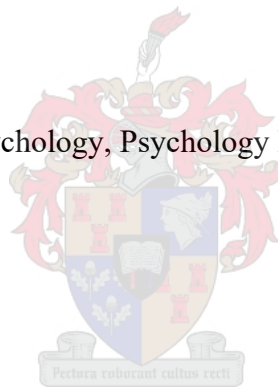

(Re-)Imagining Transformation in Sport: Black Male Rugby Players' Experiences of Model-C schools.

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: March 2020

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Abstract

Transformation in rugby continues to be a contentious issue in South Africa. Despite the millions that have been spent on bringing facilities and coaching to underprivileged areas, black people continue to be grossly under-represented; and rugby continues to be seen as a white sport. This study explores the experiences of black rugby players at former Model C schools in Cape Town, in order to understand what factors either facilitate or constrain their inclusion within their schooling environments. As the main feeders into professional rugby players, Model C schools need to improve on both their imagining and practice of transformation for there to be changes at the professional and national level of rugby. The findings and recommendations of this study should give policy makers and researchers a deeper understanding of the benefits and short comings of the current way in which transformation measures are imagined and applied within school settings and the impact of this on transformation in sport more broadly. Critical Race Theory and W.E.B du Bois' concept of "Double Consciousness" were used as the theoretical frameworks to analyse the findings. I conducted semi-structured interviews with school-attending black rugby players (N=10); I then used thematic analysis to analyse the data. The findings are presented under the five main themes that provide insight into the experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools, namely *Black Students' Experiences of Assimilation*, *Relationships with Black and White Peers*, *Relationships with Coaches and Teachers*, *Tactical Magician*, and *Transformation and the Way Forward*. Ultimately, the findings in this study indicate that interpersonal relationships and the racial ideologies that a school perpetuates are important factors in the experiences of inclusion/exclusion of black rugby players at Model C schools.

Keywords: Transformation; Assimilation, Double Consciousness; Critical Race Theory; Rugby; Model C schools; South Africa; Cape Town.

Opsomming:

Transformasie in rugby is steeds 'n omstrede saak in Suid-Afrika. Ondanks die miljoene wat daaraan bestee is om fasiliteite en afrigting na minderbevoorregte gebiede te bring, bly swart mense steeds onderverteenvoerdig; en rugby word steeds as 'n wit sportsoort gesien. Hierdie studie ondersoek die ervarings van swart rugbyspelers by voormalige Model C-skole in Kaapstad, om te verstaan watter faktore hul insluiting in hul skoolomgewings fasiliteer óf beperk. As hoofvoeders van professionele rugbyspelers, moet Model C-skole hul verbeelding en transformasiepraktyk verbeter sodat daar veranderinge op die professionele en nasionale vlak van rugby kan plaasvind. Die bevindinge en aanbevelings van hierdie studie behoort beleidmakers en navorsers 'n dieper begrip te gee van die voordele en tekortkominge van die huidige manier waarop transformasie-maatreëls binne skoolomgewing verbeel en toegepas word, en die gevolge hiervan op sporttransformasie in die breë. Kritiese rasteorie en W.E.B du Bois se konsep van 'dubbele bewussyn' is as teoretiese raamwerke gebruik om die bevindinge te ontleed. Ek het semigestruktureerde onderhoude gevoer met swart skoollopende rugbyspelers (N = 10); Daarna het ek tematiese analise gebruik om die data te ontleed. Die bevindinge word aangebied onder die vyf hoofemas wat 'n insig bied in die ervarings van swart rugbyspelers by Model C-skole, naamlik die ervarings van swart studente van assimilasië, verhoudings met swart en wit eweknieë, verhoudings met afrigters en onderwysers, taktiese towenaar en transformasie en die pad vorentoe. Uiteindelik dui die bevindinge in hierdie studie aan dat interpersoonlike verhoudings en die rasse-ideologieë wat 'n skool voortduur, belangrike faktore is in die ervarings van die insluiting / uitsluiting van swart rugbyspelers by Model C-skole.

Sleutelwoorde: Transformasie; Assimilasië, Dubbele Bewussyn; Kritiese Rasteorie; Rugby; Model C-skole; Suid-Afrika; Kaapstad.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank the NRF and the Mellon Foundation for providing me with funding for this research project. Without the scholarship, none of this would have been possible.

Thank you to my supervisors, Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Dr Kim Wale for your constant guidance and wisdom throughout this process. I can honestly say that you both challenged me into producing work I never thought I was capable of. I have grown both academically and as a human being under your guidance.

To Dr Floretta Boonzaier, thank you for believing in me enough to give me an opportunity back in 2017 to complete my Honours degree. I think about that period in my life often and I tell the story of how you decided to give me a chance even when you did not have to. Your kindness in that moment, and guidance throughout that year has shaped me as a person and as a scholar. I will always be eternally grateful. Without you, none of this would have been possible, thank you mama. To Dr Buhle Zuma, thank you for giving up so many of your weekends to sit at Seattle with me to help me think through this project. Thank you for reading over my work and giving me in depth comments work so that I could improve. Even though you didn't have to, you were a source of guidance, a sounding board and one of my biggest supporters, even though you had your own priorities. You helped me to believe in myself and my writing, at times when I saw no end to this journey. To my girlfriend, and best friend Liza, thank you for listening to me vent when I needed to, thank you for reading through all of these chapters, even when you had your own master's journey to take care of, and thank you for being a constant source of strength and support. You made me believe I was great and that I could do this in some of the most testing moments. I appreciate and love you so much.

To Dr Nceba Ndzwayiba, you have looked out for me and hyped my work constantly since first year. You have been a source of love and motivation for me throughout. Thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to check in on me, read and comment on my work. I appreciate you so much tata. To Dr Khaya Tshabalala, my beautiful mother. I have always aimed to make you proud in whatever I do, and within academia you have always been my biggest role model. Thank you for all of the sacrifices you made to make sure I always had everything I needed, on the sports field, the classroom and at home. Thank you for reading countless drafts of chapters and giving me your input throughout this process. Thank you for comforting and supporting me in moments where I wanted to give up. I'll match that PhD of yours one day, I promise. I love you so much.

Dedication

I dedicate this to my Grandmother, Nontsikelelo Tshabalala. I wish you were here to see this, unyana wakho ude waphangela. I remember being extremely excited at the prospect of being whatever I wanted to be when I grew up. You listened to me sing, and watched me try and replicate Michael Jackson dance moves, and you made me believe that I could do anything I set my mind to; even though I had absolutely no rhythm or singing range. Thank you for being my biggest fan throughout this process, even after your passing, I have felt your spirit watching over me and cheering me on. Thank you for wiping away my tears, laughing with me and loving me unconditionally. Words cannot describe how much I miss you, and how much I wish you were here. Ndiyakuthanda Marhadebe.

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1 Chapter One

A South African Framing of Transformation and Sport

1.1 Introduction

At the end of apartheid, rugby, a previous symbol of Afrikaner national identity, became the sport that would catalyse the building a new sense of South African identity under the notion of a united ‘rainbow nation’ (Desai, 2010). The ‘rainbow nation’ was predicated on the premise of creating a common South African identity, where all who inhabited South Africa, regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation or religion could live together as equals (Desai, 2010).

National identity has been an integral element of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa, however, the use of the term national identity differs dramatically in each respective era. During apartheid, national identity was used to discriminate, whereas in post-apartheid South Africa it has been re-imagined and used in an attempt to unite a fragmented nation (Baines, 1998). A national identity is defined by the dominant group, which then excludes others from the locality of power (Baines, 1998). Under apartheid the construction of a white South African identity was built and defined by the control of the state and privileged access to resources for the white minority (Baines, 1998). The white minority consists specifically of two ethnic groups of European origin, English, and Afrikaans (Baines, 1998). Both of these groups defined themselves primarily in contradistinction to the indigenous population, thus serving to ‘other’ and exclude the black majority which included people classified as “Black”, “Coloured” and “Indian” by apartheid policy (Baines, 1998).

In post-apartheid South Africa, sport has become a crucial element to a new and inclusive national identity (Desai, 2010). At the 1995 Rugby World Cup, all South African’s temporarily came together in support of the Springboks (Desai, 2010). The post-apartheid South African government then attempted to use rugby in order to unite a fragmented nation, and committed itself to redressing inequalities of the past (Desai, 2010). This sentiment is further perpetuated by the ANC slogan: ‘A better life for all’ (Desai, 2010). The goal for the post-apartheid government was to recreate national identity, to recreate South Africa and to recreate what it means to be South Africans through rugby (Desai, 2010).

In the sports and transformation charter, transformation is defined as “a process of holistically changing the delivery of sport through the actions of individuals and organisations that comprise the sport sector” (SASCOC, 2011, p. 4). The transformation charter aims to change the way in which sports are constructed so that all South Africans, regardless of race, gender, or disability have equal

access to all sports (SASCOC, 2011). Transformation is used to ensure increased access and opportunities for all South Africans, to harness the socio-economic benefits of sport, and finally to recognise the constitutions right to sport (SASCOC, 2011). Through creating equal access to all sports, the sports and transformation charter aims to eliminate all inequality, increase access to participation opportunities, empower individuals and to facilitate respect for one another (SASCOC, 2011). Transformation is, thus, used as a tool to recreate a national identity where all are viewed as equals, and there is a common respect for one another regardless of identity make-up.

The meaning of transformation that used throughout this study is twofold and is linked to the sports and transformation charter in that it refers to a holistic change in ways that embrace black people. Transformation is holistic in the sense that it takes into consideration more than just the representation of black people at Model C schools; it refers to the experiences of black people in previously white schools. Firstly, it refers to transformation measures that serve to desegregate environments, specifically the quota system. The quota system is a form of legislation, used in sport, among other spaces, which states that a team needs to have minimum number of previously disadvantaged people; this study specifically speaks to black people (Hassim, 2006). Secondly and more thoughtfully, transformation is used to refer to a shift from white only ideologies, practices and beliefs that have been and continue to be dominant within previously white schools to those that are representative and inclusive of democratic South Africa. Ideologies refer to a set of normalised practices and beliefs which an individual, or a group of individuals prescribe to (Christie & McKinney, 2017). This study looks at the participants' perceptions of inclusion in the demographic of their school, their social, academic and sporting environments.

Internationally the issue of transformation in sport is a point of concern. The United States of America's hockey and speed skating teams had their first player of colour at the 2018 Winter Olympics (Lockhart, 2018). Out of 3000 athletes, black athletes only made up 1.45 percent of those competing for medals (Lockhart, 2018). South Africa, too, is no stranger to questions of race representation in sport. At the end of apartheid, sport, particularly rugby, was identified as a potential driver for transformation and nation building (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). In this way, rugby was used as a way to create a common, non-discriminatory national identity (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). However, 23 years after the 1995 Rugby World Cup, conversations on rugby on transformation continue to be prevalent. The fact that 2018 is the first time that we have seen a black Springbok

Captain, in Siya Kolisi, in a country that is overwhelmingly dominated by black people¹, is a testament to how much work still needs to be done.

In January of 2019, Siya Kolisi did an interview which has since gone viral. In the interview he was asked about how Nelson Mandela might feel about the current state of South Africa, as well as the quota system. Siya responded by saying that he would think that Nelson Mandela would not have been for a quota system (Kolisi, 2019). The gist of his response was that forcing the national team to include a minimum number of black rugby players in a squad was not only detrimental to the performances of the Springboks, but also to black rugby players who are not ready to be playing at the highest level (Kolisi, 2019). He then made the point that if one wants transformation, they need to begin at those schools in the townships and rural areas; because children who don't attend Model C schools do not get the correct nutrition and development, which then cripples their chances to make it in the sport later in life (Kolisi, 2019).

Siya Kolisi's response not only divided opinion on a mass scale, but it showed that there is still a long road ahead for transformation in South Africa. As a whole, there is a lack of research in sports and transformation. Although there have been many studies conducted on transformation and Model C schools (Beets & Van Louw, 2005; Christie & McKinney, 2017; Makoe & McKinney, 2014; McKinney, 2007; Sium, Desai, & Ritskes, 2012; Soudien, 2007), assimilation and transformative measures (Alexander, 2007; Fanon, 1967; Farquharson & Marjoribanks, 2003; Garcia, 2017; Gordon, 1964; Hook, 2004; Park & Burgess, 1921), there has been little research done on the connection between Model C schools, and transformation in sport. Furthermore, studies of assimilation have been one dimensional, in the sense that they have not looked into assimilation from the perspective of black people; and how it may have an effect on their ability to cope in an environment that constantly tells them that they need to be white in order to be human.

This study argues that the underwhelming strides which transformation in rugby has taken, are a result of a misdirection with regards to the grassroots, and an overly simplistic definition of transformation used to direct transformative measures. The majority of professional athletes is developed at Model C schools, and thus if these schools have not transformed, it is impossible for there to be any sort of change in the professional sphere. Furthermore, when critically assessing these schools, it is essential that the scope is widened beyond representation of black people, to include their experiences of the

¹ The term 'black people' will be used in the political sense, to denominate all people of color. However, I will be more specific when describing the participants themselves.

school environment. The lack of focus on these schools and the role they play in transforming sport has led to short-sighted transformative measures and a culture of victim-blaming (Hassim, 2006; Howarth, 2004). The findings of this study illustrate that it is essential to (re)imagine transformation, by moving past the representation of black people, to understanding and making visible the ideological practices that exist at these school that serve to exclude black people subtly and profoundly.

1.2 Context of the Study

The 1990s were exciting but frightening times in South Africa. Nelson Mandela was released from Robin Island, the education system was de-segregated by law and South Africa had their international sporting ban lifted. South Africa then hosted and won the Rugby World Cup (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007) The year 1994 is of particular significance; it was meant to signal extraordinary change for black South Africans. The shift from apartheid to democracy took place with the first free and fair elections, where the African National Congress (ANC) came into power (Roets, 2016; Soudien, 2007). Those elections brought with them political emancipation and they served to change the laws and legislations which had served to subjugate black people. South Africa now has one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, however, in reality these changes have had an underwhelming effect on the lived experiences of many black South Africans. South Africa continues to be a country ravished by inequality.

Census data from 2011 indicate that apartheid socio-economic trends continue to exist in South Africa, with White households having the highest income, followed by Indian households, Coloured households and ,lastly, Black households (Statistics South Africa, 2012). White households earned an average of R365 134 per annum, whilst Black households earned an average of R60 613 per annum (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Eighteen years after the first democratic election, South Africa continued and continues to be fraught with racial inequality. Intense anger and frustration at broken promises, and a lack of change in institutions of learning in South Africa resulted in mass protests across the entire country (Christie & McKinney, 2017). #FeesMustFall and Rhodes Must Fall started at the University of Cape Town and The University of the Witwatersrand, and then spread to becoming a nation-wide university shut down, protesting against increasing fees, and colonial symbolism at higher institutions of learning (Christie &McKinney, 2017). These protests went on to transcend the university space, with girls at Pretoria Girls High School and San Souci High School protesting against racist language policies and inconsistencies in the regulation of hair styles between black and white students (Christie & McKinney, 2017).

During the 1995 Rugby World Cup, South Africans were praised as examples of a forgiving and reconciling nation, because they unified to stand behind the Springboks regardless of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid (Farquharson & Marjoribanks, 2003). Sport, specifically rugby, was earmarked to be a tool for reconciliation, plans were drafted and ‘Operation Rugby’ was born (Desai & Nabbi, 2010). The modus operandi was to develop black talent and in order to have a national team which accurately represented the population of South Africa (Desai & Nabbi, 2010; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). It has been 24 years since then and there is still a long way to go for transformation in rugby. When the Springboks underperform, black people are often blamed, even though black players are often the minority in the Springbok side. Transformation is villainised by many South Africans; one only needs to go to the comment section of the SA Rugby Mag on Facebook, or the comments people made during Sho Madjozi’s performance at the announcement of the 2019 Springbok World Cup Squad to see this. Whilst the landscape has certainly improved overtime, the rate of transformation in rugby has been underwhelming. Whilst there is plenty of literature on masculinities in rugby, transformation in rugby is an extremely under researched field. By examining the lived experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools, one can generate great understanding on why transformation has been so lethargic and how transformation measures can be improved to speed up this process, as these schools act as the feeders to rugby unions.

1.3 Rationale

Sports are an important part of nation-building, people take pride in their sports, especially when their country is playing. It is thus essential that a national team adequately represents its country’s demographic, otherwise, a group of people is excluded, especially in a context where sport has been used to create a common national identity. In a time where South Africans are still redefining themselves as inclusive and desegregated, it is essential that sports, especially those which are used as a tool for reconciliation, are transformed. This research aims to explore the question of transformation in sport by centring on the lived experiences of black athletes. The literature makes it clear that through the curriculum, religion and culture, Model C schools require black pupils to assimilate in order for them to fit in (Sium et al., 2012; Soudien, 2007). Model C schools and sports are intrinsically interlinked, with the majority of past, and current Springboks and Proteas, having come out of boys only Model C schools (“Springboks by School through the Eras- School Boy Rugby Blog”, 2014). Thus, in the current developmental system- a system which trains and produces professional rugby players- if Model C schools do not transform, the old status quo is maintained. This research will utilise critical race theory and W.E.B. du Bois’ (1903) concept of double consciousness in order to ascertain how black athletes experience and negotiate assimilation, and how

this affects their ability to cope in a Model C environment and to perform on a sports field. These concepts will be elaborated on in the theoretical framework and methodology sections.

1.4 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The primary aim of this study was to explore and to better understand the lived experiences of competitive black rugby players who attend Model C schools.

The aim of the study was attained through the following objectives:

- To gain insight into the everyday lived experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools.
- To uncover the different ways which black rugby players understand transformation and to better understand their perceptions and feelings about transformation measures, such as the “quota systems”.
- To understand when and how black rugby players at Model C schools feel included and/or excluded.
- To identify the different coping strategies that black rugby players use when they feel excluded in a Model C school environment.

1.5 Research Question

How do school attending black male rugby players experience their schooling and sporting environment within a former Model C school?

Sub Questions

- In what ways do they experience inclusion/exclusion in their school and sporting environments?
- How do their experiences of inclusion/exclusion affect how they feel about themselves, their school and their capacity to perform as athletes?
- What suggestions do they have for transformation at Model C schools?

1.6 Overview of the Chapters

This thesis consists of five chapters. Each chapter has been written to provide knowledge on transformation in sport, the education system and the experiences of black rugby players who attend these schools. The chapters are set out as follows:

Chapter 1: This chapter contextualises the study by providing a brief synopsis of sports and transformation in a global and local context. Furthermore, the rationale, research question and sub questions are introduced.

Chapter 2: This chapter consists of a literature review on the history of the education system, as well as transformation in rugby. The literature review mainly focuses on a historical framing of South

Africa's education system from the arrival of the Dutch, to the introduction of the Clase Models in 1990; whilst arguing that South Africa's desegregated education system was built on assimilative practices which continue to exist. The review then goes on to look at the ideologies which are perpetuated by Model C schools, and how that has resulted in student protests, as well as law suits. This is followed by a discussion on transformation in rugby, and the reconciliatory role the sport was touted to play in post-apartheid South Africa. Finally, the theoretical framework that the study used is presented. This consists of an in-depth discussion of du Bois' Double Consciousness, and Critical Race Theory (CRT).

Chapter 3: This chapter provides a discussion on the methodology of the research. This consists of an in-depth discussion of Thematic Analysis and a breakdown of how it was used to analyse the findings. Furthermore, the reader will find a discussion of the sampling and data collection methods, ethical considerations and the researcher's reflexivity.

Chapter 4: This chapter consists of a description of the participants from the two schools where the participants were drawn from. It then goes on to present an intertwined discussion and analysis. The analysis is presented under five higher order themes, namely 'Black Students Experiences of Assimilation', 'Relationships with Black and White Peers', 'Relationships with Coaches and Teachers', 'Tactical Magician: Needing to be Far Above the Rest For Recognition' and 'Transformation and the Way Forward'.

Chapter 5: This chapter consists of recommendations and conclusions for the study. Furthermore, there it there is an engagement with the limitations of the study.

2 Chapter Two: Literature Review

Implications of The Clase Model Legacy on Transformation in Sport.

2.1 Introduction

This literature review comprises of four sections. First, I give a historical overview of transformation in education and sport in South Africa in order to explain why conversations on transformation continue to be dominant and pertinent in post-apartheid South Africa. This historical overview is split into four subsections, namely 'The Road to the Desegregation of Education', 'The Clase Models', 'Perpetuating the Legacy of Apartheid and the Marginalisation of Black Learners' and 'Assimilation'. Secondly, I summarise the key debates on transformation in sport, demonstrating how my study aims to contribute to the literature on transformation in schools and sport. The third section is a conclusion which includes the key areas which this research will aim to make a contribution in. I argue that the literature on transformation lacks a focus on the experiences of black athletes within a predominantly white Model C environment. Finally, I locate this study within a critical race theory approach, drawing on whiteness studies and DuBois' concept of double consciousness. In doing so I expand on the concept of assimilation as it has been understood in the literature, on transformation, as I look at assimilation from the lens of black people. In doing this, I argue that DuBois' concept of double consciousness is critical in understanding the experiences of black athletes in Model C schools.

2.1.1 A historical overview of education in South Africa

The education system in South Africa was divided along racial lines from the time of the arrival of the Dutch settlers in the 17th century to 1994, which signified the end of apartheid (Christie & McKinney 2017; Roets, 2016; Soudien, 2007, 2010). The Dutch created an education system that would position black² people as less than white people, and in need of civilising in order to justify their colonial mission (Roets 2016; Soudien, 2007). The apartheid system served to formalise this segregation and 'other-ing' of black people through the enactment of laws, such as the Bantu Education Act (Roets, 2016). 'Race' has been proven to be neither natural or biological in nature, however, it is a social construction that continues to have a profound impact on the lives of all South Africans (McKinney, 2007). During apartheid, the concept of race was used through various policies and laws in order to privilege white people and to justify the oppression of people of colour, whilst normalising white people's knowledge systems and ways of being (McKinney, 2007). The Bantu

² Race is a socially constructed concept which continues have an effect on the lived experiences of people in South Africa. Apartheid racial categories are relevant and will be used throughout this paper because they are part of everyone's lived reality.

Education Act (1953) served to separate the education system by historically constructed race groups (Roets, 2016). Through this act, those who were classified as white were prepared for high-level jobs whilst those who were classified as black were educated to be labourers and servants (Roets, 2016).

2.1.2 The Road to the Desegregation of Education

While segregation was seen as the norm, there were some cases of desegregated schools, such as Lovedale in the Eastern Cape (Soudien, 2007). This racial mixing of classes was encouraged by field agents of the British government in the Cape Colony as it was seen as an opportunity for the black subject to learn to read and to speak English (Soudien, 2007). After the Soweto uprising of 1976, conversations around a desegregated education system began to gain traction, which led to the Catholic church creating a school that would enrol a limited number of students of colour (Roets, 2016; Soudien, 2007). This was known as the Open Schools Movement (Soudien, 2007).

The Open Schools Movement acted as the catalyst for debates on the desegregation of the South African education system. These debates were, however, happening prior to the implementation of the Open Schools Movement (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Roets, 2016; Soudien, 2007). Many of the debates which took place centred around what a desegregated education system would look like and how it would function. However, Soudien (2007) demonstrates how the basic ideologies and curriculum of the education system remained centred around the norms of whiteness, meaning that the practices at these schools normalised white ways of being and understanding (Soudien, 2007). Internationally, whiteness refers to an invisible, normalised form of dominance within society, which privileges and positions white people, their cultures, languages and religions as the standard, whilst non-whites and their ideologies are then subjugated and subordinated in comparison to whiteness (Frankenberg, 1993; McIntosh, 1988; Nayak, 2007).

Essentially, whiteness is positioned at the zenith of civilisation and humanity, thus, everyone is expected to assimilate towards whiteness; whiteness then privileges white people by excluding people of colour (Feagin, 2010; McIntosh, 1988; Nayak, 2007). However, apartheid South Africa was built on the foundation of racial oppression. The laws and legislations of apartheid were created for the sole purpose of privileging white people at the expense of black people, thus whiteness manifested itself in aggressive and overt ways (Roets, 2016). Assimilation is a related concept which refers to the process of a people rejecting their traditions, cultures, languages and beliefs for more dominant ideologies, such as whiteness (Soudien, 2010). When politically and culturally weaker groups are drawn into the world of the dominant, within subordinate positions, they are assimilated (Soudien, 2010). The concepts of whiteness and assimilation will be expanded on further in the sections to

follow, however, it is useful to foreground them as many of the critiques of transformation in schools discussed in this review draw on these concepts.

Many of the leaders of the Open Schools Movement knew that a truly desegregated education system was one which did not privilege one's racial group, language, culture or beliefs over another, and thus they were committed to the development of non-racial pedagogies and learning materials (Soudien, 2007). For example, Sister Louis Michael was an advocate for this different type of school, one which would introduce each race on an equal footing (Soudien, 2007). However, Sister Louis Michael, as well as her ideas were pushed out of the Catholic church; and the first phase of integration was based on assimilationist premises which stated that the Open Schools Movement would offer white standards of education to a small number of black pupils (Christie, 1990; Soudien, 2007). However, it must be noted that there were examples of some Catholic schools; such as the Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg, which agreed with Sister Louis Michael, and thus implemented her beliefs around a desegregated curriculum and the managing of their school (Soudien, 2007).

2.1.3 The Clase Models

In 1990, these discussions coupled with the changing political environment in South Africa led to the creation of the Clase Models (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). The Clase Models, named after Piet Clase, refer to the Model A, Model B and Model C school formats which all white schools could choose from in the process of desegregation (Christie & McKinney, 2017). The National Party realised that the political climate was changing significantly, in ways which promoted equality and democracy, thus the segregated structure of the education system would need to change to include people of colour in order to provide everyone with the same opportunities (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). The debates within the National Party and between white people turned their focus to the ways in which white people could hold on to their social advantage in light of the need to desegregate (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). The implementation of the Clase Models meant that white schools were allowed to choose between three different models, Model A, Model B and Model C (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). These models gave substantial power to the parents and the governing bodies of white schools to decide the parameters of whom they would and would not permit in their schools (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). Thus, the system of Clase Models essentially enabled the perpetuation of the hegemony of white control alongside the desegregation of schools.

If former white schools chose to be classified under Model A, they would become completely private, whereas if they decided to be classified under Model B, they would be completely state-owned

(Christie & McKinney, 2017). Under Model C, schools would receive a state subsidy, usually amounting to 80% of the operating expenses of schools, to cover the salaries of the appointed staff members (Christie & McKinney, 2017). Model C schools would, however, be required to remain majority white (50%+1) and to give preference to white children from their feeder areas (Christie & McKinney, 2017). Furthermore, they were expected to continue to uphold the principles of Christian National Education, provide mother tongue instruction for English and Afrikaans speakers and maintain their “traditional values and ethos” (Christie & McKinney, 2017, p. 9). Model C schools would thus remain constitutionally bound to white education departments but would “render service” to students of other races, provided that they remained fundamentally unchanged in the process (Christie & McKinney, 2017, p. 9).

Most white schools were reluctant to participate in this process of desegregation and thus preferred to remain as they were (Christie & McKinney, 2017). However, in 1992 the government took the decision to declare that all white schools would be classified as Model C (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). The consequence of this was that prior to the formation of the post-apartheid government, all schools under white education departments became state-aided schools, with white controlled governing bodies having substantial power over finances, admissions and property (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007).

The South African Schools Act of 1996 (SASA) outlawed discrimination and made it compulsory that all schools open their admissions to all (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). However, SASA also confirmed the authority of governing bodies, including their ability to set language and admission policies, determine extramural activities and the right to increase school fees in order to supplement state subsidy (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). Christie and McKinney (2017) state that, technically, Model C schools no longer exist, as all state-aided schools are referred to as “public schools”. However, in public discourse, the ‘Model C’ label has been used to designate former white schools (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). These continue to be the best resourced and highest achieving schools in South Africa (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). Decisions on key issues such as admissions, fees, curriculum and language policy have remained with the various school governing bodies (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007).

In sum, the above sections have suggested that the history of transformation in South African schools is one of assimilation. As schools that are built on a legacy of white standards, the cultural and linguistic code of the historically white-only parent bodies have continued to prevail, even though the student body has diversified (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). The authors discussed in

this section argue that Model C schools were created for the purpose of perpetuating a culture that privileges white standards through the education system, while at the same time satisfying the requirements of desegregation.

2.1.4 Perpetuating the Legacy of Apartheid and the Marginalisation of Black Learners

In allowing previously white schools to remain under the control of all white governing bodies, the white minority could hold on to some form of power and influence within society through cultural and linguistic codes which would normalise white practices, whilst subjugating black peoples practices (Christie & McKinney, 2017). Essentially white control would continue through the education system, and infiltrate into everyday society through the individuals who came out of the education system (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Makoe & McKinney, 2014; McKinney, 2007). During apartheid, language was used as a divide-and-conquer strategy, and in previously white schools, the language of instruction would be either English or Afrikaans (Makoe & McKinney, 2014). The language of instruction at the majority of Model C schools continues to be English, and this is strictly enforced, to the point where teachers are often reprimanded for code-switching in order to accommodate pupils whom may lack a high level of proficiency in English (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Makoe & McKinney, 2014; McKinney, 2007). Black students are also often reprimanded for speaking any language other than English or Afrikaans at school (Christie & McKinney, 2017; McKinney, 2007). In this sense, Christie and McKinney (2017) argue that the schooling system in South Africa continues to function within the logic of coloniality.

The use of a particular form of English within South African society is perceived to represent intelligence, and if one can master this, they are revered. The idea that there is only one form of English is instilled within a Model C environment through the normalisation of white ways of being (McKinney, 2010). McKinney (2010, p.202) refer to this as ‘White South African English’; it is defined by a particular accent and a pronunciation of words used by white South Africans. For the most part, irrespective of the plethora of literature indicating otherwise, ‘White South African English’ continues to be the only ‘acceptable’ version of English, thus anyone deviating from this norm, is lambasted (Christie & McKinney, 2017). Model C schools also have a set of inflexible western cultural and religious practices which all students who attend have to conform to, regardless of whether these practices could contradict their own beliefs (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007).

In 2017, in a case against six schools, a court in Johannesburg ruled that it was unconstitutional for schools to force students to practice a particular religion (Greyling, 2017). Students and parents at

various schools across the country have protested against forced subscriptions to these white values. Model C schools continue to have a good reputation and are viewed as ideal schools, and thus they are the goal for the rising black middle class who want the best for their children (Christie & McKinney, 2017). In this way, these schools are for white people, however, services are rendered to black people (Christie & McKinney, 2017).

In 2015 incidents of mass protests at San Souci Girls High School and Pretoria Girls High took place, with black learners arguing that they had been subject to racist and unfair treatment at the school respective schools (Christie & McKinney, 2017). Students at Pretoria Girls High School documented how there are policies in place at the school which forbid students to speak in African. Furthermore, there was a lack of consistency in the regulation of haircuts between white and black students (Christie & McKinney, 2017). This protest was then picked up by girls at San Souci Girls High School, in Cape Town, who shared similar experiences and stood in solidarity with the girls at Pretoria Girls High (Christie & McKinney, 2017). The students at both of these schools spoke about how their natural hair was lambasted for looking untidy and being distracting to other students (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Nicolson, 2016). One student spoke about how a teacher gave her Vaseline in order to flatten her hair (Nicolson, 2016). The protests of 2016 represented a peak point in years of struggles against discrimination at Model C schools (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Deacon, 2016). Court records demonstrate that there is a plethora of disputes over language instruction, staff appointments and over bullying (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Deacon, 2016). Furthermore, these records have confirmed the belief that the terms of attendance at Model C schools, as well as the rate of change which they would permit, would remain in the hands of white people (Christie & McKinney, 2017). These records, along with the protests of 2016 at Pretoria Girls High School and San Souci Girls High School, indicate that in order for black people to be considered acceptable, they need to partake in various assimilative practices.

2.1.5 Assimilation

Assimilation can be defined as "a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them into a common cultural life" (Park & Burgess, 1921, p. 735). Gordon (1964) differentiated between two forms of assimilation- cultural and structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation refers to the subordinate group adopting the dominant group's cultural patterns, such as language, behaviour and values (Garcia, 2017; Gordon, 1964). Structural assimilation is an incorporation into major social institutions, such as education and politics, which then leads into other stages, such as intermarriage and identification assimilation (Gordon, 1964).

Essentially assimilation is a process whereby subordinate groups adopt the identities and values of the dominant groups, at the expense of their own in order to survive and to succeed (Garcia, 2017).

The values, beliefs and practices of the dominant group are seen as the norm and are positioned at the centre of humanity, and thus anything that deviates from this is less than human (Garcia, 2017). Assimilation is harmful to subordinate groups, in that it perpetuates the notion that they are less than the dominant group, and in order to be human, they need to lose themselves and become more like the dominant group (Fanon, 1967; Hook, 2004). The practices, curriculum, language of instruction, cultural and religious beliefs and practices at Model C schools have not changed since apartheid, thus regardless of the changing demographics, these schools are white at their core and are harmful to black people (Soudien, 2007). Regardless of the negative consequences, one of the dominant ways black people attempt to gain acceptance within predominantly white spaces is to assimilate. This is symbolised by processes of lactification such as skin bleaching (Fanon, 1967).

In conclusion, in desegregating the education system in South Africa, the government did not take into consideration the racial composition of the school personnel, the racial content of the curriculum, and the ways in which these factors reproduce racialised identities (Soudien, 2007). This has left the foundations of oppression intact within the education system. While the demographic has shifted, the curriculum, language policies, culture and religious beliefs at these schools have not and continue to be normalised and serve white people. Thus black people have to assimilate and conform in order to be considered acceptable to white people (Christie & McKinney, 2017). In order for transformation to take place within the education system, these authors arguments show that Model C schools need to restructure. This begins with a change in the curriculum and knowledge production, in order for different experiences and knowledge's to be represented (Beets & Van Louw, 2005; Christie & McKinney, 2017; McKinney, 2007; Sium et al., 2012). There is a need for *pluveralist* knowledge, meaning that there needs to be a realisation that western ideologies are not universal, and that they exist in unison with other systems that are equally as important (Christie & McKinney, 2017). One should not be sacrificed for another; these knowledge systems need to work together (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Sium et al, 2012).

2.1.6 Transformation and Sport

This section introduces a brief history of sport and transformation, focusing specifically on rugby and cricket. This research aims to show that sport and education are intrinsically interlinked. Model C schools act as feeders for professional sporting teams, as one needs to perform well at school level, in order to be recognized provincially, and thus earn a professional contract. Many Model C schools

remain predominantly white in demographic and those that are more demographically integrated, continue to perpetuate the structural and cultural foundation of whiteness. When coaches at Model C schools subscribe to problematic notions of whiteness that view black athletes as less than their white counterparts, this will not only affect the number of black rugby and cricket players who make it professionally, but it also perpetuates the notion that black rugby and cricket players do not compare to their white counterparts. It is for this reason that it is essential to introduce transformation in sport. Furthermore, it will argue that the implementations of quotas have, to some degree, increased representation in cricket and rugby. Quotas are a form of affirmative action, which aim to increase the representation of a particular group of people within positions of influence. Despite increases in representation, rugby and cricket remain white sports, that is being widely regarded as sports belonging to white people.

Historically, the sporting arena has been segregated along racial lines (Desai, 2010; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). This has led to particular sports being associated with particular races (Desai, 2010; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). Cricket and rugby, along with all water sports have been, and continue to be seen as a white sport in South Africa; whilst soccer is associated with black people (Fisher, 2013; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008; Merrett, Tatz, & Adair, 2011). The development of this trend can clearly be seen from the preceding literature in the way that Model C schools have been established. Chester Williams was the only player of colour in the Springbok squad that won the 1995 Rugby World Cup (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). A year before this, South Africa had its first democratic elections. Furthermore, South Africa had been banned from international sporting competition during apartheid; thus, this period was an extremely exciting time for the country (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008).

The media described the 1995 world cup win as a triumphant victory, which showcased the healing and reconciling power of sport (Farquharson & Marjoribanks, 2003). As sports, particularly rugby, were identified as a tool for reconciliation, the transformation of the sports became crucial and dominated public discourse (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). In March of 1993, the South African Rugby Football Club (SARFU) set aside R13 million for the year; this led to 6000 coaches going across the country to 'bring rugby to disadvantaged communities' (Desai & Nabbi, 2010, p. 56; Grundlingh, 1995, p. 6). Furthermore, there was the promise of 'Operation Rugby', which set out to encourage mass participation of rugby by building and renovating over 40 grounds using 40 percent of the profits from the 1995 rugby World Cup (Desai & Nabbi, 2010).

It was said that the intention of these initiatives was to sow into disadvantaged areas, in order to create a solid base of black rugby players, which would then play professionally for unions and ultimately, the national team (Desai & Nabbi, 2010). However, 12 years later, when the Springboks were triumphant at the 2007 World Cup in France, there were only two black players in the entire squad (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). At the 2015 Rugby World Cup, there were only 8 players of colour representing South Africa in a squad of 31 players (Godwin, 2015). Cricket and rugby are of the two biggest sports in South Africa, and when the dominant group is excluded from these sports, they thus continue to be excluded from the nation (Farquharson & Marjoribanks, 2003; Rantao, 1998). Transformation in sports is identified as a key issue for reconciliation in South Africa. This is witnessed in both the formal and informal dialogues pertaining to transformation in sport that have become increasingly dominant within society.

In discourses around the reformulation of policies in post-apartheid South Africa, there were two hegemonic approaches, namely ‘transformative’ and ‘reformative’ (Desai, 2010). The transformative project aimed to disrupt and transform the way that society was structured at its core (Desai, 2010). Economically, the emphasis was on growth through redistribution (Desai, 2010). In sport, the transformation project would be a bottom-up mass based approach, also known in popular public discourse as a ‘grass roots’ approach (Desai, 2010). The idea behind a transformative approach would be to provide coaching and resources to clubs and schools in the townships and rural areas, in order to build a broad base for black talent scouting and development (Desai, 2010). The fundamental idea is that through focussing resources and effort to developing and empowering black talent, one will create a mass which will then transform society.

The reformative approach won hegemony as South Africa transitioned into democracy (Desai, 2010). The reformative prioritised reconciliation and cooperative governance in the interests of economic growth and an acceptance into a neoliberal world order (Desai, 2010). The idea with this approach is that if the conditions best suited to facilitate an environment for business are created, the benefits of that economic growth will naturally transition down to the poorest members of society. Through this model, there would be state intervention to de-racialise the top level of the class hierarchy through the pursuit of Black Economic Empowerment (Desai, 2010). In sport, the reformative approach manifested in an emphasis on high performance centres and on the racial composition of national teams (Desai, 2010).

Theoretically, a result of the desegregation of society and sport should be an increase in the representation of black people at the national team level (Maphai, 1989). However, in reality, this is

not the case, and in an attempt to increase the number of black people represented by national teams, the government implemented measures of affirmative action, in the form of informal and formal quotas (Alexander, 2007; Maphai, 1989). Formal quotas require that there be a certain number of players from a particular community within a squad (Farquharson & Marjoribanks, 2003). Informal quotas function according to popular demand, and they manifest in political pressure for a particular sector, or a sports team, to represent the population of South Africa sufficiently (Farquharson & Marjoribanks, 2003). Formal and informal quotas are used in various arenas in South Africa, such as business, government and within sports.

Regardless of the transformative measures applied by government, representation continues to be an issue within rugby (Godwin, 2015). Furthermore, the governmental growth model has come under increasing scrutiny from inside and outside the congress alliance³ (Desai, 2010). Blade Nzimande stated that BEE functioned for a select few, whilst sacrificing the working class; furthermore service delivery protests have become a common occurrence (Desai, 2010). The so-called ‘trickle’ down approach has not functioned as successfully as it had been theorised, within reality. Sport improvement implementation has not occurred to the desired level, and this has been blamed on a lack of resources (Desai, 2010). The literature demonstrates that rugby continues to be viewed as a white sport in the sense that only white people make up the majority of those represented, in a country where they are the minority (Fisher, 2013; Rubin, 2013). The need to transform is viewed as an imposition to white people and, black rugby players continue to face questions around their ability to play rugby, especially so when the Springboks lose (Tshikila, 2017). The demographic of cricket players at the national level has also been a point of contestation, though recently that has changed significantly (Hodgson, 2017). The perception around cricket continues to be that it is a white sport, in the sense that when the Proteas lose questions are asked of transformation and the ability of black players is the subject of much deliberation (Harding, 2015).

There is a gap in the literature when it comes to transformation in rugby at Model C schools, and in schools more generally. The literature which is available on rugby and the schooling system focuses specifically on masculinity (Anderson & McGuire, 2010; Rubin, 2013). While these studies demonstrate the important role that rugby plays in reproducing hegemonic masculinity, this study will focus more specifically on how issues of race play out for these students, in relation to questions of transformation and inclusion.

³ The congress alliance consists of the African National Congress (ANC), Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

In conclusion, sport was identified as a potential tool for reconciliation. However, this could not be the case if the majority of the population was not represented. This transformation did not occur organically, and this has led to government needing to implement formal and informal quotas in order to increase the representation of people of colour in sports teams. The implementation, as well as the effectiveness of quotas, has been a point of much contestation. The demographic of cricket has shifted significantly in recent times, whilst rugby continues to be predominantly white, in a country that is overwhelmingly dominated by people of colour. Furthermore, rugby and cricket continue to be viewed as white sports. The following section will conclude the discussion of the literature and highlight the key contributions that this study aims to make.

2.1.7 Conclusion and Contribution

The dominant belief which has driven the implementations of quotas in sports has been that if black people were represented in sports, transformation would occur. However, Hassim (2006) argues that it is essential that previously disadvantaged groups are represented within positions of influence. However, many of the structural factors that served to exclude black people from education, sport and many other spaces continue to exist (Hassim, 2006; Soudien, 2007). Through the desegregation of society, black people were allowed within previously white-only spaces, however, the transformation of the meaning of these spaces did not take place, as they continued to perpetuate the norms and values of whiteness (Hassim, 2006; Soudien, 2007). This literature review has argued that how we imagine transformation within sport and schools cannot simply be about the physical inclusion of black people. It has to speak to a deeper inclusion of values and cultural norms. In this study, therefore, the definition of transformation that will be used speaks to inclusion both as numerical representation of black people, but also as the necessary transformation of values and norms that would enable a deeper experience of inclusion for black people in previously white dominated spaces and sports.

The arguments presented in this literature review about processes of assimilation, the normalisation and perpetuation of the practices and beliefs of white people in school environments help us understand why transformation in schools has come under question. Furthermore, the majority of professional rugby and cricket players come from a Model C environment. If these schools do not transform, both in terms of representation as well as dominant cultural norms and values, it makes it increasingly difficult for any sport to transform. The above studies on transformation highlight the problem of assimilating black students into a continued system of whiteness that centre the cultural identities and experiences of white students while denigrating and excluding the cultural identities

and experiences of black students (Soudien, 2007, 2010). To address this problem, many authors argue that different experiences and knowledges should be incorporated into the curricula and knowledge production (Beets & Van Louw, 2005; Christie & McKinney, 2017; McKinney, 2007; Sium et al., 2012). While Singh (2012) does explore the experiences of Xhosa students in the education department, and how these experiences affect their academic performance, the literature as a whole lacks a focus on the perspective of black students who experience this environment of assimilation on a daily basis, how it impacts them and what recommendations they have for transforming it. Furthermore, there is a gap in the literature which looks at the effect that this assimilation has on the sporting performance of black learners. These critiques do not tell us how black athletes experience assimilation and how they navigate it.

This research project aims to address this gap by focusing on black athletes' experiences of Model C schools. It asks how these black sportsmen experience different forms of inclusion and exclusion at their schools and within their sporting environments, how they deal with these experiences, how it affects their ability to perform and what suggestions they have for transforming this environment in ways which would improve their experiences within these school, whilst enhancing their ability to join the ranks of professional sportsmen. In asking these questions, it further aims to contribute to the transformation of sport in South Africa as these Model C schools feed into professional sports teams in South Africa. This research specifically focuses on rugby and cricket as these are two of the most successful sports in South Africa, and they have been, and continue to be tied to reconciliation.

In conclusion, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of transformation, from a perspective which centres the experiences of black students, and their everyday struggles within a Model C environment. This study contributes to the sports and transformation literature through focusing on the challenges faced by emerging black athletes at schools and what encourages or undermines their capability to become professional athletes at this early stage of their potential future sporting careers. Furthermore, through centring on the experiences of black students who attend Model C schools, this study contributes to the literature on the transformation of the education system in South Africa.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

While the concepts of assimilation and whiteness are useful for understanding why transformation has not reached its full potential, in order to study the experience of black athletes at Model C schools, du Bois' concept of double consciousness proves more fruitful. In this section, the five tenets of critical race theory will be introduced and explained, with a particular focus on the first three. Finally, the concept of double consciousness will be explained by drawing on du Bois (1903) and a recent incident which unfolded on live television, between two ex-Springbok rugby players and an ex-coach.

This particular incident helps to explain the concept of double consciousness and demonstrates the relevance of this concept for this particular study. Finally, I will introduce and explain Feagin's concept of the 'white racial frame' in-depth to dig deeper into the concept of assimilation.

There are five tenets to critical race theory, namely:

1. A centring of race and racism in its critical analysis, whilst acknowledging the way which race intersects with other identities;
2. The challenge to dominant ideology;
3. Critical race theory centres experiential knowledge;
4. A commitment to social justice which will eradicate racism, and,
5. Elevating race and racism to an interdisciplinary perspective (Solórzano, 1998, 2000; Graham, Brown, Aronson, & Stephens, 2011; Zuberi, 2010).

As the first three tenets are most relevant to this research project, in the sections below, I will expand on them. However, all five tenets of CRT will be used throughout this research when and where possible. Critical Race Theory (CRT) was initially utilised within legal studies, however, over time it has been developed, and used in sociology, history, education and women's studies (Solórzano, 1998, 2000). The use of CRT in education is particularly useful within this research. Firstly, CRT places race and racism at the centre of its critical analysis, whilst acknowledging the ways with which it intersects with other identities (Graham et al., 2011; Solórzano, 1998, 2000). Race can be defined as a socially constructed category, defined by one's position on a constructed racial hierarchy, which privileges one racial group over another (Solórzano, 1998). Simply stated, white people are at the top of this racial hierarchy, whilst black people are at the bottom, with Indian, Coloured and Asian people falling in between the two (Solórzano, 1998).

Racism is a system of beliefs grounded on the inherent superiority of white people over people of colour and can be evoked through conscious or unconscious acts (Solórzano, 1998). This theme helps to explain the ways which race and racism pervade everyday life. Furthermore, it gives credit to the intersecting nature of social identities and the ways in which they impact on the lived experience of individuals (Harris, 2012; Solórzano, 1998). Intersectional theory is a strand of CRT, hence its critical use within this tenet (Solórzano, 1998). Intersectional theory states that all individuals in society experience the world differently, and this lived experience is shaped by their identity makeup (Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005). In some spaces, one may be privileged, whilst in others, one may be oppressed, due to various identity-related factors. This lens is useful in a study which aims to look

at the lived experiences of black athletes within a Model C environment that is built on a foundation of inequality. Furthermore, the use of intersectionality will help in understanding the different ways which class, race, masculinity, language and religion among other elements of identity interact to shape the lived experiences of the participants.

The second theme to CRT is the challenge to dominant ideology (Solórzano, 1998; Zuberi, 2010). Ideology can be defined as a set of beliefs which justify a particular social arrangement of power (Solórzano, 1998). Within this, CRT challenges the dominant claims of the education system towards objectivity, meritocracy, gender and colour blindness, race and gender neutrality and equal opportunity (Solórzano, 1998). Critical Race Theorists argue that these claims simply serve to make invisible the hegemonic systems of oppression which are present within these schools (Calmore, 1992; Solórzano, 1998). What this means is that from the CRT perspective there is no such thing as objectivity and one cannot be impartial. Therefore the education system itself is not impartial. In claiming to be race and gender blind, the education system serves to perpetuate and maintain the current inequalities which exist, because if dominant systems of power are not being challenged, they remain invisible and are maintained throughout society. In this way, CRT calls for the education system to be accountable and to take a stand against injustices. One of the fundamental elements to this research is understanding that Model C schools were built in ways which would perpetuate white privilege, whilst still fulfilling the need to desegregate. This tenant is relevant and will help the researcher to make sense, and to challenge the various ideologies within these schools which serve to systematically oppress and exclude black students; whilst allowing Model C schools to be 'progressive'.

Thirdly, CRT places a centrality on experiential knowledge (Solórzano, 1998). CRT legitimises and places emphasis on the experiential knowledge of women and black men of colour, and it realises that these experiences are critical to understanding, analysing and teaching about racial subordination (Solórzano, 1998). This is relevant to this research, as it will be focusing on the lived experiences of black rugby and cricket players in Model C schools. In particular the concept of double consciousness as theorised in the work of W.E.B. du Bois will be an essential conceptual lens to interrogate participants' experiences of Model C school environments and how they make sense of these experiences. The concept of double consciousness refers to the split identity experienced by black people and how they see themselves through the eyes of the white world, whilst at the same time have constructed their identity differently. This split identity presents him with a unique challenge, in attempting to join the two fragments, to make up a true identity. In the words of du Bois:

“[T]he Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil and gifted with second-sight in this American world, a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world” (du Bois, 1903, p. 3).

From the 16th century onwards, the seventh son was believed to have psychic abilities, usually as a healer, a dowser or a fortune teller (Oxford Reference, 2018). Here du Bois is describing the double consciousness which the black man is blessed and cursed with- he constantly views himself through the eyes of the other but also knows how he views his identity (du Bois, 1903). In describing the negro as the seventh son, du Bois (1903) seeks to emphasise how only the negro is blessed with this double consciousness, and the profound nature of this ability to see themselves through the eyes of the other (du Bois, 1903). The ‘veil’ describes the way in which racism makes it difficult for white people to see black people as equal, and for black people to see themselves in any other way than which they have been portrayed by white people (du Bois, 1903).

In a world that views blackness as less than whiteness, the identity of the black man is split (du Bois, 1903). He knows the value of Western culture and practices; however, he also refuses to trade his blackness for whiteness; he, therefore, is in a constant struggle to reconcile both of these identities, into one truer identity (du Bois, 1903). He wants to be both western and African without being looked down upon or having doors of opportunity closed in his face due to his blackness (du Bois, 1903). Essentially, he seeks to lift ‘the veil’, he seeks to gain the recognition and acceptance of the white world (du Bois, 1903). du Bois (1903) also speaks on the complexities of trying to merge these identities within white spaces. He himself felt the need to always be better than the white man at everything, in order to prove that he, too, was just as good as the white man, he, too, was worthy of being human; however, no matter how hard he worked he still fell short of that whiteness (du Bois, 1903).

The 2018 Ashwin Willemse debacle is an example of the usefulness of double consciousness in analysing the state of transformation in South African rugby. Ashwin Willemse is a former Springbok who now works for Super Sport as a rugby analyst. Recently, during a live broadcast, he confronted two of his colleagues, Nick Mallet and Naas Botha for being patronising towards black rugby players. In that confrontation, Ashwin spoke about being labelled a quota player his whole career, despite his ability and his achievements on a rugby field. Before walking off set, Ashwin proceeded to say that he refuses to work with two people who played during the apartheid era and continuously undermine black rugby players.

The constant questioning of the merits behind the selection of a black rugby player is highlighted by Ashwin and also in research literature (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008; Kessi & Cornell, 2015; Tshikila, 2017). Ashwin Willemse's outburst was long overdue, and it seemed as though he had been undermined repeatedly for many years, and this instance was the final straw. Ashwin Willemse describes how talented, hardworking and successful he was as a rugby player. However, he seems to feel that no matter what he achieved, he could never be anything more than a 'quota' in the eyes of his white counterparts. Ashwin appears to know his worth, but he is contesting the way in which he- and many other black rugby players- will never be seen as good enough because they are not white. In confronting Naas and Nick, and then walking off set, Ashwin was protesting against the unfair treatment of black rugby players and standing in solidarity with former, current and future black rugby players who have and continue to experience this constant undermining no matter what they may achieve.

The examples cited above demonstrate a broader sense among black players that despite their ability and proven excellence, they are deemed to not be good enough by white people. Double consciousness as a concept in this study offers a useful lens to expand on the concept of assimilation. Assimilation is somewhat of a one-sided concept, in that it captures the inequality within the process of the desegregation of white spaces. It captures the devaluation of black identities, knowledge systems and experiences. However, it does not recognise the ways which black people experience the process of assimilation, nor does it recognise that black people do not blindly assimilate. The process is far more complex. These black athletes know that they are seen in a particular way within their school environment, and thus they may assimilate in order to survive. However, the notion of double consciousness better captures these complexities. This constant need to change, and the degree of this change, can have an effect on a black person's ability to survive within this environment. In this way, double consciousness adds another layer to an understanding of assimilation with deeper insight into the ways which black athletes negotiate their identity in an environment which continues to be dominated by whiteness.

Feagin (2010) has also taken the understanding of assimilation further, through theorising '*the white racial frame*'. Feagin and Cobas (2008) state that the racial hierarchy in the American context was socially constructed in the late 1600s by white people calling themselves white. White people then created a hierarchical society "centred around slavery, and later, Jim Crow segregation; they also created a white racial frame" (Feagin & Cobas, 2008, p. 40). The white racial frame was created by white people in order to place white people, and their ways of being at the epitome of civilisation and

what it means to be human; whilst non-whites, and their ways of being were positioned as less desirable (Feagin & Cobas, 2008). Thus, the white racial frame is a broad worldview, which is essential to the legitimizing, scripting and maintenance of systematic racism; essentially, it is everyday racial “common sense” that is used to interpret and justify the oppression of people of colour (Feagin & Cobas, 2008, p. 40). This dominant frame shapes our thinking and actions in everyday life situations (Feagin, 2010). White people consciously and unconsciously use this frame in order to access the privileges and advantages of whiteness and in evaluating and relating to people of colour (Feagin, 2010).

The white racial frame comprises of cognitive stereotypes, and important conceptions of what is seen to be desirable or undesirable with regards to racial matters; it is as much, if not more, subconscious than it is conscious (Feagin, 2010). The white racial frame is constantly used by white elites through academia, religious communities, political discourse and the media; it is further reinforced by white parents and peers (Feagin, 2010). A substantial role of the white racial frame is that it acts as a standard by which black people are forced to measure themselves up to in order to be accepted (Feagin, 2010). These standards are perpetuated and are normalised through the media, religion and the education system (Feagin, 2010). Black people, and other minority groups then aspire to the standards defined the racial hierarchy by adopting language and other cultural values associated with the dominant norm, whiteness (Feagin, 2010). Thus, according to Feagin (2010), black people and other minority groups consent to the white racial frame through assimilation. The white racial frame, and its accompanying sub-frames will be central in defining assimilation and understanding the themes of assimilation which have been captured in the data analysis. The white racial frame will be used extensively to dig deeper into the experiences of many of the participants within this study.

Chapter Three:

3 Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter delivers a comprehensive description of the research methodology used during this research. A qualitative approach to the research was considered to be the most appropriate in answering the research question and meeting the objectives of the study. Purposive sampling was used in the recruitment of the participants. Semi-structured interviews were employed as the primary data collection tool. Thematic Analysis, using du Bois' double consciousness and critical race theory as the theoretical framework, was used in order to analyse the 10 transcribed interviews. An in-depth description of the data collection methods, and recruitment process are outlined throughout this chapter. This chapter concludes with a discussion of ethical considerations and the researcher's reflexivity in the research process. I start off by recapping the aims, objectives and research questions of this study.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

The primary aim of this study was to explore and to better understand, the lived experiences of competitive black rugby players who attend Model C schools.

The aim of the study was attained through the following objectives:

- To gain insight into the everyday lived experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools.
- To uncover the different ways which black rugby players understand transformation and to better understand their perceptions and feelings about transformation measures, such as the "quota systems".
- To understand when and how black rugby players at Model C feel included and/or excluded.
- To identify the different coping strategies that black rugby players use when they feel excluded in a Model C school environment

Research Question

How do school attending black male rugby players experience their schooling and sporting environment within a former Model C school

Sub Questions

- In what ways do they experience inclusion/exclusion in their school and sporting environments?

-
- How do their experiences of inclusion/exclusion affect how they feel about themselves, their school and their capacity to perform as athletes?
 - What suggestions do they have for transformation at Model C schools?

3.2 Epistemology

Research epistemology guides the researcher what s/he can say about her/his data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, research epistemology informs how researchers can theorise their data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this way the theoretical framework which a study employs, and the epistemology are intrinsically interlinked. This study utilises critical race theory and du Bois' double consciousness as the theoretical framework, both of which are constructionist in nature. A constructionist epistemology understands meaning and experience as socially produced and reproduced, rather than sporadically existing within an individual (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Burr, 1995), meaning that the way one experiences and understands particular phenomena are reliant on one's socialization, and those who have been socialised differently may derive a completely different understanding of the same phenomena. Thus, thematic analysis conducted within a constructionist framework seeks to theorise the sociocultural contexts, and structural conditions that enable the individual accounts that will follow (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This research aimed to explore and better understand the lived experiences of competitive black rugby players at Model C schools. Thus, this research uses a constructionist lens in analysing the data.

3.3 Qualitative Research Design

In this study, a qualitative research design was selected to address the objectives of the study, and to research black rugby players' holistic experience of schooling at Model C schools. Domegan and Fleming (2007), Jackson, Drummond and Camara (2007) and Creswell (2012) state that qualitative research is the best suited design when the researcher is interested in understanding human processes, and the ways in which they make sense of those processes. A qualitative research design was best suited to this study because its main aim was to explore and better understand human behaviour, through looking at black rugby players' lived experience at Model C schools, and how these experiences affect them. Furthermore, qualitative research was the best suited approach to employ because it allows for multiple, subjective opinions to emerge. This allows researchers a wider scope of perceptions in understanding a particular phenomenon. Qualitative researchers collect data in the form of written or spoken language, and then attempt to make meaning of this data (Jackson, Drummond, & Camara, 2007; Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2014). Qualitative research is interested in quality rather than quantity, meaning that the focus is not on the sample size, but rather it is placed on the detail and depth of the data (Jackson et al., 2007). Qualitative research is thus not

interested in generalising its findings; it is interested in explaining social phenomena and capturing individual or group-based experiences of social phenomena (Jackson et al., 2007; Terre Blanche et al., 2014).

3.4 Sampling

Sampling is a process used in research, where the researcher will recruit participants who can help to answer the predefined research question (Terre Blanche et al., 2014). There are several sampling techniques in qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Furthermore, multiple sampling techniques can be used concurrently with one another (Terre Blanche et al., 2014). The sampling technique selected by the researcher will depend on the research question, aims and objectives of the study. This research implemented purposive sampling in order to recruit participants. Purposive sampling is a method of sampling which is used in qualitative research (Terre Blanche et al., 2014). Purposive sampling focuses on a group of people who have unique and specific characteristics or experiences that are relevant for the phenomena which are being investigated (Welman & Kruger, 1999). If specific cases are deemed to be good examples of a particular phenomenon, or they are best suited to the study of that phenomenon, these cases are used (Terre Blanche et al., 2014). For example, if one decides to study the effects of anxiety on an individual, then participants who have an anxiety disorder will be studied (Terre Blanche et al., 2014).

This study applied purposive sampling in the following ways. It looked at the ways in which black rugby players experience schooling in a Model C school environment. The experiences of black rugby players were central to this research; therefore, learners who were black rugby players in two Model C schools in the Western Cape Province were purposively sampled to participate within this research. Once ethical clearance had been granted by Stellenbosch University and the Western Province Education Department, the headmasters at two prominent all-boys school were approached for permission to conduct research in the respective schools.

These two schools are located in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town. ‘School 1’ and ‘School 2’ were approached because they are two schools which consistently excel in school boy rugby. Furthermore, they have produced, and continue to produce a great number of Springboks and professional rugby players. The headmasters were approached either via email, phone call or in person. I then informed the headmasters that I was conducting a study on rugby and transformation, which requires that I speak to black rugby players about their experiences in the school. Both headmasters gave their consent for the research to commence at their respective schools. I am a coach at one of the schools in the study, and a former pupil, which facilitated the sampling process because of the rapport that

had been built with the boys over the years. At ‘School 2’, the headmaster put me in contact with the Director of Rugby, who then directed me towards the boys who fit the study’s criteria. At each school, I briefed the participants collectively, and gave the interested candidates parental consent forms, consent and/or assent forms, depending on the age of the participants.

The sample size for this study was N=10. This consisted of six male participants from ‘School 1’ and four male participants from ‘School 2’. The age of the sample was 16 to 18-year-old students. I decided to stop the interviews after we got to 10 participants because the data began to saturate at both school 1 and school 2. Furthermore, some parents and/or students were sceptical to participate in a study of this kind, especially so at school 2. This then made it difficult to find more participants to partake in the study. However, this wasn’t a problem given that the focus of qualitative research is on quality, rather than quantity; and by this point the participants had given me plenty of rich data which you will see below. This particular age group range was selected because these students would have most likely been at the school for a minimum of two years, and their experiences of the school would likely be richer. There was one outlier in terms of the sample- one of the participants had just arrived at his school, however, the interview proved to be rich because of his experience playing rugby and having attended another Model C school before arriving at ‘School 2’. His views on transformation, the role rugby has played in his personal life as well as his school life were pivotal and added a profound level of depth and complexity to this study.

3.5 Data Collection Method

Semi-structured interviews consist of a list of predetermined questions that define the areas of exploration, and act as a guide for the research (Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008; Van Teijlingen, 2014). The list of questions is flexible and the interviewer and the interviewee can modify the list of questions in ways that allow for the conversation to flow and for the data to be as rich as possible (Gill et al., 2008; Van Teijlingen, 2014). Gill et al. (2008) state that the flexibility in semi-structured interviews allows for the discovery and/or elaboration of information, which is important to the participant, that the researcher may not have thought of. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews allow for the values and beliefs of the individual to be adequately represented, especially with regards to contentious topics (Van Teijlingen, 2014).

This study was interested in the first-hand experiences of black rugby players of Model C schools. Furthermore, it was hoped that the participants could offer suggestions for the transformation of Model C schools. In order to realize these goals, the power needed to be shared, in that the participants needed to be able to lead the conversation without moving away from the topic at hand. The semi-

structured interview was thus ideal as it provided a framework for the interview, whilst being flexible in ways that allow for the participants to lead the conversation to a certain extent. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews may be beneficial to some participants as the conversation stays between the interviewer and interviewee (Gill et al., 2008; Van Teijlingen, 2014). This is important, especially in a study that focuses on race and assimilation, as the participants may feel free to share their most intimate and contentious thoughts. As predicted, this proved to be the case with a number of the conducted interviews with participants asking me to explain to them again what the procedure was with regards to confidentiality and privacy. As soon as I had assured them that their names would be removed from the transcriptions and the final analysis, they spoke freely and easily, something which I felt would have been difficult to do had the space not opened up through this clarification. It is for these reasons that semi-structured interviews were used as the form of data collection.

In order to get a sense of whether or not my interview schedule was efficient, a pilot study was done with a friend and a coach at one of the schools in the southern suburbs. A pilot study is useful in helping to determine which parts of the methodology are useful and which can be discarded. It provides the researcher with unique ways to approach their study; ensure that the research questions are valid and it can help in testing the feasibility of the study itself (Thabane, Ma, Chu, Cheng, Ismaila and Rios, 2010). For the sake of confidentiality, the interviewee has been assigned the alias 'Carter'. Carter is a black man who attended one of the schools within this study throughout his schooling career, and he was a competitive rugby player, playing in the A team at age group level, and then three consecutive years in his school's first team.

The pilot study interview lasted 34 minutes and gave me insight as to which questions would be most useful, but also which questions would be the most difficult for the participants to answer. Furthermore, the mock interview helped me in thinking about potential sustainable and long-term recommendations for each of these schools, and schools like them who may have similar issues. Carter spoke about a variety of issues facing his school, some quite blatant such as teachers telling black students 'stop acting like this is Khayelitsha'; and how as a black child, you have no one to look up to within the schooling environment because the school is majority white. Carter went on to speak about some of the structural issues which force kids from disadvantaged backgrounds to either sink or swim, such as a lack of support for kids who arrive at the school on scholarship.

Throughout the interview he stressed that as much as the demographic has shifted, there exists a number of nuances at these schools which were hurtful to black people at the school, this point was made through the following extract. "*Teachers would easily say things to black students that they*

wouldn't to white kids because they know their parents could complain and their voices have more weight. Would you ever hear a teacher say something like, don't act like this is Rondebosch here? No. 'Don't act like this is Khayelitsha', what are you saying to the kid about Khayelitsha?''.

After the interview, Carter only had positive feedback with regards to the interview schedule, he did speak about how as a school boy he did not realize that there was anything wrong with his schooling environment, especially so within his early years. This made me realize that I would need to be able to probe on the 'non-verbal' in order to not miss out on non-communicated data. For Carter, the realization that there were social issues within his school only came much later, and thus this made me realize that the perception of each of these individuals experience may shift with time. However, more importantly, this also speaks to the hegemonic and normalised nature that some forms of injustice and problematic practises take on at these schools. Carter's interview was not included in the final analysis, however it was useful in helping me to think about the interviews, how to probe, when a participant was not comfortable with a line of questioning, when to interject, and when to give the participants time to answer.

In total 10 interviews were conducted for transcription ranging from 18 minutes to an hour long. These were collected from the 11th of February to the 14th of March 2019. The interviews were all conducted in English, however, at times when speaking to some of the Xhosa speaking students, I would switch to isiXhosa in further explaining particular phenomena if the participant did not understand, and when asking a question. The interview schedule (as seen in Appendix A) deals with two themes, interpersonal relationships at the school, and the participants' understanding of transformation measures; and their suggestions for improving inclusivity at their school. The first few questions serve to build rapport and to learn more about the participant and his experiences at his school. The next section aims to ascertain what types of personal relationships participants have with their black and white peers; furthermore, it aims to uncover the participants' relationship with their teachers and coaches, and how that affects them. The final section deals with the participants' understanding of transformation, and their suggestions for how their school could be improved to make them feel more at home.

The questions from the interview schedule did not change, as Carter did not find any fault with my schedule. However, I did change my approach to asking the questions after the first two interviews. I realized that the topic of transformation measures holds a taboo nature at these schools, for various reasons which are expanded on in the analysis. Furthermore, the majority of the participants did not quite understand what 'transformation' actually meant. This made me realize that I needed to be

explicit about what I was talking about. Thus, I started referring to the now infamous Siya Kolisi interview, in which he speaks about the use of transformation measures for our national team. Some of the participants had already seen the interview, whilst some did not know about it at all. In the case of those participants who had seen the interview, I asked them what they thought and felt about the interview, before going on to asking the students about anything transformation related. I then played the video for those who hadn't seen the video and asked them how they felt about the video and what their opinions were on the matter.

3.6 Thematic Analysis

This research has employed thematic analysis in order to analyse and interpret the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews. Thematic Analysis is a method used to identify, analyse and report themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Because thematic analysis does not require detailed theoretical and technological knowledge of approaches, it offers a more accessible form of analysis for novices in qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is a flexible analytical tool, which can be applied in a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches to research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) state that although thematic analysis has often been applied to realist and experiential studies, its flexible nature means that it is compatible with both essentialist and constructionist paradigms within psychology. Through its flexibility and theoretical freedom, Thematic Analysis can be a useful research tool which can potentially provide a rich and detailed account of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Braun and Clarke (2006) differentiate between two forms of thematic analysis, namely inductive and theoretical thematic analysis. These two forms dictate how the researcher would select their themes. Inductive denotes a bottom up approach, whilst theoretical refers to a top down approach to theme formulation (Braun & Clarke, 2006). An inductive approach means that the codes and themes which are identified will be strongly linked to the data; that which the research represents during analysis is closely linked to the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Inductive analysis is then a coding process that does not attempt to fit the data into pre-existing coding frames or the researcher analytic preconception (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A theoretical thematic analysis would be driven by the researcher's theoretical or analytic interest in the area; therefore, it is explicitly analyst driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A theoretical thematic analysis looks to be critical in orientation and constructionist in its theoretical framework, in order to understand how the world is constructed and the ideas and assumptions that inform the data gathered (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is important to note that an analysis will rarely be purely inductive, or

theoretical in nature; therefore, a combination of the two approaches is used by researchers (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This study makes use of a combination of both theoretical thematic analysis and inductive analysis, as it looks for the experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools broadly. In this way it looks for any theme which may speak to, expand or challenge the literature on the experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes selected were driven by the research question. In particular I looked for trends in the interviews which spoke to when participants felt included/excluded from their school environment, how these feelings of inclusion and exclusion affect how they feel about themselves, the coping measures which they use when they feel excluded, how the participants understood transformation, to understand what their perceptions were with regards to transformation measures, and finally the suggestions they had for their schools to transform. However, the analysis was also driven by theoretical concepts which were used to interpret the themes in the analysis, such as ‘Assimilation’. When I coded the data, I used an inductive approach in coding everything that was interesting in each transcript, and then I used a deductive approach in creating themes from the codes which were most relevant to answering the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, the themes were selected using both the participants responses, as well as concepts and ideas which I had brought to the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend 6 steps when conducting thematic analysis, namely: ‘familiarizing yourself with your data’, ‘generating initial codes’, ‘searching for themes’, ‘reviewing themes’, ‘defining and naming themes’ and ‘producing the report’. *Familiarising yourself with the data* consists of transcribing, reading and re-reading the data whilst jotting down initial ideas (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) go on to state that when the researcher has conducted the interview process, as well as the transcriptions, they may find that they have already developed multiple ideas around the data as well as initial ideas on the analysis. This is something which I found to be true regarding my journey with my data. Through conducting the interviews, I became familiar with my data, and this allowed me to formulate ideas around the data and what it meant for the research. Furthermore, I did all of the transcriptions myself, at the end of that process, I was very familiar with the data. However, it is only once I read, and re-read the entire data set multiple times that I was able to be very clear and succinct about my themes, and what they truly meant.

Generating initial codes can be defined by coding interesting moments which relate to the research question in the data in an orderly fashion, whilst organizing the data according to specific codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Codes refer to basic element of the data which the research finds to be of interest (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Coding can either be done manually or through a software

programme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After familiarising myself with the data, I went through each individual transcript again with a highlighter and a pen and I started making physical notes on each transcript whenever there was something, I felt was important, or interesting that spoke to the research questions. These notes were my codes, needless to say, they were very broad, and they needed to be narrowed down. After I made these notes, I created a table (see example below), whereby I tabulated all of the codes, under rough ideas of themes. At the end of this process I had 18 codes, however, as much as they were all interesting, they did not all answer the research question, thus there needed to be a process of refining.

Coded themes	Extracts
School Politics and a Lack of Transparency	<i>“I believe that this could be a much better school, there is plenty that could change. Things like politics in sports teams, parents getting involved.”-SISI</i>
Hard Work/ Meritocracy	<i>“I also realize that you probably get that everywhere you go, like varsity or other schools. It’s almost like nepotism. I think that is some of the wrong things to focus on, it won’t build you as a person. I think things such as handwork will get you far.”- SISI</i>
Hierarchy of Sports and race	<i>“This one kid who was very talented left because he did not like it, he wasn’t treated nicely. Same with another guy who was a fast runner, he also left because they wouldn’t let him practice for athletics, they kept forcing him into rugby. So, he then left.” SISI</i>
Rejection of transformation measures/ Doubting of own experiences of subjugation	<i>“I made sure to ask other people what they think, because you know with rugby and the quota system, often the ANC will start pulling out the race card, even when they did not have enough information, so that’s what I felt I needed to do.”-SISI</i>

Table 1: Some examples of the tabulated codes

Once all the data had been coded and sorted, I began *searching for themes* (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This involves sorting the codes into potential themes and organizing all of the relevant data extracts within identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Here you are beginning to analyse the codes to see how some may fit together to make up a specific theme and sub themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is important not to discard anything at this phase, as you still need to look at the themes and the data together to see whether or not the themes and extracts hold, if it needs to be re-organized or discarded in the bigger scheme of things.

Reviewing themes begins when the researcher has put together a list of potential themes, this involves the refining those themes so that they are clear and concise (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This stage proved to be quite challenging due to the rich and powerful nature of the stories shared by the participants; and I wanted to make sure I did them justice. After discussing the first analysis draft during supervision, I had to re-look at my table of extracts, with my research question, sub-questions and aims in mind, selecting mainly extracts and themes which answer these questions. This was very helpful, the culmination of which was five higher order themes. This is when I entered the fifth phase of analysis, *defining and naming themes* (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The five themes which are presented in the analysis are ‘Black Students Experience of Assimilation’, ‘Friendships’, ‘Coaches and Teachers’, ‘Tactical Magician’ and finally ‘Transformation and the Way Forward’.

The final phase is *producing the report*, this begins once one has the final set of themes and involves the final analysis and completing the report write up (Braun & Clarke, (2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) state that it is essential that in this stage you tell the complicated story of the data in a way which has validity and merit. It is imperative that analysis is concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and an interesting account of the story that the data tells (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis needs to go far beyond merely describing the data, but it must make an argument in relation to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Before data collection commenced, the Ethics Research Committee at Stellenbosch University as well as The Western Province Education Department needed to provide ethical clearance for this study. Once ethics had been approved, the headmasters at the schools of interest needed to provide permission to do research at the school. Issues of race and oppression continue to be contentious and potentially psychologically strenuous in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus, before the interviews the

participants were briefed about the study and they were briefed that they could refuse to answer questions, take a break or discontinue as a whole at any point with no repercussions. Furthermore, the participants were notified that if they did decide to discontinue completely, the interview would be discontinued, and the data which had been collected would be disposed of. None of the participants felt the need to discontinue, or to take a break at any point during the study. An audio-digital player was used in order to collect data for this research, the participants were informed of this and were required to sign a consent form (refer to Appendix A) which stated that they agree to be recorded. All of the participants consented to being audio recorded. Once the data was collected, I conducted the transcriptions of the interview replacing both the names of the participants, and of the schools with pseudonyms.

Anonymity and confidentiality were essential within this study and they were both discussed with the participants extensively before their participation in the study. After explaining the process with regards to anonymity and confidentiality, I opened the space up to the participants to ask questions on anything that may not have been clear. The majority of the participants did not have questions, however, there was one participant who wanted to make sure that there would be no way to trace his interview back to him. The participants of this study were to be assigned pseudonyms in order to protect their identities. Each of the participants have been named after current and former Springbok rugby players of colour. The names of the schools were not be used in the final write up in order to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. Rather, the schools have been referred to as ‘School 1’ and ‘School 2’ respectively. The consent form, interview transcripts and recordings were kept in a separate locked cabinet and will only be available to the researcher. The electronic data have been stored on a password protected laptop.

In order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, each participant was assured that the recordings of the interviews would be kept on a password protected laptop, and the transcripts of the interviews would be kept in a locked cabinet. Furthermore, the participants were ensured that there would be no trace of their names in the transcripts and the final write-up. The recordings have been kept in a password encrypted folder on my laptop, which I only have access to. My supervisors have only had access to the transcriptions which they requested; however, these do not have any of the participants names. Thus, I am the only person who can identify any of these participants.

As part of the ethical procedure, it was necessary that I mentioned any potential emotional, physical or psychological risks which could distress the participants in the study. Due to the sensitive nature of the research, the only potential for risk cited was psychological harm, in the form of having any

traumatic racial issues recounted. This recounting had the potential to cause distress or anxiety to the participants, thus, referral services, such as Lifeline Western Cape, were provided on the consent forms, which the participants, or a legal guardian depending on their age needed to sign prior to the interviews. The risk factors, as well as an explanation of the various referral services were discussed with the participants at the beginning of each interview. My background experience in the field of psychology also enabled me to be more sensitive and empathetic during the interview sessions. At the end of each interview there was a debriefing session to establish which aspects of the interview schedule were problematic and had the potential for harm. There were three questions which I used to de-brief the participants, namely, “How did you find the process of doing this interview?” and “How are you feeling about talking about these issues?” and finally “Is there anything you would like to share?” All of the participants spoke positively about the study and cited a need for more safe spaces which encourage open dialogue, where they could speak about their experiences at their respective schools.

3.8 Reflexivity

The concept of reflexivity is an essential component of research which requires that the researcher be critically aware of themselves, including the ways in which they impact the research, and are impacted by it, as well as the outcome (England, 1994). In this particular research, I conducted all of the interviews. It was important that I identified and understood, my own experiences, public perceptions, and worldviews so I was aware how they would potentially shape my findings (Fassinger, 2005; Krueger, 1998; Watt, 2007). Qualitative research does not claim to be objective, however it is important to know how personal experiences, identities and perceptions affect the interactions with the participants, what they say, how it is said and the analysis of the data itself (Fassinger, 2005; Krueger, 1998; Watt, 2007). Before getting into reflections on the contents of the study, it is essential to highlight that this study only consisted of male participants. Rugby is a sport which is played by both men and women in South Africa, however the women’s rugby team are rarely mentioned within public discourse. This study does not look into the experiences of women who play rugby and their subjugation. However, at a much larger scale, the conversation around transformation cannot take place without considering the fact that women in sport, and in this particular case, rugby, have been invisibilised throughout history. In a larger scale research that would expand on the findings of this study, a focus on the experiences of women rugby players would be of great value and would give a holistic view on transformation in rugby. If we seek to gain a true insight into the lives of subjugated groups within rugby, it is essential that the narratives of women are brought to the forefront.

I identify as a black man, who has attended schools similar to those of interest in this study. Furthermore, I played rugby competitively throughout high school and university, and currently I coach a rugby team at one of these schools, thus I have experience with this particular topic. The participants were black male competitive rugby players; our common identities were pivotal in building rapport and allowing the participants to be open and free throughout the interviews. Furthermore, because I knew some of the participants due to my coaching affiliation, many of the boys found it easy to open up to me. However, there were cases where my role as a coach made some of the participants nervous. I have professional and personal relationships with some people at both School 1 and School 2; thus, it was important to assure the participants that my only interests were to give their stories a voice, and that confidentiality and anonymity would be upheld throughout. Once this initial discussion was had and the participants understood my intentions, I could tell that the participants were at ease; testament to this are the rich excerpts in my analysis and discussion chapter that follows.

Once the headmasters at both School 1 and School 2 gave their consent for the study to continue, I decided to continue with the recruitment, and data collection processes at one school at a time. At School 1 the recruitment process was much easier than at School 2, because I was familiar with coaches at School 1. Thus, I was able to receive assistance in the process of selecting potential participants, which made the process much quicker. I was given a list of boys of colour who would potentially be interested in partaking in the study. I then asked to meet each of them during school, I briefed them on the study and gave the boys who were interested consent forms which they, or a guardian needed to sign depending on their age. The boys then gave me their numbers and we discussed a time and day that was suitable to them for the interview. The process was transparent and easy, and the nature of the interviews with the participants at School 1 represented this.

Once all of the data were collected from School 1, I called the secretary at School 2 to ask her to help me with recruitment for the study which she agreed to. An hour later, whilst I was on the way to meet with some boys at School 2, I received an email from the Director of Rugby stating that I could not speak to the boys before he did. I could not get a hold of him for a few days after that email, until I gave him a phone call in which he apologised for his lack of responsiveness. He then replied with a list of students' names and their numbers. The recruitment process proved to be far more challenging at School 2 compared to School 1, with plenty of participants not arriving to meetings, or just not responding to messages. Furthermore, in some of the interviews which did take place, the participants were not as forthcoming in their responses. The problems which I encountered at School 2 speak to the sensitivity and the taboo nature of conversations surrounding inclusivity in former white spaces,

and the discussion which the Head of Rugby had with the candidates could have had an effect on the participants' responses.

It was of paramount importance that I was aware that my experiences in a Model C environment could differ drastically to those of the participants, and the narratives would potentially vary between the participants. I have had strong views on the experiences of being a black rugby player at a Model C school, which have been informed through being educated, and coaching rugby at schools such as School 1 and School 2. My own experiences were of assimilation. I would change my accent, and predominantly communicate in English throughout my schooling career, and that became engrained within my personality. Throughout school I took everything that I had learned at school as an unquestionable reality.

Thus, I saw no fault in my white friends telling me that Beyoncé is beautiful for a black woman, and that Jessica Alba was just beautiful; or that I was one of the 'good black guys'. As a matter of fact, I found myself perpetuating these notions, because for me that was just how things worked. However, once I arrived at University and I was taught about the social construction of reality, I became very angry and at times felt lost. I felt as if I did not know who I truly was, and as if I had been manipulated into becoming someone I did not recognize. That process of critical learning and unlearning which began in that Gender Studies class was difficult and at times traumatic, as I felt I did not quite know myself. So, looking at the participants I felt like I could see a younger version of myself at times, and I constantly had to remind myself that they are on their own journeys; and they may experience their school environment in completely different ways to me.

Therefore, I needed to be wary of projecting my own beliefs onto the participants during data collection. I made time to reflect on the interview sessions particularly those that I felt spoke to my own experiences when I got home, and with a close friend, I found it helpful to talk out my own feelings to make sure that my interpretation of participants voices reflected their own experiences and not mine. It was also important that I did not assume that I knew what the participants were saying because I held an insider/outsider position with regards to the participants. I constantly asked for clarification throughout the interview, in order to make sure that I got a true representation of the participants' beliefs and understanding.

Different participants reacted differently to my projected self throughout the interview process. There were some candidates who I could tell felt more comfortable speaking to me about these experiences because of the combination of my racial make-up, as well as my rugby playing history. I also felt that

these two elements of my identity, combined with the fact that I had been in their shoes gave me a lot of understanding into their experiences as I could relate; this experience allowed me to dig deeper into some of the vague statements and nuances in the participants' descriptions. However, I did feel that because I am older, a coach and the interviewer, some candidates felt uncomfortable and needed some more reassurance about their confidentiality and anonymity before they felt like they could express themselves completely and honestly. As someone who has been a player, and who now wears the hat of a coach, I also found myself feeling deep levels of anger and sadness when I heard some of the participants speak about feeling lesser than their white peers because of their coaches. I myself felt this way as a player, and in my five years of coaching, I have heard many coaches perpetuate a 'quota player' discourse, which serves to invalidate the achievements of black rugby players by accrediting it to their race. With these newly asserted insights, it is important for me to raise awareness with gatekeepers (i.e. coaches, teachers and headmasters) at the various schools I work with, to increase consciousness in terms of the important role that they play in the lives of the players and students that they work with on a daily basis. The way we interact with black learners/players is essential to their ability to survive within an environment that has practices which are already difficult to navigate for them. These interviews reaffirmed that these boys are not naive, and we as coaches have the responsibility to make sure that we do not speak, or behave in a way that subordinates black rugby players.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter delved into the research procedure, and the ethical protocols concerning this study. The study was qualitative in nature, taking a constructionist epistemology, rooted within critical race theory. Within this perspective I analysed the data through thematic data analysis. The ethical considerations were discussed in order to give the reader a sense of the steps taken to ensure that the participants safety, confidentiality and the anonymity of the participants were a priority. The reflexivity section spoke to my own involvement and positionality in this study, and some of the factors which may have affected what the participants said and did not say. The next chapter provides an analysis and discussion of the participants experiences of Model C schools.

4 Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data under five main themes that provide insight into the experiences of competitive black rugby players at Model C schools. Five higher order themes were found which brought the experiences of these participants to life; namely ‘Black Students Experiences of Assimilation’, ‘Relationships with Black and White Peers’, ‘Relationships with Coaches and Teachers’, ‘Tactical Magician: needing to be far above the rest for recognition’ and ‘Transformation and the Way Forward’. Several subordinate themes were subsequently found, which spoke to the research question, these will be expanded on in the following sections. A summary of the higher order and subordinate themes can be observed in Table 1 below. Each theme gave insight into the written and unwritten rules experienced in the social environment, social relationships between the participants, their peers, coaches and teachers; and how these different interactions made them feel about themselves and their ability to perform in the classroom and the rugby field. Furthermore, the interactions that are presented through the themes and subthemes, gave insight into the things which helped the participants to feel included and excluded at School 1 and School 2 respectively. In the ensuing section, the chapter begins by introducing each research participant briefly. This is then followed by the presentation of the data analysis.

4.2 The Participants

The participants were 10 male participants who volunteered their time to share their experience at their respective schools. One of the participants was coloured, two of the participants were black males who have grown up in South Africa but are from other African countries; the remaining seven of the participants were black South Africans. The age range was between 16 to 18 years of age. At School 1 there were two grade 10 student and four grade 11 students, whilst at School 2 there were three matric students and one grade 11 student. Four of the participants came from middle class families, whilst the remaining six came from working class families. Two participants from School 1 came from middle-class families, and four of the participants were from working-class homes. At School 2, two participants came from a working-class family, and two participants were from middle class families. As much as possible, I have also omitted other details that might identify the participants, such as where their homes are, and what racial/ethnic groups they belong to. In order to protect the participants identity, they are referred to by pseudonyms which I assigned to them. Each participant in the study has been named after past and current black Springboks. Seven of the participants live in their schools’ respective hostels, two students commute from the Southern Suburbs; and the final participant commutes from Mitchells Plain.

The majority of the participants in this study were bilingual, speaking isiXhosa as a home language and English as a second language. However, most of them spoke about how they spoke English most of the time because that is the language which they are expected to communicate in at school every day. Though each participant was proficient in English. I did, however, switch to isiXhosa, with isiXhosa speakers whenever it was necessary to explain some of the questions when the participant was not clear about what I meant, and in order to build rapport; I wanted the participants to know that they could speak in any way they found most comfortable. I was assigned a classroom at each respective school, and that is where the interviews took place. In order to build rapport and to learn about each individual who took place in this study, each participant was asked how long they have been at the school and what their experiences have been broadly. The following is a description of each participant:

Nyakane, School 1 comes from a middle-class family. He currently resides within the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town, and lives with his family. He describes himself as an avid rugby player, supporter as well as a music student at his school.

Kolbe, School 1 is a coloured male, who comes from a working-class family and commutes to school every day to school from one of the black residential areas in Cape Town. He arrived at School 1 in 2015 when he started Grade 8. He reveals that his sporting journey has come with many ups and down, having come from playing rugby with no boots at a small club; to arriving to the complete opposite at School 1.

Beast, School 1 comes from a working-class family. Beast attended a primary school in a black residential township, and subsequently received an academic bursary to attend School 1. During the school year, he lives at the hostel, and he will go home on weekends. He hopes to study and play professional rugby when he finishes his studies.

Mbonambi, School 1 arrived at school 1 in Grade 6. Mbonambi comes from a middle-class family. He lives with his family in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town.

Dyantyi, School 1 comes from a working-class family; he arrived at School 1 in his Grade 8 year. He lives at the school's hostel throughout the school year. Dyantyi arrived on an academic scholarship and has gone on to play in the top side at age group level year after year, his biggest achievement at the time of the interview was making the Western Province high performance squad in his Grade 9 year.

Lukhanyo, School 1 comes from a working-class family. He has arrived at School 1 on a bursary. He currently lives at the hostel at School 1. Lukhanyo spoke of how as much as there have been difficult moments at the school, it has been good of the most part, so much so that if he could, he would bring more disadvantaged black people to the school: *“I would accept more black people, not more than white but I would try and balance it. I get that it’s a white school, but I must give others a chance and take them out of the streets.”*

Mohoje, School 2 comes from a working-class family. He lives at the hostel during the school year. He attended a school in the city centre before he got a scholarship to attend School 2.

Gqoboka, School 2 comes from a middle-class family; He arrived at School 2 on a rugby bursary. He resides at his school’s hostel throughout the school year. He hopes to go on to play rugby professionally after school and feels as though his school is the perfect environment to make his dreams a reality.

Mapimpi, School 2 comes from a working-class family. He arrived at School 2 in his Grade 8 year. He currently lives at the school’s hostel during the school year. Mapimpi found it difficult to adjust to the school when he first arrived, however once he got into his rugby, he made more friends and began feeling at home. He also hopes to go on to play rugby professionally once he finishes matric.

Siyamthanda, School 2 comes from a middle-class family. He recently arrived at School 2 on a rugby bursary. Siyamthanda lives at his school’s hostel during the school year but goes home on weekends.

4.3 Themes

This study set out to ascertain how school attending black male rugby players experience their schooling and sporting environment within a former Model C school. The answer to my research question is expressed through the presentation of the data under five main (higher order) themes that I iteratively constructed through the data analysis process. Furthermore, there are several sub-themes which I have identified in the data. Both the higher order themes and subthemes are presented in Table 1 below. I delve deeper into these themes and explicate with excerpts in the following section.

<u>Themes</u>	<u>Subthemes</u>
1. Black Students' Experiences of Assimilation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Assimilation and the White Racial Frame b) Assimilation through language c) Rugby Boytjies- rugby as a tool to assimilate
2. Relationships with Black and White Peers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Social Support and a Common Understanding b) 'The things white people do'
3. Relationships with Coaches and Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The good: positive interactions with coaches b) The bad: negative interactions with coaches c) The ugly: painful stories of racism and insensitivity
4. Tactical Magician: Needing to be Far Above the Rest for Recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Treatment of Black Rugby Players b) If I succeed, I am a quota player c) The Life of a Scholarship Boy
5. Transformation and the Way Forward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Attitudes and Understanding of Transformation Measures b) (Re)imagining Transformation

Table 1: Themes and subthemes

4.3.1 Black Students Experiences of Assimilation

Assimilation can be defined as a process whereby a person, or a group of people take on the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other people (i.e., a reference group). By sharing their experiences and history, they are incorporated with them into a common cultural reality (Park & Burgees, 1921). However, this is a process that unfolds unequally and asymmetrically with the subordinate group changing to fit the memories, sentiments and attitudes of the dominant group and not the other way around (Park & Burgees, 1921). Essentially assimilation is defined by a process where the subordinate group takes on the identities and values of the dominant group, at the expense of their own in an attempt to survive or to succeed within an environment (Garcia, 2017). Gordon (1964) differentiated

between two forms of assimilation – cultural and structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation is defined by the subordinate group taking on the cultural patterns of the dominant group. Examples of these are language, behaviour and values (Gordon, 1964). Structural assimilation is defined by an incorporation into major institutions, such as the education system (Gordon, 1964).

As explained extensively in the theoretical framework, Feagin (2010) has taken the understanding of assimilation further through theorising ‘*the white racial frame*’. The white racial frame comprises of cognitive stereotypes, and important conceptions of what is seen to be desirable or undesirable with regards to racial matters; it is as much, if not more, subconscious than it is conscious (Feagin, 2010). The white racial frame is constantly used by white elites through academia, religious communities, political discourse and the media; it is further reinforced by white parents and peers (Feagin, 2010). A substantial role of the white racial frame is that it acts as a standard by which black people are forced to measure themselves up to in order to be accepted (Feagin, 2010). These standards are perpetuated and are normalised through the media, religion and the education system (Feagin, 2010). Black people, and other minority groups then aspire to the standards defined the racial hierarchy by adopting language and other cultural values associated with the dominant norm, whiteness (Feagin, 2010). Thus, according to Feagin (2010), black people and other minority groups consent to the white racial frame through assimilation. The white racial frame, and its accompanying sub-frames will be central in defining assimilation and understanding the themes of assimilation which have been captured in the data analysis.

The main theme, ‘Black Students Experiences of Assimilation’, outlines the different ways which the participants reported needing to assimilate into their schooling environment. This theme speaks to pressures to both culturally and structurally assimilate into both School 1 and School 2 respectively. There are three sub-themes which fall under this main theme. The sub-theme ‘Assimilation and the white racial frame’ speaks to the different ways the participants felt pressured into changing their behaviour in order to please their white peers and to fit into their school environments. ‘Assimilating through language’ speaks to verbal and non-verbal pressures which the participants reported feeling that required that they speak English. Some of the participants reported that they had expected strict English requirements because they knew that they were going to a ‘white school’.

Finally, ‘Rugby Boytjies: rugby as a tool to assimilate’ speaks to the cultural capital; the accumulation of knowledge and skills which one can access in order to demonstrate their cultural knowledge (Macionis & Plummer, 2012); which rugby provides at both School 1 and School 2. The participants detailed how they were able to use their rugby prowess to gain cultural capital, and power at their

school. Some participants saw this as a positive, however, some of the participants acknowledged the power of rugby but reported that it made them feel insecure.

Assimilation and the White Racial Frame

Throughout the data collection process, the participants spoke about there being formal and informal pressures to fit into their schooling environment. Most of the participants reported that they felt pressure to fit in with their white peers, and as a result, had to change certain characteristics about themselves. The following excerpts illustrate how the participants describe their experiences of assimilating to white values:

*Yeah like I was saying your character changes around white people because you will just want to change the way you are in order to please them in a sense so that their standard of you is higher, so you don't feel looked down upon. **Beast, School 1***

In the above extract Beast describes how he “changes his character” when he is around white people because he feels as if he is being “looked down upon” in relation to a white standard that imagines that he is lower than white people. This is an example of what Feagin (2010) describes as a consent to the white racial frame and is particularly visible through the sentiment ‘*change the way you are in order to please them so that their standard of you is higher*’. Beast feels that his school environment perpetuates the white racial frame, through centring whiteness; the outcome of this is that his values and beliefs are cast to the side (Feagin, 2010). Thus, his motivation for changing is so that he does not ‘*feel looked down upon*’. Beast’s quote reflects a lived experience of what Feagin (2010) describes as a belief perpetuated by white institutions that they are at the standard or epitome of human accomplishment. This is experienced by Beast through a paternalistic attitude towards people of colour that results in him feeling looked down upon unless he conforms (Feagin, 2010). Thus, this quote demonstrates how Beast assimilates in order to feel that he is good enough within his school environment, but in doing so, he is also unconsciously consenting to the white racial frame; and thus, he endorses the idea that black people are inferior to whites.

The assimilation process is by no means straight forward, and in many ways, it is a Hobson’s choice. If the participants do not assimilate, they risk being disparaged. In this way assimilation is a survival tactic. However, assimilating is not a straightforward act, many of the participants indicated that this constant struggle to assimilate in an environment dominated by white hegemony, often resulted in a sense of dissonance. Dissonance refers to a sense of mental

discomfort, which leads to internal conflict, with regards to a particular subject or topic; in this instance it is with regards to constantly needing to assimilate (Holt, Bremner, Sutherland, Vliek, Passer & Smith, 2012). This sense of dissonance is also part of their double consciousness in the sense that they need to behave at odds how they usually would, for the sake of survival. In order to fit into this environment, Beast feels the need to change his character to be more like his white peers. Some of the participants described moments where they would find themselves speaking with an exaggerated English accent, using words that they normally would not use, and behaving more like their white friends unconsciously as a means to please. At the same time this conforming to white ways of speaking English feels unnatural and causes black students to internally question their behaviour. This is indicated by Beast and Dyanti in the quotes below. The first quote, from Beast indicates how when he becomes conscious of what he is doing he develops internal conflict about his decisions to behave in ways which are most acceptable to his white counterparts.

*Sometimes you get to a point where you think, why am I saying this, or why am I speaking that way or why am I not acting in the way I would act normally just to please other people? Sometimes you think maybe it isn't all about pleasing people, and I can be myself for once. But yeah, often you do see people change themselves to fit in. **Beast, School 1***

In the moments when Beast becomes aware that he is not being himself and behaving in ways that are not normal for him, then he becomes self-critical of this assimilation. At times he will make a conscious effort to forget about other people in order to be true to himself. When the side of his double consciousness which is true to his prescribed self-identity speaks to him, he begins to question himself and the motive to his actions quite stringently. This self-questioning was common response throughout the interview process. In the next extract, Dyanti delves deeper into the inferiority of blackness in moments that he encounters overwhelming white privilege:

*Sometimes it's the things people say will remind me that 'yeah I am black, and you are white and more privileged'. Let's say I am not getting a long or fitting in, then I will question myself, I haven't had the same experiences as you have. **Dyanti, School 1***

In the above quote, Dyanti speaks to how he will experience overwhelming self-doubt when he is struggling to fit in with his peers. Furthermore, he is reminded that he is black, which he links with inferiority, when he is faced with the overwhelming white privilege which the majority of his peers

possess and utilise. On the one hand, participants express a constant struggle to stay true to their sense of an *authentic* self-identity, which the white racial frame constructs as being inferior. On the other hand they indicate a desire to be seen as worthy within their schooling environment. These young black rugby players express a feeling that a central way to attain this worth, and ‘*not be looked down upon*’, is through assimilating towards white values. They feel they have to change in order to be good enough and belong, however, they also want to stay true to themselves. As a result, they develop a sense of double consciousness within themselves. This struggle is explicated further by Beast below:

*So, you do get those difficult moments and I think that sometimes you feel out of place and you feel the pressure to fit in. I try not to see myself changing because of the situation or the environment I am in, I think if you can try stay true to yourself in this environment where you see everyone else in a higher position than you, then you will do well. – **Beast, School 1***

In a previous quote, Beast spoke to the pressure he feels to behave more like his white counterparts, and the way that this assimilation makes his lived reality easier at school. In the above extract, he speaks about how he feels strongly about maintaining his self-identity, regardless of the overwhelming pressure which his school employs to assimilate. What Beast describes here is a sense of double consciousness or the split identity of black people, in a world which continuously views black people as less than white people (du Bois, 1903). The black man can see himself through the eyes of the white world, whilst simultaneously having a self-identity which he prescribes to (du Bois, 1903). He can see the value in Western culture and practices; however, he also refuses to trade his blackness for whiteness; thus, he is in a constant struggle to reconcile both of these identities (du Bois, 1903). He pursues the recognition and acceptance of the white world, but he also wants to stay true to himself without closing doors of opportunity (du Bois, 1903).

Like Beast, many of the participants see the benefit in assimilating by speaking English in an exaggerated accent and behaving like their white peers because they understand that within their schooling environment, that is the norm. Much like du Bois (1903), they see the cultural capital which comes with assimilating to white practices within their school environment. Thus, Beast and many of the other participants use assimilative practices to improve their experiences of their environment. However, this act of survival creates a split in the self because when they assimilate, the other part of their identity will not stop speaking to them. Thus, there are moments where Beast will actively make an effort to just be, regardless of what any of his white peers may think. The participants demonstrate

that they are aware of their split identity, and they use their insights to make their school environment work for them.

These narratives demonstrate that assimilation is not simply forced onto the subordinate group. The subordinate group also use this as a tool to navigate an environment that perpetuates white ways of being. These students change their behaviour in order to gain cultural capital and to gain power and influence within this environment. They use their double consciousness in order to negotiate power in an environment that seeks to subjugate them in subtle ways. These participants understand the cultural, religious and social practices at their school, and thus they are able to willingly conform in order to gain power and recognition. There are moments, however, where participants describe becoming engulfed in assimilative practices, and completely '*change themselves to fit in*'; thus, there is an unconscious element to this assimilation which, if left unchecked, can lead one to forget about the other part of their dual identity.

This is consistent with Feagin's (2010) assertion that white pressures of conformance and assimilation have serious and negative implications for people of colour. What happens when one loses parts of one's identity in this assimilation? On the one hand assimilation is constructed as a choice for survival, at the same time unconsciously the participants describe beginning to permanently become more like their white peers. Furthermore, by assimilating, the participants consent to the white racial frame, and thus strengthen the notion that blackness is lesser than whiteness. Before that moment where Beast finds himself behaving out of character, he is assimilating unconsciously; when left unchecked, there is the potential for those unconscious assimilative practices to silence the part of his identity which is proud to be black. Thus, in assimilation there is the danger of losing elements one's self identity. This potential for a loss of self leads to the arguments of the #FeesMustFall and Rhodes Must Fall movements, McKinney (2007), Makoe and McKinney (2014), Christie & McKinney (2017) make on the post-apartheid education system perpetuating white control by centring white ways of being and thinking. This then infiltrates into everyday society when students enter the higher education system and the working world.

Assimilating through language

In deracialising the education system, Model-C schools inherited practices that served to normalise the white racial framing. One of the main channels for this hegemonic cultural dominance has been through language. Mohoje made the point that he expected to speak English as soon as he arrived at School 2, because it is a "white school". It is interesting that despite the desegregation of the education system, and a subsequent change in demographic post 1994, he still considers School 2 to be a "white school."

[...] *Yeah, I did expect to speak English all the time, when I first arrived, I was like, oh this is a white school, I'm probably going to speak English all the time.* – **Mohoje, School 2**

Also like sometimes you will feel pressure to fit in with your white friends, so you will tend to not speak your language and sometimes they will take away certain characteristics or elements of your character, just so you can feel like you can fit in or belong. **Beast, School 1**

In Mohoje's view, School 2 continues to be a site which predominantly caters to white people, whilst black people are expected to conform. In this particular example, the white racial frame is manifested through the school's language policy. Similarly to du bois (1903), Beast describes how he has experienced moments where his white friends have negated or refused to recognise parts of him. In the schooling space, Beast sometimes feels that he cannot speak his home language, and he must lose other characteristics of himself, so that he can be more like his white peers in order to fit in or belong. Feagin (2010) has argued that these tendencies of the white racial frame can be conscious or unconscious; they are embedded in white people's histories, minds and memories. In order to be accepted within his school environment, and to fit in with his white peers he has had to negate 'certain characteristics' and avoid speaking his native tongue. Essentially, in order to feel included with his white friends he has to become someone else; he has to abandon defining characteristics of his identity in order to become more like his white counterparts. In this example, it is neglecting his native tongue for English. Mbonambi adds another layer into understanding language as a form of assimilation in the following extract:

Yeah, I would have to change my accent and act differently. I don't know, it's just an influence, and everyone else is the same, I am one of the outcasts in the grade since junior school. **Mbonambi, School 1**

Mbonambi reports that it is not enough to be proficient in English, you need to speak the language in a particular way in order to fit in with his white friends. Furthermore, he feels that he needs to act more like his white friends in order to fit in at School 1. He goes on to explain that he experiences the pressure to assimilate even more because he is one of four black people in his Grade 10 class, and his black peers have continuously assimilated in the way they speak, and the way they act; thus, he also assimilates because he does not want to stand out. Mbonambi describes himself as an "outcast" because he is part of the minority in demographic; at a school which also perpetuate white people's

ideologies and practices; this feeling of not belonging intensifies the pressure he feels to assimilate. Both cultural and structural forms of assimilation are visible within the above extracts. Beast describes pressure from his white peers to culturally assimilate, by not speaking his own language or changing his character, in order ‘to belong’. Mohoje adds to the forms of cultural assimilation described by Beast, through describing that he feels a pressure to speak English in a particular manner in order to fit in with his peers. Mohoje is describing structural assimilation, in order to assimilate into this ‘white school’, he needs to not only be proficient, but also to communicate solely or predominantly in English. The use of English as the primary mode of communication is an element which he foresaw in his assimilation into the education system at School 2 (Gordon, 1964).

In desegregating the education system, previously white schools were allowed to remain under the control of all the governing bodies; thus the white minority held onto forms of power and influence through cultural and linguistic capital/codes that would serve to normalise white practices, whilst othering and subjugating black peoples practices (Christie & McKinney, 2017). Mohoje is but one of a few participants in this study who referred to his school as a ‘white school’. The use of this particular phrasing in describing a school that has been desegregated for decades speaks to Christie and McKinney’s (2017) assertion that previously white schools would remain white at their core, regardless of a change in demographic. Christie and McKinney (2017) and the above extracts demonstrate how enduring the hegemonic dominance of the white racial framing of South African society is, even 25 years after the fall of apartheid. White people are the majority in terms of the school demographic, furthermore, the cultural and linguistic codes at School 1 continue to serve white people. This power is what makes it so difficult for Beast to be vulnerable and to be himself. Assimilation is a choiceless choice, in that if Beast does not assimilate, he risks being disparaged. In this way, Beast assimilates to survive.

Rugby Boytjies- rugby as a tool to assimilate

‘Rugby Boytjies’ is a term commonly used in informal dialogue, which denotes overly keen rugby players. Rugby becomes a fundamental element to their personality, partly because of the power that it holds in everyday society. As mentioned earlier, assimilation through language and adapting to the white racial frame and standards of value is used as a survival mechanism and a tool to gain cultural capital. This happens in various ways, such as, communicating in English, and changing their accent. In this section I look more closely at rugby as a means to assimilate and the opportunities and complexities that arise for students who are able to use rugby for cultural capital.

Rugby is an extremely powerful cultural tool in South Africa, so much so that in everyday conversations, rather than the quality of education, the quality of rugby that a school produces has

been used to judge how good a particular school is as a whole (Tshikila, 2017). Rugby players are seen as the heroes of rugby playing schools, regardless of how well they perform. Some of the participants spoke about how rugby is revered among playing and non-playing students at the school, as well as the power that comes with playing the sport. One participant was even critical of the influence of rugby on his experience of his school. Newlands rugby day is a prestigious pre-season rugby tournament held at Newlands Stadium on an annual basis. The big rugby schools in the Western Cape get the opportunity to play against one another at this prestigious stadium. In the next extract, Siyamthanda speaks to the excitement which rugby season evokes for the majority of the School 2 community.

[...] Everyone tries to get involved, even some guys were asking where they could catch our game, from Newlands rugby day, but they also respect you and the youngsters look up to you because you are a first team player. So being in this role you have to lead by example. Even at the hostel, because I'm still new, I'm like a grade 8 with more authority, so I can still try lead others to being better because of rugby. – Siyamthanda, School 2

Siyamthanda goes on to speak to the power of rugby by explaining that being a first team rugby player comes with a lot of responsibility, because the school respects and looks up to you. Mapimpi drives home the point that Siyamthanda has made through detailing his experience when he arrived at School 2. In the extract below, Mapimpi recalls feeling like an outsider when he first arrived for various reasons. His struggles with sport and academics made it difficult for him to make friends. However, this changed when he began climbing through the rugby ranks at age group level. Being a Rugby Boytjie facilitated his ability to acclimatise into his new school environment.

It would probably be grade 8, when I first arrived, I struggled with academics and I wasn't really too good at sports, so I didn't really feel like I belonged here. It was hard for me to make friends and stuff, so yeah.

How did you deal with those problems?

As I started moving up in the rugby teams, I also started hanging out with the rugby players more. I think I started in the C team. When I went to the B and A team, I started hanging out with those guys more. – Mapimpi, School 2

In the above extracts, Siyamthanda and Mapimpi speak of the positive way that rugby has helped them within their schooling environment. Siyamthanda only arrived at his school at the beginning of

this year. He was brought in on a rugby bursary. Because of this, unlike Mapimpi who arrived in Grade 8, he had no problems forming friendship groups. Due to his performance on the rugby field, his position within the school community has been fast tracked, earning him the social status of someone who has been at the school for years. He has become a hero at his school. For Mapimpi and Siyamthanda, rugby has been a tool which has allowed them to make friends, and to become role models at School 2. Through his prowess on the rugby field, Siyamthanda has gained the amount of respect and influence which a normal student would attain by being at the school from Grade 8 to Grade 12. Mapimpi's experience elucidates Siyamthanda's point further, in the sense that he ties his integration into the school, to his performances on the rugby field.

Dyantyi took a more critical approach when speaking about rugby. Dyantyi acknowledges the power that it has given him. However, it has served to make him feel insecure about existence at School 1 and used in a sense. Dyantyi describes a sense of feeling used for his ability, rather than being appreciated for who he is as a person.

What if I wasn't good at rugby? What if it was only academics? Would I be important here? What would my role be at this school? What if I wasn't an athlete, would I get the respect I get today? If I do even get respect. Would teachers look at me in the same way? There are a lot of factors that play into it. – Dyantyi, School 1

Many of the boys in this study are conscious of the power which they receive because of their exploits on the rugby field- Dyantyi was critical of this. Rather than his talent and the power that comes with it being something good, it has brought insecurity. For him, the love and respect that he gets from his peers is simulated because it is centred so strongly around his talent. For Dyantyi, it is more important that he is revered because of the person he is, rather than his physical attributes; thus, rugby presents a double-edged sword for Dyantyi in that the influence that comes with rugby serves to bring insecurity, as well as solace. This is another kind of double consciousness experienced by Dyanti as he realizes that he has influence, he is popular, and he is revered at School 1, but he is left disappointed, his power is tied to his ability and not him. This echoes the awareness of du Bois (1903) that he can outperform his white counterparts, but he can never be white. Being a 'Rugby Boytjie' brings power and influence, but it can also bring insecurity because of the fickle and conditional nature of the power which it brings.

Throughout this section I have demonstrated that the participants feel pressure to assimilate through a change in behaviour, and through language. However, assimilation is not a straightforward act for

these boys, nor is it simply forced upon them; they have developed a sense of double consciousness, and thus they also assimilate in order to gain power in their school environment; and being a Rugby Boytjie is an effective tactic that the participants have developed to gain social power at School 1 and School 2. Although they do benefit, assimilation is a choiceless choice, because if they do not assimilate, they risk ostracization. Furthermore, by assimilating they ascribe to the white racial frame, and they perpetuate the notion that black people are less than white people; furthermore, assimilation comes with the risk of potentially losing defining characteristics of their self-identity.

4.3.2 Relationships with Black and White Peers

Unsurprisingly, one of the most conspicuous factors which affected the participants experience at their school were the social interactions at the school. It was of paramount importance that the participants felt that they were supported and understood, either by their peers or by their teachers and/or coaches. The theme ‘Relationships with Black and White Peers’ specifically focuses on the relationships that the participants formed with their peers, what they found important and how that either aided or constricted their integration into the school. There were two sub-themes within this main theme, namely ‘Social Support and a Common Understanding’ and ‘Ignorance: The things white people do’.

Social Support and a Common Understanding speaks to the relationships that the participants have formed with their black friends. The participants described their bonds with their black peers as more of a brotherhood; because they share similar life, and schooling experiences as black males, they rely on one another for social support when they have been through a difficult moment.

‘The things white people do’ describes the interactions which most of the participants have had with their white peers. Many participants described their relations with their white counterparts as superficial, in the sense that they are characterised by an exchange of pleasantries; rather than in depth and caring conversations. Furthermore, the majority of the participants felt that their white peers did not understand their lived experiences, or the lived experiences of black people generally. The participants explained that this ignorance has led to their white peers saying problematic things; furthermore, the participants explained that this ignorance acts as a roadblock to true friendships forming between them and many of their white peers.

Social Support and a Common Understanding

The majority of the participants reported that social support was crucial to them fitting into their schooling environment. The participants friendships with their black friends were characterised by a

common understanding and social support. Many of the participants explained that their black friends truly cared for their well-being. Whilst many of the participants described their white friendships as superficial in many ways. Many of the participants within this study reported that they had a stronger bond with their black peers compared to their white peers, for various reasons. For example, Dyantyi went as far as to refer to his black friends as his brothers. Throughout the interview process, there was a recurring sentiment. The extracts below explicate.

I would say most of my friends are white. I have a stronger bond with my black friends, we speak the same language and because we are in the Western Cape it is an easier connection than being friends with a white person, and our backgrounds are kind of similar. – Mbonambi, School 1

I have a mixture of different friends; they are mostly black or coloured because those are the people I can mostly vent to. With the white guys it is just like ‘hey, how you doing dude?’, ‘How was your weekend?’ and it ends there. With the black guys we chill, we are staying at hostel together on the weekends, it is a friendship, it doesn’t feel fake or you are just friends with me because I play rugby, it doesn’t feel like you are friends with me because of this or that, it is genuine. – Dyantyi, School 1

Mbonambi provides a simple account of the differences between his friendships between his white friends and his black friends. For him, what sets his friendships with his black friends apart is simple, he relates to them a lot better. In his understanding and experiences, in the Western Cape it is easier to be friends with black people. Dyantyi unpeels this further; his black friends provide a genuine social support compared to his white friends. He feels as though he can speak to his black friends about everything and anything, whereas with his white friends, it is more about exchanging pleasantries rather than a true connection. This makes Dyantyi feel as though many of the ‘white guys’ at his school are friends with him because he is a good rugby player, whereas his black friends make him feel valued.

Beast shares the same sentiment as both Dyantyi and Mbonambi, in being closer to his black friends. His black friends provide him with strong social support and an understanding as they share similar experiences and thus understand and can empathize when there has been perceived injustice. This has been a trend since he arrived at the school in Grade 8. There seems to be issues with informal segregation at School 1. Beast shares a story of how when he first arrived at School 1, dinner tables at the hostel would be segregated according to race:

*I feel that it's easier to have a bond with people of colour because there is a shared experience at this school. If you walk around at this school at break time, you would see multiple groups of people of colour together. There still is that segregation. When you come in at grade 8, you would come in at the hostel and there would be tables with people of colour, and then tables with white people and a table full of other people. That's just something that happens with friend groups. I think as you get older, there is more integration, but in the younger phases, you find you're more comfortable with people of colour. Especially the scholarship people because you can understand and relate to them. [...] Usually I confide in one of my people. I'll ask if he just saw how I got shouted at when I dropped the ball, but 2 minutes ago when 'John' dropped it he didn't say anything. They will either then calm me down or explain that it's something that happens, and we have to get used to it and there is nothing you can do about it, [...] And I mean that's where I think it's important to have those people kind of with you. That is where it's important to have those relatable conversations [...]. – **Beast, School 1***

In the above extract, Beast additionally delves into how he handles difficult situations on the rugby field where he has been treated differently to his white team mates. For Beast and the majority of the participants, their black teammates and friends are their source of strength, this is even articulated in his use of the phrase *'my people'*. They make them feel heard and understood, especially in moments where subtle atrocities take place. Beast describes how his black friends will hear him out and motivate him to keep going. There is an element of a 'us vs them' attitude, in that he describes a bond with *'his people'* where no matter what challenges they face from their school environment, they are there for one another. The relatable conversations he has with his friends of colour help him to calm down and gain clarity and perspective. This clarity and perspective allows Beast to keep his head down, move on from what has upset him, and to continue working towards his goals and aspirations on the rugby field.

In contrast to the way which Beast speaks about the bond with his black friends, in the quote below Beast speaks about his caution and fear in relation to his white friends:

*I think when you are with your white friends you tend to dial back a little bit. You tend to watch what you say because you don't know how quickly they can turn on you. You just feel the need to constantly watch your back [...] and you just feel if you say something wrong or do something wrong, they will give you an extra look. [...] - **Beast, School 1***

Beast is describing a conscious, or unconscious pressure to prescribe to white ways of being by his white peers. Thus, he feels a constant anxiety within that interaction, this is discernible in his use of the phrase '*you tend to watch your back*'. In the white racial frame, Feagin (2010) explains that there is an assumption between white people that the white worldview is the natural order of society, and that people of colour need to assimilate to this. Thus, white people will approach interactions with people of colour with a strongly authoritarian frame which forces white ways of being upon them (Feagin, 2010). When he is around his white friends, he is constantly worried he will be ostracized for the way he speaks, or something he may say; and thus, there is pressure to speak English, to change his accent and to behave differently when he is around some of his white peers. He consequently feels more comfortable steering away from his white peers. As can be seen below, some of the other participants spoke about how their white peers say and/or do things which are hurtful and undermining.

Alexander and Tredoux (2010) have done work on the informal segregation of desegregated spaces. One of their findings was that within informal spaces, such as Jameson Stairs at the University of Cape Town, people sat in their racial groups. In a photovoice study, Kessi and Cornell (2015) established a theme called '*daily experience of segregation, othering and inequality*'. Here they spoke about how black students at the University of Cape Town felt undermined socially and academically by their white peers. Furthermore, they too spoke about racial segregation in lecturers, and in social spaces such as Jameson Stairs, whereby you could see Indian people, coloured people and black people sitting together (Kessi & Cornell, 2015).

Beast excerpt shows that these trends begin much earlier than tertiary education, they are visible in high school even within children born well after the first democratic election in 1994. Regardless of the dominant rainbow nation discourse, which drives an idea that South Africa is an inclusive nation, where all are equal and live together harmoniously; the fact that this practice takes place is indicative of the younger generation being affected by racial beliefs (Kessi & Cornell, 2015). The informal racial segregation at School 1 is motivated by comfort and the assumption that one has more in common with people in their racial group. It is interesting how Beast speaks to how the informal segregation between racial groups improves over time, however he continues to steer away from his white peers at times. This suggests that this informal segregation goes far beyond issues of culture and a lack of understanding; the ignorance which their white counterparts exhibit plays a factor.

White Ignorance: 'The things white people do'

Throughout the interview process, a major issue that the participants cited as a roadblock for genuine relationships forming with their white peers, is ignorance; specifically, ignorance when it comes to the lived experiences of black people, as well as how their actions and words can have an effect on black people. The participants experienced stereotyping, overt, subtle forms of racism which would be passed off as jokes, as well as white ignorance; all of which are essential in maintaining the symbolic racial capital or white privilege of their white peers (Feagin, 2010; McIntosh, 1988). Both overt and covert racism have coexisted for the same period of time; however, the key difference is that whilst one is a lot more blatantly obvious, the other has always hidden behind political correctness, and politeness (Coates, 2008).

Overt racism speaks to blatant forms of violence and oppression based on the race of an individual, which can result in death, injury and the destruction of property (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Coates, 2008). In the past overt racism was supported by the law, where black people were forced into slave labour across the globe; in South Africa, it was taken a step further through the implementation of apartheid, where black people would be forced to carry a pass, could only live in townships and other informal settlements, and were denied the right to quality education through the Bantu Education Act. It manifests itself in many ways, such as hate speech, violence and being excluded from spaces. Covert racism, or micro-aggression, has always been and continues to be invisible in nature, as it hides behind the guise of culture, religion and other systemic structures (Coates, 2008). Covert racism is visible in various ways and it manifests in increased disease, negative sanctions and lost opportunities specifically to racial nonelites (Coates, 2008). The main purpose of covert racism is to explain obvious racial outcomes as naturally occurring (Coates, 2008). What then occurs is that any failures, lack of achievement by black people are generalized and misrepresented as a group failure; whilst for white people, those failures are only true for the particular individual (Coates, 2008). “Covert racism refers to those subtle and subversive institutional or societal practices, policies, and norms utilized to mask structural racial apparatus” (Coates, 2008, p. 212). Many of the participants believed that their white peers did not understand what they were doing, and thus did not take it to heart when their white peers said things that offended them. However, other participants were angered, regardless of the assumed intention behind the offensive comment. All of the participants felt that white people needed to make more of an effort to understand black people and their lived experiences.

Ignorance is a complicated subject within the social science, it is a political tool which goes far beyond ‘not knowing’ (Steyn, 2012). Ignorance is a tool which is used in the attainment, and maintenance of social power (Steyn, 2012). Feagin (2010, p. 137) defines this social power as symbolic racial capital

which “encompasses the shared assumptions, understandings, and inclinations to interact in certain ways” which are traditional to white families and networks. McIntosh (1988) defines this symbolic racial power as white privilege. White people thus learn to be strategically ignorant of the social plight which has historically, and currently resulted in black people being socially, and economically disadvantaged; so that their privileges go unchallenged, and thus are maintained. The initiation of symbolic racial capital results in white people attaining the racial privileges associated to whiteness (Feagin, 2010). These privileges protect white people from experiencing the violence which black people constantly need to navigate, such as racial profiling, injustice by employers, disapproval and exclusion from social networks (Feagin, 2010).

In understanding ignorance, Steyn (2012) and Michaels (2008) argue that it is important to recognise it as a social accomplishment, rather than a failure of knowledge acquisition. Ignorance can be strategically placed through “communicative practices and disseminated across social settings, cultivated and nurtured intersubjectively, circulating through social networks and activities” (Steyn, 2012, p. 10). That which was once known and is no longer seen as valuable or functional in the maintenance of power, can be transferred to the realm of ignorance (Steyn, 2012; Tuana, 2004). Tronto (2003) calls this process of forgetting about histories which have led to the present structural inequalities, ‘bad faith’. In being ignorant to the factors which have led to the current reality of many black South Africans, the privilege which comes with being white continues to be invisible, unquestionable and maintained (Feagin, 2010). In this way, managing ignorance is a matter of control (Steyn, 2012). What is then important to grasp is that, what is forgotten, is that which does not serve white people’s claim to their symbolic racial capital (Feagin, 2010).

In speaking about their white friends many of the participants explained that many of their interactions with their white counterparts were characterised by a sense of overt and covert racism, and ignorance. The participants spoke about how their white peers did not understand the lived experiences of black people. This led to racist jokes, or insensitivity when black people could not attend a lunch or a get together during a long weekend or the school holiday. When asked what his interactions were like with his white peers here at school, Mapimpi had the following to say:

It’s all good and stuff, but there will be a couple of racist jokes and that stuff, but I know they don’t mean any harm so I’m all good with that stuff.

What types of jokes?

They will just make jokes about stealing and stuff, that silly stuff. – Mapimpi, School 2

In the above extract, Mapimpi experienced overt racism which his friends deliver in the form of a “joke”; the ignorance for Mapimpi exists because he believes his white friends don’t realize the potentially harmful effect these jokes have. I tried to probe to get more of an understanding of the kinds of things which would be said, but I could tell Mapimpi was not comfortable. He did, however, go on to say that white people at his school are ignorant of the lived experiences of black people. Mapimpi’s white peers produce and reproduce ideas of black people being immoral beings (Feagin, 2010). Furthermore, they protect the dominant discourse that white people are good people, by passing off their racist commentary as a joke (Feagin, 2010). What you see in the above extract is that Mapimpi understands ignorance as a harmless lack of knowledge, and thus his response to it is to be passive. In understanding ignorance, and responding in this manner, Mapimpi colludes with whiteness, and allows for that symbolic racial capital to be maintained within the social setting (Feagin, 2010). Furthermore, the uncomfortable element to his response points to two interrelated components; to a normalization of this kind of behaviour, and a fear of speaking out against these experiences in fear of being ostracized by his white peers and/or teachers. Gqoboka also had a similar experience in primary school which upset him. Whilst playing a game, one of his peers screamed *‘he’s big, he is black, he will put you on your back’*. Throughout our conversation, Gqoboka constantly spoke about how he was not one to be easily offended, however this moment deeply offended him. Even at such a young age, he found it deeply problematic.

One of my close friends now, in grade 4, we played Red Rovers, and I bumped someone out the way, and he said, ‘he’s big, he is black, he will put you on your back’. That was when I just came into a white school, because I came from a black school. I felt so offended and I wanted to knock him out [...] When you walk around people treat you differently, the way they greet you and stuff like that. – Gqoboka, School 2

In the above extract, Gqoboka’s white friend was overtly racist, but once again passed it off as a joke; furthermore, here too the ignorance is glaring in that the statement *“he is big, he is black, he will put you on your back”* is extremely racist, but he is passing it off as a joke. It is interesting to note the differences in the ways which Gqoboka and Mapimpi reacted to their white peers show of ignorance. Where Mapimpi passed off the racist jokes made by his peers as harmless, Gqoboka found the comments in the above extract problematic to the extent to which he wanted to get into a fist fight with the culprit. The anger that Gqoboka felt alludes to a conscious or unconscious awareness that there is more to the words *‘he’s big, he is black, he will put you on your back’* than harmless fun. These words were dehumanising to Gqoboka, and they, too, perpetuate the negative stereotypes of black people as being savage or animalistic (Feagin, 2010). In this show of anger, Gqoboka

purposefully, or unconsciously seeks to disturb this ignorance, he makes it visible and thus disrupts the perpetuation of this symbolic racial capital (Feagin, 2010).

In the next extract, Mapimpi opens up more about his white peers, and the ways with which their financial privileges blind them to the reality of most black people at the school.

The things white people do sub consciously, they don't understand black people don't have money, when they do things, they ask why you can't do this, and when you say you don't have money, they will just ask, how can you not have money? They don't understand what is going on at home and stuff. It doesn't happen too often though.

How does that make you feel?

I don't take it to heart too often because I can see they don't mean it; they just don't understand. – **Mapimpi, School 2**

Mapimpi spoke about the ignorance of many of his white peers when it came to the lived reality of most black South Africans, with regards to finances. He explained moments where his white peers could not understand that black people were not in the same financial position as they were; thus, they could not afford the same things. Mapimpi again consciously or unconsciously colludes in the maintenance of symbolic racial capital by stating '*I don't take it to heart, because I can see that they don't mean it; they just don't understand*'. The show of ignorance to the financial situations of the black people who go to School 2 acts as a demonstration of the transference of knowledge to the realm of ignorance; in that knowing and understanding the financial situation of black South Africans brings to light the privileged financial positions which many white South Africans hold (Steyn, 2012). Steyn (2012) calls this systematic ignorance; it is found in the knowledge constructed from positions of power, and it plays a pivotal role in the maintenance and production of the unequal positions within society. Understanding means to make visible, to make visible means having those difficult conversations with black people, which will consist of critique and a call for change. Thus, understanding does not serve the interests of maintaining the vast financial imbalances between black and white South Africans.

It is important to note how Mapimpi gives a tremendous amount of understanding to his white peers, even when they have said things which are overtly racist. This speaks to the lived experiences of black people in post-apartheid South Africa, in that the dominant discourses and practices in dealing with the evils of the past have been of forgiveness and understanding. However, as #FeesMustFall and #Rhodes Must Fall movements have argued, there has been a lack of emphasis on white people

taking responsibility and using their voice and resources to educate and to hold one another accountable. Feagin (2010) noted that regardless of how many black people leave a space, white people still believe they are not to blame; he dubbed this phenomenon the white moral Teflon (Feagin, 2010). Passing on the responsibility to the victims rather than the perpetrators plays a role which is two-fold, it maintains symbolic racial capital, and it maintains the notion that white people can do no wrong; thus maintaining their white moral Teflon (Feagin, 2010).

The majority of the participants in this study stated that they related more to their black friends for various reasons; however, there wasn't complete consensus. Siyamthanda had no preference, noting that his white friends at School 2 are friendly and will go out of their way to be supportive. Siyamthanda's experience is that, if he were to communicate that he is hungry, or times are difficult at home, his white friends would pack him an extra sandwich. His white friends use their financial means to help their less fortunate friends, when and where they can. For Siyamthanda, School 2 represents an environment where all boys are equal, this is symbolised in the uniform; and he feels that translates into how all the boys treat one another with respect and humility.

The white friends here are more open to talk to, you can go to them and tell them it's tough at home, can you maybe make me a sandwich, they are willing, whilst the black guys don't have that privilege so they wouldn't be able to. The white guys here are more open and willing to share whilst black guys need to hold to themselves more, whilst finding the middle point., [...] when we are here, we view one another the same. We wear the same blazer, shirt, shoes, so we view each other as the same. I feel that is a good moral. – Siyamthanda, School 2

The findings in this section indicate that there is not a uniform experience of white friends; there are examples of overt racism, covert racism and ignorance. The participants have explained that it is these experiences of white ignorance, covert and overt racism which work as a roadblock to any forms of deep friendships forming between them and their white peers. Because their white peers do not understand their lived experience, or their cultures and practices, they consciously or unconsciously do and say things which make the participants feel excluded and pressured to assimilate. Feagin (2010) theorises that white communities typically lack an interrogation into that which they do not understand, and that which people of colour do understand. This failure to interrogate what they cannot see from their social position results in a white community losing the normal human capacity to be self-critical and to create a space for learning and growth (Feagin, 2010). As a result of their ignorance, and a lack of self-reflection, white people cannot see the problematic nature of their

understandings (Feagin, 2010). However, some participants spoke about how their white friends are there for them, that they are caring and that they feel that they can go to them when they need any form of support. As is visible in Siyamthanda's excerpt above, there are white people at these schools who are critical into which they do not understand and are then able to be empathetic to their black peers; this empathy is essential in the strengthening of relationships between the participants and their white peers. However, if the participants' white peers do not make the effort to understand that which black people understand, there will continue to be a gap which cannot be bridged, and white friendships will continue to be violent to black people through the perpetuation of ignorance.

4.3.3 Relationships with Coaches and Teachers

The second aspect of the social environment which had a profound effect on the experiences of the participants was the nature of relationships which they had forged with both their teachers and coaches. The participants detailed three interactions which affected them either negatively or positively to varying degrees. These three forms of interactions are presented in subthemes, namely: *'The good: positive interactions with coaches'*, *'The bad: negative interactions with coaches'* and *'The ugly: horror stories of racism and insensitivity'*. 'The good' is characterised by the positive interactions which the participants shared with their coaches or teachers. The participants explained how when they felt supported by their coaches, they felt motivated to work harder; furthermore, they felt positively about a future in rugby. 'The bad' speaks to moments where the participants felt they were treated unfairly by their coaches. The participants had narratives of favouritism, and racial biases where they would be treated inconsistently when compared to their white peers. 'The ugly' speaks to moments where the participants experienced moments of overt, and covert racism from coaches or teachers.

The good: positive interactions with coaches and teachers

The boys spoke about how throughout their time at their respective schools, they have come across teachers and coaches who have truly made a difference in their lives. What was described were words of encouragement on the field or the classroom, asking how things are at home, offering a helping hand with preparation for their future and private sessions where coaches helped students with skills and fitness. The majority of the responses were about their coaches, however some of the participants spoke about their teachers. The extracts below explicate:

It's good, in Grade 8 it wasn't that good, but this year is good. My coach is backing me, and when my coach backs me it makes me happy and it makes me feel confident. –

Lukhanyo, School 1

The impact that teachers and coaches have had and continue to have on the participants is of great significance. They have the power to make or break the students' experience of their school environment, their ability to perform as well as the attitude that they have for their future endeavours. As Lukhanyo puts it: “*when my coach backs me it makes me happy and it makes me feel confident.*”. When teachers and/or coaches truly care and understand the lived experiences of students of colour, they can be invaluable to a student who is struggling in various facets of their schooling. Throughout our conversation Kolbe shared Lukhanyo's sentiment, by stressing the importance of coaches believing in his ability for his confidence and performance levels. He spoke for some time about a coach that he encountered at a training camp, who pulled him aside and offered to help him privately because he felt that he had great potential. That sign of confidence from a well esteemed rugby coach had Kolbe brimming with excitement, and it was visible in the way that he explained that interaction to me. That sign of confidence pushed Kolbe to wanting to work harder and to improve even more.

*Like 2 or 3 weeks ago, that coach I told you about was at one of our practices, and he pulled me aside. I hadn't seen him for a long time, there were a whole lot of boys who came from different schools, but he pulled me aside and he said if I'm available he will take me himself and help me improve my scrumming or fitness so I can play professional rugby, because he saw at the camp that I was improving and losing weight so he wanted to give me that opportunity. I just need to find him now and say I want to do it. **Kolbe, School 1***

This is something which came up in every interview. The dominant theme in all of the interviews was that a coach's belief leads to the confidence to perform well every weekend, and on the training pitch. The participants knew that they had people on the side-lines rooting for them, and that pushed them to work harder and play harder in every game. Furthermore, the connections which coaches have at rugby unions or university were invaluable to how the participants felt about their rugby goals after school. When asked about any potential obstacles at their school to achieving their goals, Mohoje and Siyamthanda had nothing negative to say. Instead they highlighted that their coach and director of rugby was an asset to have in achieving their goals.

*No, nothing because with the director of rugby, he gets guys from UCT [University of Cape Town] to come chat to us, so I think that is an advantage, and on Fridays he will come help us with kicking and other skills, so I think that is more of an advantage than a disadvantage – **Mohoje, School 2***

The fact that the director of rugby is involved in WP [Western Province] and UCT [University of Cape Town] and he has connection all over, so that made me also want to come here, his connections and he is a good coach. Our other coach also used to play SA u20, but he broke his neck, but is wanted by other schools and that puts you on the map.

– **Siyamthanda, School 2**

Regardless of the explicit positive influence that player management has on a player's performance levels, the participants detailed more moments of negative interactions with coaches than positive, especially so at School 1. These negative experiences made the participants constantly doubt themselves, and it created an environment where the participants felt that they needed to constantly fight against their coaches by constantly performing at their peak. However, when they felt that their coaches were not supportive, it made it even more difficult for the participants to perform well consistently.

The bad: negative experiences with coaches

The bad experiences that the participants had with their coaches and teachers were characterised by favouritism, biases and unfair treatment. Some of the participants were accosted for missing practices, even when they were injured or sick and could provide a doctor's note. Whilst other participants spoke about how they were scolded for making errors, whilst their white team mates would be encouraged, or completely exonerated. These can be seen in more detail in the extracts below.

I remember with my coach last year, I made elite squad last year. I missed one practice in pre-season because I play basketball in summer and I played first team. I missed one practice and he would say "oh, just because you play province or whatever and now you are missing practices. Why aren't you at practices". Or let's say I didn't do a drill properly; it would always be a province thing. There was that unnecessary pressure from him, and I felt he didn't support me last year and that is why I didn't have that great a season. [...] He would drop me to the B team for knocking on a ball once, whilst another player would knock it on plenty of times, but he would drop me [...] then I started performing in the B team and scoring tri's and playing rugby. He brought me up again and he changed me from hooker to 8, thinking I would fail and not perform but I actually did. **Dyantyi, School 1**

In the above extract, Dyantyi is speaking about the negative experience that he had with his under-16 A coach in 2018. At School 1, it is compulsory that the boys who attend the school play a summer

sport during summer season, and a winter sport in winter. In summer, summer sports take priority, in other words one cannot miss their summer sport practice, for a winter sport. Thus, in this particular instance, Dyantyi was being scorned for abiding by the school rules when he was reprimanded for missing rugby practice for basketball. For Dyantyi, it is essential that his coach instils confidence in him in order for him to be able to play to his ability. Instead of feeling support, Dyantyi felt like his coach was looking for a reason to drop him. The result of this was that he felt he needed to constantly prove a point to his coach, rather than trying to make him proud. Furthermore, Dyantyi felt that his achievements on the rugby field were used as a weapon against him, rather than being celebrated; citing the ‘unnecessary pressure’ which his coach put him under after he made the Western Province Elite Squad. In this extract there are incredible inconsistencies in the ways which Dyantyi was treated compared to his white team mates; where his white team mates would be encouraged or exonerated for making an error, Dyantyi was dropped to the B team.

One of the major factors which came up when the participants at School 1 were asked to elaborate on experiences in the school environment which they saw as obstacles to achieving their future goals, was favouritism on the sports field. The concept of favouritism is extremely subtle, because many coaches speak to how they only select their teams based on merit (Tshikila, 2017). A damaging result of this is self-doubt, because if all of the gatekeepers in an environment perpetuate a meritocracy discourse and you are not being selected, it is difficult to not put the blame on yourself; regardless of the evidence pointing towards external factors. Many of the participants spoke to the damaging nature of favouritism, stating that it would lead to self-doubt and frustration. They would try their best to ignore it, however many participants found it impossible in the long term. The following extract explicates:

Favouritism, sometimes you will think you aren't letting it get to you and sometimes it just does get to you and you question yourself about why you are working so hard etc. That plays the biggest role for me and I think that shouldn't be your decision-making factor as a coach, it should always be ability.

How do you deal with these problems?

I envision the bigger goal, just work harder, prove the coach, the people and the decision wrong. Just be content within yourself. - Dyantyi, School 1

Dyantyi states that he is able to use negative interactions to motivate himself, because he constantly reminds himself that it is temporary, and he cannot allow anything or anyone to stop him from attaining his goals. Beast expounds further on his experiences of favouritism on the rugby field,

stating that there is much more pressure to perform on the rugby field at School 1, then there is in the classroom.

[...] I have never had teachers who target people of colour or make you feel bad, but on the rugby field it is a whole different story. There is much more pressure and the ways coaches will teach you I feel will be different. But sometimes they will treat you really well and they will be your best friend, but as soon as you have one bad game that changes. There is a lot of favouritism, when it comes to selection, picking this and that and the pecking order, when you are a player that is contributing a lot, you just don't feel appreciated. You will be adding more value to the team than a white person, they will generally not give you the same appreciation as a white person. [...] **Beast, School 1**

The majority of the participants at School 1 felt that they worked harder and contributed more than their white teammates; but they would still not be selected, or they would not get the same appreciation as their white teammates. Beast describes feeling like he is walking on egg shells with his coaches, because there is a lack of consistency in how his coaches treat him. When he is performing his coaches love him, however when the inevitable bad game arrives, that changes completely. This constant noose around his neck makes it difficult for Beast to enjoy his rugby, and for him to play freely.

The ugly: horror stories of racism and insensitivity

The participants spoke about moments where their teachers or coaches were blatantly racist, or said racially insensitive things to them or to their friends. I have only used an extract from Gqoboka's interview to explicate this sub-theme because of the rich nature in length and depth. However, experiences of this nature came through several times in both School 1 and School 2.

We would sit in different place and once we sat in the back, and our teacher said, "why are you boys sitting at the back", we were watching videos in tutor like everyone else [...]. We sitting there watching YouTube and rugby videos, other people are sitting on tables and having loud chats in our tutor and ma'am singles us out and says, "what are you guys doing at the back there?", so we say, "we are just watching a video".

Then she says, "why are you guys sitting together?", the one day it suddenly became a problem for her. Then she said something to the effect of "why are you guys sitting together, you guys are a bunch of skollies", now I don't get easily offended, but that day she said something that really offended me. She was like a bunch of skollies, or a bunch

of black boys, or something like that, so I said to her “ma’am you can’t be saying that” She then called us into her office and said “no, if I say something to you guys, I say it with love because my husband worked for the ANC 25 years ago, now he is no longer living” blah blah blah. I was like, that is beside the point, that’s like a white guy saying, “my best friend is black, I am not racist”.

[...] my friend and I had a full on go at her and told her she can’t be calling us this and then she brought up that love part. I then went to speak to the head of academics, and he also took the situation very lightly. I explained to him that we can’t be spoken to like that, and we were doing nothing, we were watching videos like everyone else. Straight from the second I got there, he was telling me that I need to understand this and that, I don’t even remember, I was so angry at the point because he took the situation so lightly. He was like, you need to understand that we also have a bunch of other black boys at the school who are doing so well and everything else, so don’t let that bring you down. I told him that is beside the point and he should be here helping me. I was crying in his office because I was so angry, when I came out of his office they told me not to go to tutor for the next two days, I don’t know why. [...] **Gqoboka, School 2**

Gqoboka’s teacher was subtly and overtly racially abusive to Gqoboka, and his two classmates. In an entire class which was making a noise, she chose to reprimand the three of them, who were all black, because they were sitting together; furthermore, she went on to refer to them in a derogatory manner. Instead of apologizing, the teacher chose to justify her behaviour by speaking about her husband’s struggle credentials; similarly, to the way which white people will use their black ‘friends’ as evidence that they are not in fact racist. Gqoboka speaks to the issue of black people constantly having to forgive, without white people being held accountable for their actions. In this particular instance it has been perpetuated by the head of academics, who should in fact be protecting his students.

Furthermore, what we are seeing here through the assertion that Gqoboka needs ‘to understand’ the way that his teacher treated him, is Feagin’s (2010) concept of virtuous whiteness. What is blatantly visible in the above extract is a ‘sense of white moral Teflon’ (Faegan, 2010). Feagin (2010) states that regardless of how many people of colour leave white environments due to their intolerability, whites continue to see themselves as good people. White people display no conscious awareness, or a major minimisation of the racist behaviour being enacted by oneself or others in the white community (Faegan, 2010). By telling Gqoboka that he needs to ‘understand’, and then by keeping him away from his tutor class, he is completely ignoring, and minimising the blatant and subtle problematic behaviour that his colleague has displayed to a student. The solution was to remove the

person who was offended, rather than to deal with the perpetrator, thus insinuating that the teacher had done nothing wrong and the participant being upset was the issue.

Gqoboka details how he was left extremely emotional due to the interaction and the lack of support which he received, to the point where he was crying. Furthermore, he revealed that he had not spoken to anyone about that experience before our interview. Experiences such as these have adverse effects on the performances of the participants on and off the field. Gqoboka's trust was compromised in this instance, the same people who are meant to be protecting him and other students, had ignored his hurt and instead banished him from his tutor class. As can be seen in Dyantyi's experiences of unsupportive coaches in 'the bad', when someone is faced with these experiences, an 'us vs them' mentality can form; it can get to a point where you feel alone, and you constantly need to prove your teachers and coaches wrong.

In 1996 the South African Schools Act (SASA) outlawed discrimination and made it compulsory that all schools open their admission to all who live in South Africa (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Soudien, 2007). However, racial issues between students and teachers continue to be ubiquitous at Model C schools (Christie & McKinney, 2017). In 2015 these issues were made obvious through protests at Pretoria Girls High School and San Souci Girls High in Cape Town; these protests, however, were in anomaly in the sense that students are often silenced and thus these issues do not come to light as much as they occur (Christie & McKinney, 2017). In a study conducted by Tshikila (2017) one of the headmasters at a prominent school in the Southern Suburbs stated that their students dealt with issues internally and did not go to social media to speak about them.

The students in this study confirmed this discourse, with Gqoboka stating that he has never spoken to anyone about the incident he had with his teacher outside of the school. There are issues of silencing at both School 1 and School 2 which have been identified by both the gatekeepers at the schools, and the participants in this study (Tshikila, 2017). Another participant in this study spoke about how when there is a racial issue at his school, they are asked to deal with it internally. If issues of this magnitude are swept under the rug, and teachers and coaches are not being held accountable, Model C schools will continue to be a site that is violent to black people. There are both subtle issues which arise, and more aggressive racial issues as narrated through the extracts in 'the bad: negative experiences with coaches' and 'the ugly: horror stories of racism and insensitivity' respectively. The power and influence which was given maintained by the white minority through the desegregation of the education system continues to be maintained; how else are teachers and deputy headmasters allowed to either be racially insensitive or blatantly racist, and not be reprimanded (Christie & McKinney,

2017). Instead, these participants are being told that they need to ‘understand’, as though that type of behaviour is normal.

4.3.4 Tactical Magician: needing to be far above the rest for recognition

The main theme, ‘Tactical Magician: needing to be far above the rest for recognition’ was characterised by the participants feeling like black rugby players are expected to be undoubtedly the best in order to get the same credit as a mediocre white rugby player. Furthermore, there are higher expectations of black rugby players than white rugby players, especially when they are on scholarship. ‘Treatment of black rugby players’ delves deeper into the participants perceived experiences of their respective school environment. This theme details moments where some of the participants are coerced into playing rugby through injury or illness or have been scolded for making passes that their white teammates were praised for. Furthermore, many of the participants spoke about a lack of recognition from their coaches when they performed very well and being criticised heavily for errors.

Black rugby players are expected to work harder, to play harder and to produce moments of magic in order to be good enough. When they are not clearly above the rest, they are labelled “quota players”. The participants detailed moments of success, such as making a top team at their school, or a provincial side, and having their success attributed to the quota system rather than their hard work and talent.

The boys went on to speak about the plight of scholarship boys- these narratives are presented in ‘The life of a scholarship boy’. The narratives allude to the scholarship boys being treated as though they are being paid to be at the school, and thus needing to do everything and anything asked of them. Their experiences are very similar to those of black rugby players; however, they are compounded by the fact that they are being funded by the school, or a separate bursar. This results in unrealistic expectation set on them, such as rugby players being expected to perform at the level of cross-country athletes during long distance running.

Treatment of black rugby players

Whilst there was at times a tendency to revert to discourses related to meritocracy when speaking about their schools; which was defined by a belief that excellence in hard work and achievement should be directly correlated; for the most part there was consensus that black rugby players at School 1 and School 2 were treated differently to their white counterparts. The majority of the participants felt that they needed to be heads above the rest in order to get the same amount of

recognition as their white team mates. If they are anything less than phenomenal, they are constantly doubted, Nyakane expounds below:

Players of colour also seem to need to be far above the rest to be recognized, otherwise they aren't looked at completely. This one guy is phenomenal, and he made SA 7s on the weekend, that's what they expect of all black rugby players, just to be some tactical magician. You need to be the best in the field, I don't think you should judge it that way.

- Nyakane, School 1

The use of the term 'tactical magician' is profound in delivering the point that black people cannot simply be good in Nyakane's experience, they need to be the best player on the field in order to get any recognition. It is as though a black rugby player needs to be the complete product in high school in order to receive any credit. However, this standard is only applicable when it comes to black rugby players, many of the participants felt that their white teammates would be praised for being mediocre. In the quote below Kolbe goes as far as to say that his white teammates would be praised for doing the very things he would be criticised for:

*My competition is a white guy who also plays my position, he is slightly taller than me and a bit wider, he did the same thing that I did but I was called out. I tried to draw the defence, then he does the same thing and its fine, the coach even compliments him for the way he ran, but the coach scolded me. **Kolbe, School 1***

Nyakane takes this even further. For Nyakane, there is a dominant culture of naysayers in the school as a whole, as can be seen by his teacher telling him that he would not play in the band. However, when you do succeed and work hard there is a lack of recognition. Nyakane details how he would stay after practice and after class to help his coaches, to no avail. Making the under-16 Provincial team which played at the Grant Khomo festival wasn't even enough for Nyakane to receive any recognition. Throughout the interview I got a sense that Nyakane was truly torn apart, on one hand his social environment communicating that he shouldn't do things for credit, but rather because it is the right thing to do; on the other he truly yearned for the recognition that his effort warranted.

With music, in 2017 I gave my all, my one teacher said I won't ever play in the band because I wasn't ready, and I worked hard and ended up playing in the band. Some of my coaches, never used to rate me and I had a really good season in u16, and I got Grant

Khomo. Basically, I would leave practice late to help coaches, or miss classes and help teachers, I just think a bit of recognition would be nice. Nyakane, School 1

Some of the participants went on to recall moments where their coach threatened them, or their peers in order to manipulate them into practicing or playing when they were ill or injured. One of Kolbe's good friends had a serious knee injury, and his coaches threatened him to come back early. Kolbe experienced this coercion first hand, having not been able to practice because of illness, he was told he would not be allowed to go to provincial trials. This was a common occurrence in several of the interviews at School 1.

I was told the other day that my one [black] friend who has had a knee injury was confronted by the coach and told, "if you don't get that knee injury right, you will never play first team". [...] Last year when I went to the province trials, I missed one practice the day before because I was sick, the coach told me "I can take you out of the province if you don't practice with me". So, I said sir, you can't do that, and he said he would tell province not to work with me. I said sir you can't do that, and he said, "we will see what happens". I just stood there because I was sick with the flu. Kolbe, School 1

There were, however, a few participants who felt as though they had never been treated differently to their white counterparts, and that they were given a fair opportunity, free of any prejudice to play in their schools A team. Proof of the equal treatment for Lukhanyo are the trials which are held every year; where players are allowed to lay claim to a position in the A team by outperforming their opposition.

No, I don't feel like we are treated differently. Obviously, there are people who are better than me, but I feel like we are getting equal opportunity. Mbonambi, School 1

They give everyone a chance every year, even if last year you had a bad year and you sucked, they leave the past in the past and give you a fair chance. Black, white coloured everyone gets a chance. Lukhanyo, School 1

Lukhanyo and Mbonambi view 'fair treatment' at face value. For the Lukhanyo and Mbonambi because "They give everyone a chance every year" they must "leave the past in the past and give you a fair chance". Because their respective schools both have trial matches every year before a team is selected, their schools are fair to both of the above participants. Kolbe, Nyakane and Beast on the

other hand speak to deeper internal issues after the teams have been selected, in terms of how coaches treat them compared to their white counterparts, and how they are expected to play through injury. These experiences differ because Lukhanyo and Mbonambi view fair opportunity differently to the way which Kolbe, Nyakane and Beast do.

If I succeed, I am a quota player

Some of the participants reported that when they, or any other black athlete made a high team internally, or one of the provincial sides, there were groups of their white peers who would claim that they are only there to fulfil quota requirements. When the participants who are on scholarship did not make a high team, questions are then asked about why he is being funded if they can't play top level rugby. The 'quota player' discourse was also used as a defence mechanism by some of the participants' white peers when they were not selected for a team

*I think there are lots of chirps like that. "aahh he's there because of transformation.", "aaahh he's there because he is on scholarship", "he can't not be there because he's on scholarship". If you are on scholarship you are expected to play A team rugby, if you don't then white people will be like "but he's on scholarship so why isn't he playing A team", so that's where more pressure comes in. **Beast, School 1***

In the above extract, Beast reveals a double-edged sword to being a black rugby player, that is on scholarship at School 1; you are expected to perform at an incredibly high level, and if you fail, questions will be asked about whether or not you deserve the funding. However, if you do perform and you exceed expectations by making provincial and national teams, your white peers attribute your success to the quota system. Thus, Beast, and many other participants feel that as a black rugby player you never receive any acclaim or recognition for doing well. Kolbe adds another layer onto this by stating that his white peers seem to have a sense entitlement with regards to success on the sports field. If and when they do not succeed, they attribute their failures to the quota system.

*We were playing and there was a mixture of races, then the coach chose the guys who played the best, I wasn't chosen but I was fine because I was there to have fun. I would sit on the bench and hear white people on the bench whispering saying, "nah you can see this coach doesn't like us, he is obviously going to choose the black people because of the quota." I just sat there, and I didn't want to say anything because if I did, I would have been the bad guy, so I just left it and let them be. **Kolbe, School 1***

The hegemony of the quota discourse leads to some of the participants ignoring it, rather than standing up for themselves in fear of ostracisation. The quota player discourse not only discredits the ability and work that the participants have put into achieving their goals, it adds pressure and demotivates these players. Furthermore, it makes rugby a chore rather than a fun activity, because it is associated with an incredible pressure to perform, and a lack of recognition. In the quote below, Siyamthanda reported that he had never experienced his rugby ability being discredited in this way. He did, however, recall moments whereby some people had made mention of how his skin colour, combined with his ability would help him to succeed in his rugby journey; thus, in this manifestation, the quota player discourse served to motivate him:

When you played province, did you ever get told you are there because you are black, or you are a quota?

No, but some people might have said because you're black you have an advantage. Not necessarily you are there because you are black, let's say you are rated 88 and John is also 88, I might have one step ahead, that would motivate me to push because my chances are better. So, I have never been told I am a quota, but people do say you have an advantage. Siyamthanda, School 2

In general there is a misunderstanding of what the quota system truly is at both School 1 and School 2 by the students at the school and the staff members (Tshikila, 2017). An unintended consequence of the reformative approach that uses that quota system to transform rugby is that, rather than reparation and equal opportunity to deserved athletes, transformation has been defined as a filtration of players of colour, regardless of their ability on the sports field (Desai, 2010). The quota system is used when one has two candidates for a position, a previously disadvantaged person, as well as previously advantaged person. When these two candidates both offer an equal amount to the team, the previously disadvantaged candidate will be selected. Thus, merit is an essential tenant to the quota system, it does not seek to choose black people or women regardless of whether or not they are qualified.

This dominant belief that the quota system is 'unfair' and pays no, or little attention to merit is one which is perpetuated by the gatekeepers at Model C schools, including School 1 and School 2 (Tshikila, 2017). When the role models at school and at home perpetuate a particular notion, it is bound to filtrate into the attitudes and beliefs of the children. It is essential that there is education of transformation systems, so that misinformed attitudes towards quota systems are addressed.

Otherwise Model C schools will continue to undermine the talent their black rugby players possess, as well as their hard work and sacrifices they made in order to perform at a high level.

The life of a ‘scholarship boy’

The participants on scholarship reported extra pressure on top of the pressure they are subject to because they are black. It is common knowledge among the boys at both schools that scholarship boys are expected to do things which paying boys are not. Furthermore, there are unrealistic expectations which they have to live up to, if not, they risk being ostracised. These expectations are unwritten, but they certainly do exist, Mohoje illustrates below.

*I think that scholarship boys are expected to do more service, they don't deliberately come out and say it, but you can see in some things that just because you are a scholarship boy you are expected to go out and do it. The pressure is higher on you than an average person or it is used to threaten you, let's say you are in trouble, they will use that to get to you, whereas people who aren't on scholarship, I feel like they get it easier and they can get away with things that scholarship boys won't get away with. **Mohoje, School 2***

Mohoje feels that whilst it is not verbally communicated, scholarship boys are expected to do more at School 2 than paying students, and they have little agency in the matter. Furthermore, they are expected to constantly be on their best behaviour, otherwise their scholarship is used to threaten them. There is less room to be human as a scholarship boy. These participants are constantly being looked at through a microscope, whilst, boys whose parents pay will be let off easier. This pressure translates to extracurricular activities at the school. At School 1 when there is a fitness event, called 400 club, which all scholarship boys are expected to partake, regardless of whether they have just been at practice and are fatigued. Furthermore, they are expected to come first in cross country races, even if that is not their forte.

[...] with coaches, you just feel like as a scholarship boy, you're just being targeted, if they need something done, say 400 club, which is basically a fitness thing which happens every Thursday, and if you are at hostel chilling or having a relaxed day, they will tell you that you shouldn't be lazing around, you have to go do 400 club. You just feel like they are putting pressure on you to be doing everything because you're on scholarship, they don't seem to realize that we also need our rest. You just feel picked on. Another example is that we were running cross country one day and there were a few scholarship boys running in a group, we weren't at the front, we were in the middle. Then one of the

teachers was like “you should be at the front you should be at the front. I can’t believe this, you guys are on scholarship, we give you guys everything, but you run in the middle.” None of us there were cross country athletes so I don’t get how they can expect us to be at the front, so I just brushed it off. – Beast, School 1

In the above extract, Beast speaks about how as a scholarship boy, you are expected to constantly be doing something, there is no time to rest. Furthermore, scholarship boys are expected to be excellent at everything that they do, even in fields they are not specialists in. This is visible in a teacher telling Beast and his peers that they “*should be at the front*” in a cross country race. For Beast, it is as if scholarship boys are expected to be machines, and they are treated as if they are being paid to be the school. The scholarship thus stops representing opportunities and a brighter future, instead it represents a weapon used to manipulate him into doing and achieving, even the most unrealistic activities. The second scholarship boys refuse or are uncomfortable doing something, their scholarship is used as a manipulative tool, and they are told that they ‘are being paid’ so they cannot refuse.

*If you mess up on the rugby field you will get more slack than the white guys. I think its small things like that. You get more slack; more pressure and you get shouted at more. Every time you run on to that field it’s like that, you get to a point where you stop enjoying it and you just want to be perfect on the field, and nobody can be perfect. When that happens, you lose your focus and your way on the field and you just start playing for a different cause instead of the real reason you should be playing. **Beast***

For Beast, the double standards and constantly feeling like he is walking on egg shells leaves a bitter taste in his mouth with regards to his rugby. This affects his performance, because it stops being about a passion for the game, and becomes about pleasing others. Rugby then becomes something linked with negative connotations. The long-term effects of this cannot be good, because at a time where he should be cultivating a love and a passion for the sport, he begins to resent it. As he puts it, ‘*you just start playing for a different cause instead of the real reason you should be playing*’. The likelihood of Beast wanting to play professionally once he leaves school are slim if he continues to have negative connotations to the sport.

4.3.5 Transformation and the Way Forward

As part of the study, I felt it was important to know what transformation meant to the participants, and what areas they felt that their respective schools could improve in transforming. They are the

inhabitants of these environments and thus transformation measures need to speak to their experiences. Many of the participants admitted that they were uninformed regarding the purpose of transformation agenda, and the way they understood it was the quota system. Their understanding of the quota system was informed by what they heard from their peers, teachers and what they read and saw on rugby magazines and shows. When asked whether or not they felt it was important, there was a split. Some of the participants felt that it was no longer necessary as the laws and legislations which served to cripple black people during apartheid no longer exist. Others felt that due to the current levels of inequality, that it was necessary for transformation measures to continue to exist, however they should work for the people who needed them most. Whilst others called for a new way to transform rugby, citing the infamous Siya Kolisi interview as proof that the current system is flawed.

‘What is transformation?’ presents the dominant understandings of transformation measures that came up during the interview process. Furthermore, this sub-theme speaks about the dominant attitudes which the participants had surrounding transformation measures. Most of the participants felt negative about the quota system specifically, because they felt their success was often attributed to quotas, rather than a combination of their talent and the hard work they put into improving as a rugby player. However, at the same time many of the participants saw the benefit of the increasing of minority groups, especially in rugby. ‘(Re)imagining transformation’ presents the common suggestions which the participants presented in improving their school environment. Furthermore, the participants present suggestions to improve transformation in rugby through improving the demographic of their respective schools.

Attitudes and Understanding of Transformation Measures

Some of the participants praised transformation measures and spoke of them as tools of hope and opportunities. For Beast, transformation removes the long-lasting idea that rugby is an Afrikaner only sport; instead rugby is re-imagined, and it becomes a unifying agent. Furthermore, by increasing the representation of black people within the Springboks, black children will have role-models who show them that their dreams of playing in the green and gold are valid, and they are attainable.

I think transformation is important. I think it does a person at a disadvantage an opportunity to see themselves in a higher position. I think it gives a person of colour more hope that one day there is a chance that he will play for the Boks as opposed to having a full Afrikaner team you know. Then it takes away the stigma that rugby is just a white sport. That's where that sense of hope that transformation brings, that one day I will see

myself there, because like I say transformation gives us more opportunities for doors to open for you. I think that is very important. **Beast, School 1**

For Beast, being able to be hopeful through seeing people like you playing the highest level of rugby and knowing that there are active efforts to open doors of opportunity for more people of colour are pivotal. Beast unpeels an interesting layer in the unintended consequences of the quota system, by stating that at times black people can take success for granted. Instead of telling themselves that the quota system will open doors of opportunity, granted that they work hard and show case their talent on the rugby field, some players will rely solely on the quota system to succeed. In Beast's view, it is good to know that there are systems to make sure that you are noticed, however your focus as a rugby player should be to develop and hone your skills. If you do this, the rest will take care of itself.

[...] It definitely doesn't happen in all teams you will see but I think sometimes as a black person you sort of have a plan b in your head. If my plan a is to make a team and I don't make it, in the back of your mind you think, maybe the act of transformation will now get me there. I don't think that's something you should be dependent on, you should back yourself all the way and know that you have the ability and you don't need transformation to fulfil that goal. So sometimes transformation makes you look like if you have made a team, and this is something that has happened to me. I once made Western Province and a few white guys chirped me and said "ahh he's a transformation player." My one friend, he is also a black player told me to ignore it. But it makes you think, am I really a transformation player or do I deserve to be there. That's just something I feel may need to be readdressed as it has a lot of grey areas [...]. – **Beast, School 1**

However, Beast goes on to state that an unintended consequence of transformation is that it creates a notion that you are a 'transformation player', thus undermining the blood, sweat and tears that have been shed on the journey to success. This leads to second guessing and doubting yourself, and a loss in self-confidence. This was an immense critique of the quota system throughout the interview process, and it is something which came up in every interview.

I think the main function of the quota system is to choose based on colour, but you can't get it right every time. It's like capitalism and communism, you will not get it right completely, you won't exercise the practice extremely. I think quota gets it right some of the time and sometimes it doesn't. Some players feel hard done by because when you make provincial, quota system is implemented there. You have to have a certain number

of players of colour, so I think it should be about ability. However, as Siya said, what if I am not getting the same nutrition as you, what if I'm not getting access to what you have? Gym for an example. He said if he hadn't been to an English school he probably wouldn't be where he is right now. So, there is a lot of factors that play into it. I think it starts at schools, it is pivotal, if it gets implemented there then you would see the results of it –

Dyantyi, School 1

Dyantyi also sees the importance of transformation measures, however, he felt as though they could be better implemented. His understanding of transformation was that it was the quota system. Dyantyi sees the benefit of the quota system when it is properly implemented, he understood the quota system as prioritizing numbers over ability which he found problematic. However, he also understood that access to resources was a pivotal issue in becoming a better rugby player. Thus, he felt that the quota system should be implemented at school, rather than international level in order to truly reap the rewards of the system.

*This is my opinion, I don't think the quota system is beneficial for the country or the province, you can't take your best player and put a black guy there because of a quota, it should be equal for everybody don't think that is right. We might not have had it in the past, but this is the present now, and If you are putting your hand up, then you should get it. I don't believe in the quota system, I don't put myself in that box, I believe if I am there, I am willing to work, and I have put in the hard yards. Not necessarily that I deserve to be there but because I have worked hard, you don't deserve anything in life, you work hard to get it. Siya Kolisi said he also doesn't believe in it and I am not just saying it because he said it, I just don't think anyone should be guaranteed anything because of their race. **Siyamthanda, School 2***

Siyamthanda shared a similar sentiment to Dyantyi, in that he was quite adamant that the quota system did not work. However, where they differed is that Siyamthanda felt that there was no need for the system at all; because apartheid is no longer a reality, we are now all equal and we should all be treated in accordingly. Siyamthanda's understanding of the quota system is that is a numbers-based system. Siyamthanda emphasises the hard work and talent which he puts into his rugby in order to be successful. He understands the quota system to mean that you are selected because you are black. Thus, he creates an 'us vs them' dynamic, and he draws on discourses of meritocracy to separate himself from the black people who are selected based on his understanding of the quota system. Siyamthanda feels that he has worked hard, he is talented and thus he doesn't want to be included in

the umbrella of black people who have been selected based on their colour. In his impassioned response, he also went on to use Siya Kolisi's interview to support his claim that focusing on numbers was detrimental to not only the performance of the springboks, but to the country as a whole.

There is a big misunderstanding with regards to what transformation actually means, this can be seen in the extract above. The quota system does not select people based on their gender or race regardless of their qualifications. However, this is the dominant impression surrounding transformation within both School 1 and School 2. It has become a taboo topic, so much so that one of the participants asked me to re-assure him that his name will not be included in the final write up, in fear of ostracization. Nonetheless, what has resulted from this misinformation is that when black rugby players at these schools achieve, they are called "quotas" or a "transformation player". These consequences have led to some of the participants profusely rejecting transformation measures, because for them the undermining which they are accompanied by, far outweighs the positive impact. Furthermore, many of the boys believe that they would continue getting chances to play rugby at a high level regardless of whether or not the quota system existed. Thus, in many ways, the participants believe transformation measures are dispensable. However, regardless of their opinions on transformation measures, there is a general consensus between the participants that there needs to be a re-imagining around how we actually see and implement transformation.

(Re)imagining Transformation:

The participants were asked how they would change their school in order to feel more at home. Many of the participants stated that they felt that their schools needed to become more diverse in the demographic of teachers and students. As much as the quota system and affirmative action have their downfalls, an environment that is diverse is essential to the participants. The overwhelming consensus was that desegregated spaces allow people to learn more about one another and thus destroy prejudices which may exist. Furthermore, desegregation makes a space more homely for everyone in it. Ahmed (2007) states that spaces are able to be orientated around some bodies more than others; in other words, certain spaces can be more accommodating and suited to particular people. The participants describe what Ahmed (2007) calls the institutionalisation of whiteness "which makes non-white bodies feel uncomfortable, exposed, visible, different, when they take up the space (p.157). Thus, whilst white people will feel a sense of comfort and homeliness at School 1 and School 2, many of the participants felt excluded, and as if they did not belong. The extracts below explicate further:

We need more black teachers, that's all I could say. I don't think the teachers know the background of black students or to interact with them in terms of what they have been through and where they live and stuff. **Mbonambi, School 1.**

Mbonambi felt that many of the teachers at his school were not adequately equipped to interact with the complex issues which black students need to deal with. Thus, he felt that there is a need for School 1 to diversify their teacher demographic. Beast shared the same sentiment as Mbonambi, with regards to a need for a demographic shift at School 1. However, Beast stressed the point even further. It is not enough for schools to implement affirmative action because they want to look good in the eyes of the public, or for extra funding from the government. There needs to be a concerted effort to understand black boys who arrive at these schools on scholarships, the difficulties which they will face; and there needs to be support every step of the way. Thus, Beast makes the argument that there needs to be a holistic view of transformation, which takes into consideration the lived experiences of black people at School 1, rather than just the number of black people which the school admits. Beast feels that the most important element to black people not feeling like 'outcasts' are the ways teachers and coaches treat them. Thus, if coaches and teachers who understand the lived experiences of black people are employed, that would go a long way in improving School 1.

Coaches and teachers need to be given more of an understanding of your, or my situation. They need to understand that it won't be easy and that there is this new boy who is on scholarship, and it won't be easy for him, he is coming from a different background, so try make him feel at home, make him feel appreciated, try not to treat him differently. If there could be that feeling where you never feel like an outcast, it starts with teachers. Then coaches, if you cannot be picked on, then you don't feel different then I think the school would be a much better place. I think if you're given more opportunity to speak, openly and publicly about how you feel sometimes, I think that would also be a good initiative at the school for a start. **Beast, School 1.**

In the above extract, Beast stresses the need for comfort at his school; there simply needs to be more of a sense of homeliness. The white orientation which his school, and others like it have need to be deconstructed in order for there to be a true sense of transformation (Ahmed, 2007). There needs to be a fundamental shift at the core of School 1, so that black students do not feel like they are studying or 'walking into a sea of whiteness' (Ahmed, 2007). All of the participants who took part in this study stated that it was essential that a space for dialogue such as the interview be created, so that people can learn about transformation and share their experiences of their school in a safe space. This is

illustrated through responses by Siyamthanda and Dyantyi. Below is Siyamthanda's response to being asked whether he felt it would be beneficial if they were taught about transformation:

*Yeah it would because even white people, some of them don't know what it's about, they have the mindset that I have, 'oh you are just here because you are black', and a lot of black people get treated like that but I think if people were taught what it is about, that would be something that is needed for the country. **Siyamthanda, School 2.***

Siyamthanda felt that if there were more information about transformation measures, and how they function, less black people would be treated like they do not deserve to be playing high level rugby. For Dyantyi it is essential to have more open conversations so that everyone can have more of an insight into how scholarship boys are treated at School 1. In having those conversations frequently, the experiences of scholarship boys can be improved.

*It is important to talk about these issues. As black learners just generally, we should have these talks, they are essential. We need to get to know how people on scholarship are feeling at this school, don't make us feel like we are neglected. These meetings should be frequent. **Dyantyi, School 1.***

Related to creating a safe space for conversations on transformation measures, and the experiences of black people at Model C schools, many participants brought up the issue of silence throughout the interview process. The consensus was that there needs to be a change in the culture of silence which exists at School 1. For Nyakane, there is no point in having these conversations if we are not going to affect real and tangible change. Nyakane sheds light on two incidents which occurred at School 1, which resulted in silencing rather than action. In the first, a friend of his felt that many teachers discriminated against black and coloured boys for their haircuts. Quite similarly to the issues which were brought to light at Pretoria Girls High School, this schoolboy felt that haircuts were inconsistently policed at School 1 (Christie & McKinney, 2017). Rather than a concerted effort to hear him out, the headmaster responded by asking the boy not to “*speaking loudly about this*”. Furthermore, when an old-boy gave a speech about the lack of change at School 1 since he matriculated, the response was to ignore his comments. Nyakane goes on to explain that because of this culture of silencing, he has held on to many things which he has experienced throughout his years at School 1.

It's good that you will write a report and send it in, but at the same time I always feel it is no use to speak and complain about this too much because nothing happens in terms of changing things and doing something about what is wrong. There was one boy who wrote an email to the headmaster and said, "why do teachers always discriminate against black and coloured boys for having different haircuts?". He knows what they're doing is wrong but does nothing about it. In his response he just said to the boy that he mustn't speak loudly about this. And for years I have been holding everything that I have said here in.

One of the guest speakers last here spoke about the school, and he ruffled a few feathers, but what he was saying was the truth. He said he hasn't seen change here for 7 years and that's why the school won't be on top. The gatekeepers know the truth, but they want to be in denial, but if you are going to do that, you will not get much further. They are afraid of hearing the truth. If this gets out it will look like this school is a bad school, but how are you supposed to make it a better place if you don't want to hear the bad things.

Nyakane, School 1

The denial which Nyakane speaks about in the above extract is an example of strategic ignorance; in that if they do not 'know' that there are issues, whiteness and the accompanied privilege is maintained, and School 1 continues to serve white people (Feagin, 2010; Steyn, 2012). Dyantyi takes the issue of silencing to the sports field, by revealing how there are a lack of honest and open conversations about transformation measures, and why they are still needed within the country. Instead, coaches perpetuate an "all people" discourse, which states that it is "all people" who need to be given equal opportunity, not just black people. Dyantyi goes on to state that the attitude to black people trying to educate their coaches and white peers about the need for the system is often negative and patronising.

*Coaches never speak about transformation. Never. The team mates will speak about the quota system in class, they say it isn't right and they don't understand why it is implemented. They will say blacks and whites should be given equal opportunity. They don't understand why the system is there and when we try educating them about the system, it is 'you are black so what do you know?'. So yeah. **Dyantyi, School 1.***

It is essential that schools continue to transform, in 2019 the participants, and other black people at Model C schools should not be able to count the number of their brothers on one hand. This is an essential component in the transformation of rugby; however, it cannot be the sole focus. The problem

with the dominant transformation measures as a whole in South Africa, which some of the participants flagged, is that progress is viewed based on a representative demographic, rather than the way things are done and understood within the social environment (Hassim, 2006; Soudien, 2007). This has resulted in BEE score cards being created, and previously white institutions allowing an influx of previously disadvantaged people in a bid to be progressive, however, the social environments themselves do not really change (Christie & McKinney, 2017). These institutions then appear to be progressive, they are praised throughout society and given incentives, but the problematic notions around previously disadvantaged people are perpetuated. As was demonstrated in the theme ‘the ugly’ of the analysis, at School 2 it manifests with a teacher telling three black pupils that they are ‘skollies’, and then having them silenced and the matter is swept under the rug.

Furthermore, the participants are subject to various societal norms which tell them that they are not human enough, and thus they assimilate. The participants should not be thrown into an environment which does not embrace them, which is what currently happens. They should not have to sacrifice themselves in order to be accepted into an environment which will open doors of opportunity to them in the future. In other words, a better future should not come at the cost who they are. Therefore, as Beast states above, it is of utmost importance that teachers and coaches at schools are made to understand the lived experiences of their students, so that they can know how to be sensitive of black students.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to show the complex and rich experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools. On one hand black rugby players are plagued by pressures to assimilate and they struggle to form strong bonds with their white peers due to ignorance. Furthermore, black rugby players are subject to insensitive and racist treatment. Essentially there is pressure to submit to the white racial frame that is perpetuated by their school environment. Many of the participants have found that they can use the white racial frame to make their environment’s more pleasant through the act of assimilation, however that too comes with its dangers. Social support and positive experiences from teachers, coaches and their black peers have been instrumental in helping the participants to perform in the classroom and on the sports field.

Chapter 5: Recommendations and Conclusion

4.5 Introduction

This chapter describes the limitations of the study, recommendations for School 1 and School 2 and recommendations for rugby and transformation as a whole. Throughout the previous chapter, I presented five themes which the participants spoke to as either facilitators or constrainers with regards to their ability to integrate at each school. These themes were related to their experiences in the classroom, socially; and to their ability to perform on the sports field in their schooling environment. The analysis of these five themes provided important insights which have informed the solutions presented within this chapter. There are both short-term and sustainable long-term solutions to the issue of rugby and transformation. These are presented in depth throughout the course of this chapter. I begin by presenting the limitations of the study below.

4.6 Limitations

As a result of the small number of participants (N=10), and the non-random sampling, the findings of this study cannot be generalised to all students of colour at School 1 and School 2; nor to black rugby players at other Model C schools. However, the findings do convey several challenges that some of the students are faced with as a result of the unjust systems of our past. In addition to the purposive sampling method applied in identifying participants, this study used a critical race theory lens which understands that one's experiences are affected by their intersecting identities; thus experiences of race cannot be generalised because each individual experiences them subjectively depending on the environment which they are in, and the culmination of their different intersecting identities (Crenshaw, 1989; Solórzano, 1998; McCall, 2005). Furthermore, a lack of generalisability does not mean that the experiences of the 10 participants are any less important. It must be stressed as well that qualitative research design does not seek to generalise findings, but rather to gain a deeper understanding in a particular topic, which was the intended purpose of this study.

Secondly, intermixing the experiences of all students of colour was a constraint, seven of the participants who took part in this study were black, isiXhosa speaking South Africans. Two participants were black, foreign nationals, and one of the participants was a coloured South African. The experiences of coloured South African's are not necessarily the same as that of black South Africans; thus having more coloured, and Indian voices in research of the same nature, could provide a richer and broader insight into the experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools. However, with that being said, findings from this study provide insight into a desperately under researched field that can act as a basis for more work on rugby and transformation.

Thirdly, this study looked at two English Model C schools in the Southern Suburbs which have a good record of producing professional rugby players; however, it did not look into Afrikaans all boy schools. Grey Kollege, Afrikaanse Höer Seunskool (Affies) and Paul Roos Gymnasium are just three examples of the most successful rugby schools in the pre-apartheid, apartheid and post-apartheid eras, with regards to both win rate, and the production of professional and national rugby players. For instance, Grey Kollege has a 100% win rate over the past five years and is widely regarded as the best rugby playing school in the world; however, their first teams consistently lack diversity on a yearly basis. Thus, targeting all boy Afrikaans schools and understanding the experiences of people of colour within those environment may provide a deeper understanding into the lack of transformation at professional and national level rugby.

The fourth potential limitation was methodological in nature. At School 2 the interview process did not go as smoothly as I would have liked; and at times it felt as if the participants were not forthcoming with information. The private conversation which they had with the Head of Rugby before I was able to approach them could have played a role, and/or it could have been a lack of understanding, or the lack of a vocabulary to discuss or describe sensitive issues which this study addressed. Thus, using semi-structured interviews in isolation was a potential limitation. It may have been better to utilise a combination of both semi-structured interviews, and focus-group which consisted of participants from both School 1 and School 2. Focus-groups would have potentially allowed some participants to feel free sharing moments which they have repressed, after hearing others share similar stories. Furthermore, that collaborative space could have facilitated richer narratives. However, it must be stressed that it would need to be a combination of approaches, and the focus-group participants would need to be strategically selected. Semi-structured interviews were essential for building rapport, and ensuring that the participants were comfortable. There were many participants who continuously asked how their confidentiality and anonymity would be ensured, thus in a bigger group, I do not believe they would have opened up in the manner which they have.

Regardless of these limitations, this study provides information which has been long overdue in the South African, and an international context. Through centring black rugby players' experiences in predominantly white spaces that are tasked with producing professional rugby players; this study has started to uncover both troubling, and promising factors which can be taken into consideration when creating and implementing transformation measures.

4.7 Recommendations for Future Studies

Given the limitation of the study presented above, I recommend that future studies look at both English speaking and Afrikaans speaking all boy schools, to gain a more holistic understanding of the experiences which facilitate or constrain the ability of people of colour to integrate into Model C schools. Furthermore, it is recommended that future studies include more Coloured and Indian voices. As the intersectional theory states, the experiences of people in the world is dependent on their specific identity make-up, and thus the experiences of Indian, Coloured and Black people may be similar, but they will also differ in many ways (Crenshaw, 1989). These differences have the potential to provide rich and valuable insights into the complex experiences of people of colour at Model C schools, and thus can inform transformation measures greatly. Furthermore, it would be interesting if a combination of semi-structured and focus-groups was utilised within and between schools in future studies.

4.8 The Way Forward

Through the analysis of interview data in this study, it is clear that there needs to be a change in the way we imagine and implement transformation in South African society, and rugby in particular. However, before any of this can occur, perhaps the most important challenge we face is educating gatekeepers and White students at Model C schools on transformation measures, how they function and why they are needed in society so that their attitudes towards these measures shift. If this does not happen, black rugby players will continue to be unfairly labelled ‘quotas’ and in turn, they will continue to have their achievements undermined and understood as unjust. If these attitudes are not shifted, the implementation of transformation measures will continue to perpetuate the stigma that black rugby players are undeserving and need to be given handouts. Thus, the same people who these systems are meant to empower will continue to doubt themselves and their ability, and they will continue to vehemently reject these systems.

In the short term, if Model C schools are going to continue to bring black people into their schooling environment, it is important that there is a fundamental shift from white practices and values, to a more inclusive environment which does not perpetuate overt, and subtle pressures for black people to abandon key elements and characteristics of their self-identity in order to fit in. The pressures which the participants reported feeling, are not only unfair, but are unconstitutional and there needs to be a concerted effort to changing these practices. This begins by having open and honest dialogue with black students at the school (Christie & McKinney, 2017; Greyling, 2017). In order to effectively create this dialogue, Model C schools need to create a safe space exclusively for people of colour, where they can come together and discuss their subjective experiences of their school openly and

freely. This space needs to be actively defined and redefined by the participants themselves with regards to what they would like to give and to take away from that space.

It is essential that the insights shared in these discussions are used to educate students and teachers in the broader school community; whilst ultimately facilitating change in the social and structural facets of the school environment. This needs to be accomplished in order for black people to be included and embraced at these schools, rather than forced to assimilate. Linked to this, teachers too need to be held accountable when they have displayed signs of discrimination; whether that be overt or covert. The experience of the unfair treatment of black students by teachers described by Gqoboka, are disappointingly common in Model C schools, as can be seen by the protests which have taken place at San Souci, and Pretoria Girls High School (Christie & McKinney, 2017). However, as Gqoboka experienced, the response is to perpetuate victim blaming by justifying problematic behaviour, silencing students, and removing them from the classroom. Rather, students need to be supported by the gatekeepers at Model C schools when they report being discriminated against, and these matters need to be thoroughly assessed. When and where it is necessary, disciplinary action needs to be taken against the teachers involved.

Furthermore, there needs to be a more concerted effort to accept more people of colour, and to hire more teachers of colour. In a country that is predominantly made up of black people, Mbonambi should not be able to count the number of black people on one hand, and Beast should not feel like an outcast due to his teachers not understanding his lived experiences as a black person. There also needs to be more of an effort to have more people of colour in positions of influence at the school. The idea is that Black people are likely to understand the lived experiences of black students at the school, why they might be behaving in a particular way, and thus how to productively teach and coach black people so that they can get the best out of the environment. Having more teachers of colour, who care about creating an inclusive environment, does more to deconstruct the notion that Model C schools are “white schools”. Furthermore, seeing more people who look the same as you as a person of colour, can be motivating, empowering and will help to create a more inclusive environment. However, it cannot stop there, otherwise we will continue to perpetuate practices which put the onus on black people. The white teachers also need to work towards understanding the lived experiences of black people and become aware of their perpetuation of ignorance and the way it works to further the oppression of black students rather than empowering them to succeed in a Model C school.

In the long term, however, the current model for transformation needs to be critically assessed, and I argue that the focus needs to shift to schools in rural areas and townships. Currently, Model C schools

are viewed by many parents as the ideal schools to send their children to because they are heavily resourced and many of these schools including, School 1 and School 2 boast impeccable academic records (Christie & McKinney, 2017). The consequence is that Model C schools are constructed as the saviours of people of colour when they offer them scholarships, and they are given an incredible amount of credit when these same people make a name for themselves on the sports field. The dominant discourse is that Dale College saved Makhaya Ntini from his village, and Siya Kolisi perpetuated the same discourse when he said that if it were not for Grey High School, he would not be where he is.

Whilst it is true that these schools play a big role in the development of the Ntini's and Kolisi's of the world, how many other potential top-class athletes are left behind and do not get these opportunities? The Model C development system is not sustainable, nor is it effective in the bigger scheme of things. I suggest that the development system needs to take place in those townships and villages that Ntini was 'rescued' from, in order to provide all the people of colour who attend those schools the same levels of education, development and opportunity as students who attend Model C schools. The political and corporate spheres need to collaborate in order to develop and upskill teachers, improve infrastructure which facilitates learning and sporting development at under privileged schools. Furthermore, there needs to be an effort to understand, and to improve the unique problems of the communities which these schools are located. Education, the social environment and sports development are intrinsically connected, if a student is coming to school on an empty stomach, or they have to walk home in areas where gangsterism is rife, they cannot be expected to perform in the classroom, attend sports practice at the end of the day, let alone be able to perform at a high level academically or physically.

4.9 Conclusion

This study set out to better understand the experiences of black rugby players at Model C schools. The results found that assimilation and social relationships had a profound impact on whether or not the participants felt positively or negatively about their schooling environment. The participants described overwhelming pressure, which resulted in a choiceless choice to assimilate to white norms in various ways whilst at school. These pressures to assimilate have resulted in both School 1 and School 2 being perceived as "White Schools" 25 years after democracy. Furthermore, the relationships which the participants have with their black peers plays a pivotal role as a coping strategy during difficult moments; whilst relationships with white peers are characterised by ignorance. Furthermore, this ignorance acts as a roadblock to genuine bonds forming with their white peers. Regardless of the difficulties, the participants described that they know what their end goals

are, and they will not allow anything or anyone to stop them from succeeding. The narratives described in this study suggest that School 1 and School 2 need to transform radically, with regards to both demographic and the white only ideologies and practices which they continue to perpetuate. Perhaps in the long-term there needs to be a re-imagination of the favoured transformative practices in order to have more profound and sustainable results. However, whilst Model C schools act as the feeders of rugby unions, it is clear that there need to be significant changes at School 1 and School 2, so that black rugby players feel a sense of belonging at the respective institutions.

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Appendices

Appendix A



UNIVERSITEIT
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Consent Form

Stellenbosch University

Consent to participate in a research study on transformation in high school rugby in Cape Town.

Dear Participant

Title: Black Male Rugby Players' Experiences of Transformation in Sport at Model-C schools: An Exploratory Study

Study Purpose

You are invited to participate in a study which is being conducted by me, Mihlali Tshikila, a Masters student at Stellenbosch University. The study is about the experiences of sports and transformation for black male students within high schools in Cape Town. It aims to provide insight into the role of the school sporting environment in contributing to transformation of sport in South Africa.

Study Procedures

If you decide to participate in this study, you will need to answer a few questions in the form of an interview. The interview will be approximately 1 hour. All information obtained from you will be kept strictly confidential. There will be no way for the researcher to link the information you have given us, to you or the school which you attend. You will be assigned a pseudonym and the name of your school will not be reported in the study.

At a later stage, you may then be requested to partake in a focus group with a number of the other participants. However, if you have participated in the interview, you do not have to participate in the focus group and will be given the option of declining this request. .

Possible Risks and discomforts

In this study you will be discussing intimate and personal experiences which may result in feelings of discomfort. In the event that you do experience any form of discomfort, you may take a break from, or discontinue to interview as a whole with no repercussions.

Possible Benefits

There are no direct benefits to you in participating in this study, but we hope that information gained from this study will help us improve knowledge on the state of transformation within rugby at high schools, and in South Africa more broadly. .

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to answer any questions. If you decide to participate, you are free to change your mind and discontinue participation at any time.

Confidentiality

Information obtained for this study will be kept confidential. As proof of this your name will not be needed, and other identifying material will not be kept with the study information. This consent form, as well as the data collected in the interviews and focus groups, will be kept in separate, locked file cabinet, and there will be no link between the consent form and the interview. Any reports or publications about the study will not identify you or any other study participant.

Voice Recording

Please note that this interview will be recorded using an audio recorder. Only the researcher will have access to the voice recordings.

Questions

Any study-related questions, problems or emergencies should be directed to the following researchers:

Mihlali Tshikila

TSHSIM012@myuct.ac.za

Supervisors:

Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela

Pumlagm1@gmail.com

Dr Kim Wale

Kim.Wale30@gmail.com

If you experience any discomfort or anxieties after partaking in the study, you can access counselling at Lifeline Western Cape. This counselling service is free.

The counselling services contact details are:

- A. Lifeline Western Cape
 Telephone counselling service: 021 461 1111
 Face-to-Face Counselling booking: 021 461 1113
 WhatsApp: 063 709 2620
 Email: info@lifelinewc.org.za
 Website: <http://www.lifelinewc.org.za>

I have read the above and am satisfied with my understanding of the study, it's possible benefits, risks and alternatives. My questions about the study have been answered. I hereby voluntarily consent to participation in the research study as described. I have been offered copies of this two-page consent form.

* * *

 Signature of participant

 Date

 Signature of guardian

 Date

Mihlali Tshikila

Researchers Name.

PERMISSION TO TAPE-RECORD INTERVIEWS

I understand that the interview will be tape-recorded and that the researcher will take strict precautions to safeguard my personal information throughout the study.

Participant's Signature

Appendix B

Interview Schedule:

Questions:

General experience at school:

- How long have you been at this school?
 - Tell me about your experiences throughout these years
- Can you share some of the moments that have been most difficult for you at the school?
 - Please tell me more about the challenging moments for you at the school? How did they begin?
 - How often have you encountered these experiences, and how did you deal with them?

Interpersonal relationships:

- Tell me about your friendships
 - Are most of your friends black or white?
 - What are your friendships like with your black peers?
 - What are they like with your white peers? Are there any differences?
- What are your interactions like with your coaches?
 - Do they give you confidence? Are they confident in you?
 - Do you ever feel like you are treated differently to your white team mates?
 - If so, how do you deal with that?

Transformation:

- How do you understand transformation? How would you define it?
- Do you think that transformation is important?
- Do you feel that your school environment is transformed?
 - In what ways is it transformed?
 - In what ways is it not transformed?
- Do you feel included in your school environment?
 - Are there any ways which you find excluded?
- What is your view on how your coaches approach the issue of transformation in rugby?
 - Please could you elaborate?
- What do you think should change about the school in order for it to be more open to transformation?
 - How do you think that this school could contribute to transformation?
- Do you ever think about the fact that you are a black person whilst at school?
 - How? When are you reminded of this? How does that make you feel?

Future Goals:

- What are your goals with regards to rugby? How do you see your involvement beyond high school rugby?
 - What are some of the experiences in this environment (In the school, and with regards to your relationship with your coaches) that you see as an obstacle in achieving these goals?
 - How do you deal with these problems?

- Are there any experiences that have been created to support to support your goals to play rugby at a higher level?

Experience of the interview:

- How did you find the process of doing this interview?
- How are you feeling about talking about these issues? Is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix C:



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Assent Form

Stellenbosch University

Assent to participate in a research study on transformation in high school rugby in Cape Town.

Dear Participant

Title: Black Male Rugby Players' Experiences of Transformation in Sport at Model-C schools: An Exploratory Study

What is RESEARCH?

Research is something we do find **NEW KNOWLEDGE** about the way things (and people) work. We use research projects or studies to help us find out more about children, teenagers and adults and the things that affect their lives, their schools, their families and their health. We do this to try and make the world a better place.

Study Purpose

You are invited to participate in a study which is being conducted by me, Mhlahli Tshikila, a Masters student at Stellenbosch University. The study is about the experiences of sports and transformation for black male students within high schools in Cape Town. It aims to provide insight into the role of the school sporting environment in contributing to transformation of sport in South Africa.

Study Procedures

If you decide to participate in this study, you will need to answer a few questions in an interview. The interview will be approximately 1 hour long. All information shared by you, will be kept strictly between you and I. There will be no way for the researcher to link the information you have given to you or your school. You will be assigned a pseudonym and the name of your school will not be reported in the study.

At a later stage, you may then be asked to partake in a focus group with a number of the other students. However, if you took part in the interview, you do not have to participate in the focus group and there will be no penalties if you do not participate.

Possible Risks and discomforts

In this study you will be discussing personal experiences which might make you feel uncomfortable. If this does happen, you are free to take a break, move on to another question, or end the interview.

Possible Benefits

There are no direct benefits to you in participating in this study, but we hope that information gained from this study will help us improve knowledge on the state of transformation within rugby at high schools, and in South Africa more broadly.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to answer any questions. If you decide to participate, you are free to change your mind and end the interview at any time.

Confidentiality

Information obtained for this study will be kept confidential. As proof of this your name will not be needed, and other identifying material will not be kept with the study information. This consent form, as well as the data collected in the interviews and focus groups, will be kept in separate, locked file cabinets, and there will be no link between the consent form and the interview. Any reports or publications about the study will not identify you or any other study participant.

Voice Recording

Please note that this interview will be recorded using an audio recorder. Only the researcher will have access to the voice recordings.

Questions

Any study-related questions, problems or emergencies should be directed to the following researchers:

Mihlali Tshikila

TSHSIM012@myuct.ac.za

Supervisors:

Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela
Dr Kim Wale

Pumlagm1@gmail.com
Kim.Wale30@gmail.com

If you experience any discomfort or anxieties after partaking in the study, you can access counselling at Lifeline Western Cape. This counselling service is free.

The counselling services contact details are:

- A. Lifeline Western Cape
Telephone counselling service: 021 461 1111
Face-to-Face Counselling booking: 021 461 1113
WhatsApp: 063 709 2620
Email: info@lifelinewc.org.za
Website: <http://www.lifelinewc.org.za>

I have read the above assent form and I understand what will happen in the study, it's possible benefits, risks and alternatives. My questions about the study have been answered. I hereby voluntarily assent to participation in the research study as described. I have been offered copies of this two-page assent form.

* * *

Signature of participant

Date

Mihlali Tshikila

Researchers Name.

PERMISSION TO TAPE-RECORD INTERVIEWS

I understand that the interview will be tape-recorded and that the researcher will take strict precautions to safeguard my personal information throughout the study.

Participant's Signature

Appendix D:



UNIVERSITEIT
STELLENBOSCH
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Consent Form

Stellenbosch University

Consent to participate in a research study on transformation in high school rugby in Cape Town.

Dear Parent

Title: Title: Black Male Rugby Players' Experiences of Transformation in Sport at Model-C schools: An Exploratory Study

Study Purpose

Your son is invited to participate in a study which is being conducted by me, Mhlali Tshikila, a Masters student at Stellenbosch University. The study is about the experiences of sports and transformation for black male students within high schools in Cape Town. It aims to provide insight into the role of the school sporting environment in contributing to transformation of sport in South Africa.

Study Procedures

If your son decides to participate in this study, he will need to answer a few questions in the form of an interview. The interview will be approximately 1 hour in length. All information obtained from him will be kept strictly confidential. There will be no way for the researcher to link the information he has given us, to him or the school which he attends. Your son will be assigned a pseudonym and the name of his school will not be reported in the study.

At a later stage, he may then be requested to partake in a focus group with a number of the other participants. However, if he has participated in the interview, he does not have to participate in the focus group and will be given the option of declining this request. .

Possible Risks and discomforts

In this study your son will be discussing intimate and personal experiences which may result in feelings of discomfort. In the event that he does experience any form of discomfort, he may take a break from, or discontinue to interview as a whole with no repercussions.

Possible Benefits

There are no direct benefits to your son participating in this study, but we hope that information gained from this study will help us improve knowledge on the state of transformation within rugby at high schools, and in South Africa more broadly.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your son is free to refuse to answer any questions. If he decides to participate, he is free to change his mind and discontinue participation at any time.

Confidentiality

Information obtained for this study will be kept confidential. As proof of this your son's name will not be needed, and other identifying material will not be kept with the study information. This consent form, as well as the data collected in the interviews and focus groups, will be kept in separate, locked file cabinet, and there will be no link between the consent form and the interview. Any reports or publications about the study will not identify your son or any other study participant.

Voice Recording

Please note that this interview will be recorded using an audio recorder. Only the researcher will have access to the voice recordings.

Questions

Any study-related questions, problems or emergencies should be directed to the following researchers:

Mihlali Tshikila

TSHSIM012@myuct.ac.za

Supervisors:

Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela
Dr Kim Wale

Pumlagm1@gmail.com
Kim.Wale30@gmail.com

If your son experiences any discomfort or anxieties after partaking in the study, you can access counselling at Lifeline Western Cape. This counselling services is free.

The counselling service contact details are:

- A. Lifeline Western Cape
Telephone counselling service: 021 461 1111
Face-to-Face Counselling booking: 021 461 1113
WhatsApp: 063 709 2620
Email: info@lifelinewc.org.za
Website: <http://www.lifelinewc.org.za>

I have read the above and am satisfied with my understanding of the study, it's possible benefits, risks and alternatives. My questions about the study have been answered. I hereby voluntarily consent to participation in the research study as described. I have been offered copies of this two-page consent form.

* * *

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of guardian

Date

Mihlali Tshikila

Researchers Name.

PERMISSION TO TAPE-RECORD INTERVIEWS

I understand that the interview will be tape-recorded and that the researcher will take strict precautions to safeguard my son's personal information throughout the study.

Parents Signature

Appendix E:



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NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC Humanities New Application Form

4 February 2019

Project number: 7558

Project Title: Black Male Athletes' Perceptions and Experiences at Model-C schools: An Exploratory Study

Dear Mr Simthandile Tshikila

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on 17 January 2019 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities. Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (7558) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
4 February 2019	3 February 2020



Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Data collection tool	Informed Consent Form Request for permission	Request for permission	Research Protocol/Proposal Informed
Consent Form	Parental consent form	Assent form	
Default	Default		
Interview Schedule	Consent Form		
WPED Letter	Letter for headmasters		
Final Proposal	Mihlali Tshikila-18517374.	7 November	Consent Form
PARENTS CONSENT FORM			
FINAL ASSENT FORM			
REC Letter			
Final Proposal	Mihlali Tshikila-18517374.	7 November	
12/09/2018	12/09/2018	06/11/2018	06/11/2018
07/11/2018	12/12/2018	12/12/2018	12/12/2018
09/01/2019	09/01/2019		
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If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za. Sincerely,
 Clarissa Graham
 REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.
 The Research Ethics Committee: Humanities complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research. In addition, this committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research established by the Declaration of Helsinki (2013) and the Department of Health Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes (2nd Ed.) 2015. Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

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Investigator Responsibilities Protection of Human Research Participants

Some of the general responsibilities investigators have when conducting research involving human participants are listed below:

1. Conducting the Research. You are responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC approved research protocol. You are also responsible for the actions of all your co-investigators and research staff involved with this research. You must also ensure that the research is conducted within the standards of your field of research.

2. Participant Enrollment. You may not recruit or enroll participants prior to the REC approval date or after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials for any form of media must be approved by the REC prior to their use.

3. Informed Consent. You are responsible for obtaining and documenting effective informed consent using **only** the REC-approved consent documents/process, and for ensuring that no human participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their informed consent. Please give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents. Keep the originals in your secured research files for at least five (5) years.

4. Continuing Review. The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is **no grace period**. Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, **it is your responsibility to submit the progress report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur**. If REC approval of your research lapses, you must stop new participant enrollment, and contact the REC office immediately.

5. Amendments and Changes. If you wish to amend or change any aspect of your research (such as research design, interventions or procedures, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material), you must submit the amendment to the REC for review using the current Amendment Form. You **may not initiate** any amendments or changes to your research without first obtaining written REC review and approval. The **only exception** is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

6. Adverse or Unanticipated Events. Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to Malene Fouche within **five (5) days** of discovery of the incident. You must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the REC's requirements for protecting human research participants. The only exception to this policy is that the death of a research participant must be reported in accordance with the Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee Standard Operating Procedures. All reportable events should be submitted to the REC using the Serious Adverse Event Report Form.

7. Research Record Keeping. You must keep the following research related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments; all informed consent documents; recruiting materials; continuing review reports; adverse or unanticipated events; and all correspondence from the REC

8. Provision of Counselling or emergency support. When a dedicated counsellor or psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

9. Final reports. When you have completed (no further participant enrollment, interactions or interventions) or stopped work on your research, you must submit a Final Report to the REC.

10. On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits. If you are notified that your research will be reviewed or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, you must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.

Appendix F:

Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za

tel: +27 021 467 9272

Fax: 0865902282

Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000

wced.wcape.gov.za

REFERENCE: 20190107–9985

ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Mr Mhlahli Tshikila

C/O Historical Trauma and Transformation Research Office

Stellenbosch University

Matieland

7600

Dear Mr Mhlahli Tshikila

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: BLACK MALE RUGBY PLAYERS' PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF TRANSFORMATION IN SPORT AT MODEL-C SCHOOLS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **09 January 2019 till 30 June 2019**
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

The Director: Research Services

Western Cape Education Department

Private Bag X9114

CAPE TOWN

8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard

Directorate: Research

DATE: 07 January 2019
