess a non-threatening and respective environment. Rookies attended a party where they: knew everyone, consumed alcohol, and completed fun activities (Johnson, 2006).

Coaches have been identified as pivotal actors in eliminating hazing yet initiation research has largely ignored them. Caperchione (2001) identified this research gap

and sought the hazing perceptions of male and female Canadian university coaches. Her overall finding, identified in Table 2.3, was that no gendered attitudinal differences existed amongst coaches. Additionally, the majority of coaches disapproved of hazing but were not pro-active in communicating their anti-hazing stance. However, she notes that two key factors could have affected the results. The first is the previous initiation experiences that coaches may or may not have had as athletes, which would have affected their perceptions of the questions being posed to them. Secondly, Caperchione (2001, p. 28) states "the sensitivity associated with the topic of hazing is a limitation. ... The climate around hazing may influence the respondents to answer in the most politically correct manner. In addition, some of the sample may decline participation in the research due to the [sensitive] nature of the study". So, Caperchione (2001) posits that sport initiation research is a sensitive research topic.

Sensitive research topics are typically controversial topics that address important social policy issues (Sieber & Stanley, 1988), involve deviant behaviour (Lee & Renzetti, 1990), produce distasteful findings, and can physically and/or emotionally drain the researcher (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen & Liamputtong, 2007, 2009; Johnson & Clarke, 2003). Lee and Renzetti (1990, p. 5) state: "a sensitive topic is one that potentially poses for those involved a substantial threat, the emergence of which renders problematic for the researcher and/or the researched the collection, holding, and/or dissemination of research data". Lee (1993, p. 4) elaborates by stating: "sensitive topics … involve potential costs to those involved ... including ... the researcher ... [Where] the potential costs ... go beyond the incidental or the merely onerous". The sensitive researcher needs to address the fears and concerns

that individuals and groups may have regarding the potential impacts on the participant. These concerns generally revolve around the issues of confidentiality and anonymity for participants who sometimes fear the consequences of revealing illegal, deviant or stigmatising activities (Stanko & Lee, 2003). They also include the emotional and physical well-being of the participant who provides private and/or emotionally charged information that potentially has never been revealed before by them (Lee, 1993; Stanko & Lee, 2003). For sensitive topic researchers to collect reliable information that accurately represents the phenomenon under study and that is not hedged with mistrust and concealment, they must establish a trusting rapport with the participant; the participant must feel comfortable that they will not be exposed, morally judged, or sanctioned (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007; Lee, 1993; Sanko & Lee, 2003). A key characteristic of sensitive research topics is that they are ethically challenging (Lee, 1993). The potential cost to the participant is typically addressed within the academic research process since, in any project, there is a focus in prior ethical review systems to ensure participants are respected as human beings and treated to a minimal ethical standard. Researchers are required to address how they will minimise the impact and prevent any undue harm or consequence to participants. However, the impact/cost on the researcher is often ignored by universities.

A main finding from Johnson and Clarke's (2003) study on sensitive topic researchers was that these researchers often felt ill prepared to work in uncharted territory."Emphasis had been placed too heavily on procedures for accessing participants and data analysis, with little or no orientation to the kinds of difficulties and concerns they might encounter during the research process" (Johnson & Clarke,

2003, p. 424). This is a mitigating circumstance for sensitive researchers to experience feelings/symptoms – guilt, exhaustion, disconnection from peers, and social withdrawal – that Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) identified as traumatisation. These feelings can initially develop at the start of the research project and continue as the sensitive topic researcher encounters the multiple challenges of confronting and overcoming the resistance of collecting potentially deep personal, private, personally threatening, and painful experiences from participants (Johnson & Clarke, 2003; Lee, 1993), analysing and reporting the data (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007, 2009; Johnson & Clarke, 2003; Lee, 1993; Scarr, 1988) while feeling isolated and unsupported by academic institutions and colleagues (Johnson & Clarke, 2003).

Researchers tackling sensitive topics can be ostracised (Scarr, 1988) or harassed (Sieber & Stanley, 1988) by colleagues leading them to feel isolated and alone. Lee (1993, p. 34) refers to this as "chilling" by colleagues and peers. "Chilling occurs when researchers … are deterred from producing or disseminating research on a particular topic ... [and] face marginalization, negative labelling or sanction. They must cope ... with hostile professional opinion [and/or working environment]" (Lee, 1993, pp. 34-5). Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) and Johnson and Clarke (2003) identify the importance of informal peer and family support for sensitive researchers. "This informal peer [and family] support is very important for researchers particularly as the concept of emotion [sensitive] work is undervalued within the university culture" (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007, pp. 73-4). Consequently, the sensitive research project can potentially dominate the life of the researcher, as if almost every aspect of their life – physical and emotional well-being as well as professional and personal relationships - is affected by it. This indicates that a sensitive researcher's reflexive

account will reveal the personal and professional difficulties and hardships encountered while conducting the research (see Chapters Five and Seven).

2.3.5 Practical Knowledge of Sport Initiations

According to Table 2.1, practical sport initiation research, similar to emancipatory research, has been driven by graduate students (Bryshun, 1997; Hinkle, 2005; Taylor of Taylor & Fleming, 2000; Wintrup, 2003). However, unlike emancipatory research, it is not entirely dominated by graduate students (see Crow & MacIntosh, 2009). Additionally, whilst emancipatory research in this field has been purely Canadian-based and technical research purely American-based, practical sport initiation research studies have been conducted in America, Canada, and the UK. Finally, all technical and emancipatory researchers have adopted an absolute moral stance, however, Table 2.4 identifies only one practical researcher - Hinkle, 2005 – who adopted this moral stance.

Similar to McGlone (2010) and Waldron and Kowalski (2009), Hinkle (2005) is an American sport psychologist who seeks to tackle the ambiguity about the nature of hazing. Specifically, she seeks to explain the large disparity between researcher-identified and athlete-identified hazing by positing a theory that is constructed upon the responses of hazed athletes to their hazing experience – hazed athletes experience cognitive dissonance (see Table 2.4). As with McGlone (2010) and Waldron and Kowalski (2009), Hinkle (2005) only focuses on hazing (the negative or unacceptable activities) and does not identify the component activities she classifies as hazing: rather, she utilises a Hoover-based definition of hazing (1999) to identify whether athlete participants are hazed.

Researchers	Moralist Approach	Conception of Initiation and Hazing Utilised for/Emerged from Research Study	Target Participants	Data Collection Method	Response Rate	Major Findings
Bryshun, 1997	Relativist	Initiation and hazing are interchangeable terms that are utilised to describe being "being rookied", which is the positive and/or negative socialisation experiences of rookie athletes constructing their athletic identity. Hazing practices exist on a continuum that utilises degree of severity as a deferential. At one end is harmless high jinks and at the other, dangerous and/or illegal activities.	30 amateur and professional athletes (16 males, 14 females) representing 11 sports.	Semi-structured interviews		"The findings show that despite increasing intemal and external attempts to police and/or eliminate hazing, many rookie athletes continue to be introduced to some form of hazing by veteran teammates". p. iii "the data in this study suggest that hazing continues to play a key role in the construction and confirmation of athletes' identities in sport subcultures". p. 97
Taylor & Fleming, 2000	Relativist	Initiations are the first organised social event that occurs in the academic year where the purpose for all club members is to consume excessive amounts of alcohol. This allows for group bonding and identity construction.	Female rugby club at a British university	Ethnographic participant observation		"in spite of the shared aspects of subcultural activity common to men's rugby, there was also an ability to construct their own identity to suit their own needs, and a willingness to challenge some of the societally prescribed notions of femininity". p. 147
Wintrup, 2003	Relativist	Initiations can be a positive or negative socialisation, team bonding, identity formation process for newcomers. Placed on a continuum, positive initiations are referred to as bonding and negative initiations are referred to as hazing, harassment and abuse, and severe injury/death. The intensity of the activity, as well in correlation to all other activities, rather than the activity itself, determines whether hazing occurs.	100 Provincial athletes (50 male, 50 female) representing 17 sports.	Mailed out questionnaire	43% (17 males, 24 Females)	"Respondents in this study categorized the activities differently than in the Hoover (1999) study…of the 68% of athletes that reported consuming alcohol in this study, 0% believed it was a negative or very negative experience". p. 158

Table 2.4: Practical Researchers' Hazing Conceptions and Findings

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Researchers	Moralist Approach	Conception of Initiation and Hazing Utilised for/Emerged from Research Study	Target Participants	Data Collection Method	Response Rate	Major Findings
Hinkle, 2005	Strong Absolutism	Hazed athletes experience cognitive dissonance to downplay, rationalise and justify their experiences in order to remain in sport, the sport subculture and retain their athletic identity.	14 undergraduate and graduate courses at one university	Questionnaires administered at the beginning of lecture seminars	284 completed questionnaires	"participants rated their experiences at a lower level of severity than the nature of the activity may have warranted…[due to the] dissonance as a result of their hazing experience that caused them to understate the actual severity of the incident in an effort to reduce dissonance". p. 107
Crow & MacIntosh, 2009	Relativist	There is a difference between initiations and hazing. Hazing is complex and has different levels to it. Initiations and hazing are on a continuum of severity and impact.	11 university athletes (4 male, 7 female) 10 coaches and administrators (5 male, 5 female)	Two focus group interviews. One with athletes the other with coaches.		"The overriding theme that emerged from both focus groups was that hazing occurs, yet is misunderstood by the majority of stakeholders involved. Student-athletes wanted to be able to continue safe, yet meaningful initiations, but longed for guidance about what was acceptable. Coach and administrator participants were equally unclear about the definition of hazing, and desired a better understanding to protect themselves, the university and their student-athletes". p. 446

Hinkle (2005) constructs her sport hazing cognitive dissonance theory on the premise that everyone views researcher-identified hazing the same way, regardless of the culture or subculture they have been socialised into; researcher-identified hazing is thus abusive and involves unacceptable activities. According to Hinkle (2005), prior to entering the sport subculture and constructing an athletic identity, athletes agree with researchers' hazing perceptions. The strong desire to possess an athletic identity propels athletes to perform their sport subculture's traditional initiations. However, it is the strong commitment to the athletic identity and the desire to remain in sport that propels hazed athletes to minimise the cognitive discomfort of being hazed and to disagree with researcher-identified hazing. Hinkle (2005) asserts that athletes will typically classify their hazing activities as less severe and negative than they actually are: however, they actually agree, or did do prior to their hazing experience, with absolute moralist researcher hazing perceptions. This suggests that the perceptions of initiated athlete on hazing should not be considered or valued in research since they possess cognitive dissonance and will provide untrustworthy data. Other practical researchers assert there are sport subcultures and disagree that being initiated always causes cognitive discomfort, discussed below.

Bryshun (1997) argues that gendered athlete identity formation within the subculture of sport is based on rookies being initiated/hazed. Table 2.4 shows that initiations, or 'being rookied', is a either positive or negative socialisation process for rookies. Specifically, rookies (male and female) are socialised into a masculine culture, which promotes and rationalises the cultural imperatives of sport (Bryshun identifies these as aggression, violence, pain and a patriarchal power hierarchy where rookies possess little power), by veterans who possess a greater amount of hierarchical

power. He posits that research and discussion of initiations should be both gender-
and sport-specific rather than generalised; also, differences may exist within
different sport subcultures.

His qualitative research on modern Canadian sport initiations was conducted during
the mid 1990s, prior to the strong onset of a moral panic about hazing and before
North American sport initiations were identified as a sensitive research topic.
However, Bryshun (1997) noted that, at the time, the growing Canadian public
awareness of sports violence was contributing to the creation of a hazing moral
panic. According to Bryshun (1997), previous initiation practices that were deemed
as tolerable deviance, were beginning to be perceived instead as morally
unacceptable deviance.

Bryshun (1997) found that only subtle initiation/hazing differences existed amongst
all his participants; gender or sport mattered little in athletes' experiences with
initiations. However, he noted that female sport initiation socialisation processes
were not characterised by the same degree of machismo and aggression as their male
counterparts. According to Bryshun (1997), sport initiations exist on a continuum
(see Table 2.4) and female initiations were less severe than male initiations.
Common initiation themes that emerged from Bryshun's (1997) data of all athlete
participants were:

- occurred in private and public spaces,
- scare tactics (e.g., exaggerating/hyping the activities prior to the event;
  blindfolding the rookie and have things done to them or have them do things,
  such as reaching into a toilet to get a beer that has cutup bananas in it),

- various physical activities (e.g., The Gong Show - rookies perform skits to entertain veterans; or The Pickle Race – running a race with a pickle inserted into their buttocks, with the loser eating their pickle),

- alcohol consumption (e.g., drinking contests),

- nudity or partial nudity (e.g., The Naked Run - naked athletes have to run around in public; The Holocaust - naked rookies have to search for their clothing, which has been tied together and soaked in water, either in an unlit washroom or in a ditch in the middle of winter; The Elephant Walk - naked rookies slowly waking in a line while each rookie is holding the penis of the individual behind him),

- physically punish rookie athletes (e.g., tying one end of a string to an athlete's penis and the other end is thrown over a stick where a bucket is suspended from it and rocks are thrown into the bucket), and

- organised by veterans, who exercised power over rookies, with the intent to embarrass/humiliate the rookie in order to assess the rookie's commitment to the team and the sport subculture they have been socialised into as well as to create their athletic identity.

In my previous masters degree research, I sought to establish athlete perceptions on initiations and hazing (Wintrup, 2003). Of the 41 respondents, 98% reported having experienced an initiation activity of some kind. The majority of these, 83% (94% of males and 75% of females), reported participating in three or more activities that Hoover (1999) identified as hazing activities but the athletes identified as primarily being positive activities. The participants struggled with the ambiguity between initiations and hazing but the majority of them indicated there was a difference. The

quantitative and qualitative responses of the athletes were combined with Bryshun's (1997) hazing continuum and Kirby and Wintrup's (2002) process of identity consolidation to develop an initiation and hazing model (see Figure 2.2).

Kirby and Wintrup (2002) expand upon Bryshun's (1997) concept of being rookied as a gendered athlete identity formation process within the masculine sport subculture. We view the purpose of initiations as "the use of intense activities … [to] strip away the former identity of newcomers and increase their investment in the group" (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002, p. 74). Kirby and Wintrup (2002, p. 74) argue that this athlete identity formation process typically contains the following five steps: 1). Rookies are invited to events; 2). Rookies are welcomed to the events. The welcome typically includes the consumption of alcohol (offered or forced to drink) and being mocked and taunted about their personal traits (gender, sexuality, attitudes); 3). A list of gauntlet events is prepared for the rookies to complete. Successful completion of the events results in the rookie being acknowledged as a member of the team; 4). A true welcoming and acceptance of the rookie as a full-fledged member of the team occurs and damages are repaired. Rookies are expected to show enthusiasm for being accepted as a member, confidence because they have proven themselves, and trust and loyalty to their peers; and finally 5). The dome of silence is installed, keeping the events and damages hidden from outsiders. Successful initiated athletes embrace the sport think of the team and pledge that they will not disclose their experience, including any hazing or abuse experiences.

The initiation model asserts that initiations can provide both a positive and/or negative experience for participants since initiation activities occur at different levels

Rite Levels for Athletes
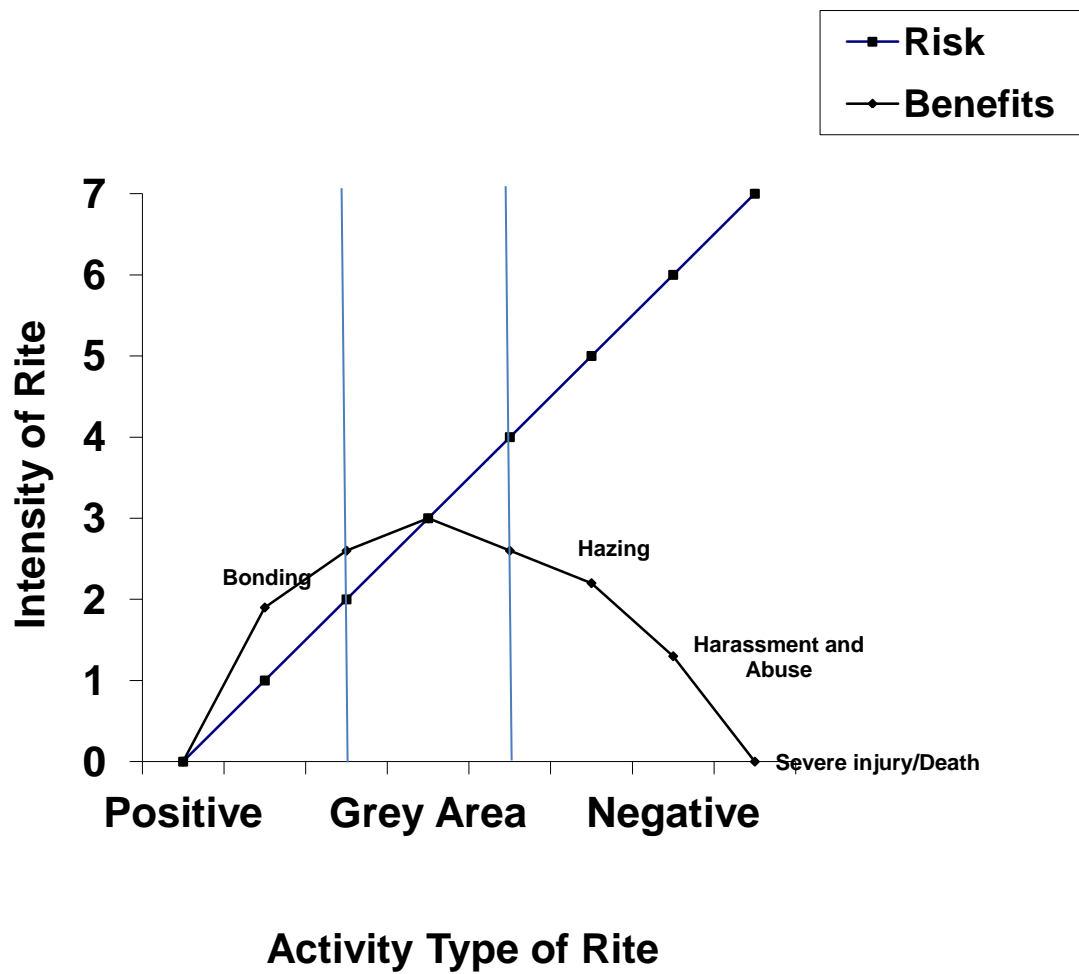
Figure 2.2: Initiation and Hazing Model. From *Sportization and Hazing: Global Sport Culture and the Differentiation of Initiation from Harassment in Canada's Sport Policy* (p. 102), by G. Wintrup, 2003, Unpublished master's thesis, Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba.

or degrees (Wintrup, 2003). Acknowledging the existence of sport subcultures, the model posits that different sport organisational cultures will construct socialisation and identity formation activities that reflect their own cultures; different athletes in different sports will potentially view the same initiation activities differently. Thus, rather than focusing microscopically on specific activities to identify hazing, the model emphasises the intensity level of the activity within the overall initiation process in order to determine hazing. As the intensity of the rite increases and the athlete finds it becoming more physically and/or mentally challenging and/or dangerous to do (e.g., the athlete performs the Pickle Run, the intensity is increased to do the Naked Run, and the intensity increases again for the Elephant Walk), the initiation moves along the continuum from a positive socialisation and group bonding experience to a negative one, where the original purpose of the initiation is subverted because the participant feels they have either been hazed or abused. Hazing occurs when an athlete is coerced into doing the initiation, depicted as "choice of one" by Kirby and Wintrup (2002, p. 74), or consents to being initiated based on what they know about the intent of the initiators. Rookies do not need to know the exact activities they will perform during the initiation in order to consent; only the intensity level needs to be known. They consent to being initiated based on what they perceive is the intent of the initiators and on their understanding of the risk of the activities (e.g., the athlete is informed there will be nudity but no sexual based activities, such as sodomy or masturbation). If the veterans' intent is for a positive experience to occur and the rookie does not signal it to end, because it is the stage of imminent acceptance (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002), then it is 'just' hazing. Hazing occurs because either the activities were originally not planned or the intensity level was not fully acknowledged or understood before the initiation began. In

comparison, harassment and abuse occur during an initiation rite when valid consent conditions have not been met (incapacitation, misleading, fear and force, and abuse of authority). However, whether it is a positive or negative experience, a new athletic identity has been constructed by the rookie athlete.

The last North American based sport initiation research to be identified here was conducted by an American and a Canadian - Crow and MacIntosh (2009). They sought to address the ambiguity of what constitutes hazing created by technical researchers (discrepancy between researchers' and athletes' perspectives). Specifically, they tackled the root cause initially identified by Kirby and Wintrup (2002, p. 67) who said: "a lack of definitional agreement on hazing has meant that comparative research across sport cultures and across national borders is virtually impossible". The subjective nature of initiation activities being culturally perceived as acceptable by some and deviant and abusive by others has consequently: accelerated the confusion of the meaning of hazing (the same activity is constructed as both acceptable and unacceptable), impeded regulation, and hindered efforts to eradicate it (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002). Crow and MacIntosh (2009) posit that a definition of hazing constructed upon the views of university athletes, coaches, and administrators is required to effectively address the issue of sport hazing.

Crow and MacIntosh (2009, p. 439) conducted two focus group interviews to explore the conceptual/definitional and contextual nature of hazing. "The overall analysis of the two focus groups revealed that neither the student-athletes nor the coaches/administrations could agree on a definition of hazing" (Crow & MacIntosh, 2009, p. 441). Both focus groups identified that a 'grey area' existed between

initiations and hazing, as had Wintrup (2003) and Allen and Madden (2008). Although a distinction between initiation and hazing was made by the participants, the imaginary line between the two was unclear due to the differences in their sport subcultures about what constituted hazing. A consensus was found amongst athletes that there were different levels to hazing; initiations and hazing were placed on a continuum of severity and impact - similar to the continuum conceived by Bryshun (1997) and later elaborated upon in Wintrup (2003). However, Crow and MacIntosh (2009) found that there was a debate amongst their athlete participants about where activities fell on that continuum: the same activity was judged as harmless by some and damaging by others. This potentially means that what is considered a positive initiation activity within one sport subculture is a negative activity in a different sport subculture. Additionally, Crow and MacIntosh (2009) found that athletes not only viewed the severity and impact of activities differently amongst themselves but also took different views than did administrators and coaches. Allowing participants to identify activities as hazing reveals the subjective, dynamic, and fragmented nature of hazing both amongst different groups and within each group, notably athletes, due to differing cultural perspectives. It also leads Crow and MacIntosh (2009, p. 449) to posit a new definition for future researchers and policy makers:

> Any potentially humiliating, degrading, abusive, or dangerous activity expected of a junior-ranking athlete by a more senior team-mate, which does not contribute to either athlete's positive development, but is required to be accepted as part of a team, regardless of the junior-ranking athlete's willingness to participate. This includes, but is not limited to, any activity, no matter how traditional or seemingly benign, that sets apart or alienates any team-mate based on class, number of years on the team, or athletic ability.

Whilst it should be acknowledged that the task of creating a definition that seeks to be reflective of multiple conflicting views is a difficult one, Crow and MacIntosh's (2009) hazing definition is problematic. First, implying that adults are not capable of giving consent to participate in activities when consent conditions have been met has broader implications, notably regarding the rights that individuals have over their own bodies. Secondly, identifying hazing as abuse or implying that hazing is a special kind of abuse – hazing abuse – impacts on how abuse in sport is perceived. From one, absolutist perspective, abuse is abuse: in other words there is no room for interpretation. Researchers and advocates have conducted comparative studies across sport cultures and national borders to identify and establish definitions and types of abuse within sport. The purpose of this critical research has been to standardise interpretations of abuse while educating people about the damaging effects of abuse. As argued above, hazing is a highly subjective term with: no consensual definition, a mainly North America research tradition, and little that links it to abuse. To label hazing as abuse when hazing activities are culturally perceived by some as fun and beneficial, potentially minimises the seriousness of abuse within sport.

One study that provides knowledge of sport initiations outside North America, was an ethnographic participant observation on a British university women's rugby club conducted by Taylor (Taylor & Fleming, 2000). This can be considered one of the first peer-reviewed studies that examines British sport initiations. Table 2.4 identifies that Taylor and Fleming (2000) construct initiations as a social event that emphasises alcohol consumption. Team bonding and the gendered masculine rugby identity construction process occurred. Existing members (returners) were able to demonstrate appropriate values and normative behaviour to the new members

(freshers) while reinforcing the team hierarchy - returners are leaders, freshers are followers (Taylor & Fleming, 2000).

The initiation process began the day prior to the actual initiation event. According to Taylor and Fleming (2000), hyping of the initiation, or what Bryshun (1997) refers to as scare tactics, occurred. Alcohol consumption and singing were the central activities, to such extent that the entire initiation unfolded with the team sitting in a drinking circle in the back room of a pub. Upon arriving at the pub, all members were told to get a large quantity of alcohol prior to sitting in the circle. Sitting in the initiation drinking circle required following rules and conditions which Taylor and Fleming (2000) posit asserted the club's masculine ethos, hierarchical power structure, and social order. At the same time, it provided returners the chance to evaluate the extent to which freshers were adhering to the ethos and hierarchical power structure. As the initiation unfolded, members sang songs (lyrics degrading male rugby players) and freshers were required to perform activities in the middle of the drinking circle (e.g., drinking contests). Taylor and Fleming (2000, p. 141) assert that the initiation was a "deliberate act of identity construction and confirmation" which socialised freshers into the masculine rugby subculture of the women's university club. The women's initiation socialisation process intentionally replicated and valued social practices associated with male rugby clubs. Female rugby players utilised the initiation as a functional means to demonstrate and perpetuate sport masculinity.

Taylor and Fleming's (2000) study provides insights into British university sport initiations and establishes that sport initiations do occur in the UK. However, their

results cannot be generalised and there is a lack of evidence of the nature and scope of the phenomenon, such as: how widespread it is, in terms of sports and universities; what initiation practices occur within which sports; and how athletes experience initiations in general and specific initiation practices. This suggests that there is a lack of a social constructionist epistemologically based knowledge (practical cognitive interest) with which to understand how British university sport initiations are constructed.

2.4 Social Constructionism and Symbolic Interactionism

Previous research has established that initiations are a process of socialisation and athlete identity formation that occurs through the interaction of two unequal power groups. Burr (2003) and Danziger (1997) say that social construction focuses on the power that exists within established social structures and relations as well as institutionalised practices (e.g., initiations). "The manifestation of power may range all the way from limitations placed on people's actions and experiences to the infliction of pain and suffering" (Danziger, 1997, p. 410). Social construction conceptualises power as being embedded within the relations of the individuals and the discourse that occurs between them. Thus, social constructionist research targets power related issues (e.g., initiation) that exist between social inequality groups (e.g., veterans/returners and rookies/freshers), which have been constructed and sustained by institutionalised practices (e.g., masculine sport culture imperatives), in order to challenge them (Danziger, 1997). Social constructionism is arguably well suited for a research project on British university sport initiations. It places the research focus on understanding of the phenomenon of sport initiations while at the same time

acknowledging that power is embedded within the *symbolic interaction* between individuals from two different status groups.

Researchers that adopt symbolic interactionism seek to explain how "one's self concept is formed" (Jackson, 1999, p. 572). To understand human behaviour, they possess the assumption "that human beings create … the meanings things have for them ... These meanings come from interaction, and they are shaped by the self-reflections persons bring to their situation" (Denzin, 1992, p. 25). Understanding of social phenomena can only be achieved by adopting the perspective of the person or culture in which the phenomenon occurs (Mead, 1934). This requires utilising a methodology that allows researchers to interact with participants through the use of methods such as interviews or participant observation.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has identified the pivotal role of the concept of deviance in previous sport initiation research. Absolutist moral research, which adopts a low threshold for tolerable deviance that is outside the rigid range of acceptability, has dominated the research in this area. Hoover's (1999) results that focused on exposing the subcultural initiation activities of athletes as deviant and abusive has framed and contextualised the topic of sport initiations for all subsequent researchers in North America. Her results contributed to the instigation of a hazing moral panic in North America. This moral panic ebbs and flows as additional absolutist moral research results are revealed or as sport hazing is exposed in the media. Consequently, sport initiation has become a sensitive research topic where data collection is both emotionally and physically difficult creating hardship for researchers. Additionally,

the initial moral panic spurred administrators to implement anti-hazing policies and laws that utilised Hoover's (1999) conception of hazing. However, her research did not consider that the socialisation and identity formation activities involved were reflective, or potentially reflective, of the organisational masculine sport subculture of teams within different sports. Athletes', the group performing the initiation, cultural perception of hazing is not congruent with absolutist researcher-identified hazing or with anti-hazing policies. This has driven sport initiations underground where they are hidden from coaches, administrators, and society. Athletes continue to perform social practices that are considered acceptable and positive by the heteronormative masculine patriarchal cultural imperatives of sport: however, they are not susceptible to any constraints or accountability.

Absolutist moral technical researchers have sought to confirm Hoover's (1999) results while also attempting to address the ambiguity inherent within her research. Specifically, this relates to the tolerable deviant activities listed as questionable and the disparity between researcher-identified hazing and athlete-identified hazing activities. Technical researchers initially created confusion by relabeling activities (positive/acceptable activities for one researcher were negative/unacceptable for another) before addressing the hazing perception disparity. This research has produced three streams of thought: the culturally-based health compromising behaviours framework, the cognitive dissonance theory, and blaming ambiguous hazing conceptions and policies. All three adopt the underlying assumption that athletes do not know right from wrong.

Absolutist Canadian emancipatory research has sought to minimise the power imbalance that exists in sport culture, notably between veterans and rookies, while at the same time eliminating the social practices of initiations. However, these researchers suggest utilising the power imbalance inherent in patriarchal hierarchy to accomplish their objectives. In particular, the coach is seen as a pivotal actor in eliminating sport initiations and implementing alternative events. Although these alternative events do impact on initiations, they do not eliminate them as intended. Coaches are important actors in developing alternative orientations in order to develop team bonding. This has affected the initiation process by diminishing the power inequality between rookies and veteran and, possibly, reducing the severity of the initiation.

Relativistic American, Canadian, and British practical researchers have overcome barriers in this sensitive research area to provide a greater understanding of the phenomenon of sport initiations. Canadian researchers have identified both the types of initiation activities that occur within various sport subcultures and how athletes perceive these activities: they posit that initiation activities occur on a continuum of severity and risk. One British research study has examined constructions of initiations within a female university rugby club. A Canadian and American study have offered a definition of hazing that is reflective of athletes, coaches, and administrators. However, the lack of practical knowledge available on this subject, coupled with the focus of practical researchers on gathering and disseminating knowledge without much regard for how it can be utilised in policy formulation, has resulted in their results being ignored by policymakers. Arguably, a reason for this is the researchers' attempt to incorporate multiple concepts and either trying to be

reflective of *all* sport subcultures or only *one* organisational culture. The result has been a little bit of knowledge about a lot of things.

There is a clear lack of knowledge about hazing both inside and outside North America. Research reflecting all three of Habermas' (1979) cognitive interest types reveals that sport initiations are part of a socialisation process that constructs masculine athletic identities for powerless newcomers to a team's organisational culture within the subculture of sport. Utilising social constructionism to garner practical knowledge on the phenomenon of British university sport initiations has many research advantages. A hazing moral panic has been created and continues to occur in North America, due in part to research that seeks to expose the phenomenon. In contrast, as of 2006, there was a definite lack of media coverage regarding British university sport initiations. The intent to understand a sensitive phenomenon like hazing, rather than to expose and condemn it, has the potential of overcoming research barriers as well as minimising the possibility of inadvertently creating a moral panic. Additionally, a greater understanding of the phenomenon in Great Britain could provide knowledge on how future research should be directed while also contributing to, and potentially providing insights into, the larger body of North American sport initiation knowledge.

CHAPTER THREE: SPORT POLICY RESEARCH

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two identified previous sport initiation and hazing research, predominantly conducted on North American university sport teams. This research, driven by the absolute moralist technical, emancipatory and practical cognitive interests, has focused on proving, examining, replacing, or understanding the ritualistic ceremonies that occur within the heteronormative masculine patriarchal subculture (as defined by Donnelly & Young, 1988) of sport. This research has been utilised for creating anti-hazing and initiation policy that is intended to regulate the cultural practices of university athletes. Chapter Three focuses on how social constructionist sport policy research will be undertaken to understand the cultural phenomenon of British university sport initiation rites. This chapter begins by conceptualising organisational culture, with an emphasis on examining the terms 'culture' and 'subculture'. The phenomenon of the initiation ritual is then situated within the concept of organisational culture by identifying its meanings and functions. This chapter concludes with identifying the sport policy process theoretical framework utilised by social constructionist policy researchers who seek useable policy knowledge about organisational cultural phenomena.

3.2 Organisational Culture

Initiation social practices occur within various societal institutions and organisations, such as fraternities/sororities (see Allen & Madden, 2008; Campo, Poulos & Sipple, 2005; Keating, Pomerantz, Pommer, Ritt, Miller & McCormick, 2005; Owen, Burke & Vichesky, 2008; Sweet, 1999) and the military (see Malszecki, 2004; Winslow,

1999). It was identified in Chapter Two that university sport initiation rituals/hazing are constructed by and reflective of the sport subculture of teams/clubs (organisations). Thus, initiations are a common phenomenon situated within sport and non-sport organisational cultures that serve as a rite of passage for newcomers, one of many rituals that people experience within organisational cultures.

3.2.1 Conceptualising Culture

Organisational culture, and specifically the term culture, is highly contested within academic circles (Alvesson, 2002; Martin, 2002; Schein, 2004). Differing conceptions of culture are conceived and/or utilised from across academic disciplines that are reflective of various theoretical paradigms and epistemologies. This debate is further confused by the multiple cultural aspects – ideology, values, rituals, and stories – that researchers explore across different organisations and organisational subcultures (Alvesson, 1987). The concept of culture itself provides various research avenues. It allows for a wide range of research projects that explore the meanings of symbols, functions, and power relations of organisational groups (Jarvie, 2006). Here, the concept of culture is explored in order to conceptualise it coherently prior to its utilisation in relation to organisational culture.

Constructionist scholars (Alvesson, 2002; Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg, & Martin, 1985; Martin, 2002; Pettigrew, 1979; Schein, 2004; Smircich, 1983) exploring organisational culture utilise Berger and Luckmann's (1966) social constructionism as an intellectual base (Strandgaard Pedersen & Dobbin, 2006). Additionally, the social constructionist work of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) is used to initiate their definition of culture. Geertz (1973, p. 89) defines culture as "an

historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life". A social constructionist definition of culture posits that culture is a communicative and social process that creates meaning for individuals (Hecht, Baldwin & Faulkner, 2006).

Alvesson (2002, p. 4) argues that "meaning refers to how an object [event, idea, experience] or an utterance is interpreted". Meaning affects - and is affected by - social processes through these interpretations by determining the significance of objects, events, ideas, experiences, and speech within a culture (e.g., the importance to individuals of completing a sport initiation ritual). Thus, culture is the mental phenomenon that individuals utilise to guide their behaviour/social practice (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008). A social practice assumes a distinct observable form/function – discourse/language, symbols, and rituals - which then informs social interaction (Wuthnow & Witten, 1988) to deal with and/or prevent uncertainty. Individuals within a particular group will subscribe to similar values in order to view and think about reality in a similar manner (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008). Culture does not refer to structures found within a particular society, organisational group or team; rather, it refers to meanings and functions (Hecht et al., 2006) that create and are found within structures. To this extent, meanings precede function and structure (Faulkner, Baldwin, Lindsley & Hecht, 2006); however, culture transmits meanings, functions, and processes (norms, values, social structures, or structures of dominance) constructed by a group to make sense of the world to new members (Faulkner et al., 2006). New members are indoctrinated into the culture through

various processes and functions, including initiation rituals that serve the purpose of a rite of passage from outsider to insider: the rituals also express, transmit, and celebrate culturally imperative meanings. The constructed structure of the initiation ritual – the activities performed, the location, other functions (symbols and language) present and utilised – will be dependent on the extent to which the *sub*group's values *deviate* from the dominant culture.

Chapter Two identified that multiple previous sport initiation researchers (Bryshun, 1997; Johnson, 2000, 2006; McGlone, 2010; Waldron & Kowalski, 2009) utilised the concept of subculture as posited by Donnelly and Young (1988). Crosset and Beal (1997), however, suggest that sport sociologists and ethnographers, such as Donnelly and Young (1988), have misused the term subculture by overextending its true meaning. Donnelly (1985) argues that sport ethnographers need to situate their findings on sports, sport teams, and athletic identity formation within a broader social and historical context. The sport phenomenon being studied should be constructed in relation to the three levels of cultural production: dominant culture (the broadest shared cultural meanings and functions), parent culture (groups located within the dominant culture that have ascribed characteristics, such as age or class), and subculture (groups that possess achieved characteristics or deviant social practices). Donnelly's (1985) and Donnelly and Young's (1988) conception of subculture is relevant to a significant number of sport phenomena, with multiple and diverse cultural meanings and functions, under the broad homogenous meaning of subculture. Crosset and Beal (1997), on the other hand, advocate that sport sociologists utilise a fourth term, 'subworld', to clarify the extent to which the phenomenon under study is deviant from, and culturally resisting, the dominant

culture. A subworld group is thus one that possesses cultural meanings and functions that are similar to the dominant culture (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In comparison, a subcultural group possesses deviant cultural meanings and functions that resist the dominant mainstream culture. Limiting the scope of subculture and introducing the social constructionist concept of subworld in this way provides researchers a stronger explanatory frame of reference (Crosset & Beal, 1997) since different sub-organisational groups demonstrate different sub-organisational cultures. Additionally, it provides an opportunity for a greater understanding of sport phenomenon.

In her research on sexual abuse in sport, Brackenridge (2001) identifies that most sport cultures would be considered a subworld of the dominant sport culture. However, sport, and thus the dominant sport culture, is not a distinct sphere separate from society (Donnelly, 2008). Although sport is connected to society, Donnelly (2008) states that sport is not a microcosm of society which mirrors or reflects society. Chapter Two identified that sport as a societal institution expresses heteronormative masculine patriarchal cultural imperatives. As a societal institution, Coakley and Pike (2009) assert that sport, and sport culture, is socially constructed by society. Thus, societal culture, which exhibits various types of masculinity and femininity, is the dominant culture to sport's heteronormative masculine patriarchal culture. Therefore, sport culture is actually a parent culture which possesses deviant cultural meanings and functions (subculture) to that of the dominant societal culture. Each sport (e.g., football, rugby, athletics), and the teams within them, are at the subgroup level. Sport cultures considered to be a subworld of the parent masculine sport culture are thus also subcultures of the dominant societal culture. This would

suggest that most sport phenomena are deviant according to wider societal cultural standards.

3.2.2 Conceptualising Organisational Culture and Initiation Rites

Organisational culture is defined by social constructionist scholars as an umbrella concept that focuses on the validated meanings and functions of a group's cultural phenomena (Alvesson, 2002; Frost et al., 1985; Pettigrew, 1979; Schein, 2004; Smircich, 1983; Trice & Beyer, 1993). Meanings and functions are more useful and central than values in cultural analysis of the three inter-related levels - artefacts, espoused beliefs and values, and basic underlying assumptions – that have been constructed and proven valid in an organisation to deal with uncertainties and problems of social reality, as well as to govern their group membership through policies.

The artefact level "includes all phenomena that one sees, hears, and feels" (Schein, 2004, p. 25). This level includes functions – rites, rituals, myths, and language – that generate meanings for group members. Organisational cultural researchers using a social constructionist perspective identify an important distinction between rites and rituals. "Rituals are relatively simple combinations of repetitive behaviors, often carried out without much thought, and often relatively brief in duration ... Many human rituals are much less emotional and become rather boring and routine" (Trice & Beyer, 1993, p. 107). Rituals also possess symbolic elements (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). An example of a ritual is a handshake between two people when they first meet. This is a repeated, brief social practice that symbolises peace between people. In comparison, the term 'rite' is often used interchangeably with 'ceremony' because

"a rite amalgamates a number of discrete cultural forms into an integrated public performance; a ceremonial connects several rites into a single occasion" (Trice & Beyer, 1993, p. 109). Rites are glorified rituals; they are not simple and mundane like a ritual but, rather, dramatic and elaborate and require an amount of preplanning. A rite marks a special occasion of some kind and thus often results in excitement for participants and spectators. Rites, like rituals, can take one of eight forms (see Table 3.1). The only difference between the two is that rites are more significant because they are not everyday occurrences.

Espoused beliefs and values provide the 'cultural path' (strategies, goals, and philosophies) - created by functions and meanings - that consists of normative behaviour (rules/policies and principles) and values (ideals) which organisational members utilise to achieve their desired goals (Schein, 2004). Basic underlying assumptions are the cultural milieu established within the organisational group (e.g., the basis on which individuals are respected). Alvesson (2002) notes that these assumptions are taken for granted and, as a result, constrain or 'lock' meaning making for people. Thus, organisational members who do not conform to the organisational culture are considered deviant. Deviant organisational members are perceived, to some degree, be socially incompetent and/or immoral and, as such, the organisation will either attempt to tolerate their deviance, reinforce in the individual the existing dominant organisational culture, or seek to remove them from the organisational group (Trice & Beyer, 1993). An important factor in determining whether the deviance will be tolerated is the degree of pervasiveness of cultural homogeneity within the organisation and the extent to which subcultures are allowed to exist within the dominant organisational culture.

Table 3.1: Eight Types of Cultural Rites

Type of Rite	Example	Manifest Expressive Consequence
Integration	Corporate Christmas Party	Provide an opportunity for group members to solidify their interpersonal relationships in a context in which the formality of hierarchical relationships can safely and temporarily be suspended.
Degradation	Excluded from Corporate Christmas Party	Celebrate the opposite of Integration Rituals. It is the defamation, exclusion and removal of poor performers or unwanted deviant rebellious group members.
Renewal	Annual Meeting	Seeks to strengthen group performance/functioning by resolving one set of problems while drawing attention away from others.
Enhancement	Christmas Bonus	Brings recognition to good performance.
Conflict Reduction	Drinks after a Difficult Meeting	Special kind of Integration Ritual designed to repair relationships strained by conflict or by work-induced stress, such as a deadline. They provide a context in which it is safe to relax, rebuild good feelings among participants, and let off steam.
Initiation	Induction into a Sports Team	Focus on the indoctrination of new or newly promoted group members.
Ending	Retirement Party	Mark a transition from insider to outsider.
Compound		Include two or more of the ritual types mentioned previously.

Note: Adapted from *Organizational Culture: Mapping the Terrain* (pp. 68-9), by J. Martin,

2002. & *The Cultures of Work Organizations* (p. 111), by H. M. Trice and J. M. Beyer,

1993. Trice and Beyer (1993) identify six types of cultural rituals – passage/initiations,

degradation, enhancement, renewal, conflict reduction and integration. Martin (2002) posits

two additional cultural ritual types – ending and compound.

The concept of subculture has traditionally been ignored within the field of organisational culture (Martin, 2002, 2004). Organisational culture is conceived largely upon Berger and Luchman's (1966, p. 151) position that:

> every individual is born into an objective social structure within which he encounters the significant others who are in charge of his socialization. These significant others are imposed on him. Their definitions of his situation are posited for him as objective reality .… They select aspects of it in accordance with their own location in the social structure .…

As such, organisational culture is widely premised as relatively homogenous since subgroups, which are typically constructed by a centralised leadership, are integrated within a dominant culture (Martin, 2004). Subcultures are perceived as intolerable deviant countercultures that will be removed because one culture, as determined by leaders, will dominate the organisation (see Alvesson, 2002; Schein, 2004; Trice & Beyer, 1993). However, the emphasis on a habitualised institutionalised organisational culture overshadows how roles and knowledge construct cultural meanings within individuals. Specifically, "that human beings create the worlds of experience they live in. They do this by acting on things in terms of the meanings things have for them .… These meanings come from interaction, and they are shaped by the self-reflections persons bring to their situation" (Denzin, 1992, p. 25).

Differing roles within an organisation generate differing experiences/knowledge that will construct differing organisational subgroup perceptions and cultural meanings; organisational subgroup cultures are constructed by subgroup members and not entirely by organisational leaders (Martin, 2002). Martin (2002, 2004) claims subcultures can co-exist within non-sport profit-based private sector organisations,

but she utilises a broad homogenous meaning of subculture. Additionally, amateur sport is constructed differently than private and public business (Smith & Stewart, 2010; Stewart & Smith, 1999). Sport is non-profit, largely volunteer, member-benefit organisations that seek to develop athletes, coaches, officials, and administrators while promoting sport participation (Hoye, Smith, Nicholson, Stewart, & Westerbeek, 2009; Smith & Stewart, 2010; Stewart & Smith, 1999). Thus, Martin's (2002, 2004) conception of organisational culture requires the inclusion of subworld to capture the differences between subgroup sport cultures. This overcomes the "tendency to focus on the ways subcultural members share the same views, rather than on the ways subcultural members' views differ" (Martin, 2004, pp 9-10).

Martin (2002) posits that there are three theoretical perspectives – integrationist, fragmentationist, and differentiationist - from which to view an organisational culture. These perspectives identify the degree of cultural homogeneity and the extent to which subcultures exist within an organisational culture. Martin (2002) asserts that all three perspectives exist simultaneously within an organisation and thus advocates that researchers should seek knowledge which represents each perspective. Multiple perspective research provides greater insight into the cultural meanings, functions, and social practices of multiple key actors, who possess differing cultural perspectives within a particular organisation. Additionally, multiple perceptions and cultural perspectives of key actors assist in constructing an organisation's social identity and phenomenon.

The integrationist perspective, adopted by others (Schein, 2004; Trice & Beyer, 1993), holds the position that dominant organisational culture is absolutely homogeneous throughout the organisation and subgroup cultures, and thus deviance is not tolerated. Only subworlds with no significant differences and deemed to enthusiastically support the dominant culture are allowed to exist within the organisational culture. This perspective is reflected in sport initiation research by technical researchers who view sport culture as homogenous. All sports and teams possess the same consistent sport culture that should reflect societal dominant culture. Absolutists, holding societal cultural meanings and values, view sport deviant initiation/hazing as subcultural activities that need to be eradicated. Thus, anti-hazing policies have been introduced to regulate the social practices of these aberrant athletes. These policies seek to reinforce societal culture and remove, expel or even imprison athletes who continue to initiate/haze.

A fragmentational perspective views organisations as possessing multiple cultures such that there is no single dominant organisational culture. By this view, organisations are comprised of ambiguity, inconsistencies, and ironies that cause the organisational culture to be in a constant state of flux. Subcultures and subworlds exist but possess uncertain, blurred boundaries that are constantly changing in response to issues or discourses (Martin, 2002). This perspective is reflected in sport initiation research that has produced emancipatory knowledge. Johnson (2000, 2006) and Caperchione (2001) say that the perception of administrators, coaches, and athletes to initiations varied, with athlete perceptions being the most ambiguous, inconsistent, and ironic. Emancipatory researchers did not identify a demographic group – sport type (team/individual), a specific sport (e.g., ice hockey), or gender -

that possessed a cohesive long-term perception on the cultural manifestation of initiations. This research did identify that athletes within each sport team possessed shared cultural meanings, which were either similar to or different from other teams.

Martin's (2002) differentiationist perspective represents the view of sport initiation researchers who acknowledge the existence of subcultures and subworlds within the dominant sport culture to produce practical knowledge. This perspective takes the position that the dominant organisational culture comprises a cluster of subcultures that "exist in harmony, independently, or in conflict with each other" (Martin, 2002, p. 94). The subcultures/subworlds themselves are viewed individually as dominant and homogenous organisational cultures; initiation activities thus reflect the organisational culture in which they occur. This suggests that heteronormative masculine patriarchal sport culture is either constructed by the majority of sports that have harmonious subcultures (subserving the dominant societal culture), or in a reciprocal cultural relationship with the majority of harmonious subcultures. In the latter instance, the dominant sport culture enforces masculinity within harmonious subcultures and they, in turn, are made subworlds that reinforce the dominant sports culture.

Primary embedding cultural mechanisms (e.g., allocation of resources, rewards, and statuses) and secondary articulation and reinforcement cultural mechanisms (e.g., rites) seek to ensure that group members possess the appropriate organisational cultural perspective and are on the desired cultural path that will successfully achieve the organisation's purpose (Schein, 2004). All cultural mechanisms are artefacts, and all artefacts potentially can be utilised as a primary mechanism (e.g., the rite of an

employer's handshake to welcome a new employee can be perceived as a primary artefact, whereas a ritualistic handshake to an existing employee can be perceived as a secondary artefact). The significance of the meaning and functionary role of each artefact within each organisational culture will determine whether it is considered a primary or secondary mechanism, as well as the shape it takes. However, an initiation rite can only be considered a primary mechanism if no other rite has been utilised to socialise a new member into the organisational culture, whereas four of the other rites - enhancement, renewal, conflict reduction, and integration - can be utilised as a primary mechanism regardless of whether another rite has previously been used.

Degradation and ending rites are neither a primary nor secondary cultural mechanism for the individual undergoing them since the function of both these rites is to remove individuals from the organisational group. However, both these rites are secondary mechanisms for other members. The performance of degradation rites reminds remaining members of the consequences of not adhering to the group's cultural perspective/path. Ending rites could be viewed by other members as a reward and something to achieve (an enhancement rite) for successfully adhering to the cultural perspective. The remaining rituals – integration, renewal, enhancement, and conflict reduction – are predominantly constructed within organisations and their subgroups as secondary cultural mechanisms.

Table 3.1 shows that initiations have been constructed as having a rite of passage (change in status) function within organisational cultures in two different manners. First, they perform the opposite function of ending rites by marking the transition of

new members from being an outsider to insider. This type of initiation rite can be constructed as either a primary or secondary mechanism within an organisational culture. An initiation rite is a primary mechanism when the organisational culture has determined that its function is socialisation and identity formation of new members. It is a secondary mechanism when the purpose of the function is to reinforce the cultural perspective in new members. In comparison, the second type of initiation rite is a secondary mechanism since it performs the rite of passage function for existing, socialised members who already possess knowledge of the cultural perspective of their organisational hierarchy.

The sociological conception of the second type of initiations is similar to anthropological conceptions of initiations in tribal societies (see Cohen, 1964; Turner, 1986; Van Gennep, 1960) which address changes of membership status/role within the hierarchy. As Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 72) explain, "One must also be initiated into the various cognitive and even affective layers of the body of knowledge that is directly and indirectly appropriate to this [new] role". However, there are two distinct features that differentiate tribal rites of passages from Western societal organisational initiations. Tribal initiations are societal rites of passage that mark the transition of children to adulthood. Children are expected to become adults and thus, in tribal societies, all members are expected to perform the initiation (Cohen, 1964; Turner, 1986; Van Gennep, 1960). All initiation activities within tribal societies are considered appropriate for the respective gender members. Male members perform activities that reflect masculine traits and characteristics desired by the tribal society and female members, if they are required to perform a rite of passage, perform activities that reflect desired feminine traits (Cohen, 1964; Turner,

1986; Van Gennep, 1960). Tribal, or puberty, initiations have not been constructed to be either a primary or secondary cultural mechanisms: rather, anthropologists conceive puberty initiations as a 'test' or trial. The initiate who passes the test demonstrates that he/she possesses the desired cultural meanings of the appropriate gender adult role in their tribal society. Failing the test reveals that the child has not been adequately socialised into the next or new adult gendered role in their community.

I posit that sport organisational cultures can construct initiations to accomplish three functions – primary socialisation, secondary cultural reinforcing, and test/trial of cultural socialisation. The trial of cultural mechanism tests members in order to validate that primary mechanisms have been successful in socialising the rookie into the sport team's organisational culture. It is in the testing component that trial initiations differ from secondary initiations. Whilst the latter seek predominantly to reinforce the organisational culture as the person changes status, the trial mechanism seeks to determine if an individual is worthy of changing status from outsider to insider, and also finalises their successful transition. The meaning and function of a sport initiation will reflect the organisational subworld in which it is situated.

Chapter Two revealed that sport initiation and anti-hazing policies have been implemented to govern the initiation practices of North American university athletes. These policies were constructed on the basis of absolute moralist and societal cultural values of an integrationist cultural perspective. They do not reflect the meanings of the organisational culture of sport teams, which have a differentiational cultural perspective (each team, or subgroup, perceives itself individually with a

dominant and homogenous organisational culture), that possess a subculture to dominant societal culture. Policies have been created, utilising academic research, and implemented by university sport administrative actors that do not possess the same organisational cultural perspective, and perhaps organisational subgroup culture, as those within the team - athletes and coaches – who are governed by these policies.

North American university sport departments and organisations possess a fragmentational organisational culture. Academics from multiple disciplines research various sport topics to inform other sport delivery actors of technical, practical, and emancipatory knowledge. University sport administrators, who are typically highly susceptible to the ideas and concerns of other university actors and external societal actors, utilise the academic-based knowledge and cultural meanings to construct and implement policies for those possessing sport cultural meanings.

Sport policy typically does not reflect the different organisational perspectives of the various actors and interests that exist in the policy subsystem. Policy is about the ability of internal and external actors, typically representing the dominant culture and cultural perspective(s), to utilise power to achieve their goals in a specified situation (Jenkins, 1997). Thus, Houlihan (2005) asserts that sport policy should be constructed utilising information collected from actors who represent all relevant organisational cultures and cultural perspectives. Sport policy requires culturally informed data that is collected and analysed by policy researchers utilising a sport advocacy coalition framework (ACF) (Houlihan, 2005).

3.3 The Sport Organisational Culture Policy Process Theoretical Framework

3.3.1 The Advocacy Coalition Framework

The ACF was originally conceived by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1988, 1999) to deal with policy issues that possess numerous actors (e.g., athletes, coaches, sport administrators of various organisations within the sport delivery system, and academics) with multiple interests (e.g., personal, organisational, societal), perceptions (e.g., cultural perspective, moral perspective) and preferences (e.g., type of knowledge – technical, practical, emancipator) (Sabatier, 2007). Sabatier and Weible (2007) state that the ACF possesses three foundation stones (see Figure 3.1), with each foundation stone corresponding to a macro, meso, and micro framework level.

The macro-level contains the policy subsystem of the ACF and the external factors that affect it. Policy subsystems are the key component of the ACF since they "are forums where actors discuss policy issues and persuade and bargain in pursuit of their interests" (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995, p. 51).

The grouping of actors into advocacy coalitions is located at the meso-level. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) say that individual actors possessing similar policy core beliefs and moral stances aggregate into an advocacy coalition. A policy subsystem has between two and five coalitions with differing cultural perspectives that seek to achieve particular policy objectives utilising technical, emancipator, or practical knowledge (Green, 2007; Green & Houlihan, 2005; Houlihan, 2005; Sabatier & Weible, 2007).
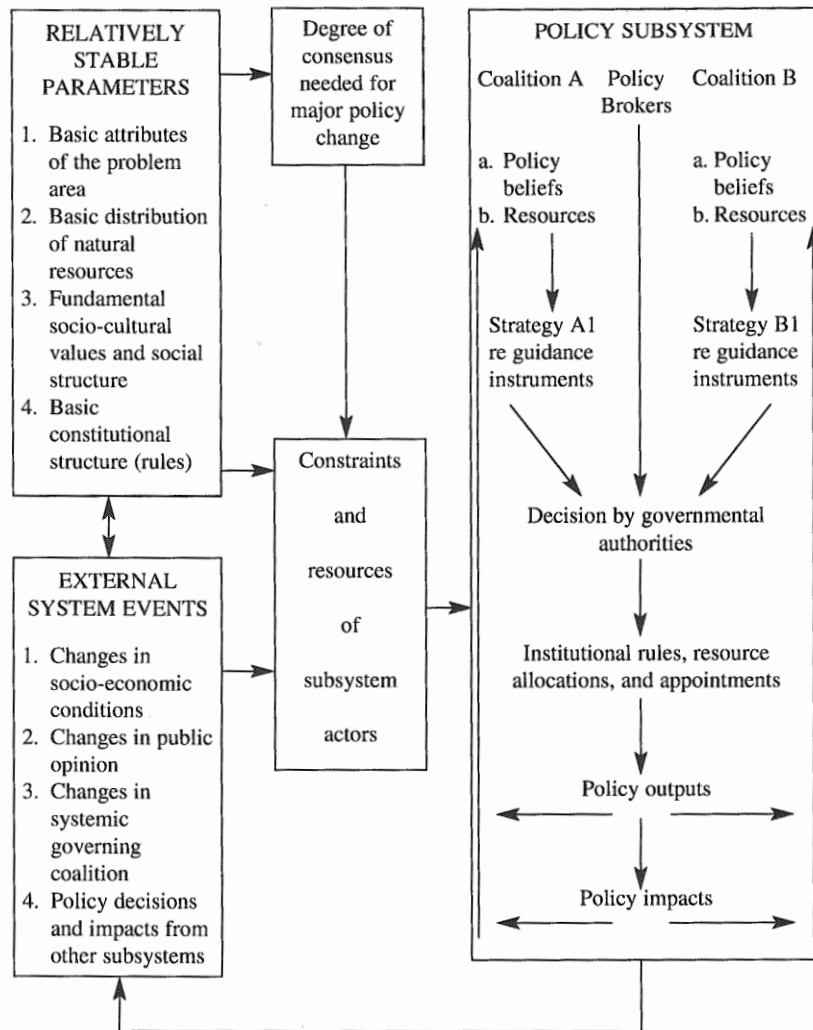
Figure 3.1: The Advocacy Coalition Framework from *The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Assessment* (p. 149), by P. A. Sabatier and H. C. Jenkins-Smith, 1999, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Each individual actor (model of the individual) that operates within the policy

subsystem comprises the micro-level foundation of the ACF (Sabatier & Jenkins-

Smith, 1999; Sabatier & Weible, 2007). Schein's (2004) concept of espoused beliefs

and values is expanded to allow for them to be categorised onto a tripartite hierarchy

of beliefs that range in saliency of being affected and changing (Green & Houlihan,

2005; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999; Sabatier & Weible, 2007). They are:

1. deep core beliefs (basic ontological and normative beliefs that are inculcated

   through childhood socialisation and thus are very difficult to change),

2. policy core beliefs (casual perceptions that actors have regarding the entire

   subsystem), and

3. secondary policy beliefs (narrow in scope, and thus the easiest to change,

   since they pertain to a particular policy issue or resource allocation within

   the subsystem).

Individuals utilise their absolute or relativistic moralistic interpretations of the

cultural meanings and functions of societal and organisational cultures to construct

normative decisions and practices that reflect their dominant organisational cultural

perspective. These decisions conform to what Sabatier and Weible (2007) refer to as

either the logic of appropriateness, which produces reasoning that reflects an

absolute moral conformity to the established normative rules of a culture (reflected

in integrationist cultural perspective studies on sport initiations that produced

technical knowledge), or the logic of consequences, which utilises a relativistic

moral approach to produce reasoning that allows for greater deviance in rule-

following (reflected in fragmentational and differentiational cultural perspectives

that produced emancipatory and practical knowledge on sport initiations). This

provides individuals with the opportunity to generate reasoning that maximises good consequences and minimises bad consequences.

A constructionist based ACF is oriented at improving mutual appreciation and understanding amongst multiple actors to produce policy that prevents intolerable deviancy: "Power then is a property of ideas rather than the outcome of resource control and the pursuit of interests" (Houlihan, 2005, p. 174). Effective policy is constructed on the ideas and evidence of useable policy knowledge that is presented and discussed. Those who possess the ideas and evidence that can garner consensus amongst coalitions will shape policy. Failure of a coalition to act in accordance with prominent ideas and evidence is due to internal or external factors that impact on individual policy subsystem actors, such as cognitive dissonance (Houlihan, 2005). Chapter Two identified that previous sport initiation researchers found and/or asserted that sport actors – athletes, administrators, and coaches – experienced cognitive dissonance. The subcultural meanings of sport that constructed their initiation experiences/perceptions conflicts with societal absolute moralist cultural meanings that construct initiations as deviant. To minimise the conflict, anti-hazing policies that appease societal actors have been adopted. These policies, which only reflect integrational cultural perspective technical research, are neither enforced by administrators nor adhered to by athletes.

Figure 3.1 indicates that all policy subsystem actors are susceptible to two sets of exogenous variables, one stable and the other dynamic. Both relatively stable parameters (rigid variables that seldom change) and external system events (flexible and continually changing variables) potentially provide actors and coalitions with

opportunities and constraints (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999; Sabatier & Weible, 2007). They affect policy subsystem actors through short-term constraints and resources and long-term coalition opportunity structures - the degree of consensus needed for major policy change (the higher the degree of consensus, the higher the incentive for policy subsystem actors to be inclusive) and the openness of the political system (the number and accessibility of decision making venues that is required before a proposal is passed as policy) (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1999) ACF policy research approach permits utilising a modified organisational culture multiple perspective. Both the ACF and the multiple perspective approach seek technical, emancipatory, and practical knowledge from multiple key actors that represent/possess differing cultural meanings (organisational cultural perspectives) that exist simultaneously in the study. However, Martin (2002) constructed the multiple perspective to research a particular organisational culture, and thus posits that researchers should not ascribe a cultural perspective to organisational members. In comparison Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) constructed the ACF to provide policy researchers a means to collecting useable knowledge about an issue (not an organisational culture) from subsystem actors that represent multiple organisations with differing cultural perspectives on the issue. Thus, policy researchers should identify a cultural perspective to organisational actors when they seek an organisation's perspective of a policy issue. Organisational members, who may possess multiple cultural perspectives, will typically demonstrate the dominant organisational cultural perspective to outsiders and provide similar knowledge on a policy issue. Incorporating data triangulation

within the research methods would ensure data trustworthiness; the organisational cultural perspective on a social phenomenon is represented within the data.

3.3.2 The Sport Advocacy Coalition Framework

For Houlihan (2005), the ACF possesses four key characteristics required in a sport policy analytic framework. They are:

1. An ability to investigate the interplay which exists between structure and agency

2. An awareness that the structure contains:

    a. state administrative infrastructure

    b. societal norms, values and beliefs

    c. non-state organised interests

    d. ideas and interests, and the interaction between the two

3. The capability of identifying and explaining causes of stability and change

4. The ability to conduct a historical policy change analysis of five to 10 years

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) strove to make these characteristics as comprehensive as possible. As such, these characteristics acknowledge almost all aspects that potentially can affect the sport policy process (Houlihan, 2005). However, these four key characteristics possess inherent limitations that make them insufficient to be utilised alone within a sport policy subsystem.

Houlihan (2005) proposes an additional, sport-specific ACF key characteristic that will accommodate the unique elements of sport policy subsystems:

5. The ability of values, norms, and beliefs to influence (constrain or promote) policy choice is dependent on the interests they are linked to as well as what level they operate at within the political system

Houlihan's (2005) characteristic acknowledges a specific difference that exists within the sport policy process framework: the importance, and thus greater degree, of external sport and non-sport organisational groups, which represent differing cultural meanings, have in affecting policy change within a sport organisation.

3.4 Policy Researcher's Role and Guidelines

The premise for practical academic research is to attain knowledge of human social interaction. This knowledge provides insight into and understanding of the social world regardless of whether there is any utility for it (Etzioni, 2006; Habermas, 1978). However, research utilised to reach policy decisions by policy subsystem actors needs to be considered useable. According to Haas (2004), useable knowledge has four key criteria: it must be accurate, credible, legitimate, and salient. Researchers attain useable knowledge by conducting policy research studies (Etzioni, 2006). "Policy research ... is defined as the process of conducting research on, or analysis of, a fundamental social problem in order to provide policymakers with pragmatic, action-oriented recommendations for alleviating the problem" (Majchrzak, 1984, p. 12). Basic academic research, on the other hand, primarily seeks meaning and can be conducted with no perceptible policy research. Policy research produces meaning to fulfil a specific function - change. Change is only sought when a problem, or potential problem, has been identified. Etzioni (2006, p. 833) says "even those policies whose purpose is to maintain the status quo are promoting change – they aim to slow down or even reverse processes of

deterioration". If no problem is perceived then there is no need for policy (Pal, 1997) or for policy research (Etzioni, 2006).

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) conceive that all ACF policy subsystem actors - interest group advocates, legislators, journalists, and researchers - possess specialised knowledge in a policy area. Studies have shown that researchers (academic, policy analysts, and consultants) play an active policy role in the policy subsystem (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). They are pivotal actors in the policy process (Heclo, 1978) since they engage others to collect information to understand, describe, and explain social phenomena and then to seek support as authoritative experts to implement a possible solution (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001; Haas, 2004). Achieving change as a policy outcome requires policy researchers to adopt a broad scope of analysis (i.e., collect data from stakeholders that represent all pertinent organisational cultural perspectives, and identify all types of knowledge – technical, emancipatory, and practical - that may exist within the data) and to be knowledgeable of the policy subsystem.

Majchrzak (1984) argues that policy research is multidimensional. The social problems that are examined by it are complex and composed of multiple variables from various academic disciplines. Additionally, the variables themselves are highly malleable (Etzioni, 2006; Majchrzak, 1984; Weimer & Vinning, 1989). Malleability refers to the amount of resources – time, energy, capital – required to cause change. "The challenge to policy research is to determine the relative resistance to change according to the different variables that are to be tackled" (Etzioni, 2006, p. 836). Policy researchers must understand the social phenomenon and identify any

resistance within it in order to successfully implement change. Majchrzak (1984)

argues that policy researchers need to identify and focus on aspects (factors

pertaining to social and symbolic relations) that they can potentially influence in

order to effect change. It is impossible for a sole policy researcher to examine

everything. "Given the staggering complexity ... the analyst must find some way of

simplifying the situation in order to have any chance of understanding it. One simply

cannot look for, and see, everything" (Sabatier, 2007, p. 4).

Policy researchers need to determine how a policy issue is perceived in order to

construct the policy problem. The perception of the issue could simply be someone

saying 'something is wrong' (Pal, 1997). In this instance, the policy problem

constructs a research project that focuses on recognising and establishing that a

problem exists (Majchrzak, 1984). A policy researcher needs to concentrate on key

variables that will accomplish this purpose. The key variables identified in a policy

research project will vary to correspond to the researchers strengths. Additionally,

each academic area provides different academic training that is reflected in the

assumptions, methodology, and methods the researcher will utilise (Majchrzak,

1984).

Social constructionist policy research seeks to educate the policy subsystem actors of

insights about the world, the pertinent issues for these actors and each other (Haas,

2004). Finnemore and Sikkink (2001, pp. 392-3) assert that policy researchers

construct their project acknowledging that:

> (a) human interaction is shaped primarily by ideational factors, not simply
>
> material ones; (b) the most important ideational factors are widely shared or

'intersubjective' beliefs, which are not reducible to individuals; and (c) these shared beliefs construct the interests and identities of purposive actors.

Policy researchers require flexible methods that examine institutional knowledge at various levels that fully capture 'intersubjective' meanings. Mead (2005) further suggests that policy research projects should incorporate field research. "Field research emphasizes unstructured learning ... as well as serendipity - discovering the unexpected" (Mead, 2005, p. 535). Thus, an ethnographic methodology would be well suited for policy researchers.

Sabatier and Weible (2007) identify that the ACF policymaking process is very complex within modern society. "The process is complex, because it is composed of numerous different actors, operating at different policymaking levels and juggling a myriad of different policy mechanisms with different intended and unintended consequences" (Majchrzak, 1984, p. 15). It is imperative that policy researchers are aware of the history and the organisational perspectives (cultural meanings and factors - existing policies, colleagues/superiors/staff - that impact on that perspective) which exist and affect the decision-making within a policy subsystem (Majchrzak, 1984). Policy for complex, elusive, and sensitive social problems that have been historically ignored does not simply come into existence. Actors in an existing policy subsystem need to be convinced that it is required (Majchrzak, 1984). As an actor within the policy subsystem, the researcher needs to be knowledgeable of the procedural constraints (institutional or tactical constraints that inhibit and promote policy options) and substantive constraints (constraints that are inherent to

the problem) that they may encounter while attempting to implement change

(Howlett & Ramesh, 1995).

3.5 Summary

This chapter has identified that social constructionist organisational culture research

seeks to understand and explain meanings and functions of a group's culture. An

organisation's meanings and functions (language, symbols, and rituals) are reflected

within three cultural levels (artefacts, espoused beliefs and values, and basic

underlying assumptions). The three cultural levels construct an organisational culture

and cultural perspective (integrational, fragmentational, and differentiational) that

group members utilise to guide their decisions and actions. An organisational culture

is taught and reinforced through primary and secondary cultural mechanisms. The

eight types of rites and rituals (passage/initiations, degradation, enhancement,

renewal, conflict reduction and integration, ending, and compound) situated within

the artefact level can be constructed as either a primary or secondary mechanism.

Initiations are unique since they can also be utilised as a third type of cultural

mechanism. Organisational cultures can construct initiations as: primary mechanisms

that socialise new members into the group, secondary mechanisms that reinforce

cultural meanings, or trial mechanisms to test if a new member possesses desired

cultural values (which signify that socialisation has been successful). The

significance and form that initiations take within a group are reflective of the

organisational culture. An organisation's cultural meanings construct a group's

social practices as well as the policies that seek to prevent deviant actions.

In North America, academic based sport initiation research has been utilised to develop ineffective anti-hazing policies. This research sought, and only utilised, technical knowledge that reflected an integrational cultural perspective, which posits that sport parental culture and all subgroup cultures are subworlds to the dominant societal culture. Houlihan (2005) asserts that policy research, which has traditionally been absent in sport research, can provide a greater understanding of sport and sport policy issues as modern sport becomes increasingly regulated. Policy research uses problem definition, highly malleable multidimensional variables, and a broad scope of analysis – collecting data from stakeholders that represent all pertinent organisational cultural perspectives, and identifying all types of knowledge that may exist within the data - to affect change and alleviate the problem. Ethnography is considered an appropriate methodology for policy research. It allows for unstructured, flexible fieldwork research methods where the researcher plays an active role to obtain knowledge reflective of cultural meanings and perspectives from all key stakeholders.

Houlihan (2005) enhanced Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1999) advocacy coalition framework to encourage researchers to conduct sport policy research. This framework posits that policy decisions are reached within a policy subsystem containing advocacy coalitions that represent differing cultural perspectives containing competing cultural meanings. All subsystem actors (athletes, coaches, various administrators from multiple organisations, and researchers) possess and/or seek technical, emancipatory, and practical knowledge of the policy issue. According to Houlihan (2005), the ACF has four key characteristics – ability to investigate interplay between structure and agency, awareness that the structure contains four

elements (state administrative infrastructure, societal norms, values and beliefs, non-state organised interests, and ideas and interests that interact), capability to identify and explain causes of stability and change, and, finally, ability to conduct historical policy change analysis – that allow sport policy researchers to potentially identify, incorporate and utilise almost all pertinent sport policy subsystem elements in their research. He proposes a fifth characteristic - the ability of values, norms and beliefs to influence (constrain or promote) policy choice is dependent on the interests they are linked to as well as the level they operate at within the political system – that acknowledges the uniqueness of the sport delivery system and sport culture in which sport policy subsystems exist and operate.

CHAPTER FOUR: UNIVERSITY SPORT STRUCUTRE AND CULTURE

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Two identified that sport is a socially constructed institution which promotes masculinity. Further, it linked sport to other male dominated institutions (e.g., the military and education) that have also constructed appropriate masculine gendered roles and identities for men. Chapter Three asserted that cultural meanings create, and are then reinforced by, the social practice function of initiation rites of passage within organisations. An organisational culture determines the initiation type it utilises to construct an initiate's new identity. The previous also chapter identified that an advocacy coalition framework, incorporating a modified multiple organisational culture perspective, requires organisational culture policy researchers to collect knowledge on a policy issue from various stakeholders that represent differing cultural perspectives (integrationist, fragmentationist, and differentiationist). Chapter Four identifies the origins of heteronormative masculine cultural meanings associated with sport, how they were introduced into universities, and utilised in the development of a sport delivery system. It identifies the key stakeholders in the British university sport delivery system and their organisational culture perspective. The chapter then explores the cultural meanings and functions of modern British university sport.

4.2 The Cultural Meanings of British University Sport

The core cultural meanings that constructed modern British university sport were transmitted from 19th century male dominated English public schools (Holt, 1989; Mangan, 1986). Public schools were social institutions that functioned as sites for

the social production of masculinity. These schools performed a similar function to tribal male initiations – transforming boys to men. According to anthropologists (Cohen, 1964; Turner, 1986; Van Gennep, 1960), male tribal initiation rites of passages are gendered socialisation processes that change the identity and status of a boy child to that of an adult male. Tribal rites of passage are characterised by three key elements: they are presided over by adult males, they are a process of indoctrination, and they involve the initiates in enduring physically painful ordeals while demonstrating courage (Van Gennep, 1960). Van Gennep (1960) asserts that initiation rites have three stages: separation, transition, and incorporation. Johnson (2006) utilises these stages to explain the process of university sport initiations (see Table 2.3). The young male is removed from familiar surroundings, undergoes socialisation into a masculine identity, and, after testing to ensure internalisation of a masculine identity, returns to society as an adult male (Turner, 1986; Van Gennep, 1960).

Mangan (1986) argues that public schools were constructed to transform upper and upper-middle class male youths into future leaders (i.e., politicians and military officers). Embedding stereotypically masculine elements, especially aggression, was the main role of these schools. Aggressive social practices characterised as violent and painful were promoted and encouraged by adult male educators at that time (Holt, 1989; Mangan, 1981). Headmasters "thought pain a necessary initiation into manhood" (Mangan, 1981, p. 187) thus those with higher status, including senior students, were allowed to inflict pain on students with lower status.

The school's hierarchy incorporated the prefectorial system whereby senior student leaders were given responsibility to socialise – to teach and impose discipline and morality on - junior students into the masculine culture (Holt, 1989). Various "powerful rites of intensification were fostered [at public schools] to [accomplish] this end" (Mangan, 1981, p. 143). All rites utilised all four educational goals of sport (see Table 4.1). "Through a single punishment [initiation, integration, or compound] ritual they defined social position, emphasised the location of power and moulded group behaviour" (Mangan, 1981, p. 141). Vesting the responsibility for creating and implementing functions to socialise junior students furthered the construction of an identity among senior students that they were leaders.

Table 4.1: The Four Educational Goals of Sport

1	Physical and moral courage (self-sacrifice)
2	Loyalty and cooperation (esprit de corps)
3	The capacity to act fairly and accept defeat graciously (fair play)
4	The ability to command and obey

Note: Adapted from *A Comparative Study on the Importance of Winning within University Sport in England and the United States* (p. 34), J. M. Cooprider, 2008, University of Coventry.

Sport was perceived by educators as an instrumental means to underline the masculine-leader identities of males. The four educational goals of sport embedded and reinforced cultural values within students while keeping them socially occupied (Holt, 1989; Mangan, 1986). Additionally, these goals emphasised the *process* of playing rather than the *outcome*, indicative of an absolutist moral stance that the end never justifies a deviant means. Males constructing a new masculine adult identity conformed strictly by demonstrating and following acceptable cultural values and

rules. The cultural meanings of the goals of sport reflect both military cultural values and the values which Mangan (1981) dubbed as the "ideology of athleticism" and Holt (1989) refers to as the "code of amateurism".

4.2.1 Amateurism/Athleticism and Military Values

Holt (1989) asserts that the construction of modern British sport was initiated in the 17th and 18th centuries with the creation of new sports (e.g., rowing, cricket, fox hunting, horse racing, and boxing). In the 19th century, the fathers of pupils attending public schools implemented the code of amateurism in sport. As members of the aristocratic classes, they controlled most English institutions, including finance, education, and sport. Holt (1989) shows how these men devoted a significant amount of time to developing sports, which replaced traditional folk games; however, a key cultural meaning for Victorian sport was taken from folk games – that of amateurism. "The ethic of amateurism was to play in the spirit of fair competition" (Holt, 1989, p. 99). Amateurism emphasised that a sociable (fun, friendly, relaxed) aspect and "gentlemanly" ideals (masculinity and fairness) should be demonstrated during the process of play. The social aspect constructed "sport ... [as] more about making friends, building communities, and sharing experiences than keeping fit" (Holt, 1989, p. 347). Thus, amateur cultural meanings effectively inhibited the development of any commercial activities within sport (Savage, 1927).

Amateur sport was developed by wealthy males as a volunteer-driven social practice that constructed a network of relationship structures. According to Holt (1989, p. 8):

> Sport has always been a male preserve with its own language, its initiation
>
> rites, and models of true masculinity, its clubbable, jokey cosiness. Building

male friendships and sustaining large and small communities of men have

been the prime purpose of sport.

In the 19th century, popular social sports (e.g., hunting, racing, shooting, and fishing)

were organised by officer-hunters, with military backgrounds, who came from public

schools. These sports involved initiations for male adolescents (Mangan &

McKenzie, 2010). In hunting and fishing, youths participated in a rite of passage

known as 'blooding', the purpose of which was for veterans and novices to bond.

"Blooding – [was] the celebration of a 'kill' by daubing the quarry's blood on to the

face of the new hunter" (Mangan & McKenzie, 2010, p. 7) that took place after a

youth's first kill/catch. Mangan and McKenzie (2010) describe how these sport

initiations were promoted and encouraged by the officer-hunters. Arguably, these

men perceived initiations as serving a pivotal cultural function that promoted

masculine and military values within sport.

Mangan and McKenzie (2010) state that popular national sports such as hunting

promoted and reinforced military values. Military culture is characterised by Dunivin

(1994, p. 533) as "combat, masculine-warrior". This form of masculinity carries the

cultural imperatives of: aggression, toughness, heterosexuality, loyalty, discipline,

violence, homogeneity, group solidarity, moralism (trustworthiness, honesty,

integrity), subordination/obedient, courage (risk-taking and making sacrifices for

others), competitiveness, a gendered hierarchal division of power/chain of command

(power/dominance over females and weaker males), and proving oneself - manliness

- through adversity and hard-drinking/alcohol consumption (Dunivin, 1994;

Winslow, 1999, 2003). Combat readiness (ability to fight - perform aggressive and

violent actions – and sacrifice oneself) and group bonding are pivotal cultural

imperatives since they are perceived by men in military organisations as essential for success (Basham, 2009; Dornbusch, 1955; Dunivin, 1994; Winslow, 1999, 2003, 2004). Initiations in military organisations have a key cultural function of developing group bonding (Dornbusch, 1955; Winslow, 1999) and embedding/reinforcing other military cultural meanings.

4.3. Cultural Meanings Developed in British Sport

Modern organised forms of *football, rugby,* and *athletics* emerged in the 19th century (Elias & Dunning, 1986, p. 13). According to Bourdieu (1993, p. 342), public school graduates "took over a number of *popular* - i.e. *vulgar - games*, simultaneously changing their meaning and function". The meanings reflected the amateur ethos and military values that led to a cultural need for formalised organisations (e.g., clubs and national associations), structure (e.g., uniformed rules, a formalised network of relationships and communication, and a division of roles and responsibility), and processes (i.e., governance) within British sport. "It was public school men who founded, amongst many other national governing bodies, the Football Association in 1863, the Rugby Union in 1871, and the Amateur Athletic Association in 1881" (Holt, 1989, p. 4). Organised amateurs in sport developed a sport delivery system that allowed British subjects, including university students, to follow the same standardised rules of play. As well, they organised participation at specific times, locations, and within specific teams. Thus, National Governing Bodies (NGBs) were constructed as integrational cultural perspective sport organisations.

National Governing Bodies seek to ensure all members possess their sport's organisational cultural meanings, functions, and processes. These integrational sport

organisations possessed great autonomy within the British sport delivery system; they were unfettered by external variables, notably political leaders, until the latter half of the 20th century (Green & Houlihan, 2005). The lack of societal political/government policy subsystem actors to represent a parental sport integrational cultural perspective (a homogenous cultural perception of all sport delivery actors to minimise deviances between them), allowed the delivery system to evolve without guidance/management by situating sport policy control more within each NGB rather in the British sport delivery policy subsystem (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; Green & Houlihan, 2005).

In 1997, the central government sought to provide integrational cultural perspective guidance to governing and administrative bodies in the delivery system by establishing the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) and UK Sport to influence sport policy (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; Green & Houlihan, 2005). The Home Country Sports Councils – Sport England, Sport Scotland, the Sports Council for Wales, and Sport Council for Northern Ireland – and DCMS provided funding and policy direction to UK Sport (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002). UK Sport had the tasks of: directing high performance sport, co-ordinating UK sport policy, and distributing National Lottery Funds to other sport delivery actors, such as NGBs (e.g., Football Association, Rugby Football Union, and UK Athletics), which oversaw rules and competitions in their respective sports, and national sport organisations (e.g., the Youth Sport Trust).

Prior to 2008, there were no strong and significant links between universities and national level organisations, including DCMS, UK Sport, Home Country Sport

Councils or NGBs. University sport during this period possessed multiple governing bodies and can be described as an "independent and diverse sector" (Sport England & BUCS, 2009, pp. 2-3). The university sport delivery system and policy subsystem was highly autonomous and unfettered by external actors (e.g., NGBs, UK Sport). Although some universities (sport organisations and athletes) had links with select NGBs, most universities had stronger links with community sport organisations (Sport England, 2004b, 2009; Universities UK, 2004). This facilitated a cultural transmission between universities and community sport clubs. Notably, university athletes continued their involvement with community sport clubs and thus ensured that the cultural meanings of a particular sport (e.g., football) remained relatively homogenous within British society.

The cultural meanings of 19th century public school sport are similar to the 21st century heteronormative masculine cultural imperatives of sport identified in Chapter Two. The cultural meanings of sport have endured because sport organisations were insulated from external actors and cultural meanings until the late 20th century. Sport organisations, including university sport clubs, were able to perpetuate their organisational masculine culture. One notable difference between 19th and 21st century sport culture, however, is professionalism, particularly at the elite level where the amateur ethos is no longer as pertinent. This reflects the shift within 1990s sport policy to embrace elite sport values (Green, 2007; Green & Houlihan, 2005; Houlihan, 2000; McDonald, 2000) with an associated emphasis on the outcome (i.e., winning for sporting and financial success) in elite sport (Sport England, 2004a). However, the amateur ethos still holds strong cultural meaning for the general public who participate in sport as a means of fun, activity, and attaining a

healthy lifestyle. It is also still important in the creation of social relations that construct strong communities and that benefit the economy (Sport England, 2004a).

The incorporation of elite sport cultural meanings also occurred within universities. Prior to the 1990s, "many elite athletes were selected from the ranks of the top amateur clubs in each sport, but high performance sport is [now] increasingly associated with higher education" (Universities UK, 2004, p. 3). In Scotland, 69% of Higher Education Institutions (HEI) had a strategy for sport and 77% of HEIs offered a sport bursary and/or scholarship (Universities UK, 2004). Seventy percent of English HEIs offered a sport bursary and/or scholarship and 40% of them employed a director of sport (Universities UK, 2004). An audit of English HEIs reveals that 77% of them have a sports strategy (Sport England, 2009). Many of the links university sport actors had with external sport organisations prior to 2008, sought outcomes for elite sport (Sport England, 2004b).

In 2008, British University and Colleges Sport (BUCS) was established as the central governing body of the British university sport delivery system. BUCS possesses an integrational cultural perspective and is responsible for co-ordinating the various actors - athletes, SU staff and elected officers, professional sporting staff, and volunteers - while overseeing and providing the competition structure for all university sports (BUCS, 2009). A primary objective of BUCS is working with Sport England to transform university sport and university sport culture (BUCS, n.d.a; Rothery, 2009). It is perceived that establishing and strengthening relationships with external sport and business organisations will make university sport: more sustaining, increase the contribution universities make to society, more integrated

with the British sport delivery system, and enhance the student experience in the areas of participation, competition, and performance (BUCS, n.d.a; Rothery, 2009). Through their partnerships with Sport England (which is merging with UK Sport in 2011) and NGBs, BUCS is utilising the cultural meanings of professionalism to assist the government in: meeting sport participation targets by increasing the participation rates of students, and to develop elite athletes for national and international competitions (Sport England & BUCS, n.d.; Sport England & BUCS, 2009).

4.4 Cultural Meanings of Universities and University Sport

In the past, universities performed a secondary rite of passage that reinforced public school values while transforming young adult males into highly educated, competent, and responsible societal leaders. Arguably, this secondary rite of passage was constructed in large part by public school graduates themselves when they introduced their cultural meanings to the universities they attended. Universities were thus transformed to adopt similar cultural meanings, functions, and processes to those of public schools. According to Mangan (2006, p. 94), "the average undergraduate was merely … the average public schoolboy transferred to conditions affording him rather great scope for his essentially schoolboy impulses".

The use of sport as an important vehicle for developing masculine leaders was apparent within universities. Sport's elevated status at universities was instrumental in transforming the cultural meanings, functions, and processes of these institutions. Mangan (2006) asserts that sport dominated university life to the point that other institutional practices revolved around it (e.g., lecture and meal times were changed

to accommodate sporting activities). Additionally, the transformation of cultural meanings also created new student types and an alternative rite of passage method. Universities traditionally focussed on developing the minds of males. However, by the 20th century, there were three types of university students: academic men (students of the mind), sports men (students of the body), and those who attempted both (Mangan, 2006, p. 96). Similar to public schools, universities, and thus university sport, were male-dominated institutions that generated heteronormative masculine patriarchal culture (Mangan & McKenzie, 2006). Thus, two male subgroups – academic (cerebral) and sport (physical) – now existed within the dominant university masculine organisational culture, reflecting the split between mind and body. These competing subworlds fragmented the university cultural perspective even more. The student body ceased to be a homogenous academic group when sport became an equally integral part of the university community (Mangan, 2006). All students were expected to be involved to some degree in both academics and sport. However, each subgroup interpreted the cultural meanings of the institution differently and created functions that constructed the desired adult male identity among their members.

Academic men perceived education, the sacrifices (hardworking with minimal leisure time) and accomplishments therein, as the means to construct their identity. The process of learning – seeking and gaining knowledge – was perceived as a fundamental imperative for constructing a male leader identity. Hierarchical social status was achieved through academic accomplishments. Sport participation for them consisted of going for long walks to contemplate ideas or simply being a spectator at sport matches (Mangan 2006).

The sports men perceived academics as feminine and undertook the minimal amount of academic work required (Mangan, 2006). Sports were considered instrumental in teaching the competencies needed for a male leader identity. As such, accomplishments in sport - demonstrating skill and masculine values - were considered more important in determining hierarchal social status than were academic prowess or success.

These two competing organisational cultures – sport and academia - intersect within student governing bodies (e.g., SU). University sport was constructed to be student driven (sport is governed by the students for the students) and students who ran SUs became responsible for the administration of sport at their institution (Savage, 1927). Thus, SUs possess a fragmentational culture perspective that reflects the differing cultural meanings found within the student body it represents and provides various services to.

4.5 Modern British University Sport Culture

Little empirical research has been conducted on modern UK university sport culture or the social practices of university athletes (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Dempster, 2009; Liston, Reacher, Smith & Waddington, 2007). Researchers (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Liston et al., 2007) posit that this reflects the cultural meanings that construct university sport as predominantly a subsidiary of the student social experience for non-elite athletes. As a social practice that emphasises the process of play (enjoyment of playing the game) rather than the outcome (winning), it possesses a low profile. Researchers (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006, 2007; Sparkes, Brown & Partington, 2010; Sparkes, Partington & Brown, 2007)

have found that modern student athletes, notably male athletes, are socialised into an organised amateur heteronormative masculine sport culture; they construct a higher education athletic identity where masculinity is reflected in all their functions.

The sport student type is still evident through rites of passage within universities. Additionally, the cultural meanings, functions, and processes of modern athletes are reflective of their predecessors, the late 19th century sports men, in that contemporary university athletes seek to develop their bodies rather than their minds. Empirical evidence indicates that male student athletes perform various degradation rituals that construct academic ability as feminine and homosexual (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007). They also resist academic hierarchal bureaucratic authority, specifically the control and dominance of lecturers and professors (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006). For example, when male athletes attended lectures in one study, they were uncommunicative except for disrespectful and disruptive comments that reflected and defended masculinity (Clayton & Humberstone, 2007). Further evidence (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Dempster, 2009; Skeleton, 1993; Sparkes et al., 2007) indicates that athletes, notably male athletes, have constructed ritualised activities that demonstrate traditionally masculine values such as: the ability to withstand pain and embarrassment, aggressive heterosexuality, and physical prowess and hardness. According to these studies, consumption of large amounts of alcohol (i.e., binge drinking), ridiculing feminine and homosexual weakness, displays of toughness and aggression (e.g., physical and verbal combativeness), and nudity are key social activities for athletes in public spaces.

Both sports and ritualised social club activities are important in constructing a masculine student athlete identity. Student athletes separate themselves from other students by dominating social spaces and wearing distinctive club clothing (uniform that shows patriotism for the university), which additionally separates student athletes along sport club lines (Dempster, 2009; Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007). Clubs are constructed as a family and athletes abide by cultural imperatives that dictate that they should always be around, and predominantly interact with, other club members. Since university sport clubs possess a differentiated cultural perspective, athletes continually manifest their student athlete identity in all sport, educational, and social spaces - the training ground, the match, the changing room, the student bar, lecture theatres, and public transport (Clayton and Humberstone, 2006, 2007; Dempster, 2009; Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007).

According to Dempster (2009), only select sports reflect discourses of masculinity that construct hyper-masculine identities. Male footballers and rugby players constantly display discourses reflecting aggression and toughness while they are together (Dempster, 2009; Liston et al., 2007). However, evidence suggests that male rugby players possess a higher degree of toughness and aggression than footballers (Dempster, 2009; Liston et al., 2007; Sparkes et al., 2007). The degree of masculinity within a sport, as reflected in levels of toughness and aggression, contributes to each sport's and each athlete's hierarchal status at a university. University sport hierarchies typically position male team sports and athletes above female team and individual sports and athletes (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006, 2007; Dempster, 2009; Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007), with athletes from popular sports (i.e., rugby and football) as leaders.

A strong imperative for male athletes is to obtain individual social status within their club and the university (Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007). A higher social status means being perceived as a leader and thus possessing a position of power with the ability to influence/control/dominate others. Individual athletes thus assume a masculine identity, demonstrate commitment to their club, and possess a high degree of athletic and/or social abilities (such as binge drinking and heterosexual sexual conquests) in order to affirm an esteemed social position within the hierarchy (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Dempster, 2009; Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007). Those athletes who demonstrate good athletic skills and abilities are able to obtain a higher social status within the club and university (Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007). Less skilled athletes require greater social abilities to garner formal hierarchal administrative positions, such as club president or team captain, that provide them with higher status within the club and university (Sparkes et al., 2007).

4.6 Summary

This chapter has identified that modern heteronormative masculine sport culture originated in 19th century English public schools, which prepared wealthy young males to be societal leaders. Attendance at these schools served as a rite of passage that constructed a masculine identity. These men then introduced their masculine cultural meanings to British societal institutions - sport and universities – in which they initiated and developed their leadership roles.

The infusion of new cultural meanings transformed British universities and amateur sport. National sport governing bodies possessing an integrational cultural

perspective were constructed. These NGBs, which collectively comprised a sport delivery system, established the artefacts, espoused beliefs and values, and basic underlying assumptions (organisational culture) of their respective sport. The functions and structures of universities were also affected. The elevated status of sport within universities further fragmented its cultural perspective. It led to a second student type – sports men (students of the body) – who went through a different higher education rite of passage than did academic men (students of the mind). The two subworlds (academic and sport) of universities utilised the dominant masculine culture to further develop the identity of adult males as societal leaders.

Modern student athletes, primarily male athletes in football and rugby (the target athletes of previous research), possess the same masculine amateur sport cultural values of their 19th century sports men predecessors. As members of clubs that possess a differentiated cultural perspective, this student type generally wears clothing symbolising their sports club and interacts predominantly with other club members. Thus, masculinity is constantly being embedded and reinforced within the group. Athletes perceive academic work and accomplishments as being unimportant and weak (i.e., feminine and homosexual) so they place low value on attending lectures and resist academic authority. Further, they often consume large amounts of alcohol, embody aggressive and tough discourses, and frequently use nudity to demonstrate that their masculine bodies are superior to those of weaker students (i.e., those outside their club). Additionally, athletes seek hierarchical social status that can be gained either through the possession of high athletic skill or social abilities (e.g., alcohol consumption and heterosexual based accomplishments). They utilise their proven abilities as captains and leaders to obtain administrative positions since,

historically, the entire university sport delivery system has been governed by students for students. This suggests that data on the initiation rites of male university football and rugby players, as well as possibly other student athletes, would be reflective of these cultural meanings and incorporate common social practices (e.g., drinking and nudity) identified by previous researchers.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Two established social constructionism and symbolic interactionism as the research approach being utilised to collect predominantly practical knowledge on British university sport initiations. Further, it acknowledged that only one study on British university sport initiations, which utilised an ethnographic methodology, has been published. Chapter Three identified that the advocacy coalition framework sport policy subsystem involves multiple actors – athletes, coaches, university sport administrators, non-university sport administrators - possessing differing organisational cultural perspectives (integration, differentiation, and fragmentation). Policy researchers, also actors in the policy subsystem, utilise fieldwork to collect data that possesses technical, emancipatory, and practical knowledge. The data should reflect the cultural meanings of the various actors in relation to the policy issue. Chapter Four asserts that British universities, specifically university sport and sport departments, are actors within the British sport delivery system. University students undergo a rite of passage of either the mind - academic-based sport initiations (academic initiations) - or the body - athletic sport initiations (sport initiations), that transforms their identity into that of a university educated adult. This chapter also identified that the cultural meanings of British university sport, as asserted by previous ethnographic research studies, are reflective of a heteronormative masculine culture.

Chapter Five identifies the research design – ethnography and the two stage methods process (participant observation and semi-structured interviews) - utilised to collect data on initiations within British university sport organisations. It reveals that it was

during the coding process that the primary research interest shifted to become a sport confessional ethnographic policy research study.

5.2 Research Design

The methodological process of ethnography is difficult to define since it is interpreted differently across academic disciplines (Berg, 2009; Gratton & Jones, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Silk, 2005). Berg (2009) posits that it is contested conceptually because ethnography has various applications and utilises multiple techniques. Additionally, ethnographic research designs are constructed to be flexible and unstructured to facilitate data collection in an unfamiliar culture (Gratton & Jones, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 1) suggest that ethnography, "in its most characteristic form ... involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time" while utilising a data collection method(s) to create a cultural ethnographic record of a group. Observation is emphasised as a key data collection method but participant observation techniques can be utilised in various methodologies. Thus, the intent behind the study is a key determinant of whether the research is ethnographic (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Holt & Sparkes, 2001). Ethnographic studies seek to provide a thick description, interpretation, and/or understanding of a culture. This is accomplished by uncovering the cultural meanings of a group. Ethnographers utilise the learned culture to possess an 'insider's' insight or emic perspective to understand and explain the group's social practices (Creswell, 2007; Crotty, 1998; Gratton & Jones, 2010; Holt & Sparkes, 2001; Krane & Baird, 2005).

Bartunek and Louis (1996) assert that a person can both be an insider and outsider of a cultural group. Physical proximity, lived interaction, and involvement with the group determines a researcher's placement on the insider/outsider continuum. The greater degree of interaction, proximity, and involvement with a group, the more one is considered an insider actor possessing an emic perspective (Bartunek & Louis, 1996; Van Maanen, 1988). Hammersley (1992) states that, for ethnographic research, the circumstances and purpose of the study determines what is more appropriate, an insider- or outsider-based approach. The type of approach utilised will thus determine the observation technique used. Reflective of the insider/outsider continuum, observational techniques also fall on a continuum – complete participant/insider to complete observer/outsider (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

Interaction that allows for observation in the natural setting, between researcher and participant, is essential in ethnographic studies. However, an ethnographer should aim to employ a research process that collects whatever data possible, whether it be through participant observation or interviews, on the issue or social phenomenon (their research focus), in order to put it in a textual context (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Krane & Baird, 2005). Participant observation, where the researcher becomes an immersed insider, provides the thickest descriptions and richest data of the culture (Holt & Sparkes, 2001). "It is only through total immersion that he or she can become sufficiently conversant with the formal and informal rules governing the webbing of the human interaction under investigation so that its innermost secrets can be revealed" (Sugden, 1996, p. 201). According to Sanday (1979), a year's immersion is the typical ethnographic procedure. Participant observation is time consuming, but being immersed as an insider enables the ethnographer to understand

their research interest (Holt & Sparkes, 2001; Sugden, 1996). The research interest itself is generally redefined and transformed over the course of the research. It changes while the ethnographer is immersed as an insider and utilising multiple and flexible methods to collect data (Gratton & Jones, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Holt & Sparkes, 2001).

Ethnography is underutilised in numerous academic areas (e.g., organisational culture, sport management, and critical policy research) despite being an accepted and fruitful means of speaking for less powerful groups and influencing policy (Crotty, 1998; Gratton & Jones, 2010; Sands, 2002; Skinner & Edwards, 2005; Silk, 2005). However, ethnography has been utilised by sport sociologists/social scientists (see Armstrong, 1998; Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Giulianotti, 1995; Holt & Sparkes, 2001; Sparkes, Brown & Partington, 2010; Sparkes, Partington & Brown, 2007; Sugden, 1996; Taylor & Fleming, 2000; Wheaton, 1997) to produce practical and emancipatory knowledge on sport phenomena (e.g., British university sport initiations) and organisational or subgroup cultures (e.g., British university sport culture). A common theme amongst the aforementioned sport ethnographers is that they immersed themselves in a sport group's culture. These sport ethnographers utilised, or attempted to utilise, covert participation observation technique for a minimum of 8 months (as a PhD student, for ethical reasons Taylor had to inform the coaching staff that she was conducting covert participant observation: they then revealed this to the rugby club in question). In comparison, Holt (Holt & Sparkes, 2001), while researching Canadian university football (soccer), utilised overt participation observation and semi-structured interviews to collect practical knowledge.

5.2.1 Confessional Ethnography

Confessional/vulnerable ethnography seeks to reveal the research process, notably the difficulty of conducting fieldwork, facing an ethnographer who wishes to study a culture or a cultural phenomenon (Behar, 1996; Van Maanen, 1995). It illustrates that utilising an ethnographic methodology is not easy, pleasant, or an adventurous good time as it appears to be or is sometimes portrayed (Van Maanen, 1995). Consequently, a confessional ethnographer produces written text that "focuses more on his or her fieldwork than on the culture" (Creswell, 2007, p. 192). Since the ethnographer's experience becomes the primary subject of his or her analytical attention rather than the object of study (Geertz, 1988), a confessional ethnographer "gives a self-revealing and self-reflexive account of the research process" (Schultze, 2000, p. 4). However, the ethnographer's account cannot be too introspective. It needs to possess an insider's passionate empathy and an outsider's alienated objectivity (Hammersley, 1992; Van Maanen, 1988). A purely introspective account becomes a story of personal suffering and thus has minimal academic merit (Behar, 1996).

Many styles of confessional ethnography exist, ranging from it being solely the representation of the researcher's experience to it being completely interlaced with the ethnographic data of the object under study. Van Maanen (1988) suggests that confessional tales should be separated from the participant ethnographic data since the field experience of the ethnographer is what matters most in confessional ethnography. Additionally, confessional tales are self-revealing, reflexive texts that should be personal and construct the ethnographer as being reasonable and fallible

(Van Maanen, 1988; Schultze, 2000). Although the written texts should make the ethnographer likeable, Van Maanen (1988, p. 76) states:

> The ethnographer as the visible actor in the confessional tale is often something of a trickster or fixer, wise to the ways of the world, appreciative of human vanity, necessarily wary, and therefore inventive at getting by and winning little victories over the hassles of life in the research setting.

5.3 The Initial Design in Researching British University Sport Initiations

5.3.1 Self-Funded International PhD Student

The intention of my research on British university sport initiations was initially conceptualised in 2004: further research on sport initiations that addressed the gaps and issues was required. Chapter Two (see Table 2.1) identifies that previous sport initiation research is North American-centric and has produced predominantly technical knowledge reflective of researcher-based interpretations of initiation and hazing. This knowledge has been utilised to create anti-hazing policies that have been proven to be ineffective in controlling initiations and preventing athletes from being seriously harmed (hazed, abused, sexually assaulted, etc). I concluded that, by embedding myself in a foreign university sport culture (where previous North American studies predominantly utilised university participants), of which I had no previous intimate knowledge or understanding, in order to learn how key initiation policy groups – athletes and sport administrators – construct initiations, could produce useable policy knowledge. Knowledge of foreign sport initiations could potentially be utilised in generating new policy solutions that are effective in regulating initiations (to prevent athletes from being harmed) in North America and

elsewhere. I determined that the best *method* to accomplish my research intent was as an international PhD student attending a British university.

Prior to initiating the research project, I assessed that conducting this research as an international PhD student offered greater advantages than other means (i.e., independently). I posited that, as a student, I would have few hassles/barriers to overcome and greater support. Specifically, it would be easier to access participants and to collect data. I would be able to obtain a student visa to enter the UK and approach gatekeepers and participants with the credibility of a student associated with a particular university and supervisors. Additionally, gaining entry and embedding myself in a university sport culture would be facilitated by my student status. Also, I lacked the competencies to complete this project without guidance from experienced academic researchers. Supervision would ensure that I produced a good quality piece of research and would provide alternative ideas/opinions regarding sport initiations and the research process. Whereas other PhD students conduct a research project as a means to complete a PhD degree, I was utilising the PhD as a means to complete a research project.

With the assistance of Professor Sandra Kirby, I researched PhD sport degrees at British universities. In 2005, I submitted applications, which included a sport initiation research proposal, to three highly ranked sport institutions. All three institutions were located outside of London and had a minimum of three staff members with a background in either sport sociology or management. The first institution declined my application, citing that the topic was too sensitive for their institution. In the autumn of 2005, I participated in a telephone interview with a

prominent sport sociologist and was offered a PhD studentship for the 2005/06 academic year: however I declined this offer because of poor timing. I was invited to re-apply in 2006 for the following academic year. The third institution emailed me in December 2005 and offered a placement for the 2006/07 academic year. Whilst considering my options, I was contacted by Professor Celia Brackenridge via Sandra Kirby, who extended an offer/provided an opportunity to be a student under her supervision at Brunel University.

Working with Celia meant completing the research project classified as a self-funded student. This represented greater personal financial hardship but, as a self-funded student, the School of Sport and Education provided me with two experienced supervisors, a desk, free printing and library access at Brunel University. Additionally, I had the advantage of having control and responsibility over my research project that I designed. Thus, throughout the PhD, the emphasis was on me completing a high quality research project rather than doing what others (e.g., supervisors, the School of Sport and Education) felt was needed to be done to pass a viva voce. As such, I: worked with my supervisors, primarily the second supervisor, to construct a good quality research question and to make key decisions regarding the research project; worked with others to meet and secure ethical approval; collected all the data and analysed it; and wrote all the sections of the dissertation.

Upon arrival at Brunel, I had the difficult task of selecting a second supervisor between two well-qualified researchers. One has a strong background in sport ethnography and, as such, could expand upon my pre-existing knowledge of conducting observations. But, as a sport sociologist, he duplicated the expertise of

my first supervisor. The other, who I eventually opted to work with, has a background in sport management, which compliments rather than duplicates Celia's expertise. I thought that only by combining sport sociology and sport management could I accomplish the intent of my research project. Sport sociology has the history of researching and tackling sensitive topics and utilising a range of methods, notably ethnography, to collect data. However, as I learned during the data collection phase of my masters degree, the results of sport sociology studies are not always utilised. At the time, for example, the harassment and abuse policies that were adopted by Provincial Sport Organisations, and based on sport sociology research, were not implemented. A number of sport administrators alluded that they were forced to adopt a policy in order to get funding but admitted that they did not use the policy in practice. In comparison, sport management researchers collect data with the intent to inform regulation, but they do not generally utilise ethnography or tackle sensitive topics. Thus, at the outset of my research project in the UK, I sought to merge these two areas of sport sociology and sport management to garner practical knowledge utilising an ethnographic methodology on British university sport initiations.

5.3.2 Triangulation

The aim of this policy research is to develop an understanding of British university sport initiations from key policy stakeholders (athletes, coaches, and sport organisation administrators) that possess different organisational culture perspectives (integrationist, fragmentationist, and differentiationist). Chapter Four identified that the British University Sport Association/British University College Sport (BUSA/BUCS), as the organisation responsible for overseeing the university sport delivery system and organising sport events, possesses an integrational perspective.

Fragmentational actors include: the University Student Unions (SUs) and National Governing Bodies (NGBs), which are the administrative organisations responsible for clubs and athletes within a specific institution (SU) or a particular sport (NGB). Athletes and coaches, who may belong to the same sport club, perform vastly different roles but each possess differentiational perspectives. Whereas athletes are primarily sport participants who perform the initiation rite of passage, coaches are teachers and administrators. I anticipated that the collection of data from representatives of the different groups within the British university policy subsystem would assist in indicating whether sport initiation policy was required and what form this might or should take.

A tenet of ethnography is that researchers should possess knowledge of the participants' culture. It was previously shown that this is best obtained via participant observation. However, the policy issue at stake here is the phenomenon of British university sport initiation itself (a function within the culture, not the culture per se), which is performed by athletes as part of university sport culture. Participant observation alone is insufficient to collect data from multiple policy subsystem actors and produce knowledge that can be generalised. This method requires targeting a specific group/club/organisation over a period of time and observing that one case study group longitudinally.

Previous PhD ethnographic studies on British university athletes that employed a participation observation method (see Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Taylor & Fleming, 2000), were typically conducted over an academic year as a case study of a particular group at one university. The ethnographic studies of Clayton (Clayton &

Humberstone, 2006), Holt (Holt & Sparkes, 2001), Partington (Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes, et al., 2007), and Wheaton (1997) adopted triangulated methods. Methods triangulation utilises multiple means, either within one method (within-method) or combines dissimilar methods (between methods), to collect data on a particular phenomenon (Denzin, 1970). Previous doctoral ethnographic sport studies did not triangulate data. Data triangulation allows for different perspectives on the same phenomenon to be exposed (Denzin, 1970; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). According to Fetterman (1998, p. 93), "triangulation is basic in ethnographic research. It is at the heart of ethnographic validity – testing one source of information against another to strip away alternative explanations". To gather data from all policy subsystem actors (university sport administrators, NGB sport administrators, coaches and university athletes) at multiple locations (British universities), additional data collection methods are necessary. However, Fetterman (1998) notes that conducting participant observation is the required first step. Participant observation sets the stage for utilising more refined data collection methods, such as semi-structured interviews, since the researcher makes the transition from outsider to insider and becomes familiar with the particular language and social practices of the group in question.

Gratton and Jones (2010) assert that ethnographers should utilise their own personal characteristics, sporting experience, and abilities to facilitate their study in order to either enter a group or utilise a group of which they are already a member. Previous PhD sport ethnographers (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Holt & Sparkes, 2001; Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes, et al., 2007; Taylor & Fleming, 2000; Wheaton, 1997) conducted participant observation of sport clubs where they were already perceived

as insiders/members or within sports in which they had previously participated. Clayton (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006), Holt (Holt & Sparkes, 2001), Partington (Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes, et al., 2007), and Wheaton (1997) further collected data on the group's culture by conducting interviews with selected group members. Although I had participated in multiple sports and performed various roles (athlete, coach, official, and administrator), this had been in Canada. Thus, similar to Van Gennep (1960), who completed ethnographic observation research on tribal initiations, I would be entering a foreign culture as an outsider with limited knowledge and understanding of the culture. However, Canadian and British societies play many of the same sports, so I am familiar with the rules and have the athletic skills required to participate in numerous sports offered at British universities.

A principle of the methodology adopted by many of the aforementioned PhD sport ethnographers is that they collected participant observation data by living their life. They were embedded in groups they (potentially) would have been members of anyway, regardless of their empirical research. My intent when I arrived in the UK was to live the life of a self-funded international PhD student. Specifically, I opted to live in student accommodation, to join sport clubs, and attempted to build positive/productive relationships with the people I met. However, I was seeking data triangulation on the functionary social practice of initiations rather than method triangulation of a case study of a particular sport club's culture. Additionally, conducting interviews with athletes that I observed and formed relationships with potentially could affect the truthfulness of the data. To prevent the possibility of having response bias, I chose not to interview any athletes with whom I had

established a personal relationship. This included, specifically, members of any sport clubs that I joined in order to collect data. Thus, overt participant observation functioned to "internalize the basic beliefs, fears, hopes, and expectations of the people under study" (Fetterman, 1998, p. 35) that assisted me when conducting semi-structured interviews.

5.3.3 Sample

For obvious logistical reasons, it was not possible to conduct interviews with every relevant actor representing every sport or sport organisation in the sport initiation policy subsystem, so a sampling exercise was undertaken. Three sports – rugby, football, and athletics/track and field – were selected on the basis of their reported public popularity and perceived national importance (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; Sport England, 2004a). These sports were also listed in the top 10 sports participation sports for students (Sport England 2008; Warty, n.d.). This small sample also covered both individual and teams sports, and high, low, and no body contact sports. I sought to collect data from 30 athletes representing three popular British sports from three different universities (each institution having rugby, football, and track and field clubs). Ten interviews were to be conducted with athletes, irrespective of their age, gender or race, from all three sports at each institution, giving a planned total of 30. In addition, I sought to interview a minimum of one SU-affiliated administrator and one coach at each participating institution, a planned total of six. Finally, I sought to conduct interviews with representatives of BUSA/BUCS, the Football Association (FA), UK Athletics, and Rugby Union, a total of four. Utilising multiple sports (football, rugby union, track and field), multiple universities, and multiple sport organisations (BUCS, FA, Rugby Union,

and UK Athletics) was intended to facilitate cross-comparisons and thus to interrogate the 'truthfulness' of the findings to assure the quality of the information gained from the various actors (Fetterman, 1998).

Ethical approval for the study was given in September 2007 by the Brunel University Research Ethics Committee of the School of Sport and Education. The application covered issues such as consent, anonymity, confidentiality, data storage, and disposal consent. Although this was an ethnographic study seeking primarily practical knowledge, the background information of each British university and sport club that participated in this research project on sport initiations is not provided. As previously identified, the topic of sport initiations is highly sensitive. As such, I offered anonymity and made assurances to every university athlete and administrator participant that they, their sport club and academic institution would not be identifiable in the final dissertation or subsequent papers.

5.4 Data Collection

Table 5.1 identifies the process I undertook to collect data on university sport initiations. I utilised a two stage approach by first conducting participant observations and then semi-structured interviews. The purpose of the participant observation was to allow me to make the transition from Canadian sport culture to an insider within British university sport culture. In practice, data collected (the cultural meanings, functions, and processes of British university sport and the common knowledge of how athletes act and reproduce social reality) from the participant observation (interaction with British university athletes) served only to facilitate the collection, coding, and analysis of the interview data on sport initiations.

Table 5.1: The Data Collection Process

Time Period	Research Activity	Outcome/Response
October 2006 – July 2007	Participant observations.	Became an insider to British university sport and knowledgeable of its' culture.
November 2006	Contacted BUSA.	They are only responsible for co-ordination of sporting events. Student Unions are responsible for regulating the social practices of athletes.
August 2007 – March 2008	Coded and analysed participant observation data, constructed and pilot tested athlete interview guide.	Pre-interview questionnaire and interview guides finalised for use.
February – June	Contacted 3 SU Sport Officers for support (to act as gatekeepers and participate as interviewees) and conducted 5 interviews at Uni 3.	After multiple email and phone exchanges, all 3 universities eventually **stated** they would support this research project. They all provided minimal assistance while their involvement varied between none to very controlling. No SU administrator wanted to be interviewed.
June - August	Due to ongoing health problems returned to Canada but remained in contact with SU Officers.	Contact details for club presidents at Uni 2 provided.
September	Contacted club presidents at Uni 2.	Two out of the five club presidents responded.
October 2	**BBC reports on university sport initiations.**	**Moral Panic is constructed.**
October 9, 2008	Uni 1 SU Sport Officer withdraws university from study.	Began searching for a new university that met the criteria.
October 10 – 22	Contacted SU Officers as well as club presidents directly at universities where SU Officers did not reply or stated they did not have the time to assist.	An additional 5 SU Officers and 15 club presidents were contacted for assistance/participation. None of the 5 SU Officers demonstrated any practical support for the research. Only 2 of the club presidents, from Uni 4 and 5, contacted agreed to participate and arranged interviews.
October 22, 2008	**Resistance from SU Officers to support and participate in research study is evident.**	**The research focus shifted from constructing the phenomenon and gaining useable policy knowledge to constructing the process of researching the topic, which potentially can assist future policy researchers.**
October 30	Conducted interviews with two club presidents at Uni 2.	Interviews conducted at Uni 2. Unable to arrange meeting with SU Officer to discuss the research project or employ snowball method.
November 4	8 sport social science academics at various British universities were contacted for assistance.	Interviews were arranged with 2 of the academics while 4 assisted in attempting to secure administrator, athlete, and/or coach participants at their university (Uni 1, Uni 8, Uni 9 and Uni 10).

Table 5.1: Data Collection Process (continued)

Time Period	Research Activity	Outcome/Response
November 2008 – December 2008	Conducted interviews with club president at Uni 4 and academics from Uni 6 and Uni 7.	Club president provided contact information of 10 potential participants in her club. One responded and subsequently withdrew from the research project.
	Academic at Uni 10 forwards request for assistance to administrator. Administrator contacts me.	Unable to arrange interview with Administrator at Uni 10.
	Contacted BUCS.	BUCS declines involvement in study.
	Academic at Uni 1 met with SU staff.	Academic at Uni 1 suggests I write a formal letter to SU staff explaining my research.
January 2009	Administrator at Uni 8 emailed 5 club presidents.	A club captain completed the pre-interview questionnaire and was interviewed
	Sent letter to SU staff at Uni 1.	They ask if I can do a presentation on my research project.
February	Conducted interviews with the club presidents at Uni 5 and Uni 8, administrator at Uni 8, and coach at Uni 9.	Collected athlete and coach differential and administrator fragmentational perspective data.
March	Presentation at Uni 1.	SU contacts club captains. Men's rugby club captain completes pre-interview questionnaire and subsequently withdraws from study.
June - August	In contact with The FA, Rugby Union and UK Athletics.	No interviews were granted.
January 2010 – March 2010	Transcribed, coded, and analysed interview data	

The participant observation data and previous literature on British university sport were utilised inductively to open up issues that were later explored in the interviews. The main themes of the heteronormative masculine culture from the two sources were then used to construct questions for the interview schedules (see Appendix A). Interview schedules were developed for each target group, recognising their organisational culture perspective. Pilot interviews with 10 university athletes were conducted between February and March 2008. Each participant was given £15 to compensate them for their time. Following the pilot test, the athlete interview schedule was revised and a pre-interview questionnaire was developed (see Appendix B).

Inclusion of a pre-interview questionnaire accomplished two things. First, it enabled the efficient collection of descriptive and technical data of the most basic, common-sense knowledge of everyday reality about the participants' personal sport clubs' background information (insights into the organisation's institutionalised practices and intersubjective beliefs) prior to the interview. This provided me an opportunity to review the responses at the beginning of each interview and put the respondent at ease during the unstructured conversation with them for about 10 minutes before starting the interview proper. Additionally, the questionnaire provided a rationale for participants to contact me and arrange a time to complete the interview. The majority of potential athlete participants were sent a minimum of two emails (see Appendix C), either by me or someone on my behalf (administrator or an acquaintance of the athlete), that included the questionnaire and accompanying cover letter explaining the study. All emails included my contact information, instructions about setting up an appointment, and consent forms (see Appendix D).

Interviews were conducted with members of a target group who expressed an interest and with whom arrangements could be made. Interviews were conducted at place of the participants choosing or approval of (all athlete interviews were conducted at the athlete's university). The SU administrator and athlete participants were provided with a beverage or money to purchase a beverage. For all interviews, I dressed as a university sport athlete (sport club hoodie with my name on the sleeve with jeans or track pants) with the intent that this would make participants, notably athletes, more relaxed if they were talking to someone they could perceive as an insider of their culture. All interviews for this study took between 60 – 120 minutes. After each interview, I replayed the recording to: ensure the interview had been recorded; check the quality of the recording (for unclear sections, I recollected as best as possible); expand upon the interview notes taken; and think about what the participant was stating and how that knowledge could be utilised in future interviews.

5.4.1 The Research Process – Stage 1: Participant Observation

The intent of this stage of the data collection process was to learn the British university sport culture by immersing myself in it and becoming an insider. Whereas the majority of previous sport ethnographic PhD students – Clayton (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006), Holt (Holt & Sparkes, 2001), Taylor (Taylor & Fleming, 2000) - sought entry into a specific sport club to collect data, the actual sport club(s) I could gain entry into was less important. Similar to Partington (Sparkes, et al., 2010; Sparkes, et al., 2007), I needed to gain entry, embed myself, and observe members of British university sport clubs. Partington (Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007) spent one year as a complete observer prior to joining two sports clubs (the football club in the second year of her study and badminton in her third) and becoming a

complete overt participant. However, Partington (Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes et al., 2007) was seeking knowledge solely on university sport culture, whereas I was seeking knowledge of a cultural function (initiation) within the culture. Additionally, as a foreigner, I needed to become an insider within British university sport. I determined that acquiring the knowledge of the culture would best be facilitated by being an active participant of at least one sports club at the onset of my research project. This would also increase the possibility of becoming an insider within British university sport. Being perceived as an insider by university athletes would positively affect the reliability and trustworthiness of the data I collected during both the participant observation and the semi-structured interviews (Gratton & Jones, 2010).

My primary sport, between 1991 and 2006 (first as an athlete and later as a coach) had been rowing. Although rowing is not a popular sport in Canada, it possesses similar heteronormative masculine cultural discourses of popular Canadian sports. Rowing is identified as a UK-wide priority sport (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; Sport England, 2004a) and, as such, it should reflect similar cultural meanings found in other popular British university sports (i.e., football, rugby union, and track and field). However, it was more important for me to join and be accepted into any sport club and, as an athletically fit individual who had participated in various sporting activities (e.g., ice hockey, skiing, curling, cycling, basketball, and swimming) who was willing to learn new sports, I was not confined to gaining entry into one sport. Thus, at the 2006 Freshers' Fayre, I approached numerous sports that I had previously participated in (e.g., rowing) as well as those of which I had no previous experience (e.g., fencing).

Taylor (Taylor & Fleming, 2000) discovered that her previous experience as a rugby player made it easier for her to join a women's university rugby club. This ease of entry was also evident for me and facilitated my acceptance and membership of the rowing club. My previous experience and my status as a post-graduate student also provided me with a degree of seniority within the club. Thus, similar to Taylor (Taylor & Fleming, 2000), although I was a fresher, I found myself to automatically have a higher and unique status within the club. Admittedly, as Taylor (Taylor & Fleming, 2000) discovered, at first, it appeared that the other members had difficulty placing me in the club's hierarchy and deciding how they should relate to and interact with me, notably in a social context. I utilised one method to break down the barriers – just be myself and act the same as if I was not collecting data. If, once they got to know me, they did not accept me socially then I would just have limited access during training and competitive periods. However, I was not going to force myself into a social group or interact with people who did not want me around (i.e., show-up to a social outing that I was not invited to attend because I 'needed' data) since my presence would potentially negatively impact on the group I was observing and affect the trustworthiness of the data (i.e., they would act differently in my presence).

I was associated with the rowing club during the entire period I was physically present at Brunel University (October 2006 – January 2010). My participant observation involved watching and listening to British university athletes interact amongst themselves: it also meant interacting with them and watching and listening to their reactions to the researcher's actions and inactions (learning cultural meanings). Since the focus was on becoming immersed in British university sport

culture rather than learning a particular group's culture (rowing), or about a particular phenomenon within a specific group (e.g. initiations within rowing), insights were continually gained throughout this period.

Due to the sensitivity of the topic, I was not forthcoming to undergraduate students about my research project. However, when rowing club members asked me about the focus of my research project, I was always honest with them. A typical response I would give was:

> *The focus of my research is on the social practices of university athletes, specifically initiations, and I would be collecting data from interviews with athletes from athletics, rugby, and football. I was not there to collect data on the rowing club to use in my dissertation. My PhD was not about the rowing club but rather on initiations*.

I did not inform them that I was there to learn the cultural meanings of British university sport. Informing them of my intent risked jeopardising the trustworthiness of the observational data (i.e., they might act differently in my presence) or limit my access to them. Additionally, I was collecting data on the cultural meanings that should be found within most British university sports clubs, not those cultural meanings found within the subgroup of rowing. The observational and interview data that I collected from other sport clubs reinforced those found in the rowing club. Finally, I asserted to the rowers that *there was not going to be a chapter in my dissertation that focuses on and exposes the social practices of the rowing club*. To prove my sincerity, I invited rowing club members to any public forum where I was presenting preliminary results of my research and encouraged them to attend and ask questions (they never attended).

Yielding trust and being accepted by rowing club members provided a number of unforeseen benefits. First, rowers engaged me in various conversations regarding sport initiations. The topics included what rowers had heard about initiations in other sport clubs from their friends, what they would and would not do in an initiation, and asking me for initiation activity suggestions (I never provided any suggestions or gave my insights on initiations since I was there to study initiations not construct them). They also invited me to attend designated initiation events (all invitations were declined since I did not have ethical approval to collect observational data on sport initiations). Secondly, rowing club members acted as gatekeepers for me to collect observational data on other university athletes.

As a club member, I was invited to social outings where I could observe and interact with members of other university clubs. Typically, this would be at bars and clubs on Monday and Wednesday nights (Wednesday is sports day and sport clubs at Brunel typically go out drinking at the same bar and club on Wednesday night) where the other rowers would introduce me to their friends that belonged to other sport clubs. As identified by previous researchers - Clayton (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006, 2007), Dempster (2009), Partington (Sparkes et al., 2010; Sparkes, et al., 2007) - these social spaces were occupied primarily by team sport athletes, notably football and rugby. In 2009, the rowers invited me to go on Tour (I was the only one that rowed in Spain), where I was able to observe athletes from various universities. Additionally, as a rowing club member, I was invited to dry-land sessions at the Indoor Athletic Centre (in 2006, the rowing club attended a weekly circuit training that was open to the public and run by a track and field coach/member of staff in the

School of Sport and Education. I continued to attend until January 2010), a physical space that was predominantly occupied by members of the track and field club.

An electronic research journal was maintained throughout the period of participant observation utilising QSR NVivo 7 (and later NVivo 8) software for qualitative research. However, similar to Giulianotti (1995) who struck a 'research bargain' to gain entry into a group, I struck one with the rowing club. To become, and be perceived as, an insider knowledgeable of British university sport culture, which facilitated conducting interviews as well as coding and analysing data on sport initiations, required giving confidentiality assurances to the rowing club. This assurance limits discussing the participant observation data/my experiences with rowing club members in-depth within this dissertation. Discussion of this data would be unethical and subsequently affect my success in conducting future research on the sensitive research topic of sport initiations.

5.4.2 The Research Process – Stage 2: Semi-Structured Interviews

The aim of this stage was to learn how sport initiations are perceived and constructed within the culture and to provide practical useable knowledge to inform policymakers. Key stakeholders possessing integrational, fragmentational, and differentiational organisational culture perspectives in the British university sport subsystem were contacted and invited to participate in the study (see Table 5.1). Specifically, university sport administrators and athletes (rugby, football, and track and field) representing multiple institutions (pseudonyms were given to universities and individuals to protect their identity, with the 10 universities labelled Uni 1 – Uni 10 respectively), and administrators from sport organisations (BUCS, FA, UK

Athletics, and Rugby Union). The first phase of this stage focussed on collecting data from groups (athletes, coaches, and administrators) located within universities, with athletes and coaches being interviewed prior to sport administrators. This allowed initial findings from these groups to be utilised in subsequent interviews with sport administrators.

Prior to March 2008, three Student Union Officers (SUOs) responsible for sport consented to athletes at their university to being contacted and interviewed. All universities invited to participate in the study prior to November 2008 met the following criteria: each was ranked in the top 40 of BUSA 2006/2007 university sport points ranking (BUCS, n.d.b), and the universities offered all three target sports − track and field, football, and rugby union - to their student body. The assistance of gatekeepers was required at two of the institutions contacted prior to March 2008; one was the Deputy Head of Sport Science at Uni 1 and the other was the Director of Sport and Recreation at Uni 3.

Arrangements for how the athlete participants would be contacted varied by institution. Uni 1's SUO preferred to contact them via email on my behalf. The SUO at Uni 2 provided me with the contact information of the five relevant club presidents, for their track and field, men's and women's football and rugby union clubs. The two club presidents at Uni 2 that responded to my email were asked to send out an email on my behalf to their respective club members (the request was denied until the completion of their interview). Lastly, the SUO at Uni 3 allowed me to contact anyone I wished, but provided me with no specific contact information. A snowball method whereby a researcher asks early participants to recommend other

participants (Kirby, Greaves & Reid, 2006) was utilised at Uni 3. Athletes at Uni 3 were informed of my research study via a PhD student (someone they knew) registered at this institution whom I befriended and who had participated in the pilot study. These athletes either emailed a completed pre-interview questionnaire or contacted me expressing interest.

Interviews with athletes commenced in late February 2008. From February to May 2008, five interviews were conducted - 1 female rugby player, 2 male rugby players, 1 male from track and field, 1 male football player – all of which were at Uni 3. Of the two club presidents at Uni 2 that responded, only one rugby club captain completed the questionnaire and arranged an interview. She later cancelled the interview portion and withdrew from participation. I did not finalise the involvement of Uni 1 with the SUO until April 2008. Due to the busy time in the academic year, the poor response I had had from the other two institutions, and certain health problems that I was experiencing at the time, the SUO at Uni 1 agreed to the SU assisting me in approaching participants near the beginning of the ensuing academic year instead, in other words in September/October 2008.

While in Canada during July and August 2008, I remained in contact with SUs at Uni 1 and 2. I introduced myself to the new SUO at Uni 1 and arrangements were made for an email to be sent out on my behalf to potential athlete participants. The SUO at Uni 2 provided an updated club president contact list (all the track and field, men's and women's football and rugby union clubs had elected new presidents); but the SUO was still not interested in participating as an interviewee. I contacted the five club presidents and two responded (men's and women's football) with a

completed questionnaire. I was able to arrange interviews in October with these two and planned on replicating the snowball technique utilised at Uni 3; asking them to contact athletes in football, rugby, and track and field that they knew on my behalf. I also contacted the remaining three club presidents, mentioning that I was conducting interviews with members of other clubs, and attempted to arrange informal meetings to discuss my research with them while I was at Uni 2.

On October 2 2008, BBC television (Courtney, 2008) screened a story, which included video footage, that exposed sport initiation practices at a British university. Consequently, the sensitivity level of this project increased significantly. The SUO at Uni 1 immediately withdrew their institution from the study while the uneasiness and lack of assistance of the SUO at Uni 2 became more noticeable. Both football presidents at Uni 2 proceeded with participating in the study: however, it was apparent during their interviews in October that no further assistance would be given. None of the remaining club presidents responded to my request to meet informally.

In October, I embarked on finding additional, replacement universities that met my criteria of being a sports-based institution (top 40 BUSA ranked institution) which offered the three target sports to all members of their student body. Three of the SUOs contacted did not respond or declined to be involved in the study on sport initiations. One SUO stated that they would be interested in being involved but asked to be contacted another time. Attempts to contact this person at a later date via telephone and email were unsuccessful. I eventually received an email from them stating they were too busy to be involved.

Efforts to contact 20 club presidents directly at universities where SUOs did not reply or stated they were unable to assist due to other commitments, produced similar results. Two club presidents contacted (women's football and woman president of a track and field club), at two different universities (Uni 4 and 5 respectively), did agree to participate in the study and interviews were subsequently conducted with them. The women's football president at Uni 4 provided contact information for 10 club members she felt would be interested in participating in the study (she felt uncomfortable involving athletes from other clubs). All of these were contacted by email but none would commit to doing an interview. A further club president at Uni 5, who did not want to participate in the study, agreed to forward my email request for participants to their club members. However, no responses from any members were received.

On October 22nd, I received an email (see Appendix E) from a SUO that politely declined participating in the study since the university had a successful zero-tolerance initiation policy. Additionally, the SUO did not feel *comfortable* with me conducting interviews with anyone. This email combined with my experience of having SUs withdraw their consent and assistance to interview athletes at their institutions, and SUOs and club presidents either not responding or stringing the researcher along was familiar to Brackenridge's (2001) experience when researching harassment and abuse in sport.

Chapter Two identified that North American news stories on sport initiations result in the construction of a moral panic. Arguably, the BBC (Courtney, 2008) news story had elicited a moral panic response from actors within the British university

sport system. These actors were displaying similar obfuscating discourses identified by Brackenridge (2001) - those of dismissive denial, minimisation, and delay. The resistance I encountered reached a level where data collection from the target groups – athletes, university sport administrators, coaches - was simply not achievable. Therefore, a new data collection plan was developed that focused on getting assistance from known sport social science academics to either access the target group participants and/or to provide insights into sport initiations.

On November 4th 2008, a letter was sent out to eight sport social science academics at various British universities (see Appendix F). With the exception of two, all these academics were at British universities that were ranked on the BUCS (n.d.b) 2006-2007 sport points between 40 and 90 (out of 141 institutions). The other two were both ranked in the top 40. One of these institutions (ranked in the top 40), was one that I had previously contacted (Uni 1) and that had withdrew their co-operation after the BBC (Courtney, 2008) news story. There was an overwhelmingly positive response from these sport social scientists to assist me with the research. Six were able to assist me with collecting data, by: participating in the study themselves (n=2), guiding me to an individual at their university who could potentially participate and/or assist me (n=3), or assisting me in gaining the SU approval and securing student athlete participants (n=1).

Two of the academics agreed to be interviewed themselves. One was from Uni 6, ranked in the top 40 of the BUCS (n.d.b) sport ranking system. The other was from Uni 7 that had a ranking between 40 – 90 (similar to Uni 8 and Uni 9).

At Uni 8, Uni 9, and Uni 10, the academics asked non-academic staff if they could assist me. The academic at Uni 8 assisted me in securing the Student Union Activities Coordinator as a gatekeeper and interviewee. This SU administrator forwarded an email from me to the relevant five club presidents asking for participation. One club president (men's football) responded and participated in the study on sport initiations. A second email sent out to the club presidents yielded a response from another club president, who stated they did not want to participate in the study. The academic at Uni 9 enlisted the aid of a staff colleague who agreed to participate in the study as a coach of the track and field club. In comparison, my attempt to arrange an interview with the sport administrator at Uni 10 was unsuccessful due to the format of the data collection. This administrator was willing to participate via email (where I emailed the questions and he would email his responses) but was reluctant to do a face-to-face interview.

The last academic had previously assisted me with gaining access at Uni 1. They offered their assistance to *win over* the SU again in order for me to gain access to student athletes. This academic first met with SU representatives to discuss their re-involvement in the study and then informed me of the outcome of the meeting. This distinguished qualitative sport social scientist described their meeting with the SU, where the SU representatives were *absolutely petrified of contributing to any research project, for fear of information getting 'into the wrong hands'*. The uneasiness this academic felt was only heightened with the SU's lack of knowledge about qualitative research. Overall, according to the academic at Uni 1, this lead to *a reluctance to engage* by the SU. The academic thought a formal letter from me to the

SU which addressed their concerns might assist in securing their co-operation (see Appendix G).

On March 6 2009, I delivered a presentation on the project to the SUO and two paid SU staff (Students' Union General Manager and the Sports Co-ordinator) at Uni 1. The presentation and discussion, which lasted approximately two hours, was not tape-recorded (on the insistence of the audience members) but I took notes immediately afterwards. At the end of the presentation, all three SU representatives agreed that they would contact the club presidents of the target three sports on my behalf and ask if they would participate in study. Only one president (men's rugby union) of the five completed the pre-interview questionnaire and contacted me thereafter (the SUO had emailed them twice asking them to participate). The one respondent, although agreeing to participate in an interview, took some time to commit to this and eventually withdrew from the study.

Two attempts were made to involve BUSA/BUCS in the research. First in November 2006, I contacted BUSA explaining that I was conducting policy research on university sport initiations and requesting any assistance that they were willing to provide. A BUSA representative replied apologising for not being able to provide any assistance since it was deemed the responsibility of each institution to set any such policies or guidelines. I then contacted BUCS in December of 2008, again requesting their involvement and participation in the research project. The same response was given. However, shortly afterwards, the BUCS administrator contacted me to inform me they had passed my contact information onto a member representative that had made an inquiry about sport initiations. This university sport

administrator contacted me asking for information concerning sport initiations but was not interested in being involved with my research project.

In 2009, the FA, Rugby Union and UK Athletics were contacted requesting their participation in the study (see Appendix H). Only UK Athletics responded with a request for further information. This was provided but no further response was given by UK Athletics.

5.4.3 Additional Data Collection Methods Considered

Two additional methods to collect data on university sport initiations were considered but not utilised. The first was chosen to get more trustworthy data from athlete participants. In 2009, I considered utilising the labs in the School of Sport and Education to entice athlete participation. Noting the comparative ease with which lab-based PhD students found student participants, I designed a data collection method that involved student athletes, who had been initiated, in doing a fitness test (e.g., V02 max) and then an interview that compared their experiences of completing the fitness test to an initiation. However, the cost and risk/liability issues involved ruled out this option

Upon completion of the analysis of the interviews, I anticipated completing respondent validation to verify trustworthiness. "Member checks can be formal and informal, and with individuals …or with groups (for instance … members of stakeholding groups are asked to react to what has been present as representing their construction)" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 239). Similar to Wheaton (1997), I was still positioned within the cultural source of my data. Specifically, I was at a British

university, registered as PhD student in the School of Sport and Education (organisations considered part of the British sport delivery system), and still associated with Brunel University sport clubs, notably the rowing club. In 2010, I had an opportunity to have informal group discussions about my initial findings with university athletes that I knew. However, discussions needed to occur prior to the end of the 2009/10 academic year since many of the athletes who I anticipated supporting me in this endeavour were in their third (final) year. I anticipated holding these group discussions in the bar on campus on a Wednesday night where athletes from various sport clubs are present. This venue would have provided an opportunity for many athletes to participate while in a known, comfortable, and relaxed physical location. However, due to complications with my student enrolment, this proved not to be possible as I was not physically in the UK but in Canada at the time of these planned discussions.

5.4.4 Impact on the Researcher

As a self-funded PhD student, I do provide a rather unique perspective to researching the phenomenon of British university sport initiations. First, as a student I was not paid to complete the research but rather I paid to do the research. This did provide a financial burden. Secondly, the research project itself was interwoven with completing a PhD program. As a student I felt I had to 'get data' in order to be successful as a PhD student or the lack of doing so might reflect my incompetence as a PhD student/academic researcher. Thirdly, as one of the first PhD students in the Centre of Youth Sport and Athlete Welfare, there was no other qualitative PhD student to mentor or assist me. As a minority in a fragmentational cultural organisation, I was perceived as deviant. Most sensitive researchers find they have

very little to do with the other members of their organisation and rely on family and friends for support. As an international student, I did not know anyone in the UK, except for the people I met (many of whom resisted my research) as I was completing my research project, and so my research dominated my life. Consequently, I gained approximately 50 pounds in body weight and had to seek counselling. Thus, I could say that completing this project at Brunel University was detrimental to my health and well-being. However, that would be focussing on the wrong things. Every researcher has innate limitations and difficulties with their topic: researchers that encounter resistance just have a higher degree of them. When encountering resistance, researchers need to focus, and maintain focus, on what they have (resources and support they have been able to obtain), what they can do (be flexible to pursue differing research avenues that may arise), and what they want to accomplish. Although this research process unfolded and produced findings (e.g., confessional ethnographic) that I did not anticipate, it did accomplish what I sought to do – to provide me with valuable knowledge and skills for future academic empirical research on sport initiations.

5.5 Analysis

Ethnographic analysis "begins from the moment a fieldworker selects a problem to study and ends with the last word in the report or ethnography" (Fetterman, 1989, p. 88). I initially selected initiation rites of passages as a topic worthy of study in 1999, as a fourth year undergraduate student taking a graduate level seminar course. While completing an assignment on military initiations, I noted the minimal amount of research conducted on military and sport initiations. In the following academic year, as a graduate student, I approached Sandra Kirby, one of my tutors, about doing a

research project on sport initiations. Thus, I have been thinking about sport initiations as a problem to study for over 10 years. Data collection and analysis for this research project began with the start of my doctoral study of sport rites of passage. Analysing in the field allowed me to change the data collection plan as required (see Table 5.1) in order to utilise different approaches to obtain data, as well as to seek different data that answered my research question. Additionally, physically being at a British university and associated with the university rowing club, provided me with the opportunity to test perceptions and construct a more accurate conception of British university sport culture. However, there were two moments when formal data analysis utilising QSR NVivo occurred, first for participant observation and then for interviews.

A research journal was kept on NVivo throughout the study. Although I recorded notes on a variety of devices (e.g., diary, telephone, scrap paper) as required, all notes were later typed into the research journal. As I kept the research journal, I coded the entries according to group (e.g., Rowing Club, Other British University Sports, Supervisors, and School of Sport and Education). This allowed me to continually review my notes and look for patterns of thought and behaviour pertaining to a specific category, notably the rowing club, throughout the participant observation stage. Thus, by August 2008, themes had already emerged within the participant observation data on the rowing club and other British university athletes. Analysing the participant observation data on NVivo was facilitated by access to previous research on British university sport culture (e.g., themes previously identified) and being at Brunel where I could access academic staff for assistance when required. The participant observation data revealed that I had successfully

gained entry and acceptance into the rowing club and possessed insider knowledge of British university sport culture. However, the data also revealed that the approach of being myself - a self-funded, international, qualitative, fieldwork-based researcher of a sensitive topic – failed to make me an immersed insider within the School of Sport and Education. Whereas I was completely immersed as an insider participant observer within the rowing club, in the School I was what Schultze (2000) describes as a peripheral insider member, someone that was more an observer participant than an insider.

Table 5.1 identifies that between February 2008 and March 2009, 14 semi-structured interviews were conducted. Despite having a far lower number of interview participants (14 interviews completed out of the 40 sought) than initially planned, data triangulation was achieved within the differentiation and fragmentation cultural perspectives. Table 5.2 shows that the 11 differentiational cultural perspective participants (athletes and coach) were from six different universities. Additionally, there was a minimum of three participants from each sport – track and field, football, and rugby. However, whereas the track and field participants were from three different universities and the football participants represented four universities, the three rugby players all came from one institution. All three fragmentation participants (2 academics, 1 SU administrator) came from different universities.

Data triangulation was enhanced by utilising a research journal. Journal entries contained the observational, unstructured conversations (e.g., presentation at Uni 1), and textual data (e.g., emails) generated during this data collection stage. The electronic or personal interaction with all academics and SU administrators,

Table 5.2: List of Interviewees

Gender	Sport	Role	Institution	Alias
Male	Rugby	Athlete	Uni 3	Jon
Male	Rugby	Athlete	Uni 3	Dean
Female	Rugby	Athlete	Uni 3	Tina
Male	Track and Field	Athlete	Uni 3	Dan
Female	Track and Field	Athlete	Uni 5	Mary
Male	Track and Field	Coach	Uni 9	Bob
Female	Football	Athlete	Uni 4	Eve
Female	Football	Athlete	Uni 2	Kate
Male	Football	Athlete	Uni 2	Mike
Male	Football	Athlete	Uni 3	Cheo
Male	Football	Athlete	Uni 8	Sam
Male	-	Academic Staff	Uni 6	Jon
Male	-	Academic Staff	Uni 7	Mac
Male	-	Student Union Activities Coordinator	Uni 8	Dale

including those who did not participate as interviewees, generated data about researching the topic of sport initiations. The academics who assisted by trying to secure participants on my behalf, notably the one from Uni 1 who provided me feedback about their experience, increased the number of academics who generated data. Also, the SU administrators, both those who assisted and those who did not, generated data reflective of administrators and those within the British university sport system with a fragmentational cultural perspective.

The interviews were transcribed in January/February 2010. Due to the large data collection task and the limited number of interviews, transcribing all the interviews at once provided the opportunity to immerse myself in the data and identify themes. NVivo was initially utilised for coding the transcriptions. However, in February 2010, the research interest had yet to be clearly defined, and thus I began coding utilising themes identified in the literature review and from the participant observation. Immediately, I realised that this coding approach was providing me with numerous themes but was generating little useful information. After a few email exchanges with my supervisors, it became clear that I was not utilising my data effectively to produce meaningful information. According to Fetterman (2010), the best means to analyse/make sense of complex data and produce meaningful information is clear thinking. Thus, I stepped away from coding the transcriptions to think about the data, what it was telling me, and how I should proceed.

After a period of hurricane thinking - a data analysis strategy to foster comprehension (Kirby et al., 2006) - at the beginning of March, I realised that my research interest was now completing a confessional ethnographic study. My

ethnographic research project was about the process of conducting the research with the intent of producing practical useable knowledge that could inform future policy research on British university sport initiations. I concluded that the data I had collected during this second stage (interviews and research journal) fell within three inter-related categories – Degree of Difficulty Encountered while Completing the Research (hassles/barriers to overcome in order to do the research study), Sport Initiations, and British Sport Culture (excluding the cultural function of initiations). However, I decided not to utilise NVivo for coding since I found that it encouraged superfluous coding, prevented me from seeing the whole picture, and removed me further from the data and the source sport culture.

The process of analysis first involved placing the three category headings on an office wall (each heading was placed at a point of a triangle). Data bits from the transcriptions and research journal were then positioned in relation to where they fit within the three categories. These data bits were labelled according to the group identity (e.g., football athlete, university administrator, and academic), cultural perspective (integration, differentiation, and fragmentation), and type of knowledge (technical, practical, and emancipatory) it represented. Data bits that represented a particular group were linked (i.e., all the football athletes) and then organisational groups were identified (e.g., Brunel administrators and Brunel PhD students = Brunel University). Nine key themes present in multiple groups were identified (demographics, resistance, sensitive topic, knowledge of initiations, opinion of initiation policy, knowledge of initiation policy, previous initiation experience, university initiation activities performed, and British university sport culture). In March 2011, the data generated in the course of completing my PhD academic

initiation by working on this study were coded into the existing coding scheme (see Appendix I) and incorporated into the proceeding discussion chapters.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has presented this study as one that transitioned from a conventional empirical social science enquiry into a sport confessional ethnographic policy research project focussed on British university sport initiations. The process of data collection during the completion of this research project is the richest data. Understanding the research process is a pivotal first step in acquiring trustworthy useable policy knowledge on initiations. However, the data from my research journal and the semi-structured interviews do provide knowledge (practical, as well as technical and emancipatory) about the social practice from policy subsystems actors that possess differentiation, fragmentation, and integrational cultural perspectives. The data analysis produced nine key themes - demographics, resistance, sensitive topic, knowledge of initiations, opinion of initiation policy, knowledge of initiation policy, previous initiation experience, university initiation activities performed, and British university sport culture - reflecting the cultural meanings of the heteronormative masculine culture of British university sport. The proceeding chapters will discuss these themes and the data that generated them.

CHAPTER SIX: DIFFERENTIAL PERSPECTIVE FINDINGS OF TRACK AND FIELD, RUGBY AND FOOTBALL INITIATIONS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Two identified an Initiation Model (Wintrup, 2003) which constructs degrees of initiations. Positive initiations socialise new members into the sport team's culture and accomplish group bonding. Chapter Three asserts that each sport has an organisational culture that is either a subculture (opposing) or subworld (conforming) to dominant parent heteronormative masculine sport culture. Initiations are a function that reflects the cultural meanings found within each distinct sport culture. As a function, initiations can be constructed as: a primary embedding mechanism, a secondary reinforcing mechanism, or a trial mechanism. Chapter Four claimed that British university sport clubs have members that seek social and/or athletic status. It further identified that empirical research (see Dempster, 2009; Liston et al., 2007) demonstrates that White-British male university rugby and football athletes construct hyper-masculine identities; this is a cultural imperative (see Kirby et al., 2000) that all their discourses amongst each other and outsiders need to reflect - aggression, toughness, loyalty, group solidarity, heterosexuality, and courage (risk-taking and making sacrifices for others). Chapter Five described how 11 participants possessing a differential organisational cultural perspective, and representing three sports – athletics (track and field), rugby, and football – were interviewed. This chapter presents the findings from those interviews. Specifically, Chapter Six provides the organisational differential perspective on cultural meanings and initiations for each sport – track and field, rugby, and football. This chapter concludes with the construction of a British university sport initiation model that utilises theoretical themes which emerged from the data. The model utilises my

Initiation Model (Wintrup, 2003) as a theoretical foundation as well as incorporates a

Foucauldian concept of power, which appears present in British university sport

initiations.

6.2 Track and Field

6.2.1 Culture

Table 6.1: Track and Field Participants

Participant	Uni	Education Year	Athlete Type	Age Group	Gender	Ethnicity and Nationality	Position in Club
Bob	9				Male	White-British	Coach
Luke	3	Masters	Competitive	U30	Male	White-British	
Mary	5	3rd year	Competitive	U25	Female	White-British	President

Table 6.1 shows that the three participants reflect the two differing organisational

roles – athletes (Luke and Mary) and coach (Bob) - each of which possess a

differential cultural perspective within sport clubs. All three participants are White-

British, yet the athlete participants represent two different minority groups within

university sport. Chapter Four showed that British university sport is comprised

primarily of male students (see Warty, n.d.). Previous sport initiation and university

sport culture research and literature further suggests that the majority of athletes are

undergraduates. Undergraduates comprise 78% of the student body (HESA, 2010)

and graduate students are defined here as academics – students of the mind – with

minimal recreational time.

Bob, a highly certified coach, coaches voluntarily at his institution. He describes

himself as *very elitist …. I tend to only coach those who are going to make it. I'm*

very selective who I coach … I would rather have one person who medals than 20

people who don't (Bob). His elite athlete experience on the GB team is reflected in the elite coaching cultural meanings he has adopted. Bob expects his athletes to possess the same strong commitment to training to win that he had: *The guys, especially the elite guys, should be training six times per week, if not more ... [because] training is 99% of what athletics is, the competition side of things is irrelative if you don't put the training in*. However, training frequency alone does not determine whether an athlete is elite. Bob claims *the elite guys ... are a lot more focused on what they want to achieve and they won't be the guys who socialise. They'll be the guys who will train, and sleep, and eat [and have everything in their lives revolve around] athletics.* He posits that the strong training-oriented cultural meaning within track and field exists because first, it is an individual sport and secondly:

> *... because I think the end goal is a lot more obvious in athletics 'cause obviously everyone has a PB[Personal Best]and everyone strives to beat that PB or they have a competition coming up where they'll say 'I want to finish first, second, third and this is what I need to finish first, second, third'.* (Bob)

Bob posits that discipline of the body and the prominence of skill and ability acquisition within one's life are imperatives for athletic success within track and field. Denison (2007), Pringle (2007), and Shogan (1999) describe the pervasiveness of disciplinary power within sport. "Elite-level athletes are subject to disciplinary technologies ... [and as such] routinely monitor their weight, sleep patterns, dietary and drug intake, body shape, athletic performances, fitness levels, training and mood states and even recreational pastimes" (Pringle, 2007, p. 391). Disciplinary methods in sport efficiently train and shape athletes to possess successful skilled machine-like, but docile, athletic bodies.

The amount and intensity of training combined with *the diversity of everyone's event structure, [causes] their training patterns ... [to be] completely different ... [and] they're not training as a team* (Bob). Athletes have very minimal social time as well as few opportunities to socialise as a club. Consequently, the four training sessions with a partner/training group, *becomes [more] a bonding session than an actual training session* (Bob). However, some athletes do not attend group training sessions due to other commitments. To ensure group bonding occurs, Bob organises the majority of the predominantly alcohol-free social events:

> *I will try to organise a team event ... at least once a month ... because some people can't make it to the training sessions ... so the social events are designed to get everyone to go and get to know everyone rather than people turning up on competition [days] and going 'who's that?'.*

As a coach, Bob is an "agent of normalisation" (Halas & Hanson, 2001, p. 123). He utilises omnipresent disciplinary power techniques to organise and control the training and social spaces of athletes so as to guide their actions and conduct that shapes their life (Denison, 2007; Pringle, 2007; Shogan, 1999). Constructing athletes' social events facilitates Bob's ability to exercise his influence to embed key cultural meanings within athletes. Notably, that social events should focus on group bonding rather than alcohol consumption. Normalised athletes will internalise these meanings for when they subject themselves to moral self-surveillance to determine deviance in other social activities not organised by Bob. Additionally, Bob's social events create discourses within the club that he perceives to be advantageous for the club and club members at track and field competitions.

Track and field is an individual sport, yet Bob stresses the track and field club is a team since *when we go to competition we travel as a team, we stay as a team, and if that team acts well as a unit then from the outside out [it is perceived as a good team].* It is a cultural imperative for familial sport teams, including Bob's, to be concerned about how it is perceived by outsiders (Kirby et al., 2000): *I just want people to see the good reasons why we're a good team* (Bob). Bob posits that a good team consists of athletes achieving athletic success/status. Garnering athletic status requires athletes to espouse some of Dunivin's (1994, p. 533) "combat, masculine-warrior" cultural imperatives - chain of command, loyalty, discipline, subordination/obedient, group solidarity, competitiveness, and proving oneself - that construct the four educational goals of sport (see Table 4.1).

The track and field club possesses a structured hierarchy where Bob, as the coach, is the leader/parent; he gives commands and athletes obey:

> *In the university setup, I have two team captains who work under me … Although I have team captains … the admin of the team is purely out of me. Everything goes through me! … I think the team as it stands needs someone to structure, someone who aren't scared of getting on people's backs if they're not doing what they're supposed to be doing. I will always make people train if they want to or not … I'm approachable but at the same time I'm very stern, direct and almost dictative. I like to be in control of the group.*
> (Bob)

Bob does not physically force the actions of athletes but rather he uses disciplinary power to manipulate and control them. According to Markula and Pringle (2006, p. 35):

A coach and an athlete ... exist within a specific power relation, in that the coach typically attempts to guide the athlete's conduct or performance. Although the coach can develop strategies to direct the actions of the athlete, such as by keeping an athlete on the bench, the athlete is still relatively 'free' to decide his/her response and ultimately whether he/she will continue to be coached. The actions of the athlete can also reciprocally influence the actions of the coach. If the athlete, for example, was to tell the coach that he/she was thinking of quitting this might induce a change in the coach's future actions. Thus, although the coach's and athlete's relationship of power may be unbalanced, they can still be thought of as existing within a specific power relation.

As a coach, Bob is perceived by athletes to possess knowledge; they, in turn, choose to allow him to influence them. Thus, athletes internalise and demonstrate the cultural meanings of track and field as espoused by Bob.

The intersubjective beliefs of track and field reflect some of the four educational goals of sport: however notably absent are the key masculinity imperatives of aggression and hard drinking. Bob clarifies that:

I'd rather they train than get wasted ... I've been dictated to on the team, you drink now or you don't. I'm quite happy to do that kind of structure with these guys .... Everyone tends to get on with each other pretty well ... There's going to be conflicts ... but as a team they are quite good to each other and will, when I'm not around ... [they] organise to do stuff together as a team ... Yeah there's alcohol involved but it's not based around the alcohol so it's based around the actual team bonding rather than just getting drunk.

Bob's statement further illustrates the disciplinary power situated within his role as a coach that he is able to exercise because of his knowledge. He has successfully embedded or reinforced and normalised within athletes a cultural meaning that is subcultural to parent sport culture and university culture; alcohol consumption is not important. Additional subcultural meanings exist within track and field. Notably, track and field possesses a minimal gendered hierarchal division of power. Social divisions within the club concentrate on training goals and needs rather than gender. Male and female athletes compete individually for a particular event but train, and thus socialise, together for that event. Bob runs *jump sessions on a Tuesday/Thursday night, which I get the university jumpers and sprinters to come as well*. One of the team captains, a long distance runner, *looks after the long distance side of things and does more long run coaching sessions with those guys and I tend to look after everyone else* (Bob).

Bob asserts that the cultural meanings constructed in Uni 9's club are shared intersubjective beliefs for track and field within the university sport delivery system:

> *I can't speak for many sports but for athletics, I've always seen the BUCS championships, especially outdoors, as just as good if not better standard than the national championships. You're getting pretty much the same kind of guys competing and you're even getting guys ... who are ranked in the top three in the country, competing at university level.*

Bob's statement suggests that all university track and field clubs emphasise athleticism; athletes construct elite track and field sport identities in order to obtain athletic success/status. If the discourses identified by Bob have been circulated within track and field through a capillary-like network that passes through

institutions, Mary and Luke will construct an athletic university culture in a similar way.

The athlete participants identified themselves as competitive athletes. According to Luke and Mary, competitive athletes adopt discourses that reflect a strong commitment to training in order to win. Luke attests that: *what we [competitive athletes] do is extremely disciplined and you got to be so disciplined to do it. You can't get away with missing a training session. When I'm running a 400 meters, nobody else is going to do it for me. It's just me, and so discipline has got to come.* Luke and Mary possess the discipline to train five to six days a week for 90 minutes to three hours per day. They assert that it is their free choice to train and allow sport to dominate this amount of their time. Additionally, since they take responsibility for their own training management, they do not perceive this amount of training to be deviant.

Their training, academic, and club commitments allow minimal social time. According to Luke, *when we warm down, we have a chat, you know …. And then literally we come home because we're normally hungry so it's food and lot of us have a lot of work. We all go back and do that. We do socialise outside, but not much.* Mary organises a monthly social outing for her club, which is typically alcohol-free, but not well attended. Luke elaborates:

> *It's hard [to get everyone together] because we have so many little training groups. My training group we socialise quite a lot ... my training partners, they live together just down the road. I go down there ... [for a] lax evening ... we're happy to eat meals together and stuff like that.*

Luke and Mary stress they are selective of what they consume during the competitive season – avoiding unhealthy foods and alcohol. They consume alcohol but *it's very infrequent. You know it's taken one step back if you have it. We have to try to refrain from it* (Luke). He estimated that the amount of alcohol consumed throughout the competitive season would average one or two units per week. Alcohol is consumed typically only during designated periods - beginning and mid-way through the academic year. *Generally that's what October is, that would generally be that time of year. If you want to have a blow out, that's when you have a blow out or in between the indoor season and the outdoor season* (Luke). However, both athletes claim that when alcohol is consumed, the focus is on socialising with other male and female club members rather than getting drunk.

The lack of a gendered hierarchal division of power exists because there is only one track and field club and *anybody can be part of the team to train* (Mary). As club president, Mary is one of the leaders of the mixed gendered club. She works and co-ordinates with other executive members as well as the *few coaches [the club has], some [of which] have contracts with the university*. Mary obtained her position by possessing a high athletic status amongst her male and female peers. Luke admires athletes solely on their success, regardless of their gender:

> *… one girl I train with, she went to the world championships. She's currently aiming for the Beijing Olympics and she's the icon of the university at the present. There are also a couple of others who represented at senior internationals. There's another guy I train with who went to the European Indoors, for the relay team. They are a quite high profile people.*

Luke's statement also highlights the elite level of university track and field.

However, the university sport delivery system pursues three themes: competition,

performance, and participation (BUCS, n.d.a). BUCS aims to develop elite athletes

while ensuring that there is also "participation, not just competition" (Rothery,

2009). All the interviewees reported that their clubs have recreational athletes. Bob

sums it up aptly: *most of the team, as it stands now, is more participation, enjoyment*

rather than elite competitive. Mary describes that these club members train fewer

than four times a week. Bob says that *there's a big divide between those who at*

university know they go to sport and those at university who join sports teams to get

healthy. This indicates that track and field club members have the choice to

determine the amount sport, and sport training, that dominates their life and the

extent to which they become docile athletes. These members do not seek high

athletic status, nor do they seek social status within the track and field club (there are

few social outings within track and field clubs). Thus, the division is between the

amount and intensity of training (competitive athletes and recreational-participation

athletes) rather than between the athletic and social identities of participants.

Chapter Four described how previous empirical research on university team sports –

rugby and football – revealed a division between athleticism and socialising as

participants' main focus. Additionally, team sport athletes dominate social spaces

and frequently consume large amounts of alcohol. The track and field participants

claimed many team sport clubs have frequent social outings that involve alcohol

consumption but train only once or twice a week. Their perspective was summed up

more aptly by Luke who says that, throughout the season, these clubs *are drinking*

hard, they are drinking fast. These team sports possess cultural meanings, functions,

and practices that are reflective of the parent heteronormative masculine sport culture. In Chapter Three, I posited that sport culture is a subculture of dominant societal culture. Subgroup sports are either subworlds to parent sport culture and subculture to societal culture or subculture to sport culture and a subworld to societal culture. The institution of sport has a power relation with subgroup sports that is constructed upon freedom of choice; each sport is allowed to determine its own cultural meanings. The empirical evidence provided by these three participants suggests that track and field is a subculture of mainstream sport culture. Thus, track and field initiations will not deeply reflect all key cultural meanings of parent sport culture identified in previous chapters.

6.2.2 Initiations

The concept of activity intensity level represented in the Initiation Model (Wintrup, 2003) was utilised by track and field participants to differentiate university initiations from non-academic based sport initiations (outside sport clubs). According to Luke, *outside clubs normally it's a bit more controlled but in university it seems to take it [initiations] to a different level*. The intensity difference is such that Mary does not construct outside club initiations as initiations at all. Her response to previous experience or knowledge of this prior to university was: *no, not really, no. It's a university thing to do!* (Mary). University initiations are a process that modifies individuals so that they acquire unique university sport attitudes about themselves and others. They are classified by these participants as being abnormal. Activity intensity level was also utilised to differentiate the subcultural athletic low intensity initiations from subworld male team (i.e., rugby and football) high intensity initiations. For Luke and Bob, team sports do initiations whilst track and field have

social outings or quasi-initiations. These two utilise team initiations to construct their perception that initiations are deviant. In contrast, Mary says that *we do have initiation, but not like the other teams do. We just have a get together where we get to see each other and get to know each other as opposed to actually doing any group kind'a thing*. The purpose of track and field initiations is to accomplish the bonding - group bonding, socialisation – level of the Initiation Model.

Participant knowledge of team initiations came from what they have heard. Luke stated that: *I have a few friends … they decided to join the rugby team … they told me about it … running around campus naked just … to prove they can do anything …. I had some friends on the hockey team, they told me bits and bobs of what happened.* Mary also has *a lot of friends on the other teams. I've heard from them about their initiations, on the hockey and football teams.* Bob was also familiar with the initiation activities of team sports at his institution: *I know rugby unions is scandalous, it does involve most of the team starting off in the town centre and drinking stations at every point.* Team sport initiations gave these participants the perception that *initiations, especially at university level, probably reflect the bad side of university sport* (Bob). According to Bob: *if you ask anyone that lives around here, everyone knows the football team from the rugby team because they are always loudest and the most chaotic on a night out*.

Bob and Luke claim that a 'dome of silence' (Kirby et al., 2000) exists over university sport initiations. Luke asserts that team initiations are: *a drunken mess … people do things willingly and unwillingly which maybe, may not be socially accepted if people actually knew what happened.* Additionally, universities only

appear to be controlling initiations to outsiders: however, in reality, students are not held accountable for their initiation activities. *The SU does this dressing down ... but the teams still go out and do things publically .... [However,] they need to be seen [by the athletes] as doing something ... it needs to be there as some kind of disciplinary to say this will happen if this happens* (Bob). According to Mary, her SU has verbally told sport clubs that there should be no initiations as such but, rather, they should be labelled as 'Welcoming Parties'. Luke claims that university administrators intentionally avoid dealing with initiations: *we're on campus ... there's a bit of leniency in that, in the week they know there's going to be a lot of initiations .... I think ... you run around naked on the outside ... the police come ... it's against the law.* Yet, Luke and Mary contend that sport clubs will continue to have initiations since the SU cannot unilaterally control or ban a social event. Mary says initiation policy has to be constructed by the clubs. The dome of silence on initiations consequently prevents the construction of effective policy while preventing outsiders from being fully knowledgeable of student athlete social practices. Bob claims that *as far as perception of university sport goes, the whole initiation process ... does look badly on university sport*, *people look at university sport for success and all they can see is what's been happening on a night out ... a drunken mess.* However, outsiders are not fully knowledgeable about what constitutes that 'drunken mess'. Bob and Luke perceive initiations as a dividing deviant practice between team sports and track and field. They conclude that if people were knowledgeable of team initiations, a possible moral panic would erupt. This would exert pressure that would justify the confinement, isolation, and control of team sport initiations and the athletes who practice them (conformity to Bob and Luke's standard of normality).

All the track and field interviews support the assertion that activities deemed negative in one subgroup culture can be positive in another. They claim that team sport initiations *serve the same function as what we [in track and field] do. It gets everyone together* (Bob). However, Bob claims that the initiation process is constructed differently between track and field and team sports: *it's only the first years who are doing; the new guys to the team rather than the old guys who just down there to watch and organise it.* Whereas male team initiations possess two groups (freshers and returners) with only one group performing the activities (a division that reflects an oppressive power relation), track and field initiations have all members participating as one group.

Track and field clubs hold their initiations at the beginning of the academic year, as a primary embedding mechanism it is *not so much a formal event but - not designed to put anybody on the spot - it's designed as a team bonder/icebreaker* (Bob). The icebreaker and team bonding are separated into two different events. For Mary's club, *this year we had a meeting on a Thursday were we explained more about the team and training and such and then we did a night out on Friday.* The Thursday meeting was an icebreaker since the purpose *was more about conveying how we do enjoy athletics and getting to know people* (Mary) while informing them of the training regime. In Bob's club, *we do the main dinner as the icebreaker …. It's a proper restaurant, smart formal. There's always been a smartish full sit down meal and we do one big table rather than little tables*. According to Luke, *in my first year we went to a theme park, it was brilliant. Loads of people went. It was two coaches and we just had an awesome time …. We had a laugh, met up, saw people, went on rides.* These icebreakers provide freshers the opportunity to get acquainted with

returners and learn the club's cultural meanings. They also set stage the stage for team bonding to occur during a night out with alcohol consumption. All three track and field initiations employed a social practice for freshers who had little direct control over it. As a technology of power it classified, disciplined, and normalised conduct whilst the initiation submits them to domination by the coaches, captains, and returners.

For Luke and Mary's clubs, the night out with alcohol consumption served a dual purpose. First, it was an opportunity to raise money for the club. According to Mary:

> *... we advertised we we're having a night out and we sold tickets [beforehand to anyone who wanted one and] on the day at the meeting .... We actually make money off of it! So how many we sell, we get money back from it ... the money goes back into the clubs funds for things like when we go away and kit.*

The second purpose *was about getting to know each other in a more relaxed environment* (Mary). Luke also highlights the dual purpose by saying:

> *... we have a night in the SU club that is dedicated to the athletics club, which is sometime at the beginning of the year. The athletics club members come along and support it and have a bit of fun and get quite drunk. The majority of people go out because half the money goes to charity, half the money goes to the [athletics] club.*

In comparison, the night out with alcohol consumption for Bob's track and field club serves only one purpose – group bonding. Bob posits that:

> *I think it's important to have some sort of event to get everyone associated with everyone else right from the start. That way everyone knows who*

> *everyone is straight away and there's no if and buts later down the line*
> *[concerning who anyone is or what the club's cultural meanings are] ….*
> *What it does is bring everyone together.*

Bob aptly sums up how track and field initiations unfold:

> *… we have a fancy dress theme night, it's always themed the same way, it's*
> *always military theme. I'll have one of the athletes who pretends to be*
> *sergeant major for the night and he'll scream at everyone and get people to*
> *do press-ups in the bar and stuff like that. It's very organised that way ….*
> *[The sergeant major], he sort of self-appointed himself. He was quite happy*
> *to take the role on and he's actually graduated now but he still comes back*
> *for the night. Just cause he fits very well for the role to get everyone together.*

Mary's club also dresses up in fancy dress and has the same military theme every
year. Additionally, there's also a self-appointed sergeant major who has *people do*
press-ups intermittently throughout the night of drinking (Mary). However, in
Mary's club, they *do have a challenge for the night. In previous year initiations we*
had three legged race together so a fresher was tied to a senior. All participants
were explicit that everyone volunteers and *no one's forced to do anything, there's no*
sort of pushing on the night … people tend to enjoy it; we try to make it more fun
than anything else (Mary). All three track and field participants assert that power is
relational in track and field initiations. Each fresher and returner has the freedom to
determine if they want to attend the initiation and, if they do, what activities they
will perform during the initiation. Bob and Luke imply that male team sport clubs,
such as rugby, construct initiations so that freshers do not possess power; freshers
are dominated by returners to perform deviant initiation activities.

6.3 Rugby

6.3.1 Culture

Table 6.2 Rugby Participants

Participant	Uni	Education Year	Athlete Type	Age Group	Gender	Ethnicity and Nationality	Position in Club
Stu	3	1st year	Highly Competitive	U25	Male	White-British	Elected Social Sec for next year
Dean	3	1st year	Highly Competitive	U25	Male	White-British	Elected Social Sec for next year
Tina	3	Masters	Highly Competitive	U30	Female	White-American	

Table 6.2 shows that the three rugby participants reflect two differing organisational cultural perspectives – the males representing the majority population, Tina representing a minority. As mentioned above, the majority of student athletes are male (Warty, n.d.). Additionally, the Higher Education student population is comprised predominantly of undergraduates, 40% of whom are in their first year (HESA, 2010). International students constitute 15% of the student population, with international postgraduate students comprising 8% of the student body (HESA, 2010). Previous sport initiation and university sport culture research and literature has neglected international students. Thus, Tina, with North American university sport initiation knowledge and experience, provides unique insights into British university sport culture and initiations.

Tina, Stu, and Dean possess intersubjective beliefs to construct themselves as highly competitive athletes. Specifically, they utilised: the level of heteronormative masculine cultural meanings demonstrated during competition, and their current competition level. This is succinctly illustrated by Tina who stated: *I think of myself as a highly competitive because I'm a competitive person. When I play, I play highly*

competitively. [However, if] it implied meaning national level, which in that case would be no. Tina implicitly concentrated on a few masculine elements – competition, discipline, group solidarity – to construct a masculine rugby culture and athletic identity. In comparison, Stu and Dean explicitly incorporated other masculine cultural meanings - aggression, toughness, loyalty, heterosexuality, and courage (risk-taking and making sacrifices for others) – to construct their hyper-masculine highly competitive rugby identities.

Rugby is a sport where there is *contact, roughness, aggression … when playing a game* (Stu). The cultural meanings of aggression constructed within sport differ from society; illegal aggressive social practices (body checks, tackles, and punching) in society are sanctioned and considered acceptable within sport (Kerr, 2005; Pringle, 2009; Russell, 1993; Smith, 1983). "Sports is perhaps the only setting in which acts of interpersonal aggression are ... enthusiastically applauded ... [and] social norms and the laws specifying what constitutes acceptable conduct in society are temporarily suspended" (Russell, 1993, p. 181). The differing construction of normalised aggression between sport and society is a dividing practice that classifies sport as a subculture of dominant societal culture. Multiple researchers have explored sport aggression, notably within the hyper-masculine sport of rugby.

Atkinson and Young (2008, p. 28) state the field of sport sociology has failed to produce any "definitive work" on sport aggression manifested by athletes. In comparison, sport psychology is dominated with positivistic and post-positivistic epistemological stances (Krane & Baird, 2005; Baird & McGannon, 2009) that seek "to produce ... detached, valid, and generalizable research" (Krane & Baird, 2005, p.

89) on sports aggression. This limited conception of aggression fails to recognise that aggression is a multi-dimensional concept which is manifested in various sport social practices (Baird & McGannon, 2009; Pringle 2009), such as playing with injuries, group nudity, excessive drinking, and initiation rituals.

Aggression is not innate to people but rather embedded within them as product of social practice through their interactions with people in the social world (Blumer, 1969; Burgess, Edwards, & Skinner, 2003; Donnelly & Young, 1988; Krane & Baird, 2005; Light & Kirk, 2000; Pringle & Markula, 2005; Pringle, 2009). As an element of masculinity, aggression is a "fluid negotiated symbol" that is utilised by people to construct their athletic identity or self as a social sport object (Baird & McGannon, 2009, p. 387). The meaning of aggressive act within an organisational group is dependent on how group members define themselves and their identity through their lived experiences. The context the aggression itself occurs in also needs to be considered. There is no universal action or fixed meaning for aggression since we all have different lines of action (aggressive acts do not occur in isolation but rather part of a stream of action) and personal histories (Blumer, 1969). "In terms of aggression this indicates that the same acts can hold different meanings from sport to sport, game to game, and moment to moment within a given game because of the ongoing negotiation of multiple lines of action (i.e., social interaction)" (Baird & McGannon, 2009, p. 387). Thus, the only means to fully comprehend the cultural meaning of aggressive social practices within an organisational culture is: understand how aggression is conceptualised as a masculine element that is utilised by individuals to construct their self within a particular sport group (Baird & McGannon, 2009).

Dean and Stu were both inducted into the cultural meaning discourses of rugby as youths. According to Light and Kirk (2000), Light (2007), Pringle & Markula (2005), and Pringle (2009), young males in rugby are culturally embedded to normalise aggression and accept pain and injury. Disciplinary technologies within rugby construct "a productive body in rugby [that] is skilled and hardened; yet such a body is only useful if it desires to seek victory in the face of pain. The disciplinary techniques employed in training rugby players, accordingly, aimed to produce well-drilled, fit, tough, competitive ..." (Pringle, 2009, p. 220) docile athletes that utilises their bodies, and risk injury, for the benefit of the team. Rugby athletes are required to demonstrate masculine-warrior values or sport cultural imperatives, as illustrated by Dean: *I work for my team and in a highly competitive game. It's physical. Within rugby you go through pain but you do it for the team. That's why I have these scars on my face*. Dean utilises the facial scars as physical/tangible evidence that he has the masculinity of a highly competitive rugby athlete - he is aggressive, tough and willing to make sacrifices for his team. Stu and Dean stress that the adoption of aggression is a pivotal masculine cultural imperative for rugby. According to Dean, *I use my rugby to initially to channel my aggression and I think it is, it definitely helps. If I didn't play rugby I would have a hell of a lot of aggression with inside me*. This aggression has been embedded within him since undergoing the gendering process of sport at a young age in order to be socialised into masculinity and thus perceived as normal (Baird & McGannon, 2009; Messner, 1992). Dean constructs himself as a highly aggressive athlete since he possesses a level of aggression that is accepted and required within university rugby. Aggression is utilised by rugby players to maintain a rugby identity and self, which is accomplished by navigating discourses where they willingly inflict and endure pain (Baird & McGannon, 2009;

Burgess et al., 2003; Pringle, 2009). Pringle (2009) asserts that rugby players find technologies of dominance and aggressive discourses to be pleasurable, satisfying, and fun. The pleasure and emotional solidarity within rugby is similar to sadomasochism (S&M). Pringle (2009, p. 228) says: "Rugby, like S&M, can be understood as a [consensual] taboo-breaking practice associated with transparent games of power connected with the excitement induced from the fear of pain and the ability to dominate".

 As a symbol of authenticity (masculinity) within sport (Baird & McGannon, 2009) that provides pleasure (Pringle, 2009), aggression is fostered by university rugby clubs both during and outside of competition. Dean identifies a pre-game ritual where players *listen to rock sort of songs, nothing in particular. Just something to get you going, gets the aggression inside of you going*. Thus, rituals are utilised within rugby to embed and reinforce a high level of aggression and other masculine cultural imperatives that are required to construct a male rugby identity.

Stu utilised his previous 16 year rugby experience to construct both his university rugby identity and his athlete identity as highly competitive. He had played *at a more elite level [than university rugby] …. I went almost to the professional level and [when you compete at that level] you do, you feel kind of elitist, you feel above people within the sport* (Stu). Securing a position on a university team makes Stu a highly competitive athlete within the rugby community. For Stu, playing university rugby *means, although I play for fun and enjoyment, I'm a naturally extremely competitive so I do like that competition between other people; fighting for positions on teams and natural enjoyment you get out of competition as well*. Stu reaffirms the

assertion that aggression within rugby is constructed as normalised pleasure. Additionally, Both he and Dean support the claim that the extent a rugby player possesses masculine cultural meanings, notably aggression, partly determines their status - individually as an athlete and collectively as a team (see Donnelly & Young, 1988; Light & Kirk, 2000; Pringle & Markula, 2005; Pringle, 2009). Competition for a position on a team requires integrating masculinity with athletic skill/ability to win. Winning a position on a higher calibre team garners an athlete a higher status within the club and the sport as a whole. Additionally, competition during games is the co-ordinated exercise of masculinity/ability to win and possess a higher status over another rugby team. However, rugby skills and abilities, or training amount and intensity, were not considered by these participants when constructing their athlete identity.

The rugby players attest that they are highly competitive athletes because they play to compete and they compete to win. British university rugby players focus on the competition process rather than the training process when constructing their identity. Bob, the track and field coach, claims that training is not as important to team sports since *in rugby and football, and some of the invasion based games, ... [athletic outcome is] unpredictable on the day. I think we need to beat them but I'm not sure if we can*. In track and field, athletes train to improve their PB in order to achieve athletic success and status (performance determines outcome). However, in team sports, the group's performance, in relation to a specific opposing group's performance, determines the competition's outcome. Although the rugby players argue that training is necessary to improve their opportunity to win.

Uni 3's male rugby players train four times a week and Stu and Dean suggest that their club is committed to training very hard. Stu stresses that training is a priority for the club: *we buy a lot of training kit … and because the majority of people who play rugby are in sport sciences, it's easy [to co-ordinate training sessions. Additionally,] … quit a lot us go to the gym by ourselves.* Male rugby players train between five and ten hours per week. Training sessions are run by one of two coaches, *one of them is an outside coach, and one who takes the fitness sessions, who is a student* (Dean). The outside coach attends three of the training sessions. According to Stu, the *external guy comes in but that's purely volunteer. He's friends with [3rd years]; actually a member 2-3 years ago. He's purely mainly for 3rd year. He plays for rugby standard.* This alumni member provides coaching to the more elite team because of his relationship with existing club members. The remainder of the athletes are coached by a current student. This suggests that there is no coaching standard or guarantee of professional outside coaching for university male rugby players. It also indicates that students in formal hierarchical positions within rugby clubs are greater agents of normalisation than coaches.

Tina is coached three times per week by an outside coach who has been with the club for five years. However, she is frustrated that her club only trained approximately five hours a week. In Tina's comparison between North America university training and British university training, she stated:

> *I don't know, it's just very different … it's a bit more laid back … a change to the intensity to what [it's like in North America] but, by the same token, I think we would be a much better team if we were training more often. The commitment here sometimes gets to me because I'm use to having a high*

commitment in [North America] whereas here [Great Britain], you'll have somebody not show up for training for four weeks and then just show up and be like 'hey guys'. It's like 'What the hell?' [where have you been?]. It's a bit worrying. It's just a different mentality.

The lack of training impacted on Tina's athletic abilities but also on her daily routines: *I'm use to training every day. It helps me with time management to be training more …. If every day during the week we trained, I think in some matter of fashion it would structure my day.*

As an American, Tina was unaccustomed to being a member of a competitive university team that possesses two types of members – athletic and social. The less disciplined approach to training reflects the social cultural meanings that exist within British university sport. Fewer hours given to training provide a greater amount of time to socialise. According to Tina:

… training here is a lot more laid back so you do end up hanging out a bit more than you do in the States but it's still I think to certain extent about the sport and you can walk away and not see a person, especially since you train so little less here that you can walk away and not see the person for a week and it's like how do you really know that person.

Tina states that *usually Wednesday … we'll drink that night. [As well] … most of us will go out on a Friday night*. Male rugby players also go out drinking as a club at least twice a week. However, heavy alcohol consumption is a normalised social practice within university sport, especially after competitions (Clayton & Humberstone, 2006; Dempster, 2009; Sparkes, et al., 2007). The social cultural imperative in rugby is such that an equal or greater amount of time is given to

socialising and alcohol consumption as to training. Social outings can also take precedence over training. Tina notes an incident where *we didn't have training that night because of [a social outing]*. The importance of socialising is further reflected in the ratio between members that coach to the number of social secretaries on the club executive - for the men's rugby club it is 1:3. According to Dean *there's three social secretaries. There's a lot to take up, we divide it up between the three.* The ample social time provides less athletically skilled athletes the opportunity to garner social status in the club. Both Stu and Dean have been elected as social secretaries for the following academic year. Stu states that, *it's a stepping stone really. Obviously if you want to be in the big positions in the club, you've got to start in one of the small positions*. The position of social sectary – planning and ensuring social outings are successful – is a gateway position to higher hierarchal status positions within the club.

Kirby et al. (2000) assert that alcohol consumption is a cultural imperative of parent sport culture. Chapter Four identified that male student rugby players consume large amounts of alcohol. However, Dean said that *we do more than that. We often get together for a social gathering at least once a month, for a meal*. Additionally, the male rugby players stress that they interact primarily with other rugby players, either individually or in small groups. They claim their rugby club is a community where *it's kind'a natural you spend more time, social time, with them* (Stu). Since rugby players regularly 'hang-out' with each other daily, not all personal interactions are going to be social or alcohol-based. Dean elaborates by stating:

> *I like being part of that group, and that's something that makes you feel*
>
> *welcome in the community. There's someone I can go to if I need help, even*

> *with anything within university. Whether it be rugby or course work. I've*
> *been helped out by 3rd years and 2nd years with my course even though ...*
> *well, it's not if were friends but we are friends within the community now.*

There is a significant amount of informal and unstructured social and personal interaction amongst the male rugby players that is not inclusive of all members. However, formal and/or structured large group social gatherings within rugby clubs generally revolve around alcohol consumption.

The cultural imperatives of rugby dictate that members need to consume alcohol to demonstrate masculinity. Dean says: t*o be honest, I wouldn't drink as much if I wasn't within the group. I wouldn't drink beer because I really don't like it but, yeah, I feel I have to in ways but I'm not too bothered about it*. Alcohol consumption also facilitates other social practices that reflect masculinity, notably heterosexuality. One of the purposes that the male rugby club goes out drinking twice a week is to facilitate meeting women. The alcohol, according to Dean, *it's just a suit really, you can't drink with any ladies without drinks*. However, Dean states that being a rugby player at Uni 3 made it difficult to pick-up women. *When you go out on a night out and you introduce yourself to someone and they're like 'oh, you're a rugby player. I don't, yeah' and they just walk off* (Dean). This supports Dempster's (2009) empirical findings that hyper-masculine rugby players are perceived distastefully by the other students, Dean claims:

> *... the rugby team is hated by a lot of the students and nobody really likes the*
> *rugby team. I do feel sometimes that the rugby team are excluded from the*
> *whole sports community. We do go drinking at the SU bar but I do think*
> *some teams look down upon us ... [because] a lot of the rugby team are quite*

arrogant and the alpha male thing …. There's obvious the masculinity of it, if you're a rugby player you're a real man and stuff like that. There are a lot of people who think like that …. We're not a bad bunch of lads. I think perhaps previous years have caused that reputation because … I was informed that it used to be, used to have a really bad reputation.

All interviewees attested that a divide exists between the female and male rugby players and their respective clubs. *There is a men's and female's rugby team but we don't socialise … there was a meeting a few weeks back trying to mix the clubs to make one, but it didn't go down well so I don't think it will be happening* (Dean). Tina elaborates that:

A lot of the girls I talked to on the rugby team don't agree with what they [male rugby players] do and how they act. You hear crazy things. They make people ride on the bus home naked, what's the point in that? I don't get it. One of the girls goes out with one of the guys on the rugby team and she's fine with him. Some of them laugh it off but the majority of the girls on the team are like 'they're idiots!'.

The cultural difference between the female rugby club's masculinity and the male club's hyper-masculinity such that they construct and perceive functions and social practices differently.

6.3.2 Initiations

Dean was the sole rugby participant to identify that Uni 3 had implemented a sport initiation policy. Stu was aware that *our club captain had to do a health and safety [at the SU], and so I guess they do [have a policy].* According to Dean, *from what*

I'm aware of, we have to write it down and inform the university. That's why were not allowed to have an initiation ... [because] of the events we do. The male rugby club initiation that Dean and Stu participated in was unsanctioned by the SU: however, there were no consequences. Dean says this is because *we don't do it within university ... we don't jeopardise the university at all*. By moving the initiation outside the university, the male rugby club was able to circumvent the initiation policy. Stu and Dean stressed that the university does not have the capacity to control what students do socially off campus; student athletes possess power to resist the discipline of university administrators. Uni 3's initiation policy has driven the initiation activities underground where there is no accountability for what occurs. However, it does allow the university to be perceived as doing something and controlling them.

The rugby interviews attested that their clubs had two main initiation rules:

> *What one person does, another person will do. And that it can't be changed without a club vote ... the initiation stays the same from year to year; it doesn't change ... it's traditional. All the activities may vary slightly but obviously the main activities, they stay the same all the way through. Every member does the same activities .... [Also,] that if you don't want to participate, you don't have to. It's not mandatory.* (Stu)

They also asserted that *it's optional but you're encouraged to do it* (Stu). However, Dean says that *you can't be forced to do it but I would say you would be given a level of respect if you were to do the initiations. But obviously not forced to do it*. Power is fluid amongst rugby players whose bodies are enmeshed in a political field (Pringle & Markula, 2005). Freshers are guided to participate by seniors who utilise

the discursive truth that completing the initiation will transform their self. Those who complete the initiation become more influential members within the club. For instance, they have access to roles, such as social secretaries, where they can utilise discourses tactically. Those who perceive submitting to domination and completing the initiation as advantageous or pleasurable will do so whilst those who perceive no advantage or pleasure will not. Thus, each individual rugby player determines whether or not to be initiated, as illustrated by Stu's comment: *I would say it's personal choice [whether to do the initiation or not]. There are second and third years that haven't done it for various reasons. Some have missed it, some were away.*

Stu posits that an athlete who would not enjoy the initiation within a particular sport would probably not be in that sport to begin with. So, there is a form of pre- or anticipatory socialisation going on whereby people have views about initiations prior to getting to university. According to Stu:

> *I think it has to do with the mentality [and culture] of the sport as well. If you do it in rugby, it's a social game and rugby players are known to be social. But I've done athletics for a number of years as well and I would never expect to do an initiation in athletics purely because it's more of an individual sport. Whereas football and rugby are team sports.*

For Stu, initiations are constructed within each sport culture to reflect that subgroup's cultural meanings. Dean concurs by stating that *initiations should be unique to the club.* Each sport, and sport club, will have discern what is normal and deviant and thus, as illustrated in Stu's statement, divisions of practices will exist between differing sports and sport clubs.

Aspects of the Initiation Model (Wintrup, 2003) were supported by the rugby players. Notably, sport type – team or individual – and competition level must be factored in when determining the possibility and intensity of initiations. However, my empirical evidence (Wintrup, 2003) found that Canadian athletes would more likely to be initiated at a higher sport level and less likely at the social level. In contrast, Stu suggests the opposite for British sport:

> *I played to a good level in rugby but when I was at a high level in rugby, the initiation wasn't so much .... Initiations to me are a social thing. The higher up in your sport you go, the more elite you become, the less important a lot of the social aspects become. Your more focused on what you want to achieve [athletically] ... than the social aspect of it.*

This indicates rugby initiations are a social practice that has been constructed and normalised by athletes for athletes.

All rugby players perceive initiations as potentially being positive or negative. The positive aspects accomplish the Initiation Model's first level – bonding. According to Stu:

> *... the way I saw it is a hell of a way to bond with the team. You're with 20 to 30 of the lads who are in the same boat as you are, same position and it's a good way to reflect upon something and have a laugh about it .... [Also,]I wanted to do it to gain the respect of my elders and peers [(social status)].*

Dean shares the same sentiments that the initiation is a rite of passage that transitions outsiders to insiders while at the same time facilitating group bonding: *It's quite a good team building exercise ... you don't ... have to do the initiation to become co-operative with each other but ... it brings a fun element really. [Also,] I think it's the*

respect of going from a fresher to become [an insider of the club]. According to Dean, the status change amongst male rugby players is symbolically represented with a stripe. Completing the initiation means *you get your one stripe, like when you get into the army. You get one stripe for your first year, two stripes for second year …. When you earn the one stripe, it feels like a lot on your arm.* The stripe is a dividing practice between those who have completed the rugby initiation, and thus possess the knowledge and truth of the initiation, and those who have not.

The initiation also provides an opportunity for initiated rugby players to display heteronormative masculinity to each other and to outsiders. By completing the initiation, Dean was able to *say to my friends 'I've done this, I've done that' and I'm proud of it and stuff like that.* However, Dean notes that some of the activities themselves can be construed as displeasing:

> *… some of the stuff that we do … you would never be proud of and it is a fact that I can say I've done the initiation. Perhaps not the stuff within the initiation I've said I've done. It is not something I would tell my mum or dad, I would just tell them I've done the initiation.*

The completion of the initiation proves the fresher is worthy of possessing membership status of the group. Some initiation activities are not perceived as normal since they are designed to facilitate group bonding and determine whether the fresher possesses the desired masculine cultural meanings. However, these activities can still be pleasurable within a sport constructed as being similar to S&M (Pringle, 2009). As the activities within the game of rugby are considered enjoyable by the athletes, so are the social activities they engage in as a group outside the game. As

with all cultural social functions within this organisational culture, there has to be an element of fun. According to Stu:

> *I was happy I was doing it, not necessarily enjoying while I was doing it because of the things I was doing. While I was doing it, I was probably; it was funny, it was funny but in the same regard, you know, not everyone was enjoying it … I think a lot of us just saw a funny side to it. Some of the stuff we were doing, it's quite disgusting but it's good fun. You do it, you laugh at it and soon as everybody else did it you laughed at them. It's a collective thing, you bounce off each other.*

Stu, Dean, and Tina claimed that anyone who did not have fun completing the initiation probably had a negative initiation experience.

Negative initiations were referred by Stu and Dean as bullying (Tina utilised the North American term hazing). However, bullying was perceived a harsh term to represent minor negative experiences where a degree of freedom, and thus a power relationship, still exists. Stu summed it up aptly that:

> *… bullying comes in many forms … I would describe a bully as someone who is vindictive, somebody who isolates somebody or betrays somebody. Things said in jest, I think you say something in jest or taking the mick. It's fine while you're doing it but it's somebody who carries on and on and on and they focus one person or group of people with common traits. It's a progression, that's what bullying is.*

The rugby players support the Initiation Model's (Wintrup, 2003) claim that there are different degrees to negative initiations. Although an initiator's intent, including

whether they allow for the possibility of resistance, is fundamental in determining what degree it is, Stu asserts another key factor exists - *the way people take them.*

An organisation's cultural meanings construct the purpose of an initiation – primary embedding, secondary reinforcing, or trial – the activities that constitute it, and the intensity level of those activities. The degree to which an individual has been socialised into the organisation's culture and become docile from numerous subtly everyday practices will influence their perception of the initiation, especially if: the organisation possesses a subculture to dominant societal culture, and the individual has constructed an identity that does not possess the deviant cultural meanings and/or a low tolerable deviance threshold. Thus, a primary embedding initiation within a subculture will construct initiations – the activities and the intensity level of those activities – as reflective of both dominant societal cultural meanings as well as the organisation's subcultural meanings. The lower subcultural intensity of the initiation activities will permit individuals to take them as a means to construct a new organisational identity. In contrast, a trial initiation will possess activities at an intensity that is predominantly reflective of the organisation's subcultural meanings since the purpose of the initiation is to determine whether or not the individual has been fully socialised into the organisation's culture (normalised the club's discourses).

The male rugby club at Uni 3 has four initiations – home team, away team, club, and coach/tour – which have been constructed within their organisation to serve three different purposes – primary, trial, and secondary. Dean says *the team initiation would be, say if I played for the first team, my first debut match [on the first team],*

I'll be initiated for it. It's basically a way of saying you should be proud of yourself for what you achieved and the rest of team celebrates it by making you do various activities. He was reluctant to identify the activities that are performed: *Don't think I should say a lot about that, it's a bit offensive. A warm-up to your first experience on a coach trip with the rugby team. I won't elaborate anymore on it!*. However, Stu informed me that *the home initiation,[consists of]drinking various things and playing silly games. The away initiation, pretty much the same but obviously in front of another team.* Both team initiations focus on transitioning the athlete into a specific team. Additionally, since they occur at the beginning of the academic year (first home team game and first away team game) and they consist of low intensity activities, they function as a primary embedding initiation. However, according to Stu *the way it was done, we have, if you say you're on the first team, you have a home initiation, an away initiation and then THE initiation*. The sequence of the initiations suggests that the team initiations assist the freshers in constructing their rugby identity and makes them docile and normalising the club's discourses while preparing them for higher intensity activities of the club initiation.

According to Stu and Dean, all club members are invited to attend the club initiation that occurs mid way through the academic year. Stu stated that *it was meant to be just after Christmas but it snowed then. It ended up being sort a late February.* The initiation emphasises, and all other activities (e.g., fitness activities) revolve around, alcohol consumption. Stu explains the club initiation consists of:

> *... lots of drinking. We did things like team exercises and for the first part of the initiation, we formed two lines, hand on the person in front of us, hand on the person on the side of us, we would be blindfolded. We basically walked*

around campus and we didn't have a clue where they were taking us [to a field off campus]. They disoriented us for a bit fun. We didn't know where we going, where we were, what was in front of us. Then there's the drinking side of it, obviously various games and bits and pieces and that's it really. There was a lot of fitness along side of what we were doing in the initiation ….
There were various drinking tasks and, as a collective when we got to the field, there was a mat on the floor, big plastic mat, and loads of cans of drink in the middle and we basically had to go to the mat and drink, playing games, doing fitness along side of it and various different challenges we had to complete as well as being covered in random bits of food, fish and part of the fun.

The male rugby players further identified that, for some duration of the initiation, they were nude. Dean or Stu were not inclined to discuss the nudity except to say that: *a level of drunkenness before we did it and somebody's bright idea while we were doing it* (Stu), and to assert heterosexuality by explicitly stating there were no sexual (i.e., homosexual) undertones during the initiation. Pringle's (2009) male rugby participants also strongly asserted that there were no sexual undertones to their rugby group nudity activities, which lead him to posit that rugby is a desexualised form of S&M. However, these participants are situated in a heteronormative masculine sport culture that perceives homosexuality as deviant and weak and thus the truthfulness that no homosexual undertones exist in group nudity should be considered. Additionally, Pringle (2009) notes that there has been very little research on the link between rugby participation and pleasure. Also, Pringle and Hickey (2010, p. 124) found that rugby players outsider of North America – from Japan, New Zealand, and Ireland - were not inclined to discuss or "report on bizarre hazing

rituals, public acts of urinating or the singing of crude songs". Thus, there is a lack of knowledge and willingness to discuss perceived sexualised social activities of male rugby players. Consequently, it is difficult to determine how these activities may or may not be constructed within the sexual activities of rugby players (research is required to determine the extent, if any, of playing S&M type rugby – full contact - with males is foreplay to later sexual activity with females).

Dean avoided discussing the male nudity whereas Stu sought to explain it away and downplay it at the same time – they were drunk and it just happened. However, two other athlete participants at Uni 3 - Tina and Luke – assert that group male nudity frequently occurs amongst the rugby club members. Additionally, Bob claimed that male rugby nudity occurred at other universities. The unease of discussing group male nudity within the hyper-masculine rugby club is reflected in Dean's statement: *The nudity one, I was quite surprised you asked that. And whether I consumed alcohol before or after I was nude. It was all them ones. I wasn't surprised by them but I was quite shocked that you actually asked them.* This further affirms that group male nudity at social gatherings is something which occurs but is not discussed. This is possibly due to: how group male nudity is constructed within British society and/or British sport, or to the homo-erotic cultural elements that may exist within either the heteronormative masculine parent sport culture or the subworld rugby culture.

The male rugby club main initiation possesses activities at a higher intensity level than their team initiations. The club initiation does not seek to embed or reinforce the cultural meanings of the organisation. Rather, the initiation tests whether fresher

athletes possess the required cultural meanings. Those who successfully complete the initiation, and prove themselves worthy of possessing membership status of the group, receive a 'stripe'. In comparison, the coach/tour initiation occurs in the spring, near the end of the academic year, and can be considered a secondary reinforcing initiation. The intensity of the initiation is less than the club's main initiation. The activities performed are similar to those of the team initiations but at a higher intensity level.

Whereas the male rugby club has three initiations constructed on their hyper-masculine culture, the female rugby club initiation is reflective of their organisation's masculine culture. According to Tina:

> *With rugby we had a rugby beach party at the SU club, one of the Monday night Flirt nights. Basically you dress up and whatever the attire, we all had to dress up in beach gear, that kind of thing. We had to get to the SU bar at a certain time, but if you didn't there was penalty, however they really don't enforce the penalty. We got to the SU bar, where [in a beer circle] we all just kind of bonding. The whole team was there, which was really nice since I think it was the first team the whole was really together and out and having a good time. We got written on a whole bunch, it's like one of their favourite things to do here is to write on people but of course, you know some of the freshers got it really bad. Some of the stuff was inappropriate stuff like 'slut fresher', that kind of thing and some of it was like 'No 1 Fresher', that kind of thing.*

Tina was adamant that no group nudity exercises occurred or that any sexual undertones existed.

Tina constructs her rugby initiation in a similar way to that described by Taylor and Fleming (2000). The female rugby club sat in a drinking circle and all activities revolved around, or were the result of, the consumption of alcohol. However, whereas Taylor's (Taylor & Fleming, 2000) rugby initiation occurred in the private space of backroom of a pub, Tina's occurred first in the SU bar and then later in the SU club. Tina states that in the SU bar, only members affiliated with the rugby club, including the coach, were allowed to participate in the drinking circle. *Our head coach is a guy. He was drinking but not really into the games or anything like that. He was there and he was socialising and that kind of thing* (Tina). The second part of the initiation, going to the club, was similar to the athletic initiations previously described. There was a fancy dress theme night at the SU club that the rugby club promoted and sold tickets for in order to receive funding. *We had to advertise for it [team's night in the SU club]; the whole week beforehand everybody was like 'yeah, yeah, beach party'* (Tina). Once they arrived at the SU club, Tina states *we kind'a dispersed*. Arguably, the group bonding aspect of the initiation rite was over since the initiation was no longer solely for rugby club members.

Reflecting on her rugby initiation, Tina discusses how her initiation could have been better:

> *One thing about our initiation was that it was very early on and so I think people still didn't really know each other all that well. I think now if we had an initiation, say in second term, it would probably be a lot different than the initiation we had in the beginning because people didn't know each as well so you don't know how far you can push people, if that makes sense. I think we would have different roles if we know each other better, we know what*

roles to put each in as well but like then no one, I had been here for only a

month so no one knew anything so, they called me 'Yank' but that was about

it, and that was fine.

Tina describes that the purpose of the initiation was for freshers to learn the rugby

club's organisational culture, to bond with each other, construct their identities, and

have an enjoyable time. As a primary embedding initiation, it did not possess any

trial element within it and thus did not challenge her to the extent she would have

desired.

6.4 Football

6.4.1 Culture

Table 6.3: Football Participants

Participant	Uni	Education Year	Athlete Type	Age Group	Gender	Ethnicity and Nationality	Position in Club
Eve	4	3rd year	Competitive	U25	Female	White-British	Captain
Kate	2	3rd year	Elite	U25	Female	White-British	Captain
Mike	2	3rd year	Highly Competitive	U25	Male	White-British	Captain
Sam	6	1st year	Highly Competitive	U25	Male	White-British	Captain
Cheo	3	1st year	Highly Competitive	U25	Male	Black-British	

Table 6.3 shows that one football participant has a Black-British athlete identity.

According to Warty (n.d.), the racial make-up of university sport participants is

reflective of the student body. HESA (2010) reports 80% of university students are

Caucasian. Previous British university sport culture research has concentrated on

male Caucasian athletes. The inclusion of Cheo as an athlete participant provides a

racial minority organisational culture perspective on university sport culture and initiations.

University football clubs are comprised of multiple teams, where each team is made up of a similar athlete type. *The whole club is divided into four groups. The first team, compete at a high level. The second team, a third and a fourth team* (Cheo). Kate clarifies the difference between the four teams:

> *… the first team is quite elite, that's full of internationals and people playing national league standards so they don't [socialise] as much. There's probably a couple of them that socialise on the sort of drinking side. We have some socials where it is not just alcohol based but when you're at uni there isn't much time to do that. More second and thirds would be more likely to socialise together, but playing wise the first and the seconds are a lot more closer than the seconds and thirds are. Players will interchange between ones and twos more than twos and threes.*

Kate claims that athletes with the highest athletic status within the club (first team) partake in few social outings and are segregated from those with higher social status (fourth team). Mike echoes similar sentiments, suggesting that the four teams reflect a competitive-social dichotomy. The fourth team is social-competitive that emphasises the sociable aspect (fun, friendly, relaxed) of amateurism (Holt, 1989) and masculinity. In contrast, the first team is almost purely competitive (with no sociable amateurism aspect) and reflects heteronormative masculine sport cultural imperatives. According to Mike:

> *… there is quite a big jump from first team down to second team. The first team is sort of being run as a professional club this year because of the*

coach we have; *his job [is] to coach the first team. They [all the teams] train the same amount [three times per week] but the approach is slightly more serious and more pressure for the first team to perform [to win].*

He further identifies that most of the first team also play on a semi-professional team and rarely socialise with the other university club members due to their high commitment to athleticism as elite athletes. Only those on the first team at highly ranked sport universities and ranked at an elite level (e.g., international, national standards) have this high commitment to athleticism, as illustrated by the football participants. Thus, only those on the first team have coaches as their predominant agent of normalisation. Individuals on the other teams have coaches and students who act as agents of university football normalisation, with the students being the primary agents of normalisation for the social side.

Cheo, Mike, and Sam were in agreement that they are highly competitive athletes. The two female footballers construct their identity and university football differently from their male counterparts and amongst themselves. However, all the participants utilised football-specific intersubjective beliefs when constructing their athlete identity. Football identities were constructed on their level of athletic commitment, previous experience, and present athletic status. This was summed up aptly by Sam: *I saw the degrees there [between the categories]. I wouldn't say I'm elite but I play at a [highly skilled level of] football and I'm on a national football scholarship here. I'm not international or anything like that but I thought in the middle would be most appropriate.*

All footballers identify themselves as a competitive athlete of some type based in part on the level of commitment to athletic success during a game. They describe a competitive footballer as an athlete who plays to win and does not enjoy losing. Cheo says that *every single match for me is not a joke; it's not just for fun. I'm looking to give my best, give 100% at everything I can.* Eve elaborates that:

> … y*ou've got to be keen [to be a competitive university footballer]. You have a first team and the lower teams and the lower teams I say play for the love of play and just have fun. On the higher end team, obviously they do enjoy it but they want to win. I do want to enjoy it while playing but I want to win.*

These footballers emphasise the masculinity-based cultural meaning of competition as well as discipline, focused perception, pride, group solidarity, and self-control/control. For instance, Mike says that when he competes for Uni *2 there's a sense of belonging to a team and having a bit of pride as well*. The social cultural imperatives of amateurism – playing for fun and social reasons – are secondary to the masculine cultural imperatives for competitive athletes.

Mike is attending a top five ranked BUCS university where, in his second year, he made the first team that competes in the BUCS Premier Football League. The duties of being elected club captain contributed to being placed on the second team, which has a higher sociable amateurism aspect, in his final year. However, Mike said that *this year I'm enjoying my football lot more because I feel less pressure playing second team then last year playing first team.* In comparison, Cheo and Sam played semi-professional football prior to attending university. As a fresher, Cheo is on Uni 3's Tier Three team but was seeking to get on the first team in order to play in the BUCS Premier League. According to Mike and Cheo, freshers typically have to

work their way up to a first team. As a fresher, Sam is on the first team as well as captain of the football club. However, Sam's institution is ranked lower in the BUCS championship points. Sam's team at Uni 8 competes in BUCS Tier Two League against Uni 2's lower ranked teams. Mike says that *our fourth team play other university's first team so, a good standard all the way down [in our club]*. According to Sam, he got on the first team and became the club captain after *I played my first game, and they didn't do very well. I just played and got an important role, and got quite cool on the team and they decided to make me captain*. Sam was appointed captain due to both his athletic and social status within the football club, which is predominantly non-White-British.

Kate and Eve are on the first team of their respective football clubs, which are rival clubs in the BUCS Premier Football League, yet which reflect different athlete type identities. The two footballers have differing football experience and are in clubs that have prioritised different cultural meanings. Kate claims her team is elite since it has highly ranked players and because *the first and second teams have professional coaches that come in and [are] … paid for by the university because we're at a higher level.* Uni 2 emphasises elite professional sport by having semi-professional and national standard athletes as well as multiple professional coaches. Yet, Kate is not currently ranked as being international or national league standards. She defines herself as an elite athlete partly because *when I was [between the ages of] 11-16, I was highly competitive and [between the ages of] 16 – 18, I was at academy. The highest you can play in your age group, without playing national*.

Eve had only competed in community based football leagues prior to university. Her university football club is constructed on a different historical basis with the intention of completing a different line of action than Kate's. Eve's university emphasises a more amateur competitive approach to sport by having only one semi-professional coach. According to Eve, w*e have two coaches for the first team. One of them has a full-time job … and does this as well. The other one is a PhD student and does this on the side.* The other teams in her club are coached by students. Eve does not consider anyone on her team as being elite because, for her, elite *is more of a professional way. Obviously we want to win but if we don't then there are no consequences, like nobody is going to be fired.* Whereas Mike and Kate emphasise that there is a significant amount of pressure placed on athletes to win at Uni 2, Eve says the emphasis to win at Uni 4 comes from the athletes. Additionally, within Eve's club, socialising is an important cultural imperative for all members; all club members frequently socialise together. Cheo indicates that his football club is similar to Eve's, in that the socialising cultural imperative of amateurism is prevalent and normalised within all teams. According to Cheo, *I would say about 75% of the club do have the socialising bits and habits in common … [and] the amount of time they go out is like every day.* The only significant difference between the first team and the other teams at Uni 3 and Uni 4 is the amount of training.

Kate, Eve, and Mike – BUCS Premier and Tier One Leagues - train three to four times per week. In comparison, Cheo and Sam – in BUCS Tier Two League - only train once per week. According to Cheo, the amount of training *is less then what I'm use to. When I was semi-professional, we use to train three times a week. It was more workload but you have to consider the university work, which is the primary*

reason we're here. It's not too much but it's enough to keep us fit for the season.
Sam echoes the same sentiment that training is work (possesses a minimal social component) and academic work is more important than training: *team training we only do once a week because of time. [If we had to do more] I would say that's a bit too much [especially since we're] not getting paid for anything and that's [football] not out primary focus; we're here to get degrees.* The lack of a professional culture within their clubs meant that training is not an imperative for Cheo and Sam. Sam and Cheo say that they train on their own but only when it can be scheduled around academic duties. However, both academic work and training are subservient to socialising. Sam, who drinks over 40 units of alcohol per week, says that *I drink a lot but so do my mates. I mean, you got to make the most of these three years now because we are going to be working for the next fifty so I might as well enjoy myself while I can.* According to Cheo, *this year, I have been a real social person. I've been out quite a few times with my teammates …. Normally it would be Wednesday night after the match, regardless of the result. We go out and have fun after. On Monday after training, go out as well.* This suggests that the matches and training sessions function as a means to get club members together to facilitate a social outing that night.

Most footballers stressed that the club captain's ritualised hierarchical role is designed to ensure that socialising occurs. Mike says:

> *… since my first year, the club captain is the main focus point of the club, especially on the social side of things. The club captain is always running things … you get to have quite a lot of impact on how the club's run, more socially than the actual football side of things and there are quite a few*

perks, they're all social perks really; going out as all sort of like the VIP

members of the club.

Sam elaborates on the football responsibilities as well as the social status of being

captain:

[I] attend a few meetings. I've got a meeting next week with the SU but

nothing major ... it wouldn't change how I play or how I conduct myself

whether I'm captain or not. I was out last night [Wednesday night], it was a

bit of kudos in there 'cause I was captain. More important in cricket to be

captain 'cause you have a lot of tactical responsibility and that, whereas in

football it's flip a coin and wear the arm band really.

Both Mike and Sam illustrate the ability to influence and guide the actions of others,

notably their pleasurable social activities, is heightened by their status as captain, a

role they have secured through their tactical usage of knowledge and abilities.

The football captains describe how they organise non-alcoholic social events. These

events generally involve the club going to town. Sam says that alcoholic-free outings

are important for his club to do group activities together. About half of Sam's *team*

don't drink, so we do team things like bowling [meals, cinema,] and stuff. It's quite

funny, so we do that instead. However, most of the footballers stress it is a priority

for their club to have weekly alcohol-based social outings. Wednesday is a ritualistic

drinking night for all football clubs. Kate, who attends the same institution as Mike,

states that *on a Wednesday, all the sports teams will meet and have beer circles and*

things like that. Eve also stated that *yep, every Wednesday, every Wednesday all the*

sports clubs go out. The importance of drinking is to the degree that the performance

of it has been ritualised on a specific night, Wednesday, for arguably all British

university team sport clubs, regardless of the institution. Mike describes the

ritualised integration social practice of Wednesday night:

> *… every Wednesday so far, we have a social night or what we call a beer circle in the SU down there. What happens we will meet at half seven-eight o'clock and have a beer circle, there's always a set amount of drinks and about half past ten - all the sport teams do this, go out to the SU on Wednesday, it's packed full of sport teams - a free bus turns up at half-ten and everyone goes to town. We go to the club.*

Mike further elaborates on the importance of having the ritualised weekly Wednesday night social outing for freshers and returners:

> *I think it … forms bonding …. If they're coming out with you week in, week out, you sorta get to know the freshers better … I definitely know a lot more of the freshers that come out all the time, purely because it's just socialising like, there are a few of them don't drink and won't be forced to drink that still come out on a nights out and I still know them better than say some of the freshers who don't come out at all and just do football.*

Mike's statement reveals that a relation of power exists amongst footballers. Those that perceive a strategic advantage of attending the social outings as a means to an end, do so. Additionally, whilst in attendance they have the freedom to choose whether to consume alcohol or not. In comparison, those footballers who do not see any strategic advantage to attending the ritualistic Wednesday outing (e.g., footballers that possess high athletic status and have been made docile by coaches to normalise athleticism and perceive social outings as deviant), which seeks to normalise university football social discourses and make freshers socially docile by returners, do not attend.

Similar to Mike, Sam also claims alcohol-based social outings are integral for group bonding. He is closer to White-British athletes in other clubs that consume alcohol than the non-White-British athletes in his club who do not go out drinking on Wednesday nights: *Wednesday is sports night out. I mean we don't just go out as a club, we do have our own friends that we go out with, however, a couple of my friends are in the team are friends out of it as well so I go out with them allot more.* However, Sam posits that since there are only four White-British athletes in his club, it is not reflective of a typical university football club:

> *I played football for quite a long time. From what I've encountered, there's a lot more drinking and a few other things than what we do. Whereas our team [although we're all British], you can tell the cultural differences by how we've been brought up and stuff that people have different values; it's quite interesting how we get on.*

Cheo also identified that cultural differences existed between him and the White-British majority of his club, notably concerning alcohol consumption. Consequently, due to the dividing practice of alcohol consumption, Cheo spends more time socialising with friends outside of the club. According to Cheo:

> *I can't do that [go out every day and drink]. It has to with background upbringing. They're use to go out regularly, whenever they want. I do go out but only when I need to go out, not just randomly ... I'm not a big consumer of alcohol, which is the reason why I don't go out with my teammates because when they go out, I know the amount of alcohol they drink. I'm not a big consumer of alcohol but from time-to-time I find myself having a pint.*

Cheo says that possessing different cultural meanings than the White-British footballers has not resulted in any negative consequences for him. He reaffirms Sam's position that everyone in the football club gets along because of their common interest – football: *The thing is not everyone likes to go out, not everyone drinks, not everyone do the stuff other people do off the field so the only thing everyone got in common is in the field* (Cheo). Cheo states he would spend more social time with his club mates but *I don't want to be in-between everyone and everyone is having fun drinking and I'm the odd one out, not doing what they are doing …. Obviously, I would like to be there and having fun with them but they're not going in the direction I'm going.* His choice to limit alcohol consumption and seek higher athletic status within the club is respected. However, he seeks some social status by attending social outings; he perceives it to be strategically advantageous to possess social relationships with the other club members.

6.4.2 Initiations

Primary tenets of the Initiation Model (Wintrup, 2003) are utilised to construct football initiations. Specifically, initiations need to be voluntary rites (special), rather than forced or ritualistic (ordinary) activities, in order to accomplish group bonding and socialisation. Sam illustrates the special and voluntary nature of initiations: *You go out for a night of drinking with your mates just to enjoy it and have a good laugh. Same with initiations really! Except it's more unique 'cause you have different challenges and goals and stuff; it's more of a memorable night.* The voluntary nature of football initiations was echoed by Cheo: *it's about personal decision, if you want it, you do it. If you don't want it, you don't do it. Nobody's gonna really force you to do stuff you don't want to do.* The footballers suggest that those unwilling to partake

in some of the activities are accommodated. For instance, Eve says:

> *One girl messaged me and she had doubts about it cause she wasn't a*
> *drinker 'cause she didn't come from that kind'a culture. I tried to talk to her*
> *and be like it's not a problem, you don't have to drink at all. She can still do*
> *the games, dress up and be part of it, it's fine, no pressure, we're not forcing*
> *you to drink.*

Although initiations are created to push a subgroup's cultural norm boundaries (contain deviant aspects) to be special/memorable, initiates consent to doing it when the intent of initiators – to provide a special and fun experience that transforms the individual and facilitates group bonding and socialisation - is known. Eve elaborates:

> *In my initiation, you were made to do certain things but in a fun way not in*
> *'you're doing this because it's this horrible thing we're making you doing it'.*
> *It was kind'a fun, I enjoyed it. They tried to make the initiation less scary,*
> *there was nothing to be nervous about. We're just going to enjoy it and we're*
> *make you do stupid things and embarrassing. The idea was to be enjoyable at*
> *the time*. (Eve)

The interviewees attest that football initiations are suppose to be constructed as a voluntary, pleasurable experience but that forced and negative initiations can occur. Sam sums it up aptly: *I don't think you can force people into doing something they don't want to do. That just borders on bullying ... [which] probably has happened.*

The Initiation Model's (Wintrup, 2003) use of activity intensity level (rather than the activity itself) to determine the positive (pleasurable and/or advantageous) or negative (not fun and/or no advantage) status of an initiation was also utilised by footballers. Mike says:

I think managed in the right way, they can always be positive but there's sort of an extent where it's pushing to extremes ... some of the other sport teams initiations ... are bad as some of the horror stories you hear .... Some of them are based on alcohol and how much you can drink which can take it too far ... like one of the sports teams here, their freshers had to do two bottles of wine as quickly as they did, within minutes, which obviously not going to happen, the human body is going to reject it all .... Whereas in ours, in the second year we had quite a few people who did it sober because they didn't drink ... ours has more so with pushing beyond what you normally do, obviously 'cause if it's something you normally do, it's not an initiation. But then there's going onto extremes, where it's gonna be more negative initiation.

Mike indicates that initiation activities constructed in one sport organisation culture can be considered deviant in another (football), that there are degrees to initiations, and that initiations are not simply positive or negative - a grey area exists where initiations are more negative than positive but not entirely one or the other.

Kate explains how initiations may move into the grey area and subsequently either remain there, return to being positive, or become entirely negative:

... there are times when you overstep the mark a bit but then you go 'oh' and bring it back, it's fine. Whereas if you completely disregard everything [and something negative did occur] ... it would reflect badly on the people organising it, people who were there not to stop whatever happened and it would look bad on the club. It depends on how severe it was.

As initiations occupy the line between normative organisational culture and deviance, missteps will occur. An initiator's (football captain) intent is revealed when this occurs. An individual that seeks to ensure a power relationship exists during the initiation and wants to provide a pleasurable event will take action if the initiation inadvertently or naïvely becomes negative. In contrast, when a football captain who is unconcerned about the welfare and experience of freshers (wants to force others for their own pleasure), who are at the stage of imminent acceptance as proposed by Kirby and Wintrup (2002), the initiation will remain within the grey area or even become purely negative. Almost all the interviewees stress that football captains take very seriously their responsibility for ensuring positive initiation experiences, as Eve illustrates:

> *… this year, I think it was important that my presence was there 'cause the girls know that I'm the captain, so for me to be there and the sober one reassured them it wasn't going to get out of hand …. It was more hard work this year [then when I was being initiated as a fresher]. It's kind'a different when you're outside the actual going on of it because obviously it's called a Fresher so I didn't feel part of it because I wasn't actually involved as a fresher but it was nice to be part of it, yeah to try to make their night good as well. It was still good but it obviously it was better when I was a fresher [and didn't have be concerned about everyone's welfare] …. We [eventually] came to the Union … once in the Union, I felt more relaxed because we got them all there [and I could start drinking with them].*

For Eve, being dominated during the initiation made it a better event than being the one who is in the position of power to dominate. As the person running the event, Eve felt she was an outsider since everyone else was participating in the activities

but her. All the football participants stated they enjoyed being initiated. Expanding upon Pringle's (2009) assertion that playing rugby is a sport equivalent to S&M, initiations could be considered a transparent use of power activity (power is fluid and the participants role changes) that exists in multiple institutions. Thus, initiations can be constructed as S&M for athletes in a non-sport/off-field social setting.

A positive football initiation can still elicit a negative experience. An athlete needs to understand the organisational cultural meanings that construct the initiation in order for them to perceive it as positive. Kate clarifies:

> *I think for the most part, certainly the one's I've been at and witnessed, I don't think anything terrible happens from what I see. At the same time, it depends on the type of person is within the initiation. It wouldn't work at all if you had some people or someone who didn't want to go out, get dressed up or do stupid things. You have to let yourself go and not really care what other people think of you at that point.*

Mike elaborates: *I was always involved with the social side right from the start and knew what the banter or what generally happened, none of it was shocking. But someone who didn't go out with the lads might not have been so accepting.* Initiations require athletes to adopt the football club's social cultural meanings. These are inculcated into members during ritualistic social outings that occur prior to the initiation. Those who have not attended the ritualistic Wednesday night outing have not normalised the football social discourses of the initiation rite. Thus, these individuals will potentially perceive the initiation as deviant.

Football initiations are constructed as a social function for those who seek social status. They serve a similar ritualistic purpose of any other social outings – getting everyone together *and having a laugh …. Just a laugh really, just a laugh. Part of sporting culture* (Sam). Upon reflection Cheo says: *I have good thoughts. I remember the laughter, I remember everyone being there having fun. I see people laughing and people having fun. No one was complaining about it, no one was crying.* Those who possess athletic status and do not socialise with club members could potentially construct the initiation as deviant and have a negative experience. Hence *it's not set in stone that you have to go … most of the first team wouldn't go out anyways or wouldn't dream of going out so it would just be whoever goes out, they would be initiated* (Kate). Mike also states: *if you're on the first team you pretty much don't get initiated because it happens on a Saturday and they got their other team [outside semi-professional team]*. Only athletes who seek to bond with other club members and acquire social status complete the initiation. Eve says: *in my first year, I saw it as quite important 'cause … I tend to like to be involved in things and I wanted to be part of and feel part of the club and I think initiation was a good part of that. I think it was quite important really.* Kate elaborates on the pivotal importance of initiations by saying:

> *… people are always bonded better after that [initiation]; depending how early you have your initiation. At first you think, the earlier you have it, the better because as soon as that's gone, freshers are going to be kind'a at ease more. Once they have been initiated, they are then going to feel they are properly part of the team. It's probably quite daunting, the whole coming into, the whole new life, new everything. For them to know at the same time that after the initiation you then got 60 other people who know who you are*

watching your back or whatever serves a purpose in that they feel safer and better equipped with everything.

Most of the footballers argue that having social status and being socially accepted by the club provides benefits: other members of the organisation will assist you and you are able to influence and guide the actions of others. Receiving this benefit was a deciding factor for Cheo to complete his initiation.

Cheo and Sam indicate that Black-British and White-British footballers have differing cultural social values and that initiations are constructed upon White-British social cultural meanings. Sam elaborates:

I've never played in a team where there's only Black people but I would tend to say initiations seems to be more of a White lad thing. That's why we didn't have one [this year] because they [the Black athletes] didn't [possess the knowledge or desire to have one]; there wasn't really that in taste, there wasn't that kind of culture of drinking. I mean our team often aren't that willing to laugh at themselves where the other [White-British] teams I played in that's more important to people, to be able to laugh at each other… I mean, I say initiations tend to be a thing of what have been carried in the past generally by Whities.

Cheo used the initiation as strategic means to cross the cultural gap, to facilitate group bonding, and to garner social status: *[I participated] to show them that I really want to be with you guys, we are a group [despite our racial/cultural differences]. Certain things you do, I'm willing to do them as well, so yeah, to be part of it and having fun really.* Upon completion of the initiation, Cheo was socially accepted as part of the club which:

... was very important because I'm a first year student and so getting the

support and respect of the older people of the team. Having that kind of

interaction with them is really important because they are the ones who know

what the football team is about, what university is about. It's not just about

the football, you can have other issues aside from the football. They are

willing to help you 'cause you showed them that you want to be one of them.

Similar to tribal initiations, those who successfully complete football initiations are transformed and gain a new higher social status within the organisation and benefits for attaining that social status.

The footballers constructed initiations as *a rite of passage, something to get you into a group* (Mike). Specifically, initiations are an important enjoyable social function that freshers complete voluntarily to: be socialised into the club's subgroup culture; demonstrate key masculine cultural meanings, notably commitment to the club and group bonding; and, obtain social status within the club. As such, they argue that initiation policy developed and implemented by other sport organisations (e.g., Student Union) is unnecessary and they perceive existing policy with a degree of scepticism. Kate sums it up aptly:

I'm not a big fan of having policy so to speak. I think that it kind of suggests

it's going to be bad and then if you have policy. Maybe there's people who

haven't been in it [who are constructing the policy,] then what is it? If it's

this bad that you're going to be told you don't have do it [policy that

explicitly informs people it is optional], what's it going to be. It's [initiation]

not actually anything that major. It's just a progression of what you normally

would do other than it's called initiation and maybe probably the only

difference between that and a normal beer circle would be is that's only freshers taking part in those sort of games rather than everyone taking part. It [policy] is kind of making a fuss about something that doesn't necessarily need to be made a fuss about.

Most of the interviewees claimed that the most any university could do is to implement policy that makes cosmetic changes (e.g., changing the name), as illustrated by Eve:

... yeah, we're not allowed to call it initiation, it's called a welcome party ... [or] welcome social ... cause we have a uni thing and stuff [policies and procedures], we [our club]had one a few weeks before. We have to fill out forms and provide contact details, whose going to be sober and if it's over 50 [people], you have campus security.You have to give a general idea of what you're going to do [activities] and it has to be passed. They [SU] make sure it's all right and then they send it back saying 'yes, it's fine'.

Whether their initiation was approved or not by the university, all footballers said that their club would continue to have an initiation. They claimed any initiation policy that sought to prevent their initiation activities would be difficult to enforce. Sam elaborates:

I don't think you could enforce initiation policy because you can't regulate what people do off campus; they're not breaking the law and stuff so you can't have a problem with what they do .... Students might go out on a night out and say 'we're not doing initiation, we're just having a night out'. I don't think the uni can prescribe what you do away from it. An example, my lecturer might like to go away and do S&M sex when she's not here, it's up

to her. I don't think the uni can stop her from doing that if she wants to.

Whereas they can't stop us from initiations if we want to so long as we don't

overdo it. I mean that kind of endangers safety and I think that is wrong.

This suggests that policy which overtly seeks to control or ban initiations will probably be ineffective. It will drive initiation practices away from university campuses and underground, which could increase the risk to participants. According to Foucault (1977), modern societies utilise an internalised system of surveillance where each individual oversees their action since everyone watches and could be watched. Initiations constructed with the knowledge that the initiator is not subject to external scrutiny (no one is watching) means initiators do not have to conform to normalcy, specifically societal normalcy, and maintain a power relationship during initiations. Athletes can, however conform to their sport subculture normalcy, the cultural imperatives of heteronormative masculinity that "maintain and further reinforce conditions in which sexual abuse [or a controlled relationship, which possesses no power,] thrives" (Kirby et al., 2000, p. 116). For instance, North American media reports exposing initiation activities occurring at sport organisations that have banned them, have identified heterosexual male participants being sexually assaulted or raped by other heterosexual males. As they do with sexual abuse in general, those within sport who participate (athletes, coaches) or who are aware of (e.g., former athletes, coaches, administrators) banned initiations typically introduce or conform to a stronger dome of silence that prevents outsiders from accessing knowledge of deviant, taboo, rule-breaking, and potentially illegal initiations.

All football initiations revolve around the consumption of alcohol: *we just want everyone [both freshers and returners] to get drunk and have a good time, perhaps*

drink more than they usually do (Eve). Other activities occur while consuming

alcohol but the intensity of these activities differs between male and female

footballers. Kate says: *the boys will always be more intense on theirs because … I*

think it's more of a boy thing to do. According to Eve, *male clubs are more likely to*

set challenges and make them do things, make them force them to eat things. Kate

elaborates:

> *… just yesterday when we were driving back from our game, we saw… uni*
>
> *boys … they were running down the main road in town and they all just had*
>
> *[underwear] on … they looked like they were being initiated or something,*
>
> *they were all just running down there. That's much more of a boy thing to do.*

One example of intensity level associated with males is nudity or partial nudity in

public spaces. According to Sam *sometimes for a laugh, when you're drunk and even*

if you're not doing an initiation, you just go 'oh yeah, let's do a naked run or

whatever'. I think it's part of it [male football culture and thus initiations]. Cheo

says that group public nudity also occurs frequently within his club. The initiation

activity and activity intensity difference between the genders indicates a difference

in organisational cultures of male hyper-masculinity and female masculinity. This

potentially reflects the differing gendering process of sport whereby nudity is

normalised for males, specifically Caucasian males in team sports (i.e., football and

rugby). This suggests that sportsmen are socially constructed to perceive and utilise

their bodies differently than sportswomen.

Male football initiations are divided into two parts. The first concentrates on the

completion of activities while consuming alcohol. In contrast, the second part

focuses on simply consuming alcohol. To facilitate this division, male footballers

began their traditional initiation on a coach returning from a competition. In Mike's club:

> *... all that happens is we pick an away trip, on a Saturday so all three teams [not including the first team since they have their own coach] .... What happens is that all three teams are on the same coach, everyone is told to bring four cans of beer with them and then nothing happens until after the game on the way back. All the freshers would sit on the front of the bus, with their drinks and everything, sitting in silence and facing forward. At this point they're just wearing a thong, which is quite important, and then they walk to the back of the bus where someone sat with just a drink with spices and stuff in it and as they are walking through, the returners give them a bit of jab as they come through. They do drink, that's blindfolded, do the drink and go sit right down. Then, just outside of campus, like a 10 minute walk to campus, they get dropped off the bus and have to run through and beat the bus the back to where we're going and that's pretty much it.*

According to Mike, once their clothes are returned to them they then go out to the club to consume more alcohol. For Cheo's initiation, the coach stopped for the initiation to begin:

> *... it actually started at the car park of the supermarket ... quite far away from campus. We stopped there for two hours. Just had fun really .... It's called the Fresher's Talent. We went to the supermarket and we had to steal some stuff and wear them. And they bought us not really good things to eat. We had to do a challenge to see who could finish first and stuff like that. We had to wear fancy clothes, as in girls' clothes.*

There was also group public nudity during this part of the initiation but Cheo does not get naked in public spaces because:

> *I can't do it … not because I don't want to do it, but I don't have that courage to expose myself like that. I wish I could do it 'cause obviously when they do it, I see them and they all having big smile on their faces, just smiling, laughing at it really but I don't have that courage.*

Public nudity/partial nudity is constructed amongst male footballers during their initiation as means to demonstrate their masculinity, specifically courage. Also, although the coach trip facilitates getting everyone in the club to attend the initiation, the voluntary option of not performing the initiation and the initiation activities exists. Cheo said that there were other freshers who opted not to partake in the first part of the initiation yet some of them did go out to the club. Male footballers utilise hyper-masculine cultural meanings to construct the initiation differently from any established social rituals. Although it involves some ritualistic activities - consumption of alcohol, nudity – some of the activities and intensity levels in the initiation, as well as the location of the rites, are new.

Female footballers utilise the established ritualistic Wednesday night social outing (beer circle) at the SU as a foundation for their initiation. The notable difference is that only those associated with the club (athletes and coaches) can partake in it. Female footballers said it is important to have their initiation on campus because:

> *It's all about the university and getting initiated into uni in a kind'a way. It makes sense to have it on campus …. When you're on uni, you feel more relaxed because you're not going to get into trouble from anybody else. We wouldn't have felt part of uni as well, we would've just been like a club. I*

think it's important to have it on university campus [for those reasons and

because] ... we knew that if there were any troubles we could get help from

the bouncers [that we know at the SU]. (Eve)

Eve's football club also divides their initiation into two parts. The first part is held outdoors and focuses on completing structured activities with alcohol consumption but both the returners and freshers complete the activities. Afterwards, they go to the SU, where the initiation focuses on alcohol consumption and more unstructured activities. According to Eve:

We met at a set time on campus. We were made to dress as babies and bring

baby ball and we put like whiskey in it and they had to drink that. Then we

made them do steps. They were in teams, the returners being like their boss,

and whichever team lost had to down some drink. They had to, not obviously

have to, but they're babysitters did .... Then some of the returners had flour,

we put flour on them and then whatever food they got, they had to eat it,

nothing disgusting like sick. We then played a few more drinking games, the

groups would chant with each other. A lot of competitions between each

other and if they lost, they downed a drink and then we went to the Union

because it was a Wednesday ... Yeah, once at the Union we carried on with

games and chants, more drinking.

Kate's football club just has the beer circle at the SU:

Ours rely heavily on the drinking side and it's just making them [freshers] do

ridiculous things because they're a fresher and you have to remember that

they are silly things .... We were in the SU, in a public hall, and you had our

hands tied in front you. You had to use your hands to get something out

disgusting that's all in food dye and you had to get all away around the bar

in a race, which was quite hard on your hands and knees and your hands tied

together, but just silly things like that.

Male and female football clubs have a second initiation that occurs off campus -
Tour initiation. Kate states that *whoever has never been on tour before will be*
initiated again. According to Sam *the first person who is running the tour, has*
things planned out like they allowed funny hats. They'll get hats and funny
nicknames, tour shirts and then like tour forfeits and tour ideas. Kate elaborates that:

> *... tour is a completely different concept to anything you probably could ever*
> *experience in your life. While you're on the way, each [tour] fresher will be*
> *given something and assigned a task that they have to do throughout the*
> *week and if they're seen without it, they get punished for something. It's just*
> *stupid things .... One of my friends is into Indie and Goth music, but she*
> *doesn't look it, she's tall, blond and has blue eyes. They gave her black*
> *hairspray and paint her fingernails black and she had to carry around this*
> *doll and if she was ever seen without the doll, she was made to do something,*
> *silly things*.

Footballers assert that the purpose of the tour initiation is very similar to the main
initiation - having fun and consuming alcohol as a group. However, the two
initiations are constructed to accomplish differing things. Football's main initiation
occurs approximately eight weeks into the academic year. Prior to the initiation,
clubs are able to socialise freshers into their organisational culture through ritualistic
social outings (e.g., Wednesday night beer circle) that facilitate group bonding. For
freshers who seek to garner social status and who have attended previous social

events, the initiation is a secondary reinforcing mechanism. The initiation is a primary socialisation mechanism for those who have not attended prior social events. However, there is also a trial component that exists within football initiations. The initiation serves as a transition from having the previous identity of an outsider to the new social identity of a club member (someone that has social status within the club). In comparison, the tour initiation is arguably purely a secondary reinforcing cultural mechanism initiation since no trial component exists within it.

6.5 British University Sport Initiation Model

The British Initiation Model (see Figure 6.1) utilises the framework of the original Initiation Model (Wintrup, 2003) and seeks to fill in gaps within it. As with the original Initiation Model (Wintrup, 2003), the British Initiation Model is constructed upon the empirical evidence that there is no universal initiation activity deemed beneficial and/or pleasurable by everyone. The revised model does acknowledge that certain core activities exist across all sport clubs (e.g., alcohol consumption), but how these activities are constructed differs between sport clubs (e.g., the initiation revolves around alcohol consumption versus alcohol consumption is simply an activity) and although empirical evidence suggests the majority of people are willing to complete these core activities (e.g., consume alcohol), there is evidence that there are people who perceive these activities as deviant and choose not to perform them (e.g., teetotallers). Although sport clubs construct their initiation activities based upon ritualistic social activities (e.g., Wednesday night beer circles) and/or organisational cultural meanings (e.g., track and field only do large group social outings and consume large amounts of alcohol during certain periods during the academic year) to serve a specific function (primary embedding, secondary

Rite Levels for Athletes
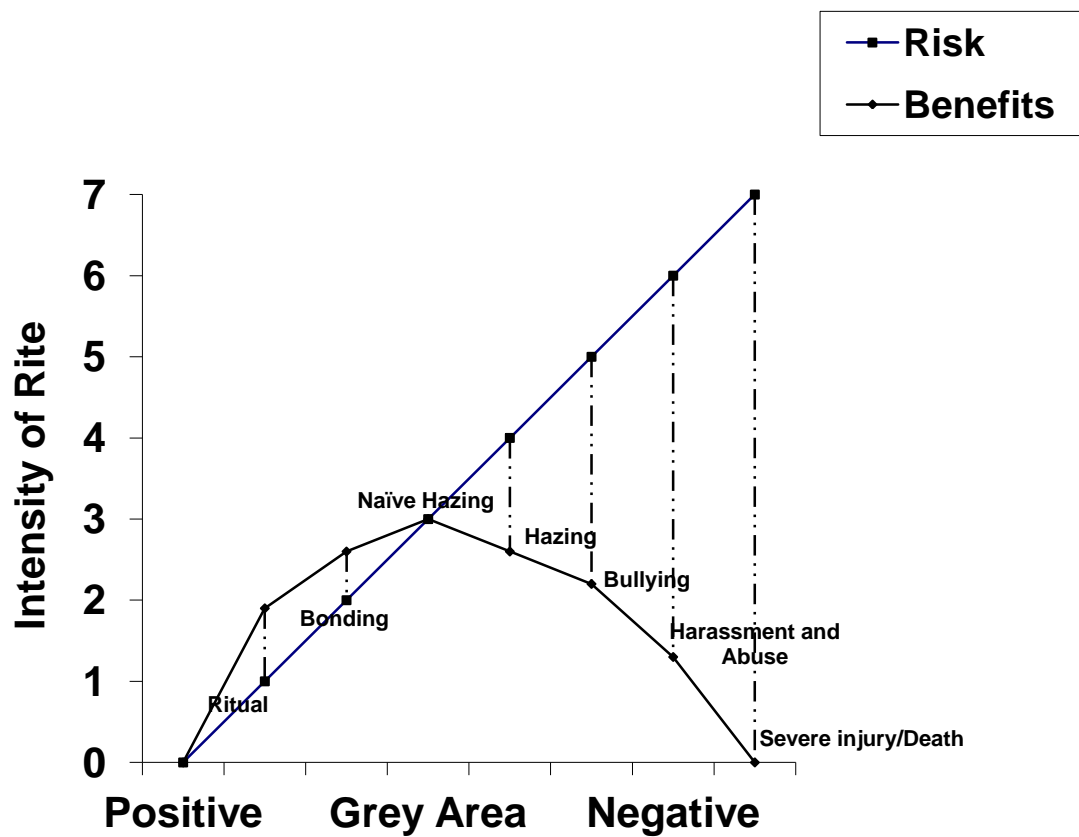
Figure 6.1: British University Sport Initiation Model. Original model, adapted from *Sportization and Hazing: Global Sport Culture and the Differentiation of Initiation from Harassment in Canada's Sport Policy* (p. 102), by G. Wintrup, 2003, Unpublished master's thesis, Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba.

reinforcing, or trial initiation), individuals are not made docile to the point they will automatically do something that is perceived deviant to them (e.g., consume alcohol or perform group nudity). During the initiation, club members subject themselves to self-surveillance to ensure normalcy of their social practices.

The British model incorporates two additional categories – naïve hazing and bullying. Most British athletes could not define hazing, rather they utilised the term bullying to label forced and/or unpleasant activities. However, I utilise the term hazing within this conception of the model to minimise confusion and construct universal terms. Creating differing levels of bullying will potentially degrade and make ambiguous what constitutes bullying in sport. Additionally, hazing is a well known North American sport term, defined ambiguously (See Crowe & MacIntosh, 2009; Kirby & Wintrup, 2002).

According to Figure 6.1, there are two degrees of hazing. Naïve hazing is the third class of initiation intensity level. This type of hazing falls directly within the grey area (neither a positive or negative activity). The fresher does not find the activity to be repulsive but neither do they find it desirable. Although the athlete does not gain any socialisation and group bonding benefits, they do not lose any benefits that might have been previously obtained. Naïve hazing occurs due to ignorance and lack of education regarding hazing (returners have inadvertently taken the initiation past the optimal bonding intensity level category).

Hazing, the forth intensity level, remains the same as in the original model. It occurs when an athlete is coerced into doing the initiation, depicted as "choice of one" by

Kirby and Wintrup (2002, p. 74), or consents to being initiated based on what they know about the intent of the initiators. It is feasible that initiators may inadvertently make the intensity of the initiation to such a degree that it surpasses naïve hazing (the initiation leaves the positive area, skips the grey area and becomes hazing). In this situation, if the returners' intent is to be at the bonding level and the fresher does not signal to end, because it is the stage of imminent acceptance (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002), then it is 'just' hazing. The fresher has freely chosen to continue with the initiation to prevent losing what they have already gained. They have assessed that it is more beneficial to them to continue in this power relationship, where they are dominated to perform unpleasant activities, than the harm of the activities to their self.

The second new category, and the fifth intensity level, is what is commonly referred to as bullying. According to The Centre for Sport and Law Inc. (2001, para. 3):

> Bullying is a form of harassment, but also has some of its own defining characteristics. Harassment is illegal, bullying is not necessarily illegal, but it is always wrong and should never be condoned, let alone be allowed to exist within an organisation. Bullies are mean. They engage in nasty, disrespectful, hurtful behaviour. Their intention, whether conscious or unconscious, is to control. To do this, they diminish, humiliate and sabotage other people.

During an initiation, if the intent of the returner is to force freshers to perform unpleasant activities, so as to fulfil their own selfish needs of watching others perform undesirable and/or humiliating activities, then it is bullying. No power relationship exists between the returner and fresher. Even if the fresher feels they are consenting, they have not. The returner only obtained that consent under false

pretences. Consequently, the fresher does not have free choice to perform or partake in the initiation.

Inclusion of naïve hazing and bullying strengthens the connection between the intensity of rite levels and the activity type of rite. Given that the intensity rite levels in Figure 6.1 are not categories of actual activities, I posit 'activity type of rite' needs to be re-labelled to be more reflective of what it represents within the model. The model represents first, how an activity is morally perceived by individuals inside and outside the organisational group, and secondly, the perceived and actual outcome of the activities. For instance, White male group nudity is a ritualistic (level 1) activity within rugby and football clubs. However, males both within and outside these sports, as well as female rugby and football players, construct the activity as deviant (not pleasurable with no perceived benefits). Since different groups perceive group male nudity and the outcome of doing the activity differently, a deviance range exist that covers levels 3 – 6. The intensity of rite level 7 is less of a moral perception or subjective initiation activity outcome and more of a concrete outcome. This level provides an opportunity for policy makers to construct policy utilising a universal outcome that is not subject to differing moral perceptions (death is death).

One significant difference exists within this revised model, arguably due to the social nature of sport initiations in British universities. The original model was based on the high prevalence of "choice of one" (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002, p. 74) within North American initiation ceremonies, whereby the voluntary nature of the event is false (athletes either attend the initiation or quit/are forced off the team). The empirical evidence of British university sport initiations suggests that the voluntary nature of

attendance is real. Additionally, freshers have an option to perform the initiation activities. Thus, the athlete participants in this study construct their initiation rites upon a Foucauldian concept of power.

Power, specifically disciplinary power, for Foucault (1978) is not something people can possess but rather power is everywhere – within roles, institutions and individuals - and is fluid within social interaction. The body is the political field for power since power is strategically transmitted by and through the body via discourses for an individual's advantage (Foucault, 1978). It is through discourses that power is connected to knowledge and produces truth or, specifically, meanings, functions, and processes (Foucault, 1978). Power is both a positive and negative concept: it can effect changes that are oppressive or progressive. It operates in all environments, including sport organisations and the media (Rowe, 1999). As a mode of producing meaning, power shapes the social practices of organisational members. Social practices contain elements of oppression and dominance and therefore the possibility of resistance arises; the level of resistance is proportional to the level of exertion (Foucault, 1987). "Nor does he [Foucault] suggest that resistance is always a matter of refusal; resistance is largely a matter of choosing one's response to the influence and overtures of the other" (Maguire, 2002, p. 296). Choice always exists when power is exercised since power relations always possess freedom; power can only exist within the social interactions of free subjects (Foucault, 1983). Domination, where no means to escape or flight exists, and violence are not exercises of power but rather an exercise of repression and control (Foucault, 1988).

Rouse (2005) posits that Foucauldian power is distributed through the performance of rituals. Sport initiation rituals are a social interaction between freshers and returners. There is a transference of knowledge through the fluid play of power between the two groups. Initiates perceive completing the initiation as advantageous to their self because, upon completion they will possess a greater ability to influence others in power relations. Thus, for these strategic reasons, they choose to allow their bodies to be dominated during the initiation ritual. On the assumption however, that the activities of the initiation will be normal and reflect the cultural meanings of the group. During the initiation, power moves between the two parties. "Power moves around and through different groups, events, institutions and individuals, but nobody owns it. Of course certain people or groups have greater opportunities to influence how the forces of power are played out" (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, p. 73). However, because power is fluid, truth becomes inaccessible, unknowable, and purely contingent on a cultural function that is known to cause serious harm, even death, to individuals.

Foucault's work has significantly indirectly influenced sport research via its impact on social theories (Rail & Harvey, 1995). Although some sport researchers have combined Foucauldian theories with that of others to study sport masculinity and male athletes (Pringle, 2005), his analytical tools have "been largely neglected by ... scholars interested in examining the relationship between sport and the male/masculine form" (Andrews, 2000, p. 125). As a theory to study sport initiations, Foucault's work can have some benefit but it has significant inherent limitations.

All previous sport initiation researchers agree that sport initiations consist of two groups who are in unequal class/power relationship. They further concur that returners have the ability to abuse their power to force freshers to complete undesirable, abusive, and lethal activities. Additionally, the choice of one is prevalent within North American sport initiations, first to attend the event and secondly to do the activities. Finally, there is lack of knowledge on initiations because a strong dome of silence exists over them and they are typically completed in predominantly private spaces. Even prior to the implementation of banning policies spurred on by moral panics, sport initiations were kept secret; it was and continues to be taboo for athletes to discuss sport initiations in North America.

A Foucauldian concept of power seems inefficient on its own to tackle key characteristics of sport initiations. Specifically, the questionability of whether freedom of choice exists for 'participants', normalcy for an initiation is first to have deviant activities and secondly for initiators to utilise heteronormative masculine cultural imperatives, and lastly, there is minimal risk of having an external outsider seeing or being aware of the initiation. Also, Foucauldian power is ineffective in producing emancipatory knowledge or, more importantly, creating widespread emancipation. Thus, although Foucauldian concepts can provide insights into sport initiations, they do little to provide useable policy knowledge that can prevent intentional and unintentional harm from coming to those who are initiated.

The athlete participants of this study utilised Foucauldian power to construct their social reality. First, as the underlying theory of their athletic participation within sport (e.g., the free choice most of the participants had when it came to training).

Secondly, to construct their social practices within the club (e.g., the consumption of alcohol was optional), and lastly to describe their initiation (e.g., voluntary to attend and complete activities; no repercussions for saying 'no'). Thus, I have identified and incorporated Foucauldian power to reflect their social reality. However, none of the athlete participants constructed their initiations as being negative and posited that no one could ever be significantly harmed (the worst that could happen is someone can be bullied). Also, there was noticeable reluctance from some of the athlete participants here, notably the male team athletes, to discuss their initiation activities. This combined with my inability to find willing participants suggests that the topic of initiations is also taboo in the UK. It is plausible that the 'real' voluntary nature of attending and completing initiations does not exist or not as widespread as indicated in this study. Alternatively, it is possible that differing theories are required to study sport initiations within differing countries.

6.6 Summary

This chapter presented the findings from the track and field, rugby, and football organisational culture and initiations. One common theme that emerged across the three sports is that initiations are a voluntary social function (Foucauldian power), which emphasises alcohol consumption to facilitate group bonding, for those seeking social status and acceptance within university sport clubs. Additionally, according to the respondents here, initiation policy should be constructed and implemented by each organisational sport club. Current initiation policies constructed by universities or other organisations are seen to be relatively ineffective in controlling the social activities, or their intensity level, within sport clubs. However, the 11 differential

organisational perspective participants constructed the three sport cultures and their initiations differently.

Track and field is a subculture of the parent heteronormative masculine sport culture. The masculine cultural meanings of track and field emphasise the pursuit of athletic status. Athletes adhere to the cultural imperatives that require a high dedication to the development of skill, ability, and fitness. The importance of training and athletic improvement results in athletes having minimal social time. However, group bonding within the 'individual' sport is perceived as important for times when the team travels away for competitions. Initiations have thus been constructed within track and field to facilitate group bonding. As one of the few social events during the competitive track and field season, the initiation occurs at the beginning of the academic year when athletes have permission to consume alcohol. As such, it is a primary embedding initiation mechanism.

Rugby is a subworld of the parent sport culture. Male and female rugby players construct their highly competitive athletic identity by concentrating on the masculine cultural meanings they possesses and demonstrate during a game: they play to compete and utilise masculinity to win. The amount and intensity of training is not used to construct their identities. Both rugby clubs at Uni 3 prioritise socialising over training since university rugby players seek both athletic and social status. However, female rugby players adopt masculine cultural meanings that concentrate on competition, discipline, and group solidarity. In comparison, male rugby athletes exhibit hyper-masculinity that emphasises aggression, toughness, loyalty, heterosexuality, and courage (risk-taking and making sacrifices for others). Male

rugby players construct aggression as a fluid negotiated symbol that is culturally embedded and normalised within rugby players. Consequently, differing social functions and practices are constructed within male and female rugby clubs reflective of sport's gendered socialisation practices. Although male and female rugby initiations revolve around the consumption of alcohol, the intensity of the associated activities varied (e.g., group male nudity). Additionally, the female rugby initiation is constructed to be a primary socialisation embedding mechanism whilst the male rugby main initiation serves functions as a trial rite of passage.

Football clubs construct initiations as a secondary mechanism that reinforces the parent sport culture. Initiations are constructed upon intersubjective cultural meanings and established social practices, notably the Wednesday night beer circle. Only athletes seeking social status and possessing the social cultural meanings of the club attend initiation. Those with athletic status concentrate on athletic development through training and do not attend social outings, including the initiation. Initiations typically comprise two parts: the first focuses on alcohol consumption and completing structured activities outdoors whilst the second part concentrates on alcohol consumption with less structured activities indoors. The location of the first part and the intensity of the activities is different for the hyper-masculine males and the masculine females. Males begin their initiation on the return trip from an away game and end it at their usual drinking establishment. Their activities focus on the completion of challenges of atypical activities (e.g., stealing, consumption of disgusting food) and typical activities (e.g., group male nudity/partial nudity). In contrast, female initiations occur on university property and involve less intense activities.

Foucault's conception of power offers a useful analytic framework for making sense of the data on British university sport culture and initiations. However, there are also limitations in the efficacy of his theory for explaining known characteristics of initiations, such as gender differences in sport initiation practices. Thus, utilising Foucault's concepts to study sport initiations should be undertaken with the combination of other theories in order to produce useable practical, technical, and emancipatory policy knowledge.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FRAGMENTATIONAL PERSPECTIVE FINDINGS
AND RESISTANCE RESEARCH

7.1 Introduction

Chapter Two identified that sport initiations are a sensitive research topic in North

America. Absolute and relativist moralist stances have constructed different levels of

tolerance for deviation in initiation activities. The strong absolute moralist stance,

which has dominated research and media reports, has created regular episodes of

moral panic about sport initiations. Chapter Five revealed the difficulties I

encountered during data collection, notably securing gatekeepers and interview

participants (see Table 5.1). It also identified that UK media coverage of university

sport initiations instigated a moral panic during my data collection phase. My

encounters with many of Brackenridge's (2001) discourses of intervention, which

are utilised to construct sport harassment and abuse as a sensitive research topic,

further suggest that sport initiations in the UK is a sensitive research topic. This

chapter utilises findings from the fragmentational organisational culture perspective

participants to firmly establish British university sport initiations as a sensitive

research topic. The academic participants construct sport initiations as an atypical

sensitive research topic because of its taboo and complex characteristics. Chapter

Seven then provides a reflexive account of researching this sensitive topic as a self-

funded international PhD student. The chapter concludes with describing sport

initiations as a special type of sensitive research, that of resistance research.

7.2 Sport Initiations: Sensitive Research Topic

The national news story on university sport initiations, which occurred in October

2008, was identified by all three interviewees from a fragmentational cultural

perspective as eliciting a moral panic response. Jon says:

> ... at the moment ... it's in danger of becoming a minor moral panic ... [Where] the institutional response to these kinds of things, a bit like the University of XX situation likely be, will be ... we have to do something, we have to be seen to be doing something 'cos our reputation is tarnished. That's a cosmetic level if you like. That's dealing with symptoms, not the cause, and the cause is a much more multi-problem to tackle.

An immediate moral panic response to the news coverage was taken by universities. Uni 1 withdrew from my study whilst the SU at Uni 2 became less cooperative. Additionally, Dale says that at Uni 8:

> ... at the moment we don't have any [initiation] policy in place. However, because of what happened in the press and the news, we did actually send an email to all of our sports captains, which was basically a statement saying: 'While the Student Union does not support the use of initiations, if they do happen, they must not involve any form of bullying, forced drinking, humiliation'. And that was purely a response to what had been in the news, otherwise it probably wouldn't have happened, it wouldn't have been an issue.

The media coverage and subsequent moral panic response were a factor in the decision of the administrator and academics to participate. For Dale, *it was in the news ... so it was something which we actually needed to discuss ... now that it is on the agenda ... [because] the welfare of students ... is our priority.* Dale did not want to simply make cosmetic changes that addressed the symptoms. He perceived his participation as a step towards understanding and tackling the issue. In contrast, the

academics were involved because of the research difficulties I encountered while tackling a sensitive research topic. According to Jon: *because it was on national news … I wasn't surprised to hear that you had resistance …. It's no consolation but it's a great, a great story about the reality of doing sensitive research.*

Mac and Jon construct my topic of sport initiations as sensitive research. *It's a sensitive topic, [because] it involves bullying. It's about the moral fabric of the person you're taking on and when you challenge somebody's moral fabric that leaves you open, and Celia knows that* (Mac). Brackenridge (2001) was one of the first researchers to tackle the taboo and sensitive issue of abuse in sport. The intent of my research, tackling the cultural meanings of sport, is likened to hers. My experience of researching sport initiations, how the research process unfolded, including the consequences to the researcher, and the characteristics of my research, are interpreted by Jon and Mac as similar to Brackenridge's (2001). Jon describes the characteristic of such sensitive research:

> *I guess that's one of the things that interests me about this project. You're dealing with something that's complicated, difficult, subterranean, taboo … and that's why it's an ambitious thing to try and do. And very worthy … It goes on and nobody is willing to challenge it, you don't have to challenge it to tackle it as an issue.*

The lack of previous research establishes that very few people have tackled British sport initiations. It has largely been ignored because *the research is difficult to get. It's like researching child abuse or drugs, difficult to get* (Mac). Akin to those who study abuse in sport, those who research sport initiations are perceived as challenging sport cultural meanings. Specifically, it is deviant to be openly

discussing a topic that has been constructed as taboo and complicated in sport (Voigt, 1984) and breaking the dome of silence (Kirby, et al. 2000). As one of the first researchers to tackle the topic overtly, conducting in-person interviews with multiple policy stakeholders representing various organisations, I encountered resistance from those who: oppose any attempts to change the norm (taboo topic that should not be discussed), perceive me as morally 'evil' and my presence 'polluting' (Voigt, 1984), or perceive the sensitivity of the research to such a degree that any discussion is a threat to either themselves (they would be stigmatised as breaking the dome of silence and be perceived as an intolerable deviant), their organisation (their sport club would be exposed and condemned by absolute moralists for deviant social practices, which sport initiation research in North America has typically done), or the initiation function itself (e.g., North American university policies have driven sport initiations off campus and underground). Jon and Mac say that all forms of resistance I encountered are constructed on one intersubjective belief: ignorance is bliss or, specifically, Brackenridge's (2001) discourse of intervention of virtuous denial/ignorance.

In conducting this research, I am putting sport under a magnifying glass whilst holding a mirror up to it. The initiation activities of athletes from three representative sports are being exposed to others within their specific sport, other sports, and those outside sport (society, university administrators). Previous sport initiation research shows that the majority of athletes perceive their initiation activities as morally acceptable. However, athletes from within the same sport (different club), athletes from other sports, sport administrators, and researchers assert that the same activities are deviant and morally unacceptable. In North America, this research has elicited a

moral panic and prompted policies that ban all sport initiations, regardless of what group (e.g., gender, sport, sport type) the perceived deviant perpetrators represent. Thus, there is an incentive for all people in sport to resist the research since, as Jon says:

> *... if you ask the question you have to be able to hear the answer and people might not like what they hear. I mean if some of the tales that I've heard accounted to me are even approximate to the truth, it would appal and disgust people [create a moral panic]. People don't want to know about things that appal and disgust them, they want to be, you know, they want fluffy rabbits but when it's not, you know, eating sick and stuff like this ... the answer is such that it requires action, someone has to take that action. And they've got to police that action and then it's a can of worms .... I suspect that it's better not to ask the question than to deal with the worst possible answer ....*
>
> *[Since with this topic] it would be unappealing rather than fluffy.*

It is easier to avoid discussing sport initiations than to deal with the potential consequences of being found out. The athlete respondents in this study indicate that their initiation rite activities are reflective of their ritualistic social practices. However, it appears that only activities constructed as initiations create a moral panic in Britain and a moral panic response from universities. Dale says a few months after the other British university's sport initiation was exposed in the media, the media contacted him. According to Dale, after Uni 8's rugby team had conducted their initiation: *the following day we were contacted by the local press, and said 'we had reports there were a group of young people, just wearing underwear. We're not sure if it was some kind of charity event.' We actually played it down and said it was*

a charity event and not an initiation. Dale asserts that labelling the event as an initiation to the media would have potentially elicited a similar response as the other university's initiation did in 2008 – a moral panic. Saying instead that the functionary role of the activity was to raise awareness and funds for charity led to moral acceptance and approval by the media and the public. This suggests that the moral panic response at universities after the 2008 news story - as identified by Tina and Kate - to rename initiations as 'welcoming party' is a tactic to prevent outsiders garnering knowledge of initiations and creating a moral panic.

Participating in a multi-sport, multi-institutional research on sport initiations could produce a greater moral panic then the single case exposed in 2008 did. As the researcher, I probably would not be adversely affected by a moral panic, especially if it resulted in stronger regulatory prohibition. However, as Jon points out:

> *But what does that mean to the people themselves who are engaged in [initiations] … it seems to me you can have a number of consequences. You could be denying people a very joyous celebration of something … That's a harm if you're denying that. Secondly it might force them to modify their behaviours in different ways. That might be a good thing. Thirdly, it might drive it underground, even more. That's not a good thing either.*

The overall consequence is that individuals will be controlled by others (no power relationship with people who are denying them pleasure) and their sport cultural meanings will be forced to change so as to meet a differing moral acceptance of normalcy. Athletes will no longer be free to do as they please and self-regulate (internal surveillance) to realise subjectification through technologies of the self. However, as Jon implies in his statement, perhaps this would be for the better. Mac

elaborates by saying: *The sports view is that ... [sport is the] last resting place of do as you please*. Both Jon and Mac are inferring that those within sport act with minimal self-surveillance since they feel they are not being monitored. The prevalence of this cultural meaning within sport – freedom to do as you please because nobody's watching you – is put into jeopardy by engaging in discussions about initiations. If people know what you are actually doing, and they consider it deviant, they might start monitoring your actions. Thus, policy research that examines the social practices in sport threatens a core intersubjective belief that athletes can do what they want because they are in sport and perceive themselves as morally good people. Mac says: *I think the difficulties, which takes us back to the type of study you're doing, is where are the checks and balances that therefore allow sport to function 'normally', assuming that civil society has checks and balances.* Jon and Mac both say that it might be good that athletes are made to change their social practices and their means of self-surveillance; however, these changes need to occur in a manner whereby athletes still possess freedom of choice to adopt them. In other words, a power relationship needs to exist between athletes and those who monitor and police their actions.

Engaging in discussions about initiations may lead to the introduction of policy concepts, such as accountability and transparency, into sport governance. The introduction of such concepts suggests that those within sport are not morally good individuals since they engage in morally unacceptable activities that need to be regulated. This provides an insight to a possible reason why the athlete participants in this study have a low opinion of initiation policy constructed by SUs and why, instead, they assert that policy should be constructed separately by each club.

Athletes express moral indignation because they resent outsider perceptions that athletes and their activities are immoral and deviant. The athlete participants perceive themselves, and most of the other student athletes, as morally good people who engage in relatively normal activities. As such, they prefer to be left to do as they please since morally good people will never do or allow bad things to happen. However, Mac says:

> *I find that's fine where you are dealing with people who can regulate their own behaviours. Now you're left with two options here, do you stay with those who can't and will you be able to recognise them in order to be able to do that, I doubt it. And/Or do you put into sport checks and balances, than you mean you can't and then somebody has to decide what's right, what's wrong. So, you're going to decide for me? That's a question I don't want you to ask and I'm going to decide for you? What right do I have to decide what's morally right for you.*

Most of the athlete participants were reluctant to judge the initiation activities of other sports. They did identify activities in other sport initiations as inappropriate for them or their club. Additionally, some athlete participants did recognise that bad things did or could happen during initiations. However, they asserted that the majority of people are not forced to do anything: personal choice still exists. Thus, most athlete participants posited that there was no need for SU policy to govern them. The moral indignation of athletes, because of the implication that they are immoral, is further compounded by the perception that outsiders are better morally qualified to determine morally acceptable actions for athletes. But, as Mac states, *I think we need checks and balances because all of us believe that we're all law-*

abiding citizens but we're not really. Arguably, when checks and balances to ensure accountability and transparency are not present, people will 'do as they please' because they can get away with it and rationalise that their actions are those of a good/moral person. Consequently, they do not want to engage in discussions that will imply that they are not morally good and that might potentially limit their actions by people who lack the knowledge of their sport subgroup cultural meanings and who also deem themselves to be morally superior.

Jon and Mac allude that the inherent taboo characteristic, including the strong moral undertones, of my sport initiation topic made it an atypical sensitive research project. This is illustrated in Jon's comment that there are very few established researchers who could undertake taboo sensitive research topics besides Brackenridge (2001):

> *I'm thinking of the kind of things John Sugden has written about …. 'Scum Airways' is the book in which he explores the black market of football commodification and those things. He has chosen to investigate a kinda sensitive almost taboo area as well, he just hasn't chosen the one you're doing, he's chosen a different area …. He's the kind of person who has the research skills to do this kind of work … there aren't that many people out there who do have the research skills required to do this well.*

The taboo nature of this type of sensitive research requires researchers to possess unique capabilities and competencies. Jon and Mac identify that these researchers require energy, enthusiasm, the ability to work independently/alone, and the ability to work with distasteful and emotionally challenging findings. This includes the finding of, and dealing with, resistance encountered during the research process. Conducting this kind of taboo sensitive research means that y*ou might find answers*

you don't like [or weren't anticipating] and nobody knows that better than Celia (Jon). The lack of researchers possessing the capabilities to tackle this type of sensitive research contributes to the lack of a discussion about sport initiations. Thus, Jon and Mac identify a defining characteristic about taboo sensitive research that is resisted by people, it is complex. Jon asserts: *it's because it's not talked about that I think people have difficulty getting their heads around it.* The complexity of the topic contributes to the resistance encountered since it is not an easily decipherable morally right or wrong (black and white) topic, such as sexual abuse. Sport initiations contain aspects that can be perceived morally acceptable by the majority of people within sport as well as society, as indicated by all participants in this study and all previous empirical sport initiation research.

7.3 The Complexity of Sport Initiations

According to Mac and Jon, the diverse social constructions of initiations, within and outside sport, means its primary characteristic is dissonance. Mac and Jon identify that most organisational initiation practices contain the same elements - power relations, coercion, consent, peer pressure - that are worthy of individual study outside the context of initiations and within sport in general. Due to the various initiation regimes, they are collectively incorporated into and overshadowed by a larger moral framework and discussion. However, not every initiation activity evokes a moral discussion or panic, as Mac says:

> *… there is an accepted notion about what you might call basic initiation ceremonies, and those are the ones I think are standard practices that most of us know … [such as:] shaving of pubic hair, eyes, head; use of boot polish in the nether regions. And some people might say, 'well, hey, that's been*

going on for donkeys [years]', I think [those are] the core [morally

acceptable activities or] the rather softer side of them.

These standard, morally accepted core activities do not invoke a need to examine or discuss the elements – power, coercion, consent, peer pressure – that are inherent within them. This includes the strong absolute moralist sport initiation research that contains researcher-identified acceptable activities which can possess some of these elements, such as peer pressure. Indicating elements such as peer pressure, power, and consent have been morally driven to be identified within initiations. Strong moral absolute researchers only utilise these factors to condemn research-identified hazing activities and argue against initiations they perceive as morally unacceptable. Since these elements do exist within initiations, they contribute to the complexity of the topic because initiations involve multiple issues, each worthy of research in and of themselves. This situation is further compounded by the fact that, within initiations, these elements are morally acceptable for core activities but not for others. This leads to the quintessential moral complex question about initiations, as posed by Mac: *the core ceremonies, they are relatively benign ... [but] 'benign to whom?' is the first question.* It is the first question because it is THE question. Benign to: The student athletes involved? Their parents? Other university students? The university's academic staff and administrators? Members of society that might be exposed to them? This is further complicated, since ... *then there's the harder side [of sport initiations]* (Mac).

The non-core activities are likely to construct moral controversy since more people will not perceive them as benign. For instance, for Jon:

... the eating drinking combination activities that are intended to make people violently sick or do something stupid, potentially even ... life-threatening are unacceptable. The kind of sexual humiliation of people is unacceptable for me ... and so are most of the things I have heard about. So, if there are things above and beyond that, that are worse, I would probably find immediately unacceptable. It seems to me it's about eating, drinking, humiliation, exercising power, sexual depravity of one kind or another ... pretty much all those are unacceptable for me.

Jon and Mac identify that the context of those perceiving, and judging, the activities as well as the initiation activities themselves need to be taken into account. Both Mac and Jon say that their role and identity within academia and sport constructs their perceptions of initiation activities for them. For instance, Jon states that *I have a reputation of being a moderating influence ... and I've seen as some as the behaviour police .... So I tell people when they are out of line.* Mac elaborates by saying in his role: *I tended to find ... [I'm] having to deal with some of the [sport] issues that emerge. That I have to go and do a little bit of fire-fighting.* In addition to the specific role in society, they felt that, in general, *it is quite proper though someone in their mid-forties might be offended by the excessive behaviour of a nineteen year old* (Jon).

Both Jon and Mac state that sport initiations were not an issue at their respective universities and their intimate knowledge of initiations suggest that: *initiations tend to have quite a strong hold within the subculture when I think of sports generally, specifically team games, my experience, although not exclusively, but often passed off as harmless, just harmless fun* (Mac). They are quick to point out that being

passed off as harmless does not mean they are harmless. All three fragmentational perspective participants support Bob and Luke's assertion that the more outside the phenomenon one is, the less knowledge one possesses about the actual content. As university academic and administrative staff members, Dale, Jon, and Mac possess greater knowledge about university initiations than those outside universities but less than those who possess differential organisational perspectives (coaches and athletes). All three participants utilise initiation knowledge garnered prior to their present staff role, notably from when the possessed the identity of a student or coach (differential organisational perspective), to construct initiations. They acknowledge that this knowledge may not entirely accurately reflect the initiation function practices of today; they are aware transformations have occurred (from what they have heard) but unsure to what extent (due to the lack of firsthand experience). According to Jon:

> *... my own firsthand experience with these are they are not bad. If experiences were similar to mine, which was 15-20 people playing drinking games for a couple of hours, no one getting riotous, no one doing anything illegal than they're good fun. I think the difference, and of course mine would have been 25 years ago, I think ... the level and type of experiences that young people are subjected to in these events have ratcheted up so far that I wouldn't want to be involved.*

Jon acknowledges that societal cultural practices have also changed in the past 25 years to reflect a higher tolerance of deviance. For example, the range for what is morally accepted as entertainment is now greater. Jon identifies television shows (e.g., I'm a Celebrity, Get Me Out of Here!) where participants perform activities

that have been 'ratcheted up' from what was initially constructed as morally acceptable:

> *... there does seem to me the kind of behaviour and earnest of celebrity, celebrities have been subjected to. The eating trials and various other physical tasks ... those kinds of issues are probably making the threat of what happens in initiation ceremonies less alarming ... people eating bugs in the jungle is not as horrible perhaps as being asked to eat cat food at an initiation ceremony.*

Expanding the scope of how sport initiations are perceived, removing initiation activities from under a microscope and situating them in the context of other societal cultural practices, changes the moral acceptability of the initiation activities performed. It also puts a mirror up to society and shows how it influences the cultural meanings, functions, and practices within the institution of sport. Mac states that:

> *... the types of things and the types of values that relate to sport tend to be those dominant values that society expects. The way they manifest themselves I think can be peculiar to sport .... Are there abuses that happen in sport? Yes there are. Are other positive things about sport? Yes there are. And sometimes the two, the abuses and the positives, are mirror reflections of the values and attitudes, motives and actions that society brings to sport.*

Initiation rites (sport and non-sport) are typically constructed with the cultural meaning to test the moral/deviant boundaries of the social world in order to make them special and unique. As the range of moral acceptability expands within society, it will also expand within sport initiations (e.g., eating cat food – no longer perceived

as deviant - increased in intensity to become eating sick – perceived by some as being deviant).

Most initiations found within society are located within an institutional setting and culture reflective of society. Social constructionist organisational culture (Schien, 2004) relies heavily on Berger and Luckmann's (1966) assertion that organisational cultures, namely public and private business organisations, are subworlds of societal culture, and thus initiations will be reflective of that societal culture. However, Chapter Two identified that sport is one of the last institutions that is a bastion of masculinity; it is a subculture of society. Chapter Four revealed that other institutions were constructed to promote masculinity such as the military and higher education. University sport initiations are situated within both higher education and sport. Modern university culture is considered by most of the participants in this study to be more of subculture than a subworld. According to Jon: *The image of student life is projected from day one in freshers week and the reputation of freshers week of some universities have about excessive drinking and partying and all that kind of thing …. It sets the tone for a whole variety of student experience that follows from it.* It was argued in Chapter Four that there are two types of university students - academic and sport. Additionally, sport club members possess either athletic status (high athletic ability) or social status (low athletic ability). Previous research on university sport culture found that team sport athletes dominate social spaces and consider academic work as unimportant. The athlete participants in this study identified that university was a time to have fun and that post university study is when a person has to work. University sport's social cultural meanings are constructed partly by universities. Consequently, Jon says there are *those practices that are sport cultures and those*

that are student sport cultures … there is a distinction there. There's a sense that student life … and therefore student sporting lives are at times thought of as a bit of a moral holiday. Arguably, individuals that attend university for a social experience, rather to obtain academic knowledge and skills, join team sport clubs to facilitate that social experience. Dale highlights how universities promote a moral holiday, fun, social experience:

> *It's very hard to be a Student's Union, which largely promotes a drinking culture, because we do have a bar and many of our events are focused around the bar to then turn around and say well actually, we don't want you to go out and have a drink for your initiation. We're acting as hypocrites in a way [if we did that].*

Dale's statement further identifies a difficulty with discussing sport initiations. All the athlete participants in this study asserted that alcohol consumption was a fixture within their initiations. Team sport initiations revolved around alcohol consumption. However, team sport athletes also dominate university social spaces. Universities promote alcohol consumption to the student body and create entertainment activities for the student body in drinking establishments that facilitate alcohol consumption. The rugby and football participants in this study all stated their clubs had weekly ritualistic drinking outings within the SU's drinking establishments. They further say their initiations were constructed on the cultural meanings embedded, practised, and normalised during this weekly drinking ritual. Dale says: *In my experience, football and rugby initiations and hockey, like outside sports and you can say in a way sports that are more physical, I find their initiations to be more going out, it does involve some sort of drinking.* However, Dale further asserts that *initiations are actually different in different sports.*

The heteronormative masculine sport culture that constructs initiation activities is influenced by external societal and university cultural meanings and practices. However, the cultural meanings of university sport are neither uniformly interpreted nor construct exactly the same functions and social practices. Although some sport clubs construct initiations with the purpose of pushing the boundaries of deviance, and create activities which Mac refers to as 'the harder side', some of these activities are only considered morally acceptable by the subgroup of athletes that perform them. For instance, most of the athlete participants in this study indicated that male rugby and football players ritualistically perform group male public nudity, which also occurs during initiations. Although this appears to be considered morally acceptable by most of the group members, athletes in other sports perceive it as unacceptable but do not possess strong absolute moral objections to it. However, there are activities that other university athletes and members of society would morally object to but appear to be acceptable within a group. For instance, Mac says:

> *… male members of rugby teams masturbating on the player, on the faces of sleeping players on the team bus, so that's a much more harder, difficult, these are straight players, so this is a higher homo-erotic behaviour by [straight] men. And so some of these are what we might see as profoundly disgusting but belong to the … clique.*

At first sight, it is difficult for outsiders to understand how this homo-erotic activity can occur within a heteronormative hyper-masculine culture that constructs homosexuality as weak and deviant. The difficulty further increases since the activity itself brings in the elements of power and force – consent of a male to participate in a public sexual activity that occurs as an all-male group watches. Arguably, many

people outside the group would morally object to this activity, especially if outsiders were exposed to it.

The taboo nature of initiation rites is meant to prevent outsiders from learning about and morally judging activities that can be perceived as deviant. The media exposure of sport initiations in 2008 occurring at a British university demonstrates that images of a sport initiation can elicit a moral panic. This study provides evidence that university sport initiations occur in public spaces where outsiders are subjected to them. This illustrates the complexity of research on initiations and contributes to resistance from those within sport to any such research. Jon says:

> *... excessive behaviours of various kinds, ritual humiliation ... when these processes are contained in some managed environment, that's one thing. When they actually impact on other people, as in innocent bystanders, men and women on the street, then I think that raises the level of scrutiny.*

Maintaining a dome of silence on sport initiations prevents outsiders from garnering specific knowledge about initiation activities, activities that outsiders might be exposed to. However, Dale, Jon, and Mac say initiations that occur in public are not the problem: rather it is the activities and the intensity of the activities that are problematic. According to Jon: *If they are not offensive behaviours ... drinking spirits and bit of fun ... I have no problem with that occurring in a public space, it's the excessive unacceptable offensive behaviours that ... shouldn't happen.* Dale asserts that sport clubs need to manage their initiations when they occur in public spaces or that their members should adopt self-surveillance. For example, Dale describes Uni 8's rugby club initiation that the media had inquired about:

... this year our rugby team ... they wore thongs and they streaked across some other matches at our recreation centre and they went from the recreation centre to the university [and then to town] ... because we have a relationship with a night club in the centre of town for our sports night .... They actually all wore black bags to walk through the town. So where they knew there would be members of public, they did, to be fair to them, actually wear black bags to cover themselves .... We really didn't have any grounds to discipline them, we didn't have any public complaints or anything.

Arguably, the rugby club changed the intensity of the activity to prevent a moral panic occurring by them being semi-nude in public. When they were in a public space with outsiders who might perceive the activity as acceptable, they ran around in thongs. In a public space that comprised individuals who would most likely perceive that activity as morally inappropriate, the intensity of the initiation was changed. However, Dale was put in a difficult position of: first, having to make an arbitrary decision regarding the moral acceptability of the rugby club initiation, and secondly, protect the university from the media exposing the rugby club whilst the university's official stance is that it does not support initiations.

The taboo and complex nature of the sensitive topic of sport initiations construct it as an ambiguous, difficult, policy issue that neither sport administrators nor academic researchers want to engage in. Dale says any knowledge or policy guidance from any credible source would be beneficial. At the moment the policy the university will be creating and implementing will be to: *basically to cover ourselves, so if something did happened, we could say 'well, do you know what, we don't even really support initiations but you went ahead and did it anyways so we can't be held accountable'.*

According to Mac, student sport administrators are unable, or unwilling, to tackle the issue. Specifically, Mac says:

> *... how does the Student Union deal with it? And my answer is they are blind to it. They tend to deal with it on an as-needs basis so when the shit hits the fan, they deal with it. They will never be proactive in dealing with it .... It's interesting the last AU Presidents was one of my students, and when I talked to him about this, 'You know what I think about this, what are you doing about this?', he looked at me sheepish and said 'Well, you know we just keep an eye out' .... I think it's a blind spot, I think it's reactive not proactive, and I think there's a threshold of engagement above which they brew [allowed to occur] and below which they don't. And I think that threshold is entirely arbitrary.*

Dale notes that taking this position does not help the students or ensure their welfare. He asserts that policy direction needs to come from the group with the integrational organisational culture perspective. Specifically, Dale says:

> *Personally I think it comes down to BUCS, I think BUCS should give advice to aid the administrators in how to tackle issues such as that .... All universities get BUCS handbooks, which we also give a copy to all of our captains .... If it was in the handbook that BUCS had an official stance on initiations than that would help us to reinforce it.*

Arguably, the combination of the lack of empirical knowledge and the strong cultural meaning that university sport is 'for students run by students' has constructed BUCS involvement and position on this policy issue. BUCS has deferred the matter to each university SU to tackle as they see fit for their institution. They have, however adopted the role of facilitating communication between universities

by disseminating information about how various universities are tackling the issue (e.g., policies).

Few academics have engaged in discussing or researching sport initiations. According to the academic participants of this study, there are few established researchers that possess the capabilities to conduct empirical studies on a taboo and complex sensitive topic successfully. Mac and Jon themselves, as established researchers that have experience dealing with sensitive topics, asserted they were not suited to research sport initiations. Jon says: *I just don't think it makes sense to me to want to investigate it or what is required to do a good job on this.* They posited that their constructed self concept would make it difficult to produce a trustworthy meaningful understanding of university sport initiations. All social interaction and action they undertake is predisposed to reflect the meanings of their current role (academic staff member) and established identity (moral behaviour police); others (e.g., students) interact with them on the premise that Jon and Mac possess these meanings. According to Jon:

> *... whether people would ... be open with me, given I have a role in the department, I don't know. I think having a senior role in the department would preclude me from certain sorts of information and, moreover, if I was in possession of guilty knowledge, what would I do with it? It might be a real problem for me. Then of course, you know, issues of anonymity and so forth become more tricky. Certainly, if I found out there were abusive practices going on and I felt that I needed to act upon: A). it wouldn't answer my research question and*

B). it would compromise … the relationship I might have with any of

the participants. It would be tricky for me to do.

As staff members, the complexity and resistance conducting research on university sport initiations would be greater for them, especially if they collected distasteful findings. Additionally, the power relations they possess with students would make it more difficult to collect data from, as well as distribute findings to, students. Mac says: *because of my age and because of my power relation as a member of staff, students are forced to listen, which is unfortunate because I would hope they would rather listen, not be forced.* Consequently, at the moment they felt that their involvement with sport initiation research was limited to participation in this study. Jon remarks that: *the sad thing is I only pick the battles I could win. If I was going to try and … create some social good, I wouldn't choose initiation ceremonies as my starting point …. I think it would be good to know, I just don't want to do the finding out.* However, Jon and Mac posited that a PhD student would be better suited to researching this topic. According to Jon: *if I was a PhD student doing this, I'm sure I would get hugely … intrigued, fascinated, absorbed by all …. I think it would be easier for a research student who is A). young and B). without any kind of status or authority in the organisation to get involved.* For them, a PhD student that possesses the research skills, time, energy, and passion to see this through is best suited to studying university sport initiations.

7.4 My Experience Researching Initiations

According to Jon and Mac, Brackenridge's (2001) experience of encountering the 10 discourses of intervention as a researcher, made her one of the few people who could supervise a PhD student researching British sport initiations. Brackenridge (2001)

was an established feminist academic and Head of the Leisure and Sport Research Unit at Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education when she initiated her research on the deviant, and illegal, social practice of sexual abuse within sport. In contrast, I am an international self-funded PhD student, with minimal research experience, researching a morally contested organisational cultural function within a foreign sport culture where initiations are constructed differently between sport clubs. Thus, the discourses I encountered were constructed and manifested differently to reflect my identity and role. During the course of this research: the value of the research and my competencies as a PhD student were frequently questioned; my character and moral fabric were attacked; I was bullied; and I was ignored, lied to, and avoided by people. After four years of being subjected to this negativity, in January 2011, I decided not to return to the UK after the Christmas break, but rather remained in Canada to finish writing my thesis.

As a PhD student, I was able to overcome many difficulties of doing sensitive research on a taboo and complex topic. First, my role as a research student provided me with a degree of anonymity and little institutional power that made me less threatening to exposing or sanctioning potentially deviant social practices. Most of the undergraduates who I met during the course of my studies perceived me more as a student than an authority figure. The ethnographic experience with the rowing club facilitated my ability to dress and communicate in a similar way to undergraduate students (possess cultural meanings, functions, and practices of an undergraduate). Secondly, research students face fewer professional distractions. The only concern I had whilst completing this research was the research itself. Additionally, I possessed a significant amount of energy and passion for my research since it is a topic that

interests me, and also because the research is not an end in itself but rather an end to being a student and the means of obtaining a degree. Finally, as a student, I overcame one of the largest difficulties sensitive researchers possess – lack of professional supervision (Johnson & Clarke, 2003) - since I was provided with professional supervision. Also, my supervisors were in a position to act as a barrier between myself and the external resistance I encountered. My written communications to possible gatekeepers and participants included the contact information of my supervisors. However, being a PhD student does not overcome many of the other difficulties associated with doing sensitive research as previously identified in this chapter and Chapter Two, namely the impact of doing sensitive research has on the researcher.

Chapter Two identified that sensitive topic researchers often feel the research project dominates their life. As the research dominates the researcher's life, they often feel segregated, alone, and unsupported. This is only heightened by the emotional and/or physical demands of the research project - sensitive research makes the researcher more sensitive. As a PhD student who encountered a high degree of resistance (see Table 5.1), I also found that the research project dominated my life. I eventually adopted an approach that I felt would 'get me through it' and be successful in completing the research project. As the resistance I encountered increased, so did my determination to complete the project as best I could. The resolve to continue came from the cultural meanings that I was socialised into as a competitive athlete through the process of doing heteronormative masculine sport. The cultural imperatives of sport (Kirby, et al., 2000) – heterosexism, hypersexuality and familism – embedded in me as a Canadian athlete, notably as an ice hockey player and rower, constructed

my identity as a researcher tackling the taboo and sensitive topic of British university sport initiations.

The heterosexism imperative constructed me as a more tough, unemotional, confident, and independent researcher. These cultural meanings were instrumental during the data collection phase when I felt alone, emotionally and physically drained, and insecure. During this period, I concentrated on the uniqueness of the topic as well as my position and approach to sport initiations. Few researchers in the world had: taken a pro-initiation approach, possess the knowledge I did of sport initiations, or tackled British sport initiations. Regardless of the amount or form of resistance I encountered, I continued to try to obtain useable policy data. My position in tackling the research with the cultural meanings of an athlete is best described by Luke's statement: *what we do is extremely disciplined and you got to be so disciplined to do it …. It's just me, and so discipline has got to come [from within] …. If people got a problem with [what I'm doing], that's their problem.* As a sport research student, I had to be very disciplined to keep my emotions in check whilst doing the work that was required of me. It would have been very easy to slack off, especially since a number of PhD students do, but at the end of the day it was my PhD/research project and either I did it or it was not going to get done. As well, if anyone had a problem/issue either with my topic or me as a self-funded international PhD student, and thus sought to cause inconveniences/problems for me, then I simply perceived them as being an opponent.

Kirby et al.'s (2000) familism constructed my sensitive research 'family' to include all those I perceived to assist me. This sport research organisational family includes

everyone who demonstrated the cultural meaning that this was a worthy research project. Specifically, this included all participants, gatekeepers, individuals I had positive or conductive discussions with, or indicated in some manner they valued this/supported me doing this research project. My research, as with other sensitive researchers, dominated my life to the extent that everything revolved around and was perceived within the context of the research project. Consequently, anyone that caused any problems or difficulties, which due to my heightened sensitivity and drained emotional state had a greater emotionally impact than if I was not doing the research, were perceived as opposing the research. Anyone not willing to stand behind me and take the risk was not on my 'team'. Only those who proved their worth and were willing to be loyal and make sacrifices deserved to be on my team – either you were with me or against me. If you were against me, I did not want to waste time and energy on you. Although I was perhaps aggressive towards these individuals, I did not seek to dominate, control or harm any particular person but rather sought to not let those individuals who opposed me dominate, control, and emotionally harm me any further. Symbolically in my mind, I had, as referred to in ice hockey, 'dropped the gloves' and was going to start to fight back (I was not going to be the nice, friendly, helpful and polite Canadian anymore to the people on the opposing team), especially those who resisted my research project the most and I felt were kicking me when I was down.

7.5 Constructing Resistance Research

Chapter Two identified North American sport initiations is a sensitive research topic. Academics assert that British university sport initiation research is a taboo and complex sensitive research topic. There exist similarities between my experience and

that of Brackenridge's (2001) experience in researching the sensitive topic of sexual abuse in sport. Some of the core characteristics of sensitive research are interviewing participants and working with distasteful findings. These typically involve individual deep personal and private experiences that can be grouped together because of similarities (i.e. sexual abuse, rape, homosexuality) and they drain the researcher physically and emotionally (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007, 2009; Johnson & Clarke, 2003). In researching university sport initiations, I found that neither interviewing participants nor working with the data produced any hardships. However, I was unable to recruit participants because of the high moral sensitivity of the research. Insiders generally perceive most activities as morally acceptable whilst outsiders can potentially perceive them as deviant or intolerable deviance whereby moral panic may ensue if such activities become public. Thus, some of the participants were uncomfortable providing in-depth answers to more sensitive questions. Additionally, athletes are typically initiated as a group and thus it becomes a group experience that is generally only discussed with other group members or close friends outside of the group. Consequently, a dome of silence is constructed by sport clubs around their initiation activities. The sensitivity of sport initiations is such that people resist the research and it becomes nearly impossible to find willing participants and get a full picture of the phenomenon. This suggests that university sport initiations are an atypical sensitive research topic. Its key characterisation is the *resistance* encountered because of the sensitivity of/taboo to discuss the topic.

Brackenridge (2001) identifies abuse within sport as a sensitive research topic, partly because it invokes a moral panic response within sport organisations as well as society. As one of the first to initiate research that tackled the taboo sport issue of

sexual abuse, she encountered various forms of resistance towards her intervention in exposing, understanding, and preventing the morally unacceptable deviant social practice. Arguably, the 10 discourses of intervention indentified by Brackenridge (2001) would be more aptly labelled as discourses of resistance. My research experience indicates that these discourses are methods employed by individuals and organisations to resist taboo and complex sensitive sport research. However, Brackenridge (2001) was researching sexual abuse, which due to its illegal and highly deviant nature, is only experienced by a small number of athletes. It is possible that Brackenridge (2001) was able to get a large number of participants despite the resistance she encountered. In contrast, I was researching a phenomenon that most athletes do experience and thus can confirm that I was unable to obtain participants due to the resistance.

The number and high degree to which Brackenridge (2001) encountered these discourses was because she was conducting research on a largely ignored and taboo sensitive topic; treading where few had gone before. In the past decade, the number of researchers tackling the issue of abuse within sport has grown. Is the topic of abuse still a sensitive topic? According to Lee's (1993) sensitive topic criteria, the answer is yes. However, abuse is a topic for which researchers have to tread carefully and utilise sensitive research procedures because of the physical and emotional impact that it has on victims and the researchers who hear their stories, as well as the consequences to those accused or affiliated with those accused or convicted. Is sport abuse still a taboo topic? The number of researchers and subsequent publications, the implementation of policy and safeguards within sport to prevent and deal with abuse, many sport abuse researchers do not identify

encountering all 10 discourses, and a willingness within society to engage in discussions regarding sport sexual abuse, highly suggests that no, it is no longer a taboo research topic. Thus, researchers who initiate sensitive research on taboo sport topics encounter greater resistance than followers.

From my experience researching British university sport initiations, I posit a new type of sensitive research, that of resistance research. Resistance research incorporates all the elements of sensitive research previously identified – personally very demanding and challenging, and highly emotionally and morally charged - however the context in which some of these are experienced are different. In resistance research, the taboo and complex nature of the topic constructs a high degree of resistance to such a point that the researcher is unable to get participants and data. The researcher puts a significant amount of time and energy into contacting various people - potential gatekeepers and participants – but is unable to obtain participants, or participants that will completely open up and provide in-depth information. A researcher who constantly encounters discourses of resistance and is unable to secure participants feels dejected, incompetent, disliked, and unwanted. These feelings are compounded when the researcher is able to secure participants but is only getting what Jon refers to as *fuzzy* data, specifically what is absolutely perceived as moral (not everything - the full picture - the researcher knows exists). The researcher begins to feel guilty and worthless because they failed to acquire data on what they perceive to be an important topic. As the researcher continues to try to overcome the resistance, the research project dominates their life. They become physically and emotionally drained and feel alone, isolated, and overall unsupported

by the majority of people (except a select few). Their distasteful finding is that they are unable to gather data.

7.6 Summary

This chapter utilises the fragmentational organisational cultural perspective participants to construct British university sport initiations as a taboo and complex sensitive research topic. This information is combined with my research experience to construct a new type of sensitive research. Resistance research is sensitive research where a researcher is unable to secure participants and data because the taboo and complex nature of the topic creates a high degree of resistance. Consequently, the researcher does not deal with emotionally draining data but rather is emotionally drained dealing with, and trying to overcome, the resistance.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to understand the largely ignored area of initiations within British university sport. To research British university sport initiations, about which little knowledge exists of either their cultural function or its institutional context (British university sport), meant constructing and utilising a research design and approach that could successfully facilitate exploring the relatively unknown. Heavy emphasis was placed on developing a research question, aim, and objectives that would: not pose threats (moral or otherwise) to anyone, and be flexible to change the data collection approach to obtain any type of knowledge (practical, technical, or emancipatory) that could provide understanding of the phenomenon and hence to assist policy actors and inform future research.

Chapter Eight begins with identifying the contribution of knowledge made by this confessional ethnographic research. Specifically, this section provides the technical, emancipatory, and practical knowledge of British university sport cultural meanings and the nature of initiations situated within rugby, football, and track and field. Additionally, the differential (coach and athletes) and fragmentational (administrator and academics) organisational perspective conceptions and interpretations of initiations are provided. The Chapter then identifies the main implications of this research, namely establishing a new research path (not following the previous sport harassment and abuse feminist research path) that utilises policy and organisational culture as foundation stones to advocate for all sport participants (not just victims). Chapter Eight then explores the limitations of the policy theoretical research tool of

the sport ACF that emerged during the research process. The chapter concludes with recommendations for resistance researchers.

8.2 Contribution to Knowledge

In North America, Habermas' (1978) three cognitive interests – technical, practical, and emancipatory – have constructed a different epistemological aspect of sport initiations. However, technical and emancipatory research, which has sought both to expose and morally condemn as well as replace absolute moral researcher-identified sport hazing practices, has produced unsavoury results. For example, it has contributed to the construction of a hazing moral panic in North America that is sustained by frequent media reports of the social practices of athletes. The ability of researchers to collect trustworthy information on the phenomenon for policy purposes is hampered because those advocating a moralist stance (technical researchers) or on behalf of hazing victims, or potential victims (emancipatory researchers), have socially constructed it as a sensitive research topic. Policy seeking to ban or replace initiations has proven to be ineffective since the phenomenon clearly persists. The practice has been driven underground where no transparency or control mechanisms exist and the dome of silence is firmly put into place.

It was my previous practical research experience coupled with the lack of existing knowledge of British university sport culture and initiations that were instrumental in determining my research approach and design. I concluded that I would have more success as a researcher (with this project and future initiation research projects) if I learned the cultural meanings of British university sport culture first and then sought predominantly practical knowledge, as well as any corresponding technical and

emancipatory knowledge that emerged, about the phenomenon of British university sport initiations. To minimise the possibility of initiating a moral panic prior, during, or post data collection, I sought to construct how multiple stakeholders in the British university sport delivery system conceptualise their interpretations and the nature of initiations. I posited that doing a case study of a sport initiation within a particular sport or university, or a study comprised solely of athletes, would be perceived by others as a study that had a hidden agenda (exposing, morally judging, and condemning a particular group). By seeking participants from differentiational (coaches and athletes), fragmentational (Student Unions), and integrational (NGBs and BUCS) organisational cultural perspectives and utilising Student Union administrators as gatekeepers at various universities to contact male and female athletes from three different sports (track and field, rugby union, football), I sought to be perceived as trustworthy. Additionally, pursuing practical knowledge without any moral agenda for regulation and policy provided me an opportunity to build relationships with stakeholders for this and future research endeavours. A greater understanding of sport initiations could potentially assist in the eventual construction of policy that is reflective of all key stakeholder groups, including administrators and athletes. Such regulation would impact on and change initiations by affecting the relationship between administrators and athletes, as well affecting the type of initiation practices performed. Finally, a stronger understanding of British sport initiations can provide insights that might be applicable to other sport cultures.

The ethnographic approach was integral to understanding British university sport initiations and the research journey. First, embedding myself as a participant observer within the unfamiliar sport cultural group I was researching transformed

me. Similar to anthropologist Van Gennep (1960), who studied initiations of a foreign tribal society, my interactions with British university athletes and administrators uncovered a thick description and interpretation of their cultural meanings. Possessing an emic perspective, I understood the functions, practices, and processes of actors in the British university sport delivery system. This impacted on the means I utilised to approach and interact with gatekeepers and participants, the wording of questions in the pre-interview questionnaire and interview, and most significantly, understanding as well as determining the trustworthiness of the data I collected. For instance, perceiving the data with Canadian sport cultural meanings, I would have questioned the trustworthiness of the pre-interview questionnaires data of participants who identified themselves as highly competitive athletes but trained so little and consumed such large amounts of alcohol on a weekly basis. To elaborate, in the summer of 2008, I attended a social outing of a Canadian university rowing club where the majority of athletes in attendance did not consume alcohol. Consequently, I would have posited that these British athletes were 'taking the mick' and not really interested in participating in the study as an interviewee (a discourse of resistance).

The second part of this ethnographic approach, the semi-structured interview format, allowed me to have conversations with participants. This facilitated the participants' abilities to impart their knowledge to me of what they perceived was important and were comfortable with discussing (e.g., Kate and I discussed at great length the differences between British university sport culture and North American university sport culture). It also provided me an opportunity to frequently probe them about areas they were less comfortable discussing at the start of the interview and for the

participants to pursue avenues I had not considered (e.g., Jon and Mac were interested in discussing, and possessed knowledge about, the process of researching sport initiations and the resistance I encountered).

A conventional empirical social science enquiry approach was initially utilised to understand British sport initiations. I surmised that findings from the triangulated data from athletes, coaches, and administrators would be useful knowledge for policy actors. The trustworthy data from athletes, coach, and administrator that I was able to obtain, provides important technical, emancipatory, and practical knowledge insights into and understanding of the much neglected, yet highly morally sensitive topic of British sport initiations.

Table 8.1 identifies the technical knowledge accumulated from the research participants – athletes, coach, administrator, and academics – concerning the phenomenon of British university sport initiations and the cultural meanings that constructed them. The cultural values of amateurism and militarism – ideology of athleticism (Mangan, 1981) or code of amateurism (Holt, 1989) - that are transmitted via the four educational goals of sport (see Cooprider, 2008) are akin to the seven imperatives of sport (Kirby, et al., 2000) – patriotism/nationalism, militarism, competition, media sport, work ethic, heterosexism/hypersexuality, and familism – of heteronomative masculine sport that construct North American university sport initiations. A notable difference is the strong volunteerism meaning that has been constructed within British university sport culture. However, the technical nature of sport initiations is constructed by British athletes and administrator similarly to their counterparts in North America. Athletes assert that initiations accomplishes group

Target Group		Cultural Meanings	Nature of Initiations	Initiations Conceptualised and Interpreted
Literature Review and Participant Observation		The cultural values of Amateurism (sociable, volunteerism, and masculinity) and Military (aggression, toughness, alcohol consumption, and hierarchal division of power) are transmitted and embedded into university athletes (students of the body), notably that of football and rugby (popular team sports), via various rites and rituals (including initiations), to accomplish the four educational goals of sport (self-sacrifice, esprit de corps, fair play, and the ability to command and obey) and transform athletes into successful sport, and later societal, agents/leaders.		
Rugby	Female Athlete		Athletes perform initiations = raise funds for the club + accomplish group bonding + socialisation into the sport club's subculture/subworld.	The Club initiation possesses two parts, with each part occurring in a differing location. The first part is a members - including coach - only beer circle that occurs in the SU bar. All activities revolve around, or were the result of (e.g., being written upon, such as 'slut fresher' and 'No 1 fresher'), alcohol consumption. Part two is a fancy dress theme night at the SU club, where members and non-members celebrate the completion of the first part.
	Male Athletes			Possesses four initiations – Home, Away, Club, and Tour – all of which revolve around the consumption of alcohol (drunkenness). Home and Away initiations involve only club members from the team you are on. Consists of drinking various things and playing games. The Club initiation involves being blindfolded and led around and then away from the university to the initiation site to play various drinking games, do calisthenics, and complete challenges. It also involves group nudity and being covered with random bits of food/fish. Tour initiation, same as the home and away but involves the entire club going on a trip to another country.
Football	Female Athletes			Two initiation types - Club and Tour. Both revolve around the consumption of alcohol, dressing up (fancy dress), and performing games and challenges. The ritualised Wednesday night social outing – beer circle in the SU – is utilised as the foundation for the Club initiation. The notable difference is that it is members-only (club members and coaches) and the freshers complete most of the activities – calisthenics, being covered in flour, eating food (some unpleasant), drinking games, having hands tied, race around the bar on hands and knees.
	Male Athletes			Possesses a Club and Tour initiation. Both revolve around the consumption of alcohol, nudity/semi-nudity, and performing games and challenges. The Club initiation has two parts. It begins on a coach returning from a match and concentrates on the completion of activities – cross dressing, stripped to a thong or nude, drink an alcoholic concoction (spicy) blindfolded, being jabbed as the walk down the coach, run a short distance in a thong and beat the bus back, petty theft, eat disgusting concoctions - whilst consuming alcohol. The second part involves going out to the club to consume alcohol as a group (not in an exclusive collective)
Track and Field	Female Athlete			The Club initiation possess two stages: Icebreaker – meeting, formal dinner, or trip to amusement park that provides an opportunity for people to get acquainted. Main initiation – a fancy dress theme night (typically military) at the SU club, with heavy alcohol consumption (a rarity in track and field) and generally some calisthenics.
	Male Athlete			
	Male Coach			
Administrator			We require policy that protects ourselves in case anything happens (the university's official stance is that it does not support initiations)	Team sports – rugby, football, hockey - that are more physical have initiations that revolve around going out and alcohol consumption. For instance, the rugby team (wearing thongs) streaked across the pitches and went to the night club in town (via the university).
Academics			Sensitive research topic + taboo research topic = resistance	Initiations possess core and non-core activities. Core activities - shaving of pubic hair, eyes, head; use of boot polish in the nether regions; playing drinking games - are typically morally acceptable since they are basic activities. Non-core activities are morally unacceptable activities - sexual humiliation and depravity (e.g., male masturbating on another male who is sleeping) - make people disgusted or violently sick, and can be life threatening.

bonding and socialisation whilst the administration perceive it as something that requires regulation to prevent the possibility of something negative occurring and harming first the athlete and secondly the university itself. Both parties concur that alcohol consumption is an integral component of sport initiations, regardless where they occur. The academic interviewees, however provide a unique perception on the phenomenon of initiations. Those who study sport culture itself identify the underlying/root nature and interpretations of sport initiations – a sensitive and taboo topic to discuss because of differing moral interpretations (relativism, weak absolutism, and strong absolutism) of the activities conducted.

Whereas technical knowledge reflects conflicting moral stances on British university sport initiations amongst the participants, similar to that produced in North American-based empirical studies, emancipatory knowledge (see Table 8.2) concentrates on power imbalances amongst athletes and between athletes and administrators. Table 8.2 identifies that British university sport culture is constructed identically – heteronormative masculinity - as that found within North American university sport. Thus, the cultural value of volunteerism, identified by technical knowledge in Table 8.1, is dismissed within the context of sport initiations by the concepts of "choice of one" (Kirby & Wintrup, 2002, p. 74) and Foucauldian power. Similar to their American and Canadian counterparts, British student athletes resent and do not respect initiation/hazing policies constructed by university administrators that seek to regulate their social practices. Although this study found that such policies have been created to protect the administrator and university if anything should go 'wrong' during the initiations, it further found that administrators themselves do not agree with such policies. However, they lack the guidance to

Target Group		Sport Cultural Meanings	Nature of Initiations	Initiations Conceptualised and Interpreted
Literature Review and Participant Observation		Heteronormative masculine sport culture reproduces structures of dominance and/or resistance within: sport clubs – club members seek either social or athletic status as well as club positions; university sport - team sports dominate university social spaces, and popular hyper-masculine male football and rugby clubs seek to dominate other clubs; and the university community – those perceived as possessing feminine traits (students of the mind, lecturers) are considered weaker and their dominance is resisted.		
Rugby	Female Athlete		Initiations possess two groups – freshers and returners – with only the freshers performing the activities ordered/demanded by, and for the amusement of, returners. Participation in the initiation is not mandatory, however, completion of it garners an improved social status and respect that allows one to access club membership privileges (e.g., assistance with course work, running for and obtaining club hierarchical positions, being perceived as part of the club community) and thus is really a 'choice of one' where attendance is coerced. Any previous social outings or initiations classify, discipline, and normalise conduct and activities to freshers (young and lonely adults who have been transplanted into a new environment) and make them socially docile.	Initiations can be taken to an extreme and can become as bad as the horror stories you hear. Returners in charge can overstep an arbitrary mark and make it more severe than it should or has to be.

Universities do no, cannot and/or should not regulate the social activities of students.

Athletes do not respect or follow university constructed policies, which they have had no or little input into, that ban or severely regulate the initiation process or the activities within it.

Being forced to change the name to 'welcoming party' does not change what they are. |
	Male Athletes			
Football	Female Athletes			
	Male Athletes			
Track and Field	Female Athlete		The icebreaker classifies, disciplines, and normalises conduct to freshers. Specifically, the hierarchal structure within the club, the emphasis on training and athletic accomplishment over social abilities and endeavours, and the rarity of alcohol consumption except at key approved periods (the first being the main initiation). The main initiation submits freshers to domination by coaches, captains, and returners who partake in the activities as 'agents of normalisation' under the appointed returner, who is acting in the role of a sergeant major, that is in charge.	
	Male Athlete			
	Male Coach			
Administrator			The possibility that a fresher can have a negative experience – bullying, forced drinking, humiliation- during an initiation exists.	Lack of leadership from sport organisations on how to deal with initiations means the issue has been deferred to university sport administrators at each institution to deal with it independently. These administrators do not have any policy guidance from any credible source and thus create policies that does not ensure the welfare of students. Policies that ban initiations protect administrators and the university but puts the students at more risk since initiations are driven underground with no rules to follow or accountability mechanisms in place.
Academic			The elements of power, coercion, consent, peer pressure are inherent within sport initiations.

The level and type of activities have been ratcheted up over the past 25 years. | It is deviant to be openly discussing a taboo and complicated topic. To do so means threatening the status quo and breaking the dome of silence.

As members of staff, the complexity and resistance conducting research would be great. |

implement policies that would allow initiations to occur whilst also ensuring the welfare of students. Academic interviewees identify that any forthcoming guidance is unlikely since they conceptualise initiations as a taboo topic which those who are within sport cannot discuss with outsiders.

Table 8.3 identifies that amateurism and military cultural values have, since the 19th century, constructed a heteronormative masculine sport culture that transforms students of the body (athletes). Initiations have been constructed within this culture to play a pivotal role in constructing the masculine identities of student athletes. The degree of the transformation is dependent on the individual sport the athlete participates in since differing sport subcultures and subworlds to the parent British university sport culture exist. Table 8.3 further shows that all three sports – track and field, rugby, and football – have constructed a main sport/club initiation reflective of their subworld/subcultural interpretations of the parent British university sport cultural meanings. A common theme across all three sports is that the initiation involves activities that are perceived as deviant, either by insiders or outsiders. For instance, it is abnormal for track and field club members, who train daily, to consume large quantities of alcohol or to socialise as a large group. In comparison, it is normal for male rugby players to engage in group social activities while nude and under the influence of alcohol. These sport specific deviant and normal activities make the initiation special and accomplishes the function of being a primary (track and field and female rugby), secondary (male and female football), or trial mechanism (male rugby).

Target Group		Sport Cultural Meanings	Nature of Initiations	Initiations Conceptualised and Interpreted
Literature Review and Participant Observation		Modern British university sport culture originated within 19th century English public schools which, as institutions of indoctrination, transformed male youths to possess a masculine adult identity. Athletes construct their identity, decisions, and actions on the organised amateur heteronormative masculine cultural imperatives of sport. Athletes in differing sports are not socialised into the same dominant British university sport culture, which is a subculture to societal culture, subworlds (football and rugby) and subcultures (track and field) exist.		
Rugby	Female Athlete		Primary Embedding Mechanism Home and Away Initiation: Primary Embedding Mechanism Club Initiation: Trial Mechanism (the initiation is replicated identically every year) Tour Initiation: Secondary Reinforcing Mechanism	Initiations are positive if implemented properly. Specifically, it should be about pushing one beyond what is normally done in order to make it special. Going to extremes will make it negative. Being initiated as a fresher was better/more enjoyable than as a returner in charge of the fresher. Being part of group of people all doing the same thing that a) you wouldn't normally do, and b) previous club members have done, makes it special. It connects (bonds) all the members – past and present – together by sharing the same experience.
	Male Athletes			
Football	Female Athletes		Club and Tour Initiation: Secondary Reinforcing Mechanism Club initiation is replicated with minor changes (e.g., fancy dress theme changes).	
	Male Athletes		Club Initiation: Secondary Reinforcing Mechanism (primary if the fresher has not attended previous Wednesday night beer circle/social outings) The initiation is repeated every year with minor changes.	
Track and Field	Female Athlete		Primary Embedding Mechanism. The initiation is replicated every year with some minor changes	
	Male Athlete			
	Male Coach			
Administrator			Initiations have occurred in university sport for a long time. Different sports have different initiations.	The Student Union promotes a drinking culture. Thus, the consumption of alcohol during initiations is not a problem. There are no issues with initiations as long as respect exists within them (nobody is forced to do anything and nobody is harmed) and they do not cause a moral panic
Academics			Initiations are a ritualised tradition within multiple societal institutions (e.g., military, sport). Some of the activities themselves will have changed to reflect a higher tolerance of deviance in society. Initiations are a moral holiday.	The taboo and complex nature of the sensitive topic of sport initiations construct it as an ambiguous, difficult, policy issue that neither sport administrators nor academic researchers want to engage in.

Utilising predominately practical knowledge of British university sport culture and the cultural function of initiations situated within it, a British University Sport Initiation Model was constructed. This model fills some of the gaps that exist in the original Initiation Model (Wintrup, 2003) whilst utilising a sociological concept of power, specifically Foucauldian disciplinary power. The revised Initiation Model first, and foremost, constructs sport initiations three dimensionally; they are not simply immoral deviant activities that should be eradicated. Initiations are a complex organisational cultural phenomenon possessing nuances at multiple levels for both participants and observers. The policy premise of the model is that universities should accept initiations occur and set parameters within each sport culture. This would prevent any harm coming to athletes by banning them and thus either *denying people a very joyous celebration … [or] drive it underground* (Jon) where there are no parameters or accountability. Additionally, it would prevent any administrative 'knee-jerk' reaction to any potential initiation moral panic that may occur. The Initiation Model identifies that initiations can be more than just 'good' (positive) or 'bad' (negative – bullying and abuse), a grey area exists (naïve hazing). A continuum of potential outcomes – ritual, bonding, naïve hazing, hazing, bullying, harassment and abuse, and severe injury/death – provides administrators with a continuum of potential responses to a potential initiation moral panic.

The interview data collection process itself generated the most pivotal knowledge of British university sport initiations – the high resistance I encountered. Resistance due to the sensitive, complex, and taboo nature of the topic (see Tables 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3) transformed this into a sport confessional ethnographic policy research project. The most prominent, yet distasteful, finding constructed this sensitive research topic as

resistance research. Resistance research occurs when those who are passionate about their research topic, to such an extent the research dominates their lives (the researcher has no life outside of the research project), but they are unable to obtain participants or the full picture of the phenomenon under study because they encounter discourses of resistance; their distasteful finding is that they are unable to gather data. The concept of resistance research is constructed upon my experience of completing this PhD.

The knowledge accumulated during this research (see Tables 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3) generate the findings of the Initiation Model and resistance research. These findings suggest that policy which adopts an integrational cultural perspective to regulate initiations in all sport clubs will be ineffective; regulation needs to acknowledge the cultural differences of each sport club. However, the findings of the research process are arguably more valuable and enlightening to policy actors, notably researchers. Those policy actors who seek to tackle the issue of British sport initiations need to be aware of what they will possibly encounter and experience.

8.3 A New Research Path

Chapter Two identified that the research leaders - Brackenridge, 2001; Brackenridge & Fasting, 2002; Kirby, Greaves & Hankivsky, 2000 – of harassment and abuse in sport are feminists. Most subsequent researchers study bullying, harassment, and abuse in sport have also adopted an epistemological approach to advocate on behalf of victims whilst seeking technical and emancipatory knowledge that exposes the phenomenon (concentrate on the activities that comprise harassment and abuse) and aspects (impact on the victim, who the perpetrators are and how they abuse) of it. In Chapter Seven, my experience researching British sport initiations was likened to

Brackenridge's (2001); I was a leader (not a follower) researching a taboo and sensitive research topic and encountering discourses of resistance (and the emotional toll) that very few other researchers in the field of athlete welfare have reported experiencing. The resistance and the accompanying emotional toll I encountered (see Chapters Five and Seven) was largely due to the social constructionist epistemological approach I adopted (see Chapter Two) and the theoretical organisational culture policy research framework (see Chapter Three) that I utilised. Specifically, concentrating on collecting practical knowledge of the perceptions of the phenomenon of initiations that various policy subgroup actors – athletes, coaches, administrators, academics - possess (see Chapters Six and Seven) rather than focusing on collecting technical or emancipatory knowledge (e.g., attending initiations and reporting what I observed) that exposes and condemns the initiation activities freshers are dominated by returners to do.

Harassment and abuse research leaders and followers have been pivotal actors within the athlete welfare policy subsystems. It was their efforts of breaking the dome of silence on a taboo and sensitive research topic that assisted in constructing an athlete welfare policy subsystem within sport organisations and the sport delivery system itself. Additionally, their technical and emancipatory knowledge reflecting absolute and relativist moral deviant harassment and abusive activities has been utilised by policy makers in constructing athlete welfare policies. Yet, Chapter Five identified that, in Canada, some sport organisations adopted, but did not implement the researcher-based harassment and abuse policy. Chapter Seven revealed a rationale as to why athlete welfare policies are implemented – to protect the administrator, specifically: *to cover ourselves … so we can't be held accountable* (Dale). A similar

outcome has been generated with North American sport initiation and hazing policy that was constructed upon the findings of absolute moralist technical researchers (see Table 2.1). Arguably, researchers solely advocating for athlete victims swings the metaphorical pendulum to smash the dome of silence so that 'bad' things that occur within sport go from being taboo and ignored to becoming a policy issue. However, the research, and thus policy, primarily reflects the perceptions, position, and understanding of one actor, situated within heteronormative masculine sport parent culture, of the sport delivery system – the athlete victim.

My research path constructs the researcher as an informed policy broker that possesses useable policy knowledge. A researcher does not advocate for a particular group, but rather for constructing policy that effectively minimises the possibility of athletes having a negative experience. The sport organisational culture policy process theoretical framework requires adopting a balance approach (represent and perceive policy subsystem actors equally) to collect practical knowledge from multiple actors possessing differing roles (administrators, coaches, academics, athletes) and organisational cultural perspectives (integration, fragmentation, differential). In the context of this research project, this approach has produced a new way to look at hazing – the Initiation Model. The Initiation Model can be utilised outside the scope of both sport and initiations; there is a universality aspect to the model. The intensity of an activity combined with how it is perceived by insiders and outsiders as well as the outcome to the actual participants can be applied to any activity that occurs in sport, militaries, and fraternities and the various subworlds and subcultures which exist within them.

8.4 Limitations of the Sport Policy Process Theoretical Framework

This policy research utilised the sport ACF constructed by Houlihan (2005). Houlihan (2005) himself admits that his sport policy process theoretical framework is not without flaws. However, only by utilising the sport ACF can the flaws emerge and be addressed. Whilst undertaking this research on British university sport cultural initiations, I identified three inter-related weaknesses associated with the enigma of the British university sport delivery system, the strong cultural meaning that student sport is student-driven, and the topic of initiations.

The British university sport delivery system, university student athletes, and the issues, or potential issues, within the system itself has, for the most part, been ignored by governments and academic researchers. This has contributed to: first, a lack of external input into or influence on the British university sport policy system from the relative stable parameters and the external (system) events, and secondly, a lack of a cohesive formation of the policy subsystem itself.

Most sport issues can be compared with non-sport societal equivalent. This facilitates getting societal actors involved in the sport policy subsystem or putting external pressure on the system to deal with the issue at hand. Examples of such issues include: harassment and abuse in sport, which could be identified with harassment and abuse in the workplace or in the home; bullying in sports could be identified with bullying in schools or the workplace; doping in sport could be related to drug use. However, the topic of initiations is, for the most part, not considered an issue within British society and there exists no comparative issue within society for people to relate it to. Thus, it can be argued that, although sport initiations have been

socially constructed within British society, the topic has not been clearly conceptualised and therefore is still vague. As such, British society lacks proper knowledge to formulate any valid beliefs or have the willingness to put significant pressure on the British university sport policy subsystem to deal with the issue.

It is difficult for new policy actors, especially foreign researchers, to become involved since the existing British university sport delivery system actors, and the roles they play, are not fully identified or consistent; sport is organised differently between universities (e.g., role of football coaches at Uni 2 differs from Uni 4) and within universities (e.g., Bob, the track and field coach at Uni 9 was in charge of his club and had very little to do with the SU. However, the SU and club captains were in charge of the other sport clubs). Also, the manner in which they deal with policy issues varies across sport clubs and universities. Additionally, there are very few actors involved in regulating the social practices of athletes outside of athletic competition and training. The system is primarily governed by students for students, and thus the actors that are involved are students, notably those within the SU and club committees.

Those who govern university sport are undergraduate students that have been elected by their peers. Possessing little post-secondary education and work and life experience, these students are put into a position where they have to deal with major policy problems and issues. Although there are paid full-time professionals that work alongside the elected student representatives (Student Activity Coordinators employed within the student unions, various personnel in the Sport and Recreation Departments), the assistance each student representative has at their disposal varies

from institution to institution. In addition, these paid employees are there, at most, to assist in running university sport (competitions and training). Student administrators are the key policy actors within the British university sport delivery system for regulating (creating and implementing policies) the social practices of athletes. Yet, these actors are able to work in relative autonomy. As such, there are very few external actors to hold them accountable or force them to deal with what could be considered sensitive or difficult issues, such as initiations. Finally, student administrators may lack the capabilities, knowledge, fortitude, interest, and distance (be to close as students and perhaps student athletes to particular issues) in order to properly and effectively deal with sensitive issues, such as initiations, in a clear, impartial, organised, and professional manner. North American sport initiation research has found that paid professional university administrators find it a complex and difficult policy issue to tackle and thus they are reluctant to do so (Johnson, 2000).

Currently, issues such as sport initiations arise within the policy domain of each institution. Researching sport initiations requires accessing the actors within advocacy coalitions of not just one policy subsystem. Rather, it requires accessing the actors of advocacy coalitions within multiple sport policy subsystems that exist within each university. Additionally, the majority of knowledge on university sport initiations is North American-centric. This knowledge has been influenced by fraternity, sorority, and military initiations. All North American initiations share similar features, regardless of the area they occur in and regardless of organisational structures and cultural meanings and functions (e.g., fraternity initiations are conducted by people who live socially together, military initiations are conducted by

people who are trained and then employed to fight in wars). Also, British sport

administrators are perhaps not familiar with the differing cultural meanings of North

American sport. North American university sport does not possess the code of

amateurism that defines sport as social to the same extent as British university sport

culture. Thus, the appropriateness of utilising North American based initiation

material comes into question when developing policy for British university student

athletes.

8.5 Final Thoughts

The intensity of the PhD rite of passage is constructed for most students to be a

difficult and challenging process that transforms the uneducated individual to that of

a highly educated doctor. However, the academic rite of passage of completing a

PhD is as diverse as those found within sport (see Chiang, 2003). Similar to higher

education sport, higher education academia possesses different types of

disciplines/students that possess differing cultural meanings. Although all PhD

programs possess a trial mechanism of the viva voce, some PhD rites of passage

processes are constructed rather simply, like initiations are in track and field, whilst

others are constructed with significant more complexity, like those in male rugby

clubs. Additionally, other dimensions exist that can further construct the academic

rite of passage more challenging and difficult for students. For instance, previous

scholars (Brown, 2008; Goode, 2007) have identified the difficulties both

international graduate students and those that supervise them encounter, which are

typically rooted in misunderstandings of cultural meanings. Another dimension that

can construct a PhD research program to be more challenging and difficult is the

sensitive level of the topic. This study found that a sensitive research topic that is

also a taboo topic can construct resistance to research that is at such a high intensity level it can have a very negative impact on the unprepared researcher.

8.5.1 Future Researchers – Be Prepared!

There is a significant lack of knowledge on British sport initiations and any useable empirical policy knowledge that can be produced would be beneficial. Thus, I recommend that those who wish to conduct resistance research utilise their unique academic background and strengths to explore the topic as they see fit. However, to be successful as a resistance researcher, I suggest that:

1. Do not do resistance research as a PhD student unless you are passionate about the topic and it is more important to do the research then complete the PhD course. There are easier and less time consuming topics that will fulfill the requirements of a PhD.

2. Acknowledge at the outset that this will be a time- and energy-consuming process. For instance, your data collection will be longer, you will have to do more to obtain gatekeepers and participants, and contact more people than a typical researcher. And yet, you will have fewer participants and less data.

3. Be flexible with your research approach and plan. When things are not working, do not keep trying to implement or accomplish what you initially conceived. Accept that it is not working and make changes. For PhD students, this may mean having to reframe the literature review and methodology chapters.

4. Be aware that you are, or may be perceived as, morally judging others. As such, you should first, adopt a relativist moralist position that has a high level for deviancy, and secondly, choose your words and frame your research very carefully when contacting gatekeepers and potential participants. For instance, I purposely constructed my research question to be: Do sport initiation and hazing within British Higher Education Institutions need regulation?. This came off as less morally judgemental and provided an opportunity for me to explore two avenues of thought – yes, it does need regulation and no, it does not need to be regulated. In comparison, if the question started with 'why' or 'how should', it would implicitly incorporate a value stance that I had already adopted a moralistic perception of sport initiations.

5. Be prepared for personal attacks and unnecessary hassles/problems from all individuals, including those who are not involved in, know nothing about, or are not impacted in any way with your research. As a PhD student you are even more open to attacks since you lack any academic credentials to do research, and are subject to power relationships where you are perceived by others as just a student seeking the 'plum' of a degree.

6. Do not be afraid to challenge ignorance of your research methods; tackle misrepresentations and assumptions; challenge vague and misguided perceptions of what research is and what can be achieved by methods other than those to which they hold. However, be careful to not let challenging others become fighting others. Fighting 'research saboteurs' (those who do

more harm for your research than good) can easily dominate your life. Always put completing the research first, unless it gets to point that your ability to do the research is completely hindered by them.

7. Not everyone is 'evil' and seeks to sabotage your research. During the research process it is very easy to go into 'survivor' mode. However, one or a few individuals within an organisation does not represent the entire organisation.

8. Find, retain, and **value** 'research supporters', they do exist!

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Appendix A: Interview Guides

Athlete Interview Guide

Greet the athlete. Gain consent for recording the interview on tape and ask the athlete if they understand the conditions set out in the consent form.

REVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE
1. What team are you on (1st, 2nd, etc)?
2. What does competitive (or highly/elite) athlete mean to you?
3. Do you drink more during your on-season then on the off-season?

Part 1: Initiations
I Do you know what sport initiations are?
   1. Can you describe the term 'initiation' for me?
   2. What comes into your mind when you hear the word 'initiation' (what does the word 'initiation' mean to you/what does it symbolize)?
   3. How do you know about initiations? What have you heard about them from others?
   4. Can initiations be positive and negative?
        i. can there be different intensity levels to initiations?
II Can you tell me some general background information about your university sports team initiation practices?
   1. When do they occur? (how far into the academic year/month)
   2. How important are initiations to your team?
   3. Does the entire team have to be present?
   4. Who gets initiated? (do all first years to the team or only first year uni?)
   5. How many initiation events are there each year (is everyone initiated at once or do you have separate initiation events for each individual)?
        a. How many times is an individual initiated?
   6. is there any HYPE of the initiation beforehand?
   7. Where do they occur? (on/off campus, in private or public sphere - both)
        a. Since you joined the team, have they occurred in the same place every year?
   8. How many groups are present during an initiation?
        a. What do you call people who are being initiated?
        b. And those who are running the initiation?
            i. What does this title represent or mean? (If they are called abusers, does that mean people are abused during the initiation? And is this the same kind of abuse that exists outside of sport – home?)
   9. Is alcohol present at the initiation?
        a. How important is alcohol to your team's initiation events?
   10. When a person is initiated (completed the initiation) do they receive anything – either symbolically or physically/tangible or intangible (wristbands, stripes)?
        a. Is this team specific or do all university clubs give it out?

III Tell me about your initiation experience as an athlete?
        1. As an athlete, how many initiation events have you attended?

      a. Where you an active participant in all the events, or were you ever just a spectator?

      b. How many of these were as a University student for a University team? If more than one:

          i. Can you break it down, how many did you participate in (and what function) and how many were you a spectator?

         ii. Were they all for the same team/club?

2. Were you initiated when you joined the (rugby, football, athletics) club?

      a. Can you describe the initiation(s) you underwent to join this club? (How did it unfold and what activities)

          i. At the time how did you feel about performing these activities (nervous, hesitant, fine)?

      b. Did you do anything beforehand to prepare for the initiation event (mental preparation as well physical)?

      c. Did you see your participation as voluntary?

          i. So, this was something you wanted to do to?

         ii. Did you feel in any way that you had to take part in the initiation, this was something you had to do? If so, why?

3. At anytime were you or anyone else required, asked or voluntarily removed their clothing? **If so,**

      a. At what point during the initiation did it occur?

      b. Who was nude, what percentage of the group?

      c. Had you ever been nude in front of these people before (locker room, shower, etc)

      d. How comfortable did you feel being nude or being around other nude people?

      e. What significance, if any, did have to be nude during the initiation? What function did it serve?

      f. Were there any activities that required you to physical touch someone who was nude or be touched while nude? (elephant walk)

      g. Do you think being nude during the initiation symbolize anything significant? (probe with: rebirth, change, removal of the old)

    IF NOT,

    Would you be willing to be nude during an initiation? Under what circumstances?

4. Were you given an option to perform the activities (did not have to perform or engage in any activities you did not 'really' want to do)?

5. Were you forced to do any activities?

      a. If you were forced, how do you feel about having to do those activities now?

      b. Should athletes being initiated have a veto on what activities they perform?

6. At anytime during your initiation did you feel that "this had gone on long enough' or 'this was not right'?

7. At anytime did you or anyone else voiced an objection to any initiation activity? If so, were you or they heard?

8. Would you say there was a sexual element present within some of the initiation activities (kissing, touching of genitals, caressing of the body, etc)? Explain.

9. As someone being initiated, how did this feel?
    a. Did you feel any less powerless during the initiation then during any other instances in your life inside or outside of sport?
10. How would you describe your role during the initiation?
    a. Was there a specific way you had to act (docile, inferior, etc)?
        i. Is this typical behaviour for you? If not, why the change?
    b. How did you know how to act during the initiation?
11. Can you describe the roles of the other participants of the initiation? (how did they act)
    a. Do you feel they acted in an appropriate manner?
    b. Did anyone behave differently than they normally would?
12. Was your initiation performed in private or public place?
13. Who was present? (just team members)?
    a. Was your coach present during the initiation?
        i. If so, what role did they play – spectator or where they involved?
    b. Anyone else, if so, who where they and did they participate in any way? (anyone from the opposite gender)
14. Do you know how the initiation activities were chosen?
15. Where there any activities you performed because everyone before you performed them?
    a. How important was it for the group that members perform certain traditional initiation activities?
16. What did it mean to you to participate in this initiation? How important was it for you?
17. Was your initiation something 'special', a 'special' event or was it mundane, ordinary? Are or Should initiations be something that are 'special'?
18. At anytime during your initiation did you feel excited (good) about doing it? Did you feel nervous? Was it a fun nervousness? (anticipation of doing the initiation but not sure what will happen next?)
19. At the time of you initiation, were you enjoying what you were doing? If not, would you say that although you were not enjoying it, you were happy you were doing it?
20. How did you feel after completing the initiation?
21. Would you say that doing an initiation is the same as doing training, doing something you're don't necessarily enjoy at the time but do so for how you feel afterwards (the feeling of accomplishment) and the benefits of doing it?
22. Did other members of the group treat you differently after completing the initiation?
    a. Did your role or status within the group change after the initiation?
23. What purpose did your initiation serve?
    a. What was the function of it?
24. Did you feel that the initiation tested you (as an athlete, as man/woman, individual, as member of the team)?
25. Do you ever look or reflect back on your initiation experiences?
    a. If so, how do you feel about them (do you look back with fond memories)?

26. Is the point or one of the points of initiations is to do something you wouldn't normally do but to be able to reflect back and say you did it? (this is what makes it special??). Go through the process to say you went through the process.
27. how important is secrecy regarding your team's initiation practices?
28. If you were in charge of the initiations for next year, what would be different?

Section 3: Initiation Policy

1. Does your University have an initiation policy for sport clubs (policy that is explicitly/specifically to govern initiation activities of students/athletes)? If yes,
   a. Is this policy applicable to all clubs or just sport teams?
      i. If to all clubs, do you think that athletes or sports should be governed by the same behaviour policy as non-athletes or sport clubs? If so, why?
      ii. Do you think that male and females should be governed by the same policy? Why?
   b. Can you explain the policy to me?
   c. Did you feel that initiation conformed to the initiation policy of the university?
   d. What do you think of the policy?
      i. What, if anything, do you like about the policy or dislike about the policy?
   e. Do you know how the policy was created?
      i. Were student athletes consulted during the development of the policy?
      ii. Should they have been?
   f. Do you know why the policy was created (was their a specific incident that called for policy)?
   g. Has anyone explained this policy to you? If so, by who?
2. Do you think initiations are appropriate in your sport? And if so, do you think they need to be governed by policy or guidelines?
   a. What do you think should be included in the policy (health and safety)?
   b. Are there certain activities that should be banned?
      i. If so, why?
3. Do you think the policy should be applied to all athletes in all sports equally? Or should different sports and athletes have different initiation policy? Why or why not?
4. Who should implement the policy – your university, your student union, your sport governing body, BUSA/UCS (University and College Sport) or another organization? Why?
5. Do you think that initiations or components of initiations (activities) are illegal? Should they be?
6. If initiations were banned, would your team still do them? Why?
   a. Probe: What if they were replaced by a group activity? Why

Section 4: Hazing

1. Have you ever heard of the term 'fagging'?

1. Upon reflection, do you think your initiation was a purely positive experience? What parts of it where less than positive?
    a.   Probe: Where there any activities that you particularly liked or disliked?
    b.   Probe: Would you be willing to be initiated again?
2. Do you think it is possible for initiations to get out of hand and become a negative experience for people?
    a.   Probe: If so, why do you think they get out of hand?
    b.   Probe: Would you say that there are different levels to initiations?
3. Are you aware of any instances that people got hurt (physical, emotional) during an initiation?
4. Do you think people are bullied or forced into doing initiations?
5. Does an abusive element exist within the practice of initiations?
6. Have you ever heard of the term "hazing"? if so
    a.   What do you think it means?
    b.   Do you think you were hazed?
    c.   Is their a difference between hazing and initiations?
    d.   Can you describe how the terms initiations and hazing relate to each other?

Section 5: Finally
1. Did you feel that you learned team values and norms (normative behaviour) during your initiation or were they re-enforced?
2. Based on your knowledge, do you think initiations performed in UK university sports are the same as those performed in North American university sports? (asks them to speculate)
3. As an athlete, how do you feel when participating in sport? (exhilarated, on a higher plane of existence) How about when you participate in an initiation? Feel higher during sport, lower during initiation???
4. If you were to conduct a similar study to this, are there any questions you would or would not ask?
5. Is there anything you would like to add or elaborate on?
Thank the athlete for their time.

Student Union Representative Interview Guide

Policy
1. Are sport initiations an issue at your university?
2. Does your university have a policy specific to regulating sport initiations?
     i. If so,
     ii. Probe: Can you explain it to me?
     iii. Probe: How was it developed?
     iv. Probe: Why was it developed?
     v. If not,
     vi. Probe: Does the university have any policy that regulates sport initiations?
3. How effective is your policy in regulating sport initiations?
4. What parts of the policy do you like and dislike?
     i. Probe: should alcohol be allowed at initiations?
5. Do you think there should be an initiation policy?
     i. Probe: What do you think it should contain?
     ii. Probe: How explicit should it be?
6. Do you think every sport should be made to do the same initiation activities? Why or why not?
     i. Probe: Do you think athletes in different sport possess different values?   Probe: Should initiations reflect the values within each sport?
7. If initiations were banned, do you think teams still do them? Why?
     i. Probe: What if they were replaced by a group activity? Why?
8. Who do you believe should be responsible for developing and implanting initiation policy?
9. Should initiation policy be uniform across all universities?

Initiations
1. Why is it important for teams to have initiations?
     i. Probe: what function does the initiation serve for the team?
2. Have you heard about or aware of the initiation practices of the male and female athletes?
     i. Probe: Could you comment on them.

Hazing
1. Do you think it is possible for initiations to get out of hand and become a negative experience for people?
2. Probe: If so, why do you think they get out of hand?
3. Probe: Would you say that there are different levels to initiations?
4. Are you aware of any instances that people got hurt (physical, emotional) during an initiation?
5. Do you think people are bullied or forced into doing initiations?
6. Do you think there an element of abuse exists within the practice of initiations?
7. Have you ever heard of the term 'hazing'?
8. Probe: if so, what does it mean to you?
9. Is there anything you would like to add or elaborate on?

Chairperson and/or Coach Interview Guide

Background
1. How many years have you been chair?
2. In addition to being the chair, do you perform any other roles on the team?
    i. Probe: How many years have you been a student athlete?
    ii. Probe How many years have you coached?
        1. Probe: do you coach both males and females?
3. Why did you decide to get involved in university sport?
4. How does participating in sport make you feel?
5. How many years have you been participating in university sport?
6. How many university sport clubs have you been a member of? Currently a member of? (list them)
7. Do you feel you are part of this team? Why or Why not?
8. Is there anyone on your team that is seen as more than an athlete and student (i.e. coach, SU)?
9. How many people are part of the club?
    i. Probe: male and female?
10. How many new members does the team typically take each year?
    Probe: male and female?

Initiations
1. Do you know what sport initiations are?
    i. Probe: How do you know about initiations? What have you heard about them from others?
    ii. Probe: Can you define the term initiations for me?
        1. Probe: can initiations be positive and negative?
        2. Probe: can there be different levels to initiations?
    iii. Probe: Would you consider fagging to be the same thing as initiations?
2. Does your university club/team conduct initiation ceremonies?
    i. Probe: Why or Why not?
        1. Probe: If yes, how many?
3. Have you ever been initiated; taken part in an initiation ceremony?
    i. Probe: Why did you participate?
    ii. Probe: Was your participation voluntary?
4. Are you responsible for all of the initiation ceremonies in your club?
    i. Probe: If no, who is?
    ii. Probe: If yes, who are you responsible to?
5. Who was involved in planning and participating in the last initiation ceremony?
    i. Probe: was there anyone who participated in the initiation who was not an athlete affiliated with your team? If so, who and what did they do?
6. Where you initiated in an initiation ceremony when you joined the club/team?
    i. Probe: if no:
    ii. How did you learn about how to act in the club and how things are done in the club/team?

     iii. Do you think you should have been?

     iv. Probe: If yes:

     v. Do you feel participating in this initiation changed you? If so, how?

     vi. What does it mean to you to have participated in an initiation? Was it a significant experience to you?

     vii. Why did you participate in the initiation? (what did you get out of it?)

     viii. How important is it to the team to have initiations?

         1. Probe: what function does the initiation serve for the team? (what impact did it have on the group?)

     ix. How would you describe your role and those of others while you where being initiated? How did you know how to 'play' this role? Why did you play this role and why do think the others played their role?

     x. What are people being initiated called and what those who are running the initiation called (abusers)? If they are called abusers, does that mean you feel that you where abused during the initiation? Is this the same kind of abuse that exists outside of sport – home?

     xi. At any time during your initiation, was there a moment when you thought "this is not right/this has gone too far"?

         1. If yes, did you stop? Why or Why not?

     xii. I   f no, did you feel if that moment came you could stop without consequence?

         a. Probe: How did you know you could?

     xiii. As someone being initiated, did you feel completely powerless?

     xiv. Did you feel any less powerless during the initiation then during any other instances in your life inside or outside of sport?

7. Do the men and women of your sport do any initiation activities together?

8. Do the men and women of your club perform the same the initiation practices?

     i. Probe: Could you comment on them (how are they different/same)?

9. Do you think initiation ceremonies are appropriate in your sport? Do you think all sports should have initiation ceremonies? If not, what sports should and what sports should not?

10. If you where in charge of an initiation ceremony that was to be conducted in the near future, how would you run it? What would you have the initiates do?

11. Would you try to make the intensity of the initiation ceremony more intense than yours? Why

12. Should initiation activities be reflective of the activities within the sport itself?

13. Do you think that initiations are the same in all sports?

14. What sports do you consider performs the worst initiation activities?

     i. Probe: What makes these worse than the other initiation activities?

     ii. Probe: Would you perform them if they where part of your initiation activity? If yes, why? and how would you feel when you did them and afterwards upon reflection?

Hazing
1. Upon reflection, do you think your initiation was a purely positive experience? What parts of it where less than positive?
       i. Probe: Where there any activities that you particularly like or disliked?
       ii. Probe: Would you be willing to be initiated again?
2. Do you think it is possible for initiations to get out of hand and become a negative experience for people?
       i. Probe: If so, why do you think they get out of hand?
3. Are you aware of any instances that people got hurt (physical, emotional) during an initiation?
4. Do you think people are bullied or forced into doing initiations?
5. Do you think there an element of abuse exists within the practice of initiations?
6. Have you ever heard of the term 'hazing'?
       i. Probe: if so, what does it mean to you?

Policy
1. Do you know the current initiation policy for your university?
   Probe: Can you explain it to me?
   Probe: How do you know it?
   What extent does your team initiation ceremonies conform to the (behaviour) policy?
   Probe: How does it not conform to policy?
2. What parts of the policy do you like and dislike?
   Probe: should alcohol be allowed at initiations?
3. If initiation ceremonies were banned, would your team still do them? Why or why not?
   Probe: What if they were replaced by a group activity? Why?
4. Do you think there should be an initiation policy?
   Probe: What do you think it should contain?
   Probe: How explicit should it be?
5. Do you think every sport should be made to do the same initiation activities? Why or why not?
   Probe: Do you think athletes in different sport possess different values?
   Probe: Should initiations reflect the values within each sport?
6. Who do you believe should be responsible for developing and implanting initiation policy?
7. Is there anything you would like to add or elaborate on?

Sport Governing Body Representative Interview Guide

Policy
1. Are sport initiations an issue in your sport?
2. Does your sport have a policy specific to regulating sport initiations?
   - i. If so,
   - ii. Probe: Can you explain it to me?
   - iii. Probe: How was it developed?
   - iv. Probe: Why was it developed?
   - v. If not,
   - vi. Probe: Does the university have any policy that regulates sport initiations?
3. How effective is your policy in regulating sport initiations?
4. What parts of the policy do you like and dislike?
   - i. Probe: should alcohol be allowed at initiations?
5. Do you think there should be an initiation policy?
   - i. Probe: What do you think it should contain?
   - ii. Probe: How explicit should it be?
6. Do you think every sport should be made to do the same initiation activities? Why or why not?
   - i. Probe: Do you think athletes in different sport possess different values?
   - ii. Probe: Should initiations reflect the values within each sport?
7. If initiations were banned, do you think teams still do them? Why?
   - i. Probe: What if they were replaced by a group activity? Why?
8. Who do you believe should be responsible for developing and implanting initiation policy?
9. Should initiation policy be uniform across all sports?

Initiations
1. Why is it important for teams to have initiations?
   - i. Probe: what function does the initiation serve for the team? (what impact did it have on the group?)
2. Have you heard about or aware of the initiation practices of the male and female athletes?
   - i. Probe: Could you comment on them (how are they different/same)?

Hazing
1. Do you think it is possible for initiations to get out of hand and become a negative experience for people?
2. Probe: If so, why do you think they get out of hand?
3. Probe: Would you say that there are different levels to initiations?
4. Are you aware of any instances that people got hurt (physical, emotional) during an initiation?
5. Do you think people are bullied or forced into doing initiations?
6. Do you think there an element of abuse exists within the practice of initiations?
7. Have you ever heard of the term 'hazing'?
8. Probe: if so, what does it mean to you?
9. Is there anything you would like to add or elaborate on?

BUSA/BUCS Representative Interview Guide

Initiations
1. Do you know what sport initiations are?
    i. Probe: How do you know about initiations? What have you heard about them from others?
    ii. Probe: Can you define the term initiations for me?
        1. Probe: can initiations be positive and negative?
        2. Probe: can there be different levels to initiations?
    iii. Probe: Would you consider fagging to be the same thing as initiations?
2. Have you ever been initiated; taken part in an initiation ceremony?
    i. Probe: Why did you participate?
    ii. Probe: Was your participation voluntary?

Policy
1. Are initiations an issue within university sport?
2. Are you aware of any university policy(ies) that regulate initiations?
    i. Probe: How effective is policy in regulating sport initiations?
    ii. Probe: What parts of the policy(ies) do you like and dislike?
    iii. Probe: should alcohol be allowed at initiations?
3. Do you think there universities should have a sport initiation policy?
    i. Probe: What do you think it should contain?
    ii. Probe: How explicit should it be?
4. Do you think every sport should be made to do the same initiation activities? Why or why not?
    i. Probe: Do you think athletes in different sport possess different values?
    ii. Probe: Should initiations reflect the values within each sport?
5. If initiations were banned, do you think teams still do them? Why?
    i. Probe: What if they were replaced by a group activity? Why?
6. Who do you believe should be responsible for developing and implanting initiation policy?
7. Should initiation policy be uniform across all universities?
8. Do you think initiation ceremonies are appropriate in sport? Do you think all sports should have initiation ceremonies? If not, what sports should and what sports should not?
9. Should initiation activities be reflective of the activities within the sport itself?
10. Do you think that initiations are the same in all sports?
11. What sports do you consider performs the worst initiation activities?
    i. Probe: What makes these worse than the other initiation activities?
    ii. Probe: Would you perform them if they where part of your initiation activity? If yes, why? and how would you feel when you did them and afterwards upon reflection?

Hazing

1. Do you think initiations are purely positive experience?

2. Do you think it is possible for initiations to get out of hand and become a negative experience for people?
3. Probe: If so, why do you think they get out of hand?
4. Are you aware of any instances that people got hurt (physical, emotional) during an initiation?
5. Do you think people are bullied or forced into doing initiations?
6. Do you think there an element of abuse exists within the practice of initiations?
7. Have you ever heard of the term 'hazing'?
8. Probe: if so, what does it mean to you?
9. Is there anything you would like to add or elaborate on?

Appendix B: Pre-Interview Athlete Questionnaire

1) Name:

2) Age:

3) Gender:

4) Nationality:

5) Are you a member of a minority group? If yes, please specify:

6) Can you tell me about your involvement in sport, specifically:
   A. How long have you participated in organised sport (organised sport is a league where you participate on a specific team for a season)?

   B. Currently, which sports do you compete in as a University athlete?

   C. How many years, if any, have you been involved in these and any other sports as a competitive athlete:
      Athletics:
      Football:
      Rugby:
      Other:

   D. How many years, if any, have you been a member of the <u>University</u> team/club for the following sports?
      Athletics:
      Football:
      Rugby:
      Other:

   E. What kind of athlete do you consider yourself to be:

      Competitive Athlete: yes   no

      Highly Competitive Athlete: yes   no

      Elite Athlete: yes   no

   F. Are you on the national team?
      i. Are you training to be on it?

   G. Do you participate at the top-level in your sport?
      i. Are you training to?

The following questions pertain to the University team (Athletics, Football or Rugby) you were contacted as being a member of. If you are a member of more than one University team mentioned (Athletics, Football and Rugby), please clearly answer each question for all the teams you are on.

7) Tell me about the University team you are on, specifically:
   A. What are the short and long-term objectives of the team?

   B. How many years have you been on the team?

   C. Do you have an official and/or unofficial role on the team (e.g. captain, social secretary or fresher king)?

       i. How did you get this role (was it self-appointed or were you asked or elected)?

   D. How many people are on the team?

       i. Roughly, how many new members tried out to join the team this past year?

       ii. Approximately, how many new members are selected to join each year?

   E. How long has your coach been with the team?
       i. Is he/she a student?

       ii. Do they serve on the university club's executive?

8) Approximately how many competitions do you participate in for the University team ?

       i. Did you have to purchase the team uniform that you wear during competitions?

       ii. Do you ever wear the team uniform outside of competition? If so, when?

       iii. What does the team uniform represent or symbolize to you?

9) Describe your training regime/schedule for your university team, specifically:
   A. How many training sessions are you expected to do each week?
       i. Approximately how long does the average training session last?

       ii. What do your training sessions typically consist of (cardio, core, weights)?

      iii.   How many times a week do you train?

      iv.   Are there any consequences if you do not follow the team training regime or miss a team training session? If so, state what.

B. How do you feel about training and your training program (too much, not enough)?

C. How early are team members suppose to arrive before the designated time of a team training session?

      i.   What do people generally do while waiting for the team training session to begin?

D. Do you have a specific practice uniform to train in or is there any particular clothing that you are required to wear at training?

E. After a group training session, what do you or the group typically do after training?

10) How frequently do you socialise with your team-mates outside of training and competition (once a week, twice a month, etc)?

A. What to do you regularly do when you get together to socialise?

      i.   How often do you go out and drink alcohol with your team-mates?

      ii.   In an average week during the academic year, how much alcohol do you consume?

11) Is there a particular 'hero' (high-profile athlete, former club member, etc.) that is important to the team? If so, who and why?

12) Does your team have a particular song that is sung or listen to? If so, what is it and is there a particular time when it's sung or heard?

13) Are there any rituals that are important to the team (things that members of the team need to do at a specific time or in a certain instance)?

14) Is there anything you wish to add or elaborate on?

Appendix C: Email sent to Athlete Participants

Hi,

My name is Glen Wintrup. I am a PhD student at Brunel University in the School of Sport and Education. Currently, I am in the process of completing my PhD thesis that is examining the regulation of UK university sport initiations. For this project, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with athletes, staff and sport administrators from several UK universities and sport organisations.

███████ provided your contact information to me and I very much hope that you will agree to take part in this study. Your participation is completely <u>voluntary</u>. If you agree, I would like to arrange a time to interview you between <u>February 2nd and February 14th</u>. Kindly contact me (via email) at your earliest convenience to arrange a mutually convenient time. In addition, I've attached a pre-interview questionnaire and ask that you answer as many of the questions as you can, omitting any that you wish to. By completing this questionnaire, you are consenting to have the information provided included in a final report but I guarantee that you will <u>not be identifiable</u> in the final report as all personal details will be removed from the data.

Kindly complete and email the pre-interview questionnaire back to me at glen.wintrup@brunel.ac.uk within *two weeks*. When you return the questionnaire, please indicate possible dates that are convenient for you to do the interview portion of the research project. If you choose not to participate in this PhD research study, please send me an email message indicating this.

Questions or any complaint concerning this PhD research project or its procedures, may be directed to my Supervisor here in the School of Sport and Education, Professor Celia Brackenridge at celia.brackenridge@brunel.ac.uk . This study has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee at Brunel University.

Regards

Glen Wintrup
School of Sport and Education
Brunel University
Heinz Wolff Building S270
Uxbridge Middlesex West London
UB8 3PH
glen.wintrup@brunel.ac.uk

Appendix D: Consent Forms

Statement of Informed Consent

Thesis research by Glen Wintrup

Purpose
The purpose of this study is to explore Sport Initiation and Hazing within UK Higher Education Institutions.

Participant's Consent
I hereby acknowledge that I have been informed as to the purpose of this research and I agree to participate in the study conducted by Glen Wintrup (Brunel University West London) for his PhD Thesis.

I understand that my account will be tape-recorded in an interview, with the researcher, lasting approximately 30 to 90 minutes.

I understand that the text of the tape-recording will be transcribed to print for analysis and the tape-recording will be erased when the research is completed.

I understand that, as a participant in the study, I am a volunteer and that I may refuse to answer any or all questions without penalty, and that I may withdraw from the study at any time. If I choose to withdraw from the study I also have the option to withdraw the information that I have provided.

I understand that a second interview and further contact may be requested by both myself and the researcher. Also, I shall be given an opportunity to ask questions at any time during the study and after my participation is complete. I may contact the researcher by leaving a message at 01895266500.

I understand that any information I provide in the course of this interview will be strictly confidential and that my identity will not be revealed during any stage of the data analysis or in the publication of the research findings. I am aware that I may request documentation of the findings of this research and the request will be complied.

I have read and understood the nature of this research and my participation in it, my signature below signifies my willingness to participate.

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____   _____
Researcher's Signature   Date

CONSENT FORM

The participant should complete the whole of this sheet him/herself		
	Please tick the appropriate box	
	YES	NO
Have you read the Research Participant Information Sheet?	☐	☐
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	☐	☐
Have you received satisfactory answers to all your questions?	☐	☐
Who have you spoken to?		
Do you understand that you will not be referred to by name in any report concerning the study?	☐	☐
Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study:		
- **at any time**	☐	☐
- **without having to give a reason for withdrawing?**	☐	☐
- *(where relevant)* **without affecting your future care?**	☐	☐
Do you agree to take part in this study?	☐	☐

Signature of Research Participant:
Date:
Name in capitals:
Witness statement
I am satisfied that the above-named has given informed consent.
Witnessed by:
Date:
Name in capitals:

Appendix E: Email from Student Union Officer

Sent: Wednesday, October 22, 2008 12:22 PM
To: Glen Wintrup
Attachments: Copy_A

Hi Glen,

Unfortunately, I really am stretched for time at the moment so don't think I can commit any time to your study.

In addition, having had time to think about it, I do not think I would be comfortable with any of my members being interviewed on the subject of initiations. We have installed a successful blanket ban on initiations at ███████████████, with each club member signing a code of conduct (attached).

Let me know if I can be of any assistance outside of the parameters above.

regards,

████

Appendix F: Letter to Academics Requesting Assistance

Brunel
UNIVERSITY
WEST LONDON

November 4, 2008

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Glen Wintrup and I'm an international PhD student from Canada, studying at Brunel University, under the supervision of Prof Celia Brackenridge and Dr Vassil Girginov. I am seeking to understand the phenomenon of University sport initiations. Ultimately, I would like to use the knowledge from this study to inform policy in this area and thus to help Universities and sport organisations.

I am aware of the sensitivities surrounding this topic but would greatly value an opportunity to speak with you about how it is addressed at your institution. If you are willing to assist me, kindly contact me via email at glen.wintrup@brunel.ac.uk to arrange a convenient interview time. Let me assure you that no identifying features of individuals or institutions will appear in the final report. All interview responses will remain confidential and anonymous. If you have any questions or require more information regarding this PhD research project, please contact me.

Yours sincerely,

Glen Wintrup

Glen Wintrup
School of Sport and Education
Brunel University
Heinz Wolff Building S270
Uxbridge Middlesex West London
UB8 3PH
glen.wintrup@brunel.ac.uk

Note: Questions or any complaint concerning the procedures or authenticity of this PhD research project may be directed to my Supervisor here in the School of Sport and Education, Professor Celia Brackenridge at celia.brackenridge@brunel.ac.uk . This study has been approved by the School Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix G: Letter to Uni 1 Student Union

Brunel
UNIVERSITY
WEST LONDON

January 13, 2009

Dear ███████████████████████████████,

My name is Glen Wintrup and I am currently completing my PhD on sport initiations at Brunel University in the Centre of Youth Sport and Athlete Welfare under the supervision of Dr. Celia Brackenridge and Dr. Vassil Girginov. Due to the high sensitivity of the topic, ████████████████, the Deputy Head of the Sport ███ ██████████████████████, has been in communication with you on my behalf regarding your participation in my PhD research project. ██████████ has informed me of some of your concerns, which seem to focus on who I am and what my intentions are, and I would like take this opportunity to address them.

I began researching sport initiations in 2000 while completing my Masters degree at the University of Manitoba (Canada). For my Masters thesis, *Sportization and Hazing: Global Sport Culture and the Differentiation of Initiation from Harassment in Canada Sport Policy*, I had assistance from Sport Manitoba (Provincial sport body that oversees sport within the Province of Manitoba) to get Provincial elite athletes from various Provincial Sport Organisations (e.g. Manitoba Rowing Association) to participate in my first study on sport initiations. This work led to my first publication, *Running the gauntlet: An examination of initiation/hazing and sexual abuse in sport* with my then supervisor Dr. Sandi Kirby. Recognising that sport initiations is a complex global phenomenon (found in university and non-university sports) and the majority of research conducted on the topic has been in North America, I have come to the UK, where there has been very little research conducted, to better understand sport initiations. My PhD research project seeks the experiences and opinions of all actors within the UK University sport delivery system (how they interpret and conceptualise initiations). The purpose of which is not to 'expose and condemn' what athletes are doing or what sport administrators are allowing athletes to do but rather seeking information that could be used to develop harmonious university policy that is reflective of all (athletes, administrators) attitudes and beliefs; policy that minimises the potential of news stories that might put universities and sport teams in a negative light. In the long-term, it is my hope this research will contribute to or lead to a more global response to the global phenomena of sport initiations.

Currently, I am in the midst of trying to identify individuals and organisations that will assist me in my PhD research project and would appreciate your assistance. It is my intent not to use these individuals and organisations in order to get my PhD but

rather to use this PhD project to begin a relationship with them so that I can later build upon it while conducting future research projects on sport initiations.

My research project has been approved by the appropriate University Research Ethics Committee at Brunel University. To get approval I had to assure the Ethics Committee that all my participants would receive and voluntarily sign a Statement of Informed Consent. The Statement outlines that none of the participants will be named in the final report (standard procedure in academic research that participants are anonymous) and the taped recording of their interview will be destroyed at the conclusion of the research project. Although some general characteristics – age, gender, sport – provided during the interviews will be revealed in the final report, any names (nicknames, name of friends, institutional/club names) or information that, along with the personal characteristics, could possible identify who the participants are will be changed or omitted. During the research project, only I will have access to the taped interviews (the tapes are securely locked in a cabinet that only I can access). With this project I am seeking to achieve triangulation i.e. to have different participants at various universities provide similar responses. The purpose is to abstract general themes across the universities. Thus, the focus is not on any one, particular university.

I hope this addresses the concerns you may have, however, I will be happy to answer any further questions or concerns you may have.

Yours sincerely,

Glen Wintrup

Glen Wintrup
School of Sport and Education
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Heinz Wolff Building S270
Uxbridge Middlesex West London
UB8 3PH
glen.wintrup@brunel.ac.uk

Appendix H: Email to National Sport Governing Bodies

Dear ████████████████████

My name is Glen Wintrup and I am currently completing my PhD at Brunel University in the Centre of Youth Sport and Athlete Welfare under the supervision of Dr. Celia Brackenridge and Dr. Vassil Girginov. The objective of my thesis is to identify how UK Higher Education Sport Initiations are conceptualised by various actors – athletes, coaches, staff and administrators – within the university sport delivery system and determine if there is a need or desire for regulation. For this policy research project, which received funding from NOTA (National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers), semi-structured interviews have already been conducted with athletes and coaches from three popular British sports – athletics, football, rugby – as well as staff and administrators from various Higher Education Institutions around the UK. I would appreciate the opportunity to interview an ████████████ representative on university sport initiations within athletics.

Due to the heightened sensitivity of the topic of sport initiations since the news story exposing the initiation activities at Gloucestershire University, I would understand any hesitance to participate in this study. Let me take this opportunity to address some of the concerns ████████████ may have regarding who I am. I began researching sport initiations in 2000 while completing my Masters degree at the University of Manitoba (Canada). For my Masters thesis, Sportization and Hazing: Global Sport Culture and the Differentiation of Initiation from Harassment in Canada Sport Policy, I had assistance from Sport Manitoba (Provincial sport body that oversees sport within the Province of Manitoba) to get Provincial elite athletes from various Provincial Sport Organisations (i.e. Manitoba Rowing Association) to participate in my first study on sport initiations. This work led to my first publication, Running the gauntlet: An examination of initiation/hazing and sexual abuse in sport with my then supervisor Dr. Sandi Kirby. Recognising that sport initiations is a complex global phenomenon (found in university and non-university sports) and the majority of research conducted on the topic has been in North America, I have come to the UK, where there has been very little research conducted, to better understand sport initiations. My PhD research project seeks the experiences and opinions of all actors within the UK University sport delivery system (how they interpret and conceptualise initiations). The purpose of which is not to 'expose and condemn' what athletes are doing or what sport administrators are allowing athletes to do but rather seeking information that could be used to develop harmonious university policy that is reflective of all (athletes, administrators) attitudes and beliefs; policy that minimises the potential of news stories that might put universities and sport teams in a negative light.

I would greatly appreciate the participation of the National Governing Body of ████████ in this PhD research project and will be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Regards

Glen Wintrup
Centre of Youth Sport and Athlete Welfare
School of Sport and Education
Brunel University

Theme	Cultural Perspective	Code Level 1	Code Level 2	Code Level 3	Code Definition	Type of Knowledge
Demographics	Differentiation	Athlete Participants	Gender	Male (M)	Male	Technical
				Female (F)		
			Age		23	
			Sport	Athletics	Athletics	
				Football		
				Rugby		
			Number of Years as Participant		10	
			Athletic Level		Competitive	
Resistance	Fragmentation	Brunel University	Brunel International	Administrators	We don't have the resources to assist you	Emancipatory
			School of Sport and Education	PhD students	London would be better if all the foreigners got out	Emancipatory
				Administrator Responsible for PhD Students	The School's view is that only bursary students make valuable contributions	Emancipatory
				Other Administrators	Only bursary students can book data collection equipment. If it's available on the day you want it, you can use it	Emancipatory
		Other Universities	Academics	Interviewed	2 completed	Technical
				Assisted	4 assisted	Technical
			Administrators	Assisted	Had to write letter and do presentation (Uni 1)	Practical
				Contacted	Interested in participating via email but not interview (Uni 10)	Practical
		Non – University Sport Organisations	NGBs	The FA	No response	Practical
				Rugby Union	No response	Practical
				UK Athletics	Response, hesitant and reluctant	Practical
	Integr-ational		BUSA/BUCS	Administrators (Admin)	Response- decline to assist or participate	Practical
	Different-iation	Coach and Athletes	Club Presidents	Interviewed	Not inclined to do snowball sampling	Practical
				Contacted	No response	Practical

Theme	Cultural Perspective	Code Level 1	Code Level 2	Code Level 3	Code Definition	Type of Knowledge
Sensitive Topic	Differentiation	Coach and Athletes	Athletics	M	[Uni Initiations] *may not be socially accepted if people actually knew what happened* (Uni 3)	Practical
				F	Reason she agreed to participate was that Uni 5 has had a number of issues in the past few years. The SU has verbally told them no initiations, to call it a welcoming party	Practical
			Football	M	Wasn't sure if he was going to have an initiation this year. Under pressure from alumni to do it but the SU is not very supportive in them doing one (Uni 2)	Practical
				F	*Other than the people inside that room no one will know what you are doing so. It's not the kind of thing you do while you're out somewhere but within an environment where people are going to be doing the same kind of things* (Uni 2)	Practical
			Rugby	M	The participant was noticeably uncomfortable answering questions about the initiation activities he performed.

The nudity one, I was quite surprised you asked that. And whether I consumed alcohol before or after I was nude. It was all them ones. I wasn't surprised by them but I was quite shocked that you actually asked them…. No. I'm fine with what I've given you, yeah. I'm just hoping I don't get into trouble with the rugby team now for saying all that | Practical |
	Fragmentational	Academics			*I think there's a real danger that people might, if you ask the question you have to be able to hear the answer and people might not like what they hear. I mean, if some of the, you know, tales that I've heard accounted to me are even approximate to the truth, it would appal and disgust people. People don't want to know about that things that appal and disgust them, they want to be, you know, they want fluffy rabbits but when it's not, you know, eating sick and stuff like this* (Uni 6)	Practical
		Admin	Interviewed		*So at the moment we don't have any policy in place, however, because of what happened in the press and the news, we did actually send an email to all of our sports captains, which was basically a statement saying "While the Student Union does not support the use of initiations, if they do happen, they must not involve any form of bullying, force drinking, humiliation" and that was purely a response to what had been in the news, otherwise it probably wouldn't have happened, it wouldn't have been an issue*	Practical
			Non-interviewed/ contacted		Because of the topic she needed to check with the SU president to see if they would be involved (Uni 2)	Practical

Theme	Cultural Perspective	Code Level 1	Code Level 2	Code Level 3	Code Definition	Type of Knowledge
British University Sport Culture	Differentiation	Coach and Athletes	Athletics	M	*As a team, we don't get anywhere near the same level of respect as other teams… Originally they[SU] were quite against us because I think none of the other teams have members of staff, they're all run by students for students…At the same time, if you think that every other sport at this institution competes in their season operates from October through to March and they have weekly fixtures. We have two, three fixtures a year that don't start until March and then one in May. So we actually get forgotten about because we're not important because we're not competing (Uni 9)*	Emancipatory
				F	*I think we do a lot more [training] than a lot of the other teams. They have usually two training sessions per week*	Technical
			Football	M	*I've been out quite a few times with my teammates but not really on a regular basis. I like to go out about once a week compared to them. The amount of time they go out is like every day…. I do go out but only when I need to go out, not just randomly… I'm not a big consumer of alcohol, which is the reason why I don't go out with my teammates because when they go out, I know the amount of alcohol they drink (Uni 3)*	Practical
				F	*The first few months of uni is just having drink (Uni 4)*	Practical
			Rugby	M	*There's three social secretaries. There's a lot to take up, we divide it up between the three of us...we do socialise a lot*	Technical
				F	*I like it here that it's [training] a bit more laidback…change to the intensity to what the States is … I think we would be a much better team if we were training more often. The commitment here sometimes gets to me because I'm use to having a high commitment in the States whereas here, you'll have somebody not show up for training for four weeks and then just show-up and be like "hey guys". It's like "what the hell". It's a bit worrying. It's just a different mentality…. Wednesday if we have a Wednesday match we'll drink that night. If not, most of us will go out on a Friday night*	Practical
	Fragmentational	Academics			*the image of student life is projected from day one in freshers week and the reputation of freshers week of some universities have about excessive drinking and partying and all that kind of thing….[There's not anything] necessarily wrong with that, I'm just saying it sets the tone for a whole variety of student experience that follows from it .(Uni 6)*	Practical
		Admin			*rugby teams they are quite well known for after match parties and drinking… it's very much part of that kind of rugby culture and… So yeah, I do think it comes from sport specifically, I do think there are differences…but in my view outside sports, field sports seem to be more physical and they seem to have more of a drinking culture.(Uni 8)*	Practical

Theme	Cultural Perspective	Code Level 1	Code Level 2	Code Level 3	Code Definition	Type of Knowledge
Knowledge of Initiations	Differentiation	Coach and Athletes	Athletics	M	*I know a lot of team sports it's very common with them. I have a few friends last year, they told me about it... a drunken mess is the best way to[describe it], and people do things willingly and unwillingly*	Practical
				F	*I have a lot friends on the other teams - hockey, football - and their initiations I've heard from them... We do have initiation but not like the other teams do*	Practical
			Football	M	*[Next year] we might borrow a bit from the initiations that the other teams of done this year.... I'm friends with people on every team. We're all mates and we see each other out and stuff so I've seen what they all do (Uni 8)*	Practical
				F	*just yesterday when we were driving back from our game, we saw people, who may've been[Uni 2] uni boys or whatever, they were running down the main road in[the town] and they all just had pants on and they looked like they were being initiated... they were all just running down there. That's much more of a boy thing to do. (Uni 2)*	Practical
			Rugby	M	*you hear horrible, gruesome stories about people having to do all sorts of things, usually aren't true but you know its rumour that changes the more you hear it*	Practical
				F	*what I hear that goes on, which means the administration could not hear that it goes on, I can't see they would. I don't know. Maybe it's because nobody has gotten hurt bad enough they haven't thought anything of it[hazing policy]*	Practical
	Fragmentational	Academics			*I think generally there is an accepted notion about what you might call basic initiation ceremonies, and those are the ones I think are standard practices that most of us know, Leonard Debayou; shaving of pubic hair, eyes, head; use of boot polish in the nether regions. And some people might say,"well, hey, that's been going on for donkeys". I think sometimes, of you take that as the core, the rather softer side of them, you bang me, you bang the whole team around, cause that's what they do, that's the softer side of that. Than there's the harder side of that. The collegue we mentioned before... will tell you about the male members of rugby teams masturbating on the player, on the faces of sleeping players on the team bus, so that's a much more harder, difficult, these are staight players, so this is a higher homo-erotic behaviour by men. Uni 7*	Practical/ Emancipatory
		Admin			*on this campus, this year our rugby team, they, they wore thongs and they streaked across some other matches at our recreation centre and they went from the recreation centre to the university, just wearing thongs, you know the men's rugby team.(Uni 8)*	Practical
Previous Initiation Experience (prior to this uni)	Differentiation	Athletes	Athletics	M	None	Technical
				F	None	Technical
			Football	M	Had been initiated four times prior to coming to uni. (Uni 8)	Technical
				F	None - *Probably in university, not really before then, I may've known of them but I didn't know much about them. (Uni 4)*	Technical
			Rugby	M	Had been initiated twice in rugby prior to coming to uni.	Technical
				F	*I participated in four before that one, and they all involved university teams. Just once I was initiated and the other times I was the initiator for sport teams*	Technical

Theme	Cultural Perspective	Code Level 1	Code Level 2	Code Level 3	Code Definition	Type of Knowledge
University Initiation Activities Performed	Differentiation	Athletes	Athletics	M	*in my first year we went to [a theme park], it was brilliant. Loads of people went. It was two coaches full and we just had an awesome time. We went together. Even though we split off into like our training groups, but we came back. We had a laugh, met up, saw people, went on rides and I thought, you know that was a good thing! (Uni 3)*	Practical
				F	*It's a night out [wearing the same fancy dress theme each year] ... sometimes we do have a challenge for the night....in previous year initiations we had three legged race together so a fresher was tied to a senior*	Practical
			Football	M	*I remember that day was my birthday as well (chuckles) so they really forced me to drink. It was something really strong. I had plans later one and I thought I'm not going to do this but I did eat the fruit they bought, which was really really nasty (chuckles) we had to eat it and we had to do all the stuff that I mentioned, yeah, it was a really nasty scene (chuckles) (Uni 3)*	Practical
				F	*We were in the SU, in a public hall, and you had our hands tied in front you. You had to use your hands to get something out disgusting that's all in food dye and you had to get all away around the bar in a race, which was quite hard on your hands and knees and your hands tied together, but just silly things like that. (Uni 2)*	Practical
			Rugby	M	*Lots of drinking, we did things like team exercises and like the first part of the initiation, we formed two lines, hand on the person in front of us, hand on the person on the side of us, we would be blindfolded. And we basically walked around campus and we didn't have a clue. They disoriented us for a bit fun. We didn't know where we going, where we were, what was in front of us. Then there's the drinking side of it, obviously various games and bits and pieces and that's it really*	Practical
				F	*we had a rugby beach party at [SU CLUB] one of the Monday night Flirt nights. Basically you dress up and whatever the attire, we all had to dress up in beach gear, that kind of thing. We had to get to Locos at a certain time, but if you didn't there was penalty, however they really don't enforce the penalty. We got to[SU BAR], were all just kind of bonding. The whole team was there, which was really nice since I think it was the first team the whole was really together and out and having a good time. We got written on a whole bunch, it's like one of their favourite things to do here is to write on people (bit of laughing tone to her voice), but of course, you know some of the freshers got it really bad. Some of the stuff was inappropriate stuff like "slut fresher", that kind of thing and some of it was like "No 1 Fresher", that kind of thing.*	Practical

Theme	Cultural Perspective	Code Level 1	Code Level 2	Code Level 3	Code Definition	Type of Knowledge
Knowledge of Initiation Policy	Differentiation	Coach and athletes	Athletics	M	*I don't actually. Because obviously athletics isn't a key initiation base sport, I don't know if it has policy or not* (Uni 3)	Practical
				F	SU has verbally told them no initiations, to call it a welcoming party	Emancipatory
			Football	M	*Not really no. I mean, I got friends that are officers in the SU, I'm friends with the student president, and the official line is the uni doesn't condone bullying or anything like that and they kinda apply that to initiations but they still like to drink and stuff* (Uni 8)	Practical
				F	*There's also at the moment, we have to sign a, I don't know what it's called, a social thing[that's from the SU]... . It's suppose to be saying, initiations don't have to happen, you don't have to participate, you don't have to do anything that everyone is meant to sign who is a member of a sports team just to say you're not pressured into anything, nobody can make you do anything* (Uni 2)	Emancipatory
			Rugby	M	*I think so [the uni has policy] because we don't do it within university.*	Practical
				F	Very knowledgeable about American university initiation/anti-hazing policy. Possessed no knowledge of - or even if it existed - British university initiation policy.	Practical
	Fragmentational	Academics			*the last AU Presidents was one of my students, and when I talked to him about this, you know what I think about this, what are you doing about this. He looked at me sheepish and said well, you know we just keep an eye out. I say no, no, what are you doing proactively because if you look at your governing bodies that all have a view of what you're doing ... their paperwork on this is relatively clear, don't do it. So what are you doing to put in the checks and balances that are necessary because you're the membership of these governing bodies. Well, sleeping dogs. So I think its a blind spot, I think its reactive not proactive, and I think there's a threshold of engagement above which they brew and below which they don't. and I think that threshold is entirely abirtrary* (Uni 7)	Practical
		Admin			*Our policy will say we don't support it and if it does happen then this is what must not happen. Like I said, I don't see how a Student Union can say, like, initiations are banned because then they open up and sell a pint for a pint of beer which again is encouraging drinking. I feel, as do my colleagues, that it's much more appropriate to have a drink with care with the welfare of the student rather than say you're not doing, you know it's like you say....if you tell a child not to do something, the child will do it because you said no. And it's very much the same, if sport teams want to have their initiations; they will more than likely do it. Its best that we know about it and that we can control it to a certain extent rather than saying "no" and having students going off and doing things without our knowledge* (Uni 8)	Practical

Theme	Cultural Perspective	Code Level 1	Code Level 2	Code Level 3	Code Definition	Type of Knowledge
Opinion of Initiation Policy	Differentiation	Coach and Athletes	Athletics	M	*I think it's healthy for the teams. I think if they start making too many rules than the teams would probably start to disrespect them, the authority. I think they should allow it to happen but I think they need to start putting a foot down before it gets out of hand and stupid initiations start to happen. They need to be assertive and say....there needs to be something with action on top of them warnings* (Uni 9)	Practical
				F	Doesn't feel policy should be applied to all clubs. It should be up to the clubs to determine what activities they do	Practical
			Football	M	Doesn't think there is a need for policy because: *Obviously were all mature students, I think that everyone knows there's a choice. They're not going to force you, obviously there going to pressure you for a little while, but you can say no, you can choose to do it or not to do it* (Uni 3)	Practical
				F	*Personally, I'm not a big fan of having policy so to speak. I think that it kinda suggests it's going to be bad and then if you have policy, maybe there's people who haven't been in it then what is it, if it's this bad that you're going to be told you don't have do it, what's it going to be. It's actually not anything that major, it's just a progression of what you normally would do other than it's called initiation and maybe probably the only difference between that and a normal beer circle would be is that's only freshers taking part in those sort of games rather than everyone taking part. It's [policy] is kinda making a fuss about something that doesn't necessarily need to be made a fuss about* (Uni 2)	Practical
			Rugby	M	*To be honest, if they think initiations should be banned, perhaps they should be but that won't stop a team from doing them, it would just stop them from doing them on campus. They would become more private but I think that would be a way of privatising the clubs as well because we might have Uni 3 on our tops, but if they start saying we can't do this and can't do that, we might create a new society outside the university*	Emancipatory
				F	*Like I said, almost everything you did [in the US] could be considered hazing even if it didn't involve alcohol. I think the policy was way unrealistic as to how teams and how people in universities actually are. I think that's what it is, we were "this is so unrealistic". I think that's why we felt it was completely out of line*	Emancipatory
	Fragmentational	Academics			*If they are not offensive behaviours than, and if it's a drinking culture or drinking spirits and bit of fun, whatever that means...I have no problem with that occurring in a public space, it's the excessive unacceptable offensive behaviours that A) shouldn't happen, and if they are going to happen they need to be managed in some way* (Uni 6)	Practical

Theme	Cultural Perspective	Code Level 1	Code Level 2	Code Definition	Type of Knowledge
		Admin	Interviewed	*we, all universities get BUCS handbooks which we also give a copy to all of our captains so A) the administrators know BUCS rules and regulations as do our captains and if it was in the handbook that BUCS had an official stance on initiations then that would help us to reinforce it. It's very hard to be a Student's Union, which largely promotes a drinking culture, because we do have a bar and many of our events are focused around the bar to then turn around and say well actually, we don't want you to go out and have a drink for your initiation. We're acting as hypocrites in a way. If BUCS were to put in, at least just to put their view, that would help us to reinforce some kind of policy regarding initiation*	Practical
			Non-interviewed	Policy has been implemented that is effective in regulating initiations	Practical
	Integrational	BUCS	No student should be bullied. Initiations occur and should be regulated		Practical