Seishin and Power:
The Historical and Sociocultural Influences on Rugby Coach Pedagogy
in Japanese and New Zealand Secondary Schools

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Abstract

The literature indicates that the values of, and justification for, rugby participation in Japan and New Zealand share many similarities including the development of young males’ character. Aside from a small number of studies, there appears to be a scarcity of research concerning the historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogies in Japanese high school rugby, and a similar sentiment could be made regarding New Zealand secondary school rugby contexts. Accordingly, the question guiding this research asked: What are the historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogical approaches in rugby from the perspectives of secondary school coaches and players in Japan and New Zealand?

Conversations with four Japanese coaches and their players, five New Zealand coaches and their players, and researcher experiences as a bilingual athlete and coach were the main sources of data. A hermeneutic methodology, which seeks to understand and interpret, rather than explain and verify, was used in analysis. Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory acts as a complimentary theoretical framework from which to make hermeneutic interpretations of the conversations with participants from each context. The mutual influences of historical, social, cultural, and individual factors on learning, development and a person’s vantage point (perspective) are underscored.

Analysis utilised the whole-part-whole process of the hermeneutic circle, and revealed that the Japanese data highlighted the sociocultural influence of seishin ideology as an underpinning part of coaching practices. In a (bukatsudō) setting that often requires players to attend training up to six or seven days per week, it was suggested that the seishin ideology – aimed at the kitae (forging) of players’ kokoro (mind/spirit) and bodies – reinforced the encouragement of varying kinds of kimochi (feeling/attitude/vitality); and the objective of ningen keisei (character development or human cultivation). Findings were considered in light of Yuasa’s (1987) idea of Eastern understandings of harsh corporeal practices as a means to cultivate an achieved unity of body and mind. Further, the historical influence of budō (the Martial Arts) was also considered (Inoue, 1997). Pedagogy in Japan was characterized as coach centred and was framed as a Bushidō coach approach (Miller, 2011).

Interpretation of New Zealand texts revealed a focus on developing correct technique and skills, maintaining order in the session, and the perceived importance of position as a teacher. Through recursive analysis using the hermeneutic circle, discussion
of these findings focused on the use of control, power, and discipline in learning environments. Interpretations drew on Mangan’s (1981) and Phillips’ (1996) suggestion of rugby as a ‘soldier making’ pursuit; and Foucault’s (1977) and Kirk’s (1997) notion of the ‘schooled body’ in which to understand the historical and socio-cultural influences in the New Zealand context.

Alignment of Japanese coaches’ approaches with that of the Bushido coach (Miller, 2011) and the emphasis placed on maintaining control by New Zealand coaches was contrasted by data which indicated that attempts at player-centred pedagogies were made by the Japanese and New Zealand coaches. However, interpretations made from analysis of both coach and player data indicated that coach-centred pedagogies were still dominant in each context.

The absence of reference to the possible educative or character developing possibilities of participation in rugby was revealed in the New Zealand data, despite a similar line of conversation in Japan. Discussion questioned whether this noteworthy finding indicated that the educative intent of rugby has either shifted, or, perhaps, become so ingrained that it operates at an implicit level in New Zealand. Notwithstanding, if indeed educative intentions were implicit and inherent in the New Zealand secondary school rugby context, what were the implications of leaving these objectives unarticulated? Further, what is the role of rugby in schools, if no clear educative intent is evident? These questions offer important direction for future research.
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Conventions

Japanese terms have been Romanised and italicised according to the Hepburn system, and long Japanese vowel sounds have been approximated using macrons.

All translations of documents and quotations from Japanese were done by the researcher and checked by other bilingual scholars including Professor Alex Bennett, Professor Iriguchi Yutaka, and Professor Saito Makoto.
Abbreviations

**JRFU**
Japan Rugby Football Union

**MEXT**
Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

**NZC**
New Zealand Curriculum

**NZHPE**
New Zealand Health and Physical Education

**NZR**
New Zealand Rugby (formally New Zealand Rugby Union)

**NZRU**
New Zealand Rugby Union (changed to New Zealand Rugby in 2013)

**SANZAR**
South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia Rugby

**U13 ~ U18**
Under 13 years of age to Under 18 years of age
Glossary of Terms

*Budō* – a term denoting the “way of the warrior”. Now used as a collective appellation for modern martial arts of *kendo*, *jūdō*, *kyūdō* and so on. The primary objective of these “martial ways” is self-perfection.

*Bukatsu/Bukatsudō* – extracurricular club activities.

*Bushidō* – an ethical framework developed by Japan’s warrior class.

*Dōjō* – training hall for practice of the martial arts.

*Fusion of horizon* – merging past experiences, or a text, with one’s present circumstances and understanding, thereby creating a new meaning in lived experience (Gadamer, 2002).

*Haka* - a Maōri ceremonial war dance.

*Hauora* – Maōri philosophy of well-being that includes the dimension *taha wairua* (spirituality), *taha hinengaro* (mental and emotional), *taha tinana* (physical), and *taha whanau* (social), each one influencing and supporting the others.

*Kimochi* – feeling; attitude; vitality.

*Kokoro* – mind; heart; spirit.

*Ningen keisei* – character development; character building.

*Seishin (ideology)* – a system of spiritual and ethical behaviour; a philosophy concerned with cultivation of the self through *shūgyō* (aesthetic practice).

*Sensei* – teacher or coach.
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Chapter One: 
Introduction to the Study

My first memorable introduction to Japanese culture was as a nine year old. I had been caught making prank phone calls with a school friend, and in an attempt to redirect my (mis)behaviour my parents sent me along to a kendo (Japanese sword fighting) training session at the Avonside Girls High School gymnasium. It just so happened that my older brother (14 years my senior) was the head coach of the club at that time; by request of our parents, he was charged with taking me under his wing and guiding me to the supposed behavioural benefits achievable from practicing the martial arts.

I remember little about the day-to-day instruction I received in the earlier months, however, over the years I developed a devotion to kendo and adopted many of the coaching mannerisms and behaviours of my brother and other Japanese and New Zealand coaches and seniors. From summer through to winter, training three or four times a week, all I thought about was kendo. As I became stronger, I was cared for by my coaches and the club seniors as one of the youngest practitioners in a comparatively small kendo country.

By the time I turned 12 years old, my older brother had returned to Japan to pursue his PhD studies at Kyoto University. I travelled with my (Japanese) kendo coach to visit him, train in the ‘motherland’, and compete against others of a similar age. This experience would set the direction for my future. I had a taste of what Japan had to offer and I wanted to experience more. In my drive to become stronger and more knowledgeable in all-things-kendo, I dedicated my teenage years to the study of the Japanese language, and I constantly searched for opportunities that would take me back to Japan.
When I was 18 years old, and after three years of community kendo coaching, the opportunity to go back to Japan arose. I returned with a grand total of NZ$2000, and spent almost one year sleeping on my brother’s floor, training twice a day at the Kyoto Riot Police dōjō and the Kyoto University Kendo Club. In between trainings I iced my injuries, consumed countless bowls of curry and rice, and continued my study of the Japanese language and culture. The days were long and hard, both physically and mentally. In truth, I could not wait to be back in New Zealand. Yet the experiences I had impacted on my being, thoughts, and practices in ways that I did not realize until I undertook this PhD research project and the need to reflect on my experiences as a coach, a practitioner, and a junior researcher were critical.

On my return from Japan as an 18-year old, I joined the work force and continued coaching kendo. At the age of 23, I decided to begin my tertiary education. Due to my enjoyable experiences as a coach in the Canterbury Kendo Club and, by this stage, as the highest graded practitioner in Christchurch, I chose a degree in sport coaching at the University of Canterbury. The crux of this degree emphasized an athlete-centred (henceforth referred to as player-centred) approach. This was a contrast to the use of coach-centred pedagogy I had encountered as a kendo player, and subsequently practiced as a coach. I learned many things and applied them with a degree of success, but, above all, I began to consider the similarities and dissimilarities between New Zealand (or Western) coaching pedagogies according to the literature, and Japanese coaching pedagogies as per my experiences in the dōjō.

The seed planted in my undergraduate years led me further down the academic path. Almost immediately after graduation I moved back to Japan to study at a Masters level at the Osaka Health and Sports University, a university renowned for its kendo prowess, harsh training regimes and intimidating coaches. After several months of
training in what may be considered a cauldron of kendo for young, seemingly ‘semi-professional’ kendo players, I found my topic of research: 剣道稽古における攻撃性と暴力の考察 (Toward an Understanding of Aggression and Violence in School Kendō Training). It seemed I had embarked on a contentious research project that was largely untouched in postgraduate investigation, and particularly from the point of view of a non-Japanese person.

Although several Japanese people implied that I could not truly understand the topic because I was not Japanese, this did not deter me. Indeed, I was aware that I could not provide an insider perspective in the Japanese context. While I had lived in Japan, I was not Japanese. Yet in my struggles as an ‘outsider-insider’, I began to grapple with my experiences with different types of coaching pedagogies. My experiences comprised a research investigation of coaching practices in Japan, specifically high-level, university-grade, Japanese kendo. I sought to understand how they coached, why they coached like that, and, particularly, the way in which seemingly aggressive and violent practices were permissible in the learning environment. The process taught me much about the intricacies of Japanese coaching philosophies in the school sport setting.

The completion of my Masters thesis was bittersweet. I wanted to know more, and I wanted to continue to contrast and compare the practices of Japan and New Zealand. Yet I felt that a continued focus on kendo was limiting. My lived experiences (that is, experiences I have lived through in my actions, relations and situations; Van Manen, 2007) in and through kendo would allow me to delve deeper into an intercultural exchange of ideas in the context of a PhD study, but I also wanted to pursue understandings of coaching in each country in a broader sense. When I looked more generally at the direction of popular sport in Japan and New Zealand, it was rugby that offered the scope that I sought. In a hermeneutical sense, I wanted to broaden my horizon.
and attempt to fully consider the vantage point of other coaches. Maybe research in this context would reach a greater number of people, and provide a contribution to sociocultural (and intercultural) understandings in the field of sport coaching? My love of kendo provided me with the impetus to undertake an academic journey, but it is my pursuit of knowledge in the field of coaching that was the drive for this study.

Proficiency in both written and spoken Japanese language is a requisite to access Japanese coaches’ perspectives. In addition, there needs to be an appreciation for variances and subtleties in cultural practices. Accordingly, the opening section of this chapter began with a description of my lived experiences in New Zealand and Japan. As a New Zealander with an enthusiasm for learning about the Japanese culture and language from a young age, these experiences provided me with some of the understanding needed to engage with the aim of this study. The subsequent sections of this introductory chapter provide a broad overview of the topic of coaching and pedagogy in each country and some of the historical influences, with consideration also given to the merits of conducting research cognisant of sociocultural values. This is followed by an outline of each subsequent chapter of the thesis.

1.1 Purpose of the Study and Research Question

Jones (2006) argued that the field of coaching and coach education remains an “ill-defined and under-theorised field” (p. 3). For Jones, despite an influx of academic research in the coaching field, there continues to be a lack of conceptual frameworks that adequately attend to the complexities of the coaching environment. Galvan, Fyall and Culpan (2012) suggested that the majority of coaching programmes are significantly limited to traditional and coach-centred instructional techniques, whereby coaching is typified by coach control and dissemination of technical content knowledge (Lombardo, 1999). Indeed, if coaches were to consider themselves as educators, and sought to
enhance a player’s development across physical, cognitive, social, cultural, and moral domains, then practices that promoted a traditional and technical focus could be considered ineffective (Cassidy, Jones & Potrac, 2009).

A review of the literature indicates that the values and justification for rugby participation in Japan and New Zealand share many similarities, such as the austere and masculine development of young males’ character (Light, 1999a; 1999b; Phillips, 1996). Nevertheless, apart from Light (1999a; 1999b; 2000), there appears to be a scarcity of research concerning the influence of sociocultural values on pedagogies in Japanese high school rugby. A similar sentiment may be made regarding New Zealand secondary school rugby contexts. Due to this gap, the research question guiding this project was: What are the historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogical approaches in rugby from the perspectives of secondary school coaches and players in Japan and New Zealand?

Investigation and furthered understanding of the historical and sociocultural influences acting on the pedagogical approaches of secondary school rugby coaches can offer valuable insight into coaching practices in both the Japanese and New Zealand context. Indeed, the contributions that can be offered by a hermeneutic interpretation may be used to understand the present state of coaching initiatives in secondary school rugby in Japan and New Zealand. As Cushion, Armour and Jones (2003) and Lyle (2002) have posited the historical, social, and cultural experiences of coaches have a profound influence on their practices. As such, consideration for present horizons (understandings) of coaches, as something profoundly shaped by traditions (Gadamer, 2002), may also be used to inform future directions in coaching. In this way, pursuing an understanding of the societal and educational differences in each country through a hermeneutic interrogation, in context, is requisite if increased understanding is to occur in an increasingly globally interactive community of rugby.
1.2 Overview of the Topic

Rugby and its underpinning games ethic were viewed as a means to develop and embody desired ‘character’, moral and social values in 19th century England public schools (Mangan, 1981; Phillips, 1987). As Mangan (1981), and Chandler and Nauright (1996) pointed out, Thomas Arnold’s (headmaster of Rugby School from 1828-1841) model of moral education through sport highlighted earnestness, selflessness, and humility in the school boys of the rising English middle-classes, with a later shift to emphasise austere values such as hardness and endurance. In the latter half of the 19th century, Britain’s dissemination of this public school model is said to have become one of its greatest exports (Lambert, 2004). The games ethic and the accompanying concepts of moral and social development would impact on both the meaning and practice of sport in the British colonies and beyond (Chandler & Nauright, 1996). Accordingly, as a colony of Britain, it is perhaps unsurprising that similar values were transported to New Zealand, a claim that is evidenced in the work of Phillips (1987) and Ryan (2007).

Although Japan was not a part of the British Empire, Light (1999a) suggested that Japanese educators attributed British colonial expansion and military strength to the moral strength attainable through the playing of games. With the elitist pretensions of the British in the late 19th century, the vigour required of team sports was seen as symbolic of national strength and health (Mangan & Hickey, 2000), while the absence of sport in foreign lands indicated cultural weakness and racial inferiority (Roden, 2001). This perception of sport and masculinity was eventually adopted by Japanese educators, and was later integrated into more uniquely Japanese practices that would continue to influence the practice of rugby throughout the 20th century. More recently, studies conducted by Light (1999a; 1999b), and, to a certain extent, anecdotal accounts of Japanese secondary school physical education and coaching pedagogies, suggest that
drill-orientated styles which focus on the development of *seishin kyōiku* (spiritual education) are more prominent in Japanese contexts. Indeed, this is in contrast to the pedagogies advocated in the course content and coaching manuals provided by New Zealand Rugby (NZR, formally New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU)) which indicate an alignment with player-centred pedagogies, Game Sense/Teaching Games for Understanding (TGfU) models, and effective questioning methods (NZRU, 2007).

Nevertheless, it is mindful of the historical, social and cultural differences between Japan and New Zealand that this study considers the influence of historical and sociocultural values acting on the current coach pedagogies in each country. To locate this study in such a context, the following section provides a brief overview of sociocultural-related research in the field of sport coaching.

### 1.3 Sociocultural Research

Sport coaching is a rapidly developing field of research (Light, Evans, Harvey & Hassanin, 2015). While earlier discourses were commonly dominated by sport science and biophysical discourses, recognition of sociocultural matters has become more prominent in recent years (Potrac, Denison, & Gilbert, 2013). For instance, Evans (2012; 2014) discussed the ways in which coaching practice can be socioculturally influenced. Experiences amassed and embodied over time by Australian and New Zealand elite level rugby coaches were found to exercise a high degree of influence on coaching beliefs and dispositions. Light and Evans (2013) argued that the differences they found between Australian and New Zealand coaches could be linked to the separate social and cultural contexts influencing their development as players and coaches.

An increased orientation toward understanding sociocultural influences in the sport coaching literature over the past two decades (e.g. Cassidy, Jones, & Potrac, 2004;
2009) has been supported by recognition of the relevance of education theory to coaching. Light et al. (2015) suggested that:

Sociocultural perspectives on coaching and player learning informed by educational, learning and social theories and sociocultural knowledge reject views of coaching and learning as linear processes. Instead, they seek to recognize, understand and account for the complexity of coaching, coach development and player learning as social processes (p. 4).

Jones, Potrac, Cushion, and Ronglan (2011) have suggested that as coaching is a complex social practice, it can be better understood as socially and culturally situated. Although an overemphasis on the influence of experiential and social elements risks overlooking individual agency in the process of developing knowledge and practice (Hassanin & Light, 2014), Cushion, Armour, and Jones (2006) argued that social and cultural influences are often underemphasised.

While the experiences of coaches in Japan and New Zealand can be understood in terms of development in the physical domain, game tactics and game strategy, it is the historical, social and cultural influences on coaches’ moral, social and pedagogical aims that may provide a deeper appreciation for the factors that shape coaching practice across both countries. Further, emphasis of the historical treatment of rugby as a means to develop preferred virtues in both Japan and New Zealand reinforces the rationalisation of this thesis to focus on moral, social and player development in contemporary coaching practice. In this study a hermeneutical interpretive analysis of the findings draws upon a sociocultural theoretical framework in order to understand the similarities, differences and other nuances of the pedagogies of coaches from two dissimilar cultures.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The following sections provide an overview of each chapter of this thesis.
1.4.1 Review of the literature and theoretical framework. Despite the accessibility of formal coach education programs in each country, Lyle (2002) has suggested that many coaches value experience gained during a career as a player or coach higher than that gleaned from formal coach education programs. Cushion, Armour, and Jones (2003), Cushion (2007), and Stephenson and Jowett (2009) each made similar suggestions, and commented that the effects of personal experiences (both as a player and coach) on a coach’s disposition and beliefs is profound. Accordingly, the Review of the Literature chapter gives consideration to the possible ways in which participants were influenced historically and socioculturally in their respective countries. Coaches’ pedagogical views are interpreted within a sociocultural theoretical framework cognisant of ideals from 19th century English public schools (Mangan, 1981; 1996; Phillips, 1987; 1996) that were adapted to specific cultural settings.

1.4.2 Methodology and methods. Kinsella (2006) has suggested that the process of interpretation and the transformative possibilities therein are critical in an age of post-positivism. As such, Schwandt (2001) and Kinsella (2006) have suggested the potential of hermeneutics as a methodology in qualitative inquiry. Kinsella (2006) further contended that, although it is seldom articulated, hermeneutic thought is implicit in qualitative research. Gadamer (1996) suggested that understanding, or verstehen, is universal in an interpretative paradigm. Therefore, as qualitative research emphasizes the interpretation and understanding of data, rather than explanation and verification, it is implicitly informed by hermeneutic thought (Kinsella, 2006). On the basis of these rationales, this chapter addresses the significance of the hermeneutic approach to qualitative inquiry and why it is appropriate for this study. The remainder of this chapter describes the participants, procedures and data collection, ethical considerations and, finally, considerations for data analysis in the hermeneutical interpretive approach.
1.4.3 **Findings and discussion.** The findings (or interpretations) are presented in three chapters and are combined with discussions. In order of presentation, these are: the Japanese findings and discussion, the New Zealand findings and discussion, and an intercultural interpretation of both the Japanese and New Zealand findings and discussions. Participants’ comments are italicised and followed by hermeneutical interpretations which draw upon etymological analyses, literature, and my own lived experiences. Comments made by Japanese participants have been presented in Japanese script followed by an English translation.

1.4.3.1 **Japanese findings and discussion.** Japanese coaches outlined the ways they enhanced various qualities in their players. Participant coaches spoke explicitly about developing players’ traits beyond the physical domain. The idea of *ningen keisei* (人間形成; character development or human cultivation) emerged as the premise of their aims and was often related to *seishin* ideology. The findings highlight the ways in which Japanese coaches sought to create an environment which encouraged *kimochi* (feeling/attitude/vitality), in turn leading to the development of a strong *kokoro* (mind/heart/spirit). Analysis considers and interprets the various emerging concepts philosophically, etymologically, and through the lived experiences of the players, coaches, and myself. Interpretation of this data reveals possible sociocultural values that may inform rugby coaching pedagogies in the Japanese high school context.

1.4.3.2 **New Zealand findings and discussion.** New Zealand coaches indicated they employed direct, coach-centred pedagogies that they considered necessary during their sessions. Whilst participants acknowledged the importance of giving their players a degree of management in the planning of the session or season, player participants indicated that their coach made most of the decisions about content and context. New
Zealand coach participants mentioned several rationales for their coaching pedagogies and use of control and power within the learning environment. These included the desire to achieve technical proficiency for safety, discipline (or the avoidance of a ‘chaotic’ learning environment), and the maintenance of status (power). Discussion in this chapter considers the possible historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogical approaches in rugby from the perspectives of secondary school coaches and players in New Zealand.

1.4.3.3 Japan and New Zealand – An intercultural hermeneutic for coaching.

This third chapter considers the possibilities of combining the data from Japan and New Zealand as a ‘whole’. Although this is not a comparative study, this chapter considers what might be possible if the conversations with participants were viewed in a circular whole-part-whole process (Bontekoe, 1996; Schwandt, 2001; see section 3.5). What nuanced understandings might occur through an intercultural exchange? Subsequently, what sort of theorising might transpire?

This chapter is comprised of much theorisation of historical and sociocultural influences on sport coaching, and asks questions that consider the possibilities of introducing opposing, culturally-sensitive philosophies to New Zealand coaching practice. It further draws on Eastern philosophical interpretations of learning that may be able to (re)frame understanding of the data. Moving through the parts of the text and back to the whole, further interpretations and questions are posed in order to contribute to a fuller understanding of the field.

1.4.4 Conclusion (without conclusion). Termed a “Conclusion without Conclusion” (Kentel & Dobson, 2007, p. 159), the final chapter provides a summary of the findings and literature, whilst suggesting the possibilities for future intercultural
theorizing and research. The final sections provide a reflection on the ways in which this research project has influenced my own coaching practices and suggests possibilities for similar research moving forward.
Chapter Two: 
Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

Seeking to review the literature regarding the possible historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogical approaches in rugby from the perspectives of secondary school coaches and players in Japan and New Zealand, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will address the underpinning concepts of rugby coaching in the English public school system prior to its dissemination abroad. This section also includes an overview of the literature on character building, and sport as a moral practice as it was initially intended in the English public school context. A brief review of unique Japanese sociocultural concepts, including seishin ideology (a system of spiritual and ethical behaviour), ningen keisei (character development or human cultivation), and bukatsudō (extracurricular club activities) is provided. From there, the four broad time frames of late 19th century, pre-World War 2, post-World War 2, and the professional era of rugby from 1995 onward, are identified and reviewed according to the literature for Japan, followed by the same structure for New Zealand. Review of these four eras can highlight the various historical and sociocultural (and perhaps institutional) values that may influence coaches’ practices in rugby in each context. A conclusion section indicates the similarities and differences manifested from this comparative review of rugby, and provides a basis from which to discuss the findings.

In the second section, coaching pedagogies advocated in contemporary coaching literature are reviewed and framed by the tenets of their underpinning learning theories. First, emphasising two ends of a coaching continuum, the literature on behavioural theory and its relation to coach-centred pedagogy is followed by a review of constructivist
theory and its relation to player-centred pedagogy. This leads to a review of coaching practices in Japan and New Zealand respectively.

The third and final section reviews the literature on Vygotskian Sociocultural Theory, and explains how it is applied as a theoretical framework in this study.

2.2 Historical and Sociocultural Influences on the Practice of Rugby

Mangan (1981) suggested that the need to prepare youth for imperial service became a priority in English public schools of the late 19th century, and “to a considerable extent it was the games field which prepared boys for [these] imperial adventures” (p.137). Concurrently, as new ideals concerning deportment and manners began to prevail in England, public school masters turned their focus to the cultivation of young gentlemen (Ryan, 2007). The athletic arena was viewed as a site which developed discipline, team spirit, character, and physical development (Mangan, 1981; 1996). Educators deemed organised team games as an appropriate vehicle to achieve their objectives, and formalized games became viewed as important for the development of “men who were polite and Christian in their bearing” (Phillips, 1987, p. 86). This would spawn the notion of muscular Christianity, which is investigated in the following section along with an overview of the concepts and objectives that underpinned English school boy rugby prior to its dissemination abroad in the late 1800s.

2.2.1 Muscular Christian gentlemen. Based on a “fear that Christianity was the religion of weaklings or cowards” (Dickson, 1899, cited in Mangan, 1981, p. 41), educators of the late 1800s, such as Charles Kingsley, advocated for muscular Christian virtues (Mangan, 1981; 1996). For instance, Mangan (1981) suggested that the development of “the broad chest, the tireless stride and the strong body for Christ” was encouraged and boys were urged to devote the improvement of their bodies as a “living
sacrifice to God” (p. 53). The effects of increased luxuries and leisure time available to males and a lack of boisterous physical activity were considered worrying trends which might decrease the virility of England’s youth (Phillips, 1996). It was within the framework of civilized, organised team games that schools could develop students’ physical strength, and maintain links to military virtues, such as discipline and obedience – indeed, values considered important in imperial England (Mangan, 1981; Phillips, 1987).

Within this context, English aristocracy and educators saw an opportunity to create men who were both physically strong and morally sound, or a “Christian who was also muscular” (Phillips, 1987, p. 87; 1996, p. 71). Accordingly, the role of games in the school system was seen to be particularly important. “The great value of a school is that it is, or ought to be, a place of moral discipline, and this discipline is taught as much in the playground…as in the classroom” (Marlburian, 1909, as cited in Mangan, 1981, p. 41). Therefore, for educators of late 19th century England, education encompassed both academic and physical endeavours. Mangan (1981) referenced this point by highlighting the sentiments of educator Edward Thring who advocated for education of the ‘whole’ man and the development of his “character, intellect and body in harmony” (p. 46). As such, ‘character’, as a synonym for manliness in the Victorian and Edwardian eras, was often more highly valued than mere academic ability (Mangan, 1981).

The presence of moral virtues associated with compassionate altruism and an active life were qualities found in the muscular Christian advocated by prominent educators such as Thomas Arnold (Mangan, 1981). However, in place of religious zeal, advocated by the likes of Arnold, the Public School Commission later sanctioned an ideal of the ‘gentleman’ with a “love of healthy sport and exercise” and “vigor and manliness of character” (Mangan, 1981, p. 136). In this way, manliness embraced the values of
success, aggression, and ruthlessness, while also promoting compassionate and courteous victors and the preservation of rules (Mangan, 1981; 1996).

This idea of muscular Christianity was also of interest to Pierre de Coubertin, a French educator, historian, and founder of the modern Olympic movement. De Coubertin focused much of his study on physical education and the role of sport in education. In 1883, he visited England to investigate the physical education program of Thomas Arnold at Rugby School (Hill, 1996). De Coubertin believed the methods implemented by Arnold contributed to an expansion of British power during the 19th century, and as a result he advocated for similar pedagogies to be adopted in French institutions (Hill, 1996). For de Coubertin, the playing fields of Rugby and other English schools demonstrated how organised sport could develop moral and social strength in young men (Müller, 2000). He viewed the English school system “not only as cultivating individual moral qualities, but … as social training for life in a democratic society” (Loland, 1995, p. 56).

2.2.2 The playing field and the battlefield. Mangan (1981) suggested that a paradox underpinning the educational beliefs of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the “co-existence of two apparently irreconcilable systems” of Christian gentility and social Darwinism (p. 135). The young Christian gentleman, characteristic of an ‘ideal schoolboy’ at the time, was honest, modest, honourable, and formed the basis of a true religion (Mangan, 1981). However, the common reality was of “irreligious, oaken-headed” Englishmen (Mangan, 1981, p. 135). Critics attributed this disparity to the lauded yet misleading Darwinian maxim, “survival of the fittest” (Mangan, 1981, p. 135).

According to Mangan (1981), imperialist Britain in the late Victorian era developed this combination of Christian gentility and social Darwinism with three sets of underpinning values:
1) Imperial Darwinism – the God-granted right of the white man to rule, civilize and baptize the inferior coloured races;

2) Institutional Darwinism – the cultivation of physical and psychological stamina at school in preparation for the rigors of imperial duty; and,


Mangan (1981; 1996) has proposed that within this framework Christianity would be superseded by a misinterpreted Darwinist maxim purporting the survival of the most belligerent over the most adaptable. Newsome (1960, as cited in Mangan, 1981) stated that “The character of future gentlemen was largely shaped by the allegedly moral lessons learnt on the games field; and that character represented not so much Christian virtuousness as a capacity for effective leadership” (p. 136). Mangan (1981) suggested that “to a considerable extent it was the games field which prepared boys for [these] imperial adventures” (p. 137), demonstrating the priority of public schools of the late 19th century to prepare male youth for imperial service.

2.3 Character Development

The intent to develop character, such as that framed by the muscular Christianity ideal, would be considered an important function of participation in rugby both in Japan and New Zealand. In this section, an overview of the literature regarding character development in and through sport is offered in order to provide a contemporary view of the topic; and to highlight an enduring historical influence acting on rugby in the education system.

As Shields and Bredemeier (1995) proposed, the notion that participation in sport can build one’s character was strongly reinforced by the use of sport in English school and military contexts. Indeed, this belief was also adopted by the United States of
America (USA) at the time of the American Industrial Revolution as a vehicle to socialise immigrants into the American way of life (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995). Coakley (2004) suggested that sport was shaped by capitalist and patriarchal values prominent in the USA at the time. While Sage (1998) has noted that sport may contribute to the cultivation of a participant’s values and beliefs, the uniqueness of the sporting context is not simply in learning skills but rather in the social relations found during the sporting encounter. Here, consideration for the ability of sport to help ‘build character’ requires clarification of the conceptualisation of the term (Hellison, 2003a), as well as contemplation about whether one’s character can actually be measured or transferred (Sage, 1998; Shields & Bredemeier, 2001).

2.3.1 Defining character. Doty (2006) maintained that while ‘character’ is often exalted in sports contexts, scholars are less often able to reach agreement about what actually defines the term. As a socially constructed notion, the definition of character has been shaped and modified throughout time (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995). Although Shields, Bredemeier and Power (2002) noted certain equivalence to the demarcation ‘personality’, character has been previously defined as the “possession of those personal qualities and virtues that facilitate the consistent display of moral action” (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995, p. 193). That is, Bredemeir and Sheilds (1995) suggested that character is an internal moral and ethical code that is manifested through behaviour – it is the inner dimensions of a person in which the processes of moral action become one’s behaviour. It has been described as “…having the wisdom to know what is right and having the courage to do what is right” (Docheff, 1997, p. 34). Additionally, Brody and Siegel (1992) have suggested that character is the sum of a person’s moral qualities, and Marrella (2001) posited that a person of character seeks the truth, decides what is right, and has the courage and commitment to act accordingly. Harvey, Kirk, & O’Donovan
(2009) posited that character has been defined as having social properties (perseverance, loyalty, and teamwork); and moral properties (honesty, sportspersonship, and respect). Also suggested as an “inner dimension of self-agency in which the various processes of moral action become synthesized, coordinated and ‘owned’ as self-expressions” (Shields et al., 2002, p. 541), this construct signals the importance of the contribution that moral development plays as part of character. Defined “as the evolution of a person’s grasp of the interpersonal rights and responsibilities that characterize social life” (Shields & Bredemeier, 2001, p. 585), morals are considered to lead to the development of character.

Shields and Bredemeier (1995) offered four virtues that may be considered as descriptors of character within the sport context:

- Compassion – one’s moral sensitivity;
- Fairness – giving equal consideration to others;
- Sportspersonship – the desire and drive to succeed whilst being committed to playing within the spirit of the game (i.e. within the rules);
- Integrity – the true demonstration of one’s ideals, whilst demonstrating strength to follow through on a moral choice.

Doty (2006), Hellison (2003a) and Shields and Bredemeier (2001) argued that the claim ‘sport builds character’ is commonly debated in an ideological sense rather than through reliable and valid empirical evidence. Arguments which posit that sport is not a vehicle to build character consider sport to be a morally neutral domain (Doty, 2006). This is a view that challenges sport as a vehicle to develop positive attributes (and character), in cases where athletes “bracket their morality” (Bredemeier, as cited in Doty, 2006). This is perhaps noticeable in instances where athletes push and bend the rules in an effort to gain a competitive edge, and behave differently to the way they act in other
areas of their lives. Indeed, this may be thought of in a similar way to Gamesmanship as discussed in Stephen Potter’s (1947) seminal work ‘The Theory and Practice of Gamesmanship: Or the Art of Winning Games Without Actually Cheating’. In such situations, the development of positive attributes through sport are not (necessarily) considered as transferable or utilized outside of the sport context. This argument is further supported by negative behaviours in sport such as aggressive behaviour, hazing rituals, and the use of performance-enhancing drugs (Doty, 2006; Kohn, 1986). This perspective suggests that the positive attributes a player may seek to develop through participation in sport are not transferred beyond the sporting context; and Shields and Bredemeier (1995) quipped that sport, therefore, merely “builds characters” (p. 175) in some instances. In recent years there have been many examples of prominent, professional rugby players displaying violent and drunken behaviour – highlighting how mere participation in sport fails to ensure that athletes implement moral and ethical behaviour, or demonstrate ‘good’ character, beyond the rule-bound playing arena (Hubbard, 2013; Newport, 2013).

Conversely, in articulating the case for sport as a vehicle to develop character, Shields and Bredemeier (1995) suggested that players must overcome adversity, develop self-control, learn about perseverance and persistence, acquire skills related to cooperation with others, and develop skills to cope with both victory and defeat. Based on the experience of these moral virtues, the notion that participation in sport can develop character posits that one may develop a sense of fairness, self-control, and courage (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995). From this perspective, Arnold (1984; 1998) argued that both the idea and the practice of sport are related to fairness, equality, and freedom, as participants tacitly and wilfully agree to abide by the rules governing the sport. A player’s moral duty is to abide by the rules (i.e. fairness), and failure to do so (i.e. cheating)
renders the activity as anything but sport. Indeed, Arnold (1984) considered the fair and equitable pursuit of sport as a particularly valuable locale for the cultivation of character as there are few circumstances in daily life that offer the same opportunities. Postulating that, in the absence of sport, there may be little need for extensive cooperation and (inter)personal qualities in everyday society, Arnold (1979; 1996; 1998) has characterized sport as an intrinsically valuable human practice, and that moral education is an important educative function therein.

2.3.2 Sport as a valued human practice. Emphasising the connection between the educative value found in sport and a person’s moral growth in and through participation, Arnold’s (1979; 1994; 1996) view of sport as indispensable to moral life is developed from the pedagogical practice prescribed by Thomas Arnold at Rugby School in 1828 (Comité National Olympique et Sportif Français [CNOSF], 1994). According to Arnold (1996; 1998) sport demonstrates the following characteristics:

- It is rule-governed and practiced with traditions and customs;
- It pursues its own intrinsic goals;
- It is physically exertive;
- It fosters social interaction;
- It provides rivalry, contest and competition;
- It is practiced within a moral and ethical sense.

Arnold (1994; 1996; 1998) argued that if sport is to remain educative, it is crucial that it be practised in accordance with its ideals and the ‘best traditions’ therein. Moreover, unless the concept and practice of sport is made clear from social and moral points of view, teachers, participants, officials, administrators and fans have limited opportunities to develop appropriate attitudes, judgements and conduct towards it.
From Arnold’s (1996) perspective, sport, as a valued human practice, may be best considered as a “competitive, rule-bound, physically demanding activity whose internal goals, skills, and standards are, for their own sake, pursued in a moral way” (p. 95). While acknowledging that this is more often an ideal than a reality, Arnold (1996) stated that by “conceiving of sport in these terms…it is possible to provide a moral basis by which certain actions in a sport can be judged as either acceptable or nonacceptable” (p. 95).

For Arnold (1997), when sport is seen as a valued human practice, it can act as a vehicle to build positive morals and character as athletes strive for a standard of excellence. He suggested that through this pursuit, the ‘goods’ or values of sport are naturally experienced, as athletes must overcome adversity, learn cooperation, learn persistence, develop self-control, and deal with victory and defeat. Arnold (1997) submitted that as a result of these experiences, athletes develop virtues such as a sense of fairness and courage. Martinkova (2012) also acknowledged the potential of sport to convey, what she terms ‘added values’, such as tolerance, respect for others, non-discrimination, and generosity. However, she highlighted the need for educators to emphasise these values if they are to be captured in the sporting experience.

2.3.3 Transferal of Character and Moral Learning. The matter of character building through sport is an interesting topic and contested area in the field, and Janssens et al (2004) and Shields and Bredemeier (1995) have suggested that the connection between participation in sport and development of character is not conclusive. Indeed, Coakley (2011) argued that the claims of sport as a vehicle for character development often overreach actual research based evidence.
Harvey, Kirk & O’Donovan (2009) have advocated the notion that, at its heart, sport is an ethical and moral pursuit, as people strive to compete with respect for the rules and respect for the opponents. However, the idea that sport build character (passed down from the English Public school system) could be questioned unless it is specifically designed to do so (Harvey, Kirk & O’Donovan (2009). Drawing on the contemporary literature on this matter (e.g. Arnold, 1997; Berkowitz & Bier, 2007; Collingwood, 1997; Dotty, 2006; Janssens et al, 2004; Narvaez, 2006; Shields & Bredemeier, 1995; 2001; and Shields, Bredemeier & Power, 2001) the prevailing consensus appears to suggest that sport provides an educational framework from which to develop a positive moral code and show character and integrity. However, these ideals must be articulated if they are to be effectively attained and transferred into other areas of an athlete’s life.

In a search of literature on the topic of transferal of values and lessons attainable through sport into other areas of one’s life, it is noted that there is a common trend for educators to overlook these considerations (Jones, Ryan & Bohlin, 1999). Rationale provided by Williams (2000) posits that character and morals are often seen as private matters. While a lack of knowledge about how to teach morals and character have also been suggested as a barrier (Williams, 2000), scholars such as Bandura (1991) and Berkowitz (2002) have noted the importance of educators recognising their own behaviours and actions as a major influence on transferal beyond the playing field. As such, Vessels and Huitt (2005) have expressed the importance for educators to clearly articulate values in order for them to persist at the fore of the learning encounter; and also, so that educators remain aware of their own actions. Remaining mindful of these matters has the potential to reach further into ethical and moral understandings that can positively influence behaviour and life skills (related to the skills that enable us to succeed in the life beyond the sporting context, Janssens et al, 2004); in addition to ‘softer values’
related to caring, compassion and cooperation (Williams, 2000). Indeed, incautious thought about these matters by the educator may result in character development being limited to notions of compliance and obedience (Jones et al, 1999).

Danish and Nellen (1997) have rejected the idea that it is simply through participation in sport that pro-social and pro-moral values can be achieved. Conversely they argued that sport should be considered an important part of this process. In other words, Danish and Nellen (1997) posited that it is not sport participation per se that teaches these values, morals and skills, but it is the sporting experience – and this experience needs to be designed in a deliberate way so that it can help athletes draw links and make transferal into their lives. Similarly, Collingwood (1997), Dotty (2006), Laker (2000), Lidor (1998), and Narvaez and Lapsley (2008) argued that there is potential for sport to develop qualities, yet these intentions need to be articulated by educators if they are to be transferred into other areas of the learner’s life. Holt, Tamminen, Tink and Black (2009) also argued that sport can act as a positive context from which to develop life skills, yet it is the nature of the interactions with key social agents, such as peers, parents and coaches, that remains key to achieving this objective.

Gordon (2010) and Hellison and Walsh (2002) have noted some difficulties experienced by learners as they struggle to make conscious connections between their sporting or physical education experiences and their behaviour beyond these settings. However, Bredemeier, Weiss, Shields and Shewchuk (1986) have suggested that with systemised and organised delivery, sport can have lasting impact on character. This is a sentiment also supported by Romance, Weiss and Bockoven (1986). Furthermore, intentions to build character in, or through, a sporting context should give consideration to; what will be taught; how will it be taught; and how will it be measured (Williams, 2000). A plethora of models have been developed with the objective of moral and
character development in mind, for instance, the Integrative Ethical Education model (Narvaez, 2006); Hellison’s Responsibility Model (Hellison, 2003a); and Siedentop’s Sport Education Model (Siedentop, 1994; Harver, Kirk, & O’Donovan, 2009). However, Berkowitz (2002) suggested that to be effective in character education there needs to be a transformation of the entire group, and not just the implementation of a model or program.

2.3.4 Summary. Shifting this review back to the research topic, it is important to note that by the late 19th century, the British viewed the vigour required of team sports as symbolic of national strength and health (Roden, 2001), and British colonial expansion and military force had been attributed to the character and moral strength attainable through playing games such as rugby – a sentiment also adopted by Japanese educators (Light, 1999a). Therefore, this section has considered the contemporary literature on the topic of character development in order to highlight the connection between a similar underpinning intention encompassed by the notion of muscular Christianity.

As the forthcoming text demonstrates, interest in Britain’s military preparedness at the time facilitated an acceptance of rugby in Japan. Similarly, team sports such as rugby were believed to have a broader social function for young males in New Zealand. The following sections address how these underpinning ideals were disseminated to Japan and New Zealand from the late 19th century, and explore the ways in which rugby coaching practices were shaped by sociocultural values distinct from that of the English public school context.

2.4 The Historical and Sociocultural Influences on Japanese Rugby

Prior to tracing the historical direction and sociocultural values underpinning rugby in Japan, it is important to frame the unique factors which characterise the practice of Japanese sport and physical education. To this end, Japanese seishin ideology and its
role in the practices of 
\textit{bukatsudō} to promote \textit{ningen keisei} are reviewed in the following text.

\textbf{2.4.1 Seishin ideology.} McDonald and Hallinan (2005) suggested that the dominant Western cultural paradigm emphasizes a Cartesian separation of mind and body. In contrast, as adherents to Zen philosophy which found its way into Japanese society in the 17th century, the Japanese understanding of an individual does not recognize such dualism. Rather, one’s mind and body are understood to be as one, unified by the concepts of \textit{seishin} and harmony, thus allowing corporeal practices to cultivate the whole person rather than just one’s physiology or appearance (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005).

For instance, as one practices their art (or in the context of this study, rugby), the concept of oneness with the activity is centred on ascetic and aesthetic sensibilities (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). Kondo (1992) suggested that the term \textit{karada de oboeru} (体で覚える) becomes the aim of the practitioner: “to go beyond a purely cognitive level of learning, and to learn with the body” (p. 47). By accepting the unified correlation of each, this understanding of the body-mind, mind-body relationship suggests that one’s mind can be cultivated, and even enlightened, through rigorous and repetitious physical training (Yuasa, 1987). Hurst (1998) offered terms that are used in many forms of \textit{geidō} (performing arts) that illustrate this point, such as \textit{shinshin ittai} (mind and body as one) and \textit{shinshin ichinyo} (mind and body are the same).

Existence and influence of a \textit{seishin} ideology is often denied by contemporary Japanese coaches, and it is undoubtedly far less stringent than pre-WW2 practices (Light, Hirai, & Ebishima, 2005). However, “in comparison with global practices in rugby, its influence on contemporary practice in schools and many universities [in Japan] can still be identified.” (Light et al., 2005, p. 153). Light (2008) further pointed out that “although
it is not always articulated, the cultural concept of *seishin* [ideology] operates at an unquestioned, common sense level to structure much of Japanese behaviour, and exerts a strong influence on the practice and meaning of sport in Japanese schools” (p. 167).

2.4.2 *Ningen keisei*. McDonald and Hallinan (2005) suggested that the development of one’s *seishin* through sport (or other forms of practice and movement) are underpinned by Confucius, Buddhist, and Shintō tenets related to *jōge kankei* (hierarchical relationships), as well as by the concepts of self-sacrifice, learning through hardship, group harmony and cooperation, patience, endurance, perseverance, and discipline. Within such a setting, the player is faced with physical, mental, and spiritual challenges, and is therefore afforded opportunities to develop *seishin*, or, in other terms, to build character (*ningen keisei*). Mindful that the activity is considered a vehicle for one to temper their spirit, it is important to highlight that the greater the challenge faced by the participant, the greater the potential to pursue and engage in *ningen keisei*.

As Eastern thought regarding the mind-body relationship considers each to be inextricably linked (Yuasa, 1987), it is through the ‘tempering’ or ‘forging’ of the body with an attitude of *sutemi* (absolute conviction to an action/self-sacrifice) through repetition that one may achieve mental strength, and realize the virtues of humility, patience and *kisei* (will power) (Sumi, 2006). From a *budō* (martial arts) perspective, Sumi (2006) suggested that these types of harsh training regimens are to be on-going in the player’s journey as they are challenged to ‘dig deep’ for the mental resolve to overcome their discomfort. Through so doing, they form a strong and resolute spirit that leads to a high level of future technical and mental fortitude, a process that aims to contribute to *ningen keisei*. It is an underlying mind-set in *budō* that through rigorous training a learner’s physical limits are constantly pushed, and they are able to develop internal and external strength through a degree of suffering (Light, 2008).
The founder of modern Judo, Kano Jigoro, achieved success in promoting his art by infusing *budo* concepts within a modern games framework (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). The focus of Judo, as opposed to its precursor of *jujutsu* styles, was to emphasise character building or *ningen keisei*. Light (1999a) suggested that approaches to rugby training undertaken in Japanese school-aged teams display many similarities to the disciplined and monotonous practices of martial arts and are, therefore, strongly influenced by the same *seishin* ideology which aims to develop character (*ningen keisei*) through the process.

**2.4.3 Bukatsudō.** In contrast to a Physical Education (PE) class, participation in *bukatsudō* or extracurricular clubs can provide an equally important, yet largely different, set of experiences for Japanese school children. The *bukatsudō* experience is not compulsory, nor is it limited to sports; cultural and music options are also available. However, many of Japan’s teenagers are encouraged to join for the perceived added educative value of such an experience (Li, 2012). In contrast to the New Zealand idea of after-school sports clubs, the Japanese *bukatsudō* experience can be considered intensive. Generally, students are required to attend training sessions, meetings, and satisfy a raft of other obligations for up to two hours a day, six days a week (Shoji, 2007). Extracurricular clubs have been an important socialising institution for over a century and, according to Cave (2004), provide an environment where “[Japanese youth] have learned experientially some of the most important values, beliefs, and behaviour patterns of their society” (p. 413).

The inception of *bukatsudō* followed international trends to promote physical activity as a vehicle to cultivate strong physiques and character for the purpose of national and military strength (Cave, 2004). While this premise was averted in post-war Japan, *bukatsudō* continued to be underpinned by a set of ideals broadly considered as
seishin kyōiku (spiritual education) (Cave, 2004). Rohlen (1986) suggested that these ideals are prevalent in the training of adult company employees in Japan, but Cave (2004) maintained that the influence of seishin kyōiku begins at a much earlier stage in Japanese society.

Providing a summary of contemporary views, Cave (2004) proposed that the functions of the bukatsudō experience act:

1) As a vehicle for seishin kyōiku. The bukatsudō experience is a means to develop comradeship, commitment, discipline, manners, and perseverance, among other qualities through physically and emotionally demanding practices. Joint experiences in hardship are regarded highly as they provide a sense of collective achievement and demonstrate the value of shared commitment and support from others.

2) As a vehicle for socialization. This is often linked to the aforementioned function; involvement in bukatsudō is considered important for the development of habits considered necessary for adult life. Perceived merits include the appropriate use of language within a vertical hierarchical society and providing life-skill experiences that extend past classroom lessons (i.e. ningen keisei).

3) To facilitate liberal beliefs about individualism and freedom. The perception is that bukatsudō allows students to participate in something they like doing with others who share the same enthusiasm. As a voluntary pursuit, teachers view the bukatsudō experience as a contrast to the compulsory curriculum, and as a place where students can form friendships that may be deeper than their homeroom friendships, thus providing personal enrichment. This is, at times, in contrast with the previously mentioned function of seishin kyōiku, as some teachers believed an overly authoritarian environment would act to deny individuality in the name of
hierarchy and solidarity. However, many teachers articulate a perception that each
function has merits (Cave, 2004).

Organised in a vertical hierarchy structure (jōge kankei), junior and senior
students of bukatsudō each have important duties and roles according to their age or
school year (Cave, 2004). Doi (1973) has suggested that in contrast to an individual
orientation noticed in the West, Japanese sensibilities tend to consider their role within
the group. McDonald and Hallinan (2005) suggested that this collective orientation
provides the individual with a sense of social security and mutual assistance.

As Light (2008) underscored in his observation of a rugby bukatsudō
environment, while junior members of a club may be required to perform menial tasks
(such as deflating balls after practice, laundry, etc.), it is the responsibility of senior
members to provide leadership and make decisions regarding training content. Light
stated that coaches (often school PE teachers; Okade, 2005), and other adults, such as
‘old boys’ of the club, tended to focus on social and moral issues, member attitudes, and
spirit within the club. Cave (2004) argued that this influence of seishin ideology “extends
to the understanding of human development implicit in many clubs, especially sports
clubs” (p. 412) as evidenced by the club slogans that refer to ‘conquering the self’, once
again alluding to the aim of ningen keisei.

2.4.4 Rugby in late 19th and early 20th century Japan. The dissemination of
rugby from English public schools to the various dominions of the Empire has been well
documented (Abe, 2008; Abe & Mangan, 1997; Mangan, 1981; 1996; Nauright, 1991;
1996; Nauright & Chandler, 1996; Phillips, 1987). Japanese rugby boasts a timeline of
over 100 years and has come to be perceived as a vehicle for the social, moral, and
physical education of Japanese males. However, with the exception of Light (1999a;
1999b; 2008), much less attention has been paid to the historical and sociocultural
development of rugby in Japan. The following section provides an overview of the path of rugby in Japan’s history.

Following Japan’s isolation for over two centuries, the feudal class structure was abandoned during the Meiji Restoration (1868 - 1912) as the country sought to modernise and industrialise to better align with Western nations (Bennett, 2015). Light (1999a) reported that the 1870s saw Japan embrace many Western social, economic and political models but, toward the close of the century, there was growing resistance to such large scale implementation. The notion of wakon yōsai (Japanese spirit accompanied with Western knowledge) was espoused as a compromise and would strongly influence the adoption of Western systems (Bennett, 2012). Within this setting, rugby was seen as a “quintessentially masculine sport” (Light et al., 2005, p. 149), and its growth in popularity led to educators fusing samurai values with Victorian and Edwardian concepts of manliness (Roden, 1980). The heavy contact involved in rugby, its collective and team nature, and the comparison of the battlefield and the rugby field as expressed in England made rugby an appealing mode of education in an increasingly military orientated Japan (Abe & Mangan, 1997).

Prominent educationalists of the Meiji era were likely influenced in their promotion of strict physical activity and character building due to their own involvement in such practices (Cave, 2004). For instance, Mori Arinori, a renowned education minister of the Meiji period, and Orita Hikoichi, principal of the Osaka Middle School, each believed in the moral benefits that could be gained through organized physical activity. Cave (2004) also noted that Orita, who would introduce a compulsory program of calisthenics for the aforementioned reason of moral education, may have been additionally influenced by his time in Princeton University. This influence would
correspond with the increased popularity of athletic pursuits in education institutions of the United States and the United Kingdom at the turn of the 20th century.

Within this context, Japanese rugby was shaped by constant tension between the perceived benefits of Western team sport, imported Edwardian notions of masculinity, and an advocacy for notions of masculinity that stemmed from a ruling class of yesteryear Japan (Light, 1999a). The prevalent belief at this time viewed physical activity as a vehicle for the cultivation of moral character and physique. This was fundamental to Darwinist notions of competition between nations where the playing field was viewed as a place of preparation for the battlefield, as per the intentions of English educators of the late 19th century (Mangan, 1981). Therefore, as Cave (2004) suggested, “both native [Japanese] and Western sources of influence upon the Japanese educators of the period thus stressed moral regeneration through physical discipline and hardship, and linked this to military ends” (p. 387).

2.4.5 Rugby in pre-WW2 Japan. While baseball became the dominant team sport played by males in university, rugby participation was encouraged during the winter months (Light, 1999a). Concurrently, Japan’s nationalistic zeal grew alongside military successes in the Sino-Japanese War (1884-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905; Rohlen, 1983). Because team sports emphasised collective effort they contributed to the objectives of the mass education system introduced in 1872 which targeted the creation of a productive workforce, a homogenous culture and a sense of national identity (Passin, 1980; Roden, 1980). Once rugby had commenced in Keio Imperial University in 1899, it would continue to spread throughout various elite educational institutions. By the early 20th century, rugby (in addition to other ‘imported’ Western team games such as baseball) became viewed by educators as a medium for the development of desirable social qualities in young Japanese men (Abe & Mangan, 1997; Cave, 2004).
The growing popularity of sport, coupled with an increased national confidence, relied on the concept of *wakon yōsai* to more appropriately position Western sports in a Japanese context (Light, 1999a). As Japan continued its military drive into the 20th century, the search for a national identity was located within the appropriated ‘traditional’ values of the feudal *samurai* class (Bennett, 2015). As such, the imported values of Victorian and Edwardian masculinity and *samurai* notions of manliness were integrated into Japanese practices of sport (Abe, 2008; Inoue, 1997; 1998). As Japan prepared for war during the 1930s, the practice and meaning of rugby was altered significantly to reflect a uniquely Japanese quality. The *yamato damashi* (Japanese spirit) ideal was further promoted to this end, with faith that Japan could overcome the superior military might of the United States (Lebra, 1976). As the nation grew in military strength, nationalist sentiment, and confidence, the practice of sport in Japan was infused with military pedagogies and traditional values reflecting a ‘Japaneseness’ allegedly reflective of *samurai* values (Bennett, 2015). Japan’s adoption of rugby followed this pattern, resulting in a significant cultural transformation of the game, its practices, and its role in the construction of a military masculinity (Light, 1999a; 1999b).

Rugby’s popularity increased throughout the early decades of the 20th century and lead to the formal establishment of national championships, a governing body (the Japanese Rugby Football Union [JRFU]), and international tours (Light, 1999a). Nevertheless, by the 1930s, with increased nationalism and military orientated sentiment in the lead up to the Manchurian Incident and the Second World War, a changing social climate resulted in a decline in popularity of Western sports. Accordingly, sports were said to have undergone a process that further captured and infused the game with the symbolic Japanese spirit (Light, 2000). For instance, following the rapid modernization of the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), Kanō Jigoro, the founder of modern Judo, was
successful in combining elements of martial arts ideals within a modern games framework for application in the Japanese school system (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). Kano’s Judo would become an activity that propagated an emphasis on character building and development in order to cultivate people “who could make a contribution to the modern society” (Inoue, 1998, p. 84). The application of budō-centric (martial art-centric) ideals, firmly established around the principles of character development, the seishin ideology, and concern for discipline and sacrifice, were eventually applied to the practice and education of Western sports. Referring to a process termed budōization, Inoue (1997; 1998) suggested that the martial pursuits would greatly influence the practice of Western team sports during this time in Japan.

2.4.6 Rugby in post-WW2 Japan. Subsequent to Japan’s defeat in WW2, the occupying forces deemed it necessary to reorganise the Japanese education system according to an American structure. While the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the American occupation of Japan attempted to squash any remnants of military sentiment, liberalized views of education influenced the bukatsudō framework (Cave, 2004). However, although club activities faded during the war, post-WW2 bukatsudō was eventually resumed by coaches and players influenced by previous trends, and moral education and mental discipline remained valued objectives (e.g. Shiga Prefectural High School Baseball Federation 1946-1975, in Cave, 2004).

While efforts were made to eradicate any educational and cultural customs seen to promote notions such as seishin ideology, it was through the ongoing involvement of Japanese youth in sport in the post-WW2 period that seishin ideals began to resurface (Rohlen, 1983). During this period and until recent times, Japanese rugby coaches have been criticised for focussing more on discipline than initiative. For instance, Richards (2007) referred to the ‘run-pass’ exercise as a common drill performed in school boy
rugby practices. Players are required to run or sprint the length of the field whilst passing the ball between members in a group. Such drills can be conducted for as long as an hour; despite minimal ball handling time, it is considered a valuable training regime among Japanese players as a means to develop *gaman* (perseverance), and therefore may be linked to the idea of *ningen keisei* (character development) within *seishin* ideology. A further example is the expectation that members of Japanese rugby clubs (not excluding other school sports clubs) attend training all year round, regardless of the season. Participation in winter and summer training camps, designed to utilise the elements and harsh conditions to build on the development of one’s resolve and character, was also considered a norm until at least the turn of the 21st century (Light, 1999a).

Japanese rugby extended beyond the school system after WW2 with Kobe Steel forming the first company team. Within the post-WW2 rebuild, Japanese companies “came to provide security and welfare in exchange for employee loyalty and total commitment to the company” (Light et al., 2005, p. 150). Until the advent of soccer’s professional ‘J. League’ in 1993, all Japanese sports teams were linked to schools or companies rather than to locality. Nakane (1970) proposed that this had been a common phenomenon since the Meiji Restoration. Light et al. (2005) further suggested that this localised support structure often results in greater numbers of spectators at school and company rugby games than at national and international games.

### 2.4.7 Rugby in the professional era in Japan

Ryan (2008) suggested that throughout the 20th century various structures of “veiled professionalism” or *shamateurism* existed throughout the world behind a façade of amateurism, such as that in Japanese company-level rugby (Collins 2008). *Shamateurism* is often considered a counter argument to claims that the Japanese have traditionally been advocates of amateurism (Bath, 1997). For instance, a memo written to the International Rugby Board
(IRB) in 1995 by prominent post-war Japanese rugby figure and strong advocate of amateurism, Shigeru ‘Shiggy’ Konno, is cited by Richards (2007) stating: “I am not assured that our instructions have been kept [concerning professionalism]” (p. 237). Indeed, since the 1970s company teams, such as Kobe Steel, have employed a number of non-Japanese players who often received double the local salary (Richards, 2007).

The traditional view of rugby as a medium for education and dominant cultural values is in contrast to the professional perspectives of rugby as a form of entertainment (Light et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the long history of Japanese rugby and the perception of it as a vehicle for education is now threatened by the growth of commercialism that frames the game. As Light et al. (2005) stated:

Rugby is a conservative sport in Japan and has long resisted aligning with global trends and the idea of professionalism in particular. Indeed, the historical role of rugby as a form of social, cultural and moral education has been closely associated with the class-specific ideal of amateurism originating in the middle class schools of nineteenth century England (p. 151).

As a result of the conservative elements of Japanese rugby circles and their resistance to adopt an ‘official’ professional stance, Light et al. (2005) suggested that the JRFU slipped behind other nations and overall global development in the game. Furthermore, they added, while the jōge kankei (vertical hierarchy) structure provides a framework for knowledge to be passed from senior to junior and tradition to be reproduced, this limits the influence of contemporary pedagogies and information prevalent outside of Japan. While an increase in non-Japanese players and coaches has begun to impact on Japanese practices, conflict between ‘foreign’ pedagogies and tradition still permeates (rugby) coaching practices in schools (Miller, 2011).
Japanese rugby has had varied results on the international stage. In 1990, attempts to inaugurate a ‘Pacific Rim’ competition with the inclusion of the United States, Canada, Japan, Hong Kong, Tonga, Fiji, Samoa, and Argentina was abandoned due to failure to amass enough sponsorship money (Richards, 2007). In 2003, however, Japan’s Top League was established with the aim to improve the overall level of Japanese rugby. Beginning with 12 teams, the Top League is now contested by 16 teams, all owned by major corporations. In 2012, some players’ salaries, such as Japan-based-South African, Jaque Fourie, were thought to be among the highest in the game (Entertainment and Sports Programming Network [ESPN], 2012); and more recently, Japanese player, Goromaru Ayumu, is now cited as the highest paid player in the international game of rugby due to the many sponsorship contracts he has obtained since the 2015 Rugby World Cup (Sutton, 2016).

In 2012, South African, New Zealand, and Australian Rugby (SANZAR) Chief Executive, Greg Peters, announced that the addition of teams from Japan, Argentina, and the United States were being considered for 2016, the first year of a new television contract. 2016 is also the first year in which rugby sevens will join the Olympics, contributing to an increased interest in rugby in countries such as Japan and the United States (Pandaram, 2012). The Japanese Super Rugby team, the Sunwolves, were officially confirmed as an addition to the competition (along with Argentina) in 2014 (SANZAR, 2014).

While Japan has played in every Rugby World Cup since the inaugural tournament in 1987, it is perhaps their hosting of the tournament for the first time in 2019 that is most promising for its further development. Undoubtedly, rugby gained much favour with the general public when the Cherry Blossoms’ (the Japanese national team) beat South Africa in the 2015 pool matches, their second victory in the tournament and
cited as the biggest upset in Rugby World Cup history (Bywater, 2015). Notwithstanding these developments, rugby continues to compete for popularity and television coverage with baseball’s Nihon Professional Baseball league and soccer’s ‘J. League’, a situation that is unlikely to change until more consistent results can be achieved by the national team. Currently, in contrast to New Zealand, television coverage of rugby in Japan is often limited to pay-per-view broadcasting of matches in the final stages of a tournament.

Ryan (2008) noted that lucrative player contracts are a common reason for the player ‘exodus’ from nations like New Zealand to teams based in Japan and Europe. Many New Zealand players have spent seasons in Japan on the kind of contracts their local unions are unable to offer. For example, Sonny Bill Williams spent a comparatively short 12-game season in the Japanese corporate team, the Panasonic Wild Knights, for approximately NZ$1.5 million (McKendry, 2012). Nevertheless, Light et al. (2005) maintained that, for the Japanese, embracing the professionalism and commercialisation of rugby does not have the same urgency as is evident in other countries. Maintenance of traditional frameworks appears to be more important than the implementation of innovative pedagogies, particularly within school and company teams which have long histories and are considered to be elite.

2.4.8 Summary of the historical and sociocultural influences on Japanese rugby. The idea that British colonial expansion and military strength could be attributed to the moral strength gained through playing games such as rugby led to a belief that the absence of sport indicated cultural weakness and racial inferiority (Roden, 1980). Within this context, Japanese rugby was shaped by constant tension between the perceived benefits of Western team sport ethics, imported Edwardian notions of masculinity, and the endorsement of ruling class notions of masculinity from yesteryear (Light, 1999a). The prevalent belief at the turn of the 19th century considered games like rugby as a
vehicle for cultivation of moral character and physique, demonstrating the notion that the playing field was a place of preparation for the battlefield (Mangan, 1981; Cave, 2004).

The imported values of Victorian and Edwardian masculinity were integrated with samurai notions of manliness, and greatly influenced the routines and practices of Japanese club (bukatsudō) sport (Cave, 2004). Here, the pleasures of enjoyment and victory were subservient to spiritual ambitions, the expression of national pride, and devotion to imperial rule (Cave, 2004). Post-war efforts to eradicate any educational and cultural customs seen to promote the perceived military notion of seishin within bukatsudō were somewhat unsuccessful (Cave, 2004). Moreover, according to Light (2008) the existence of these values continues to characterise contemporary practice of sport and physical education. Training regimes aiming to develop gaman (perseverance) and the use of harsh weather conditions to cultivate one’s resolve and character, were considered a norm until at least the turn of the 21st century (Light, 1999a). Such findings suggest the influence of historic and cultural notions of budo-centric (martial arts-centric) ideals on Japanese sport practices (Miller, 2011).

The preceding text has provided an overview of historical, sociocultural and institutional values that might conceivably influence rugby coaching pedagogy in Japanese high school rugby. The following sections apply the same structure to the literature regarding New Zealand.

2.5 The Historical and Sociocultural Influences on New Zealand Rugby

2.5.1 Rugby in late 19th century New Zealand. In the mid-19th century, rugby had been developed in the public schools of England for the purpose of providing masculine education within a civilized and organized framework (Mangan, 1981). Surfacing amid social pressures to bring order to school behaviour, maintain masculine attributes of youth, and exhibit “the Christian life as a manly life” (Phillips, 1987, p. 88),
it was a similar set of concerns that help to explain the avid acceptance of rugby football in New Zealand (Phillips, 1996).

The game was introduced to New Zealand in the 1870s. Ryan (2007) suggested that many of those who migrated from England to New Zealand during this period displayed an enthusiasm for sport. Both leisure activities and organised sport clubs were established early and embodied “familiar and reassuring elements of ‘home’ that were necessary to ease the transition to a new colonial setting” (Ryan, 2007, p. 101). As well, Ryan (2007) suggested that immigrants commonly believed that progress as pioneers in a new colony required the cooperation and desire for self-improvement that could be found in sport. Nevertheless, the settlers’ approach to and understanding of sport was in stark contrast to that of Maōri. While Maōri participation in imported sports and games contributed greatly to New Zealand’s identity as a young colony, it is described by Hokowhitu (2007) as a problematic involvement due to limited understandings of Maōri views of physical activity. For instance, Hokowhitu explained that physical activity was not considered a ‘pastime’. He suggested that “as a derivative of a more holistic world view, physical activity, competition, play and games were not compartmentalized as simply ‘physical’. Rather, other realms (including the spiritual) entered into physical pursuits” (Hokowhitu, 2007, p. 181).

While an in-depth review extends beyond the scope of this thesis, Hokowhitu maintained that Maōri physical cultural practices did not fit Pākehā notions of ‘game’ or ‘pastime’. Notwithstanding, the accomplishments of Maōri athletes in the game of rugby were seen as symbolic of the success of British attempts at assimilation. “The 1888-9 ‘Native’ Rugby team which comprised mostly of Maōri players became a testament to the civilizing prowess of the young colony” (Hokowhitu, 2007, p. 85).
By the mid-1890s, New Zealand’s governing rugby body had approximately 5000 registered players (Ryan, 2005). Phillips (1987) explained that one possible reason for this influx of membership could be found in the number of immigrants from England’s public schools where rugby was more popular. The spread of rugby throughout New Zealand in the late 19th century has been attributed, in part, to the time and money available to the wealthy men who invested in rugby’s development and organization (Phillips, 1996; Vincent, 2005).

Phillips (1987) also mentioned that the overtly rough characteristics present in rugby were commonly criticized at the time. In contrast to the ball skills required of soccer, for instance, rugby demanded muscular endurance and strength – an aspect that may have appealed to the frontier and pioneering values that had become rooted in New Zealand male culture (Thomson & Sim, 2007). With the clarification of positions and rules, the game became more civilized and less violent and, in 1892, the civilizing process peaked with the establishment of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (Phillips, 1996; Vincent, 2005). Attempts to civilize the game in order to curtail the undesirable behaviour, rituals, and attitudes related to drinking and violence which had come to define rugby in New Zealand were successful. By the beginning of the 20th century “rugby was no longer seen as a sport of savages but as a manly exercise, not a dangerous pastime but as a necessary, indeed compulsory, training for the civilized gentleman” (Phillips, 1987, p. 97).

Indeed, the prevalence of masculine domination at the time resulted in minimal female involvement in sport (Ryan, 2007), and stimulated gender inequalities in New Zealand society (Thomson & Sim, 2007). For instance, Ryan (2007) and O’Neill (1992) suggested that it was largely a “quasi-medical” concern that restricted women’s participation in sport and physical education. Apprehensions were based on the
preservation of maternal function and the threat of vigorous physical activity to reproductive capability. In addition, Ryan (2007) suggested notions of modesty at the time rendered sport as an unfeminine pursuit, while the women’s fashion of the 19th century posed practical implications, leaving much female participation to more sedate forms of physical activity. As such, during the 19th and much of the 20th centuries, the function of women in sport, particularly the highly physical sport of rugby, was predominantly limited to supporting roles, while the idea that their presence as spectators added to the civilised and festive atmosphere of male sport pursuits (Ryan, 2007).

On a more global scale, the position taken by de Coubertin is an example of popular opinion that resulted in hesitation to promote female participation in sport during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Although he did not object to female involvement in physical pursuits as such, de Coubertin argued that women should not be involved in competitive sport, stating that “women cannot claim to outdo men in running, fencing, equestrian events, etc. To bring the principle of the theoretical equality of the sexes into play here would be to indulge in a pointless demonstration bereft of meaning or impact” (de Courbertin, 1912, as cited in Müller, 2000, p. 713). Boulongne (2000) suggested that de Coubertin had difficulty accepting the persistent vision of femininity and female sexuality demanded by women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Ironically, these opinions were made on the basis of the principles of democracy and freedom which de Coubertin recognised politically, and yet objected to anthropologically (Boulongne, 2000).

In a summary of the justifications for the exclusion of females in sport, Chatziefstathiou and Henry (2009) suggested that de Coubertin:
a) Believed that organisational problems would follow the inclusion of women due to the increased need for the establishment of separate sport associations and the staging of separate events (during the Olympic Games); 

b) Considered the viewing of women competing with each other in public sports competitions as inappropriate; and 

c) Was of the opinion that women had limited physical abilities which made them ‘incapable’ of producing records in highly competitive forms of sport such as the Olympics. 

In addition to being influenced by the contemporary view of chivalry in the Middle Ages, Chatziefstathiou and Henry (2009) further suggested that de Coubertin shared the concern that competitive sport would damage young women’s health and ability to become a mother, and his views were a result of the classism, sexism and racism entangled in the social structures of his time. Women were more likely to be valued, in de Courbertin’s assessment, for producing Olympic male champions than becoming champions themselves (Chatziefstathiou & Henry, 2009).

Nevertheless, Ryan (2007) stated:

The development of higher education for [British and] New Zealand women during the last two decades of the 19th century, combined with a growing recognition of the contradiction between older ideas of weak female bodies and new ideas involving the desire for women to produce healthy babies, contributed to increasing acceptance of some physical activity as a necessary component of female development. (p. 108)

At this time, sports played by women were individual sports, such as tennis, croquet, golf, or swimming, and restricted to a social grade. Into the 20th century, women began to play team sports such as field hockey and, to a certain extent, cricket. However,
female participation in sports such as football and rugby was discouraged until much later (Ryan, 2007).

Cameron and Kerr (2007) submitted that since the advent of organised sport from the early 1800s, female involvement in sport has been marginalised because of masculine practices. While participation in and contribution to sport by women has improved greatly since then, “the difficulties most women face in challenging assumptions about their roles in sport [as athletes, administrators, or officials, etc.] reflect a masculine hegemony which is still alive and well in New Zealand today” (Cameron & Kerr, 2007, p. 336).

2.5.2 Rugby in pre-WW2 New Zealand. As previously mentioned in regard to the public schools of England, fears for the loss of virility in the New Zealand male grew as the country became increasingly urbanized. Accordingly, muscular sports such as rugby became increasingly viewed as a crucial means to maintain the health of people in the colonies and bolster the strength of the British Empire (Phillips, 1996). Burstyn (1999) concurred, and suggested that the emphasis placed on masculine attributes in this way was based on the common belief that males needed to be prepared for serving both their country and the Empire. This was not uncommon in Western societies during this time, and significance placed on participation in sport during the early 20th century was “legitimated by its apparent ability to constitute a respected form of masculinity” (Pringle, 2007, p 360).

In New Zealand, nostalgia for a bygone, masculine, pioneering male began to receive more attention in media and schools, and the fear that decadence would curb manliness became common among urban-dwelling New Zealand men, in particular, the urban elite (Phillips, 1987; 1996).
By the early 20th century, the formal organization of rugby facilitated the view that the sport was a vehicle for a ‘clean life’ and a means to cultivate discipline, determination, character and the learning of life lessons. Phillips (1987) suggested this message was advocated persistently in amateur rugby for the following 80 years. The perceived value of rugby, now structured and organized as a game that promoted teamwork, manliness and discipline, became increasingly preferred at the turn of the century (Phillips, 1987; 1996).

2.5.3 The legend of the All Blacks. By the turn of the 20th century “rugby had taken its place as a central institution of New Zealand life” (Fougere, 1989, p. 114). However, perhaps the most influential and reinforcing source for the masculine value system found in New Zealand rugby was that perpetuated by the legend of the All Blacks.

While the victories of earlier teams generated interest among the nation, it was the 1905 ‘Originals’ team that prompted the idolization of the All Blacks (Phillips, 1987; 1996). The New Zealand government’s involvement in transmitting news of the team whilst abroad indicates both the popularity and position of the All Blacks as a defining element in the county’s conscience. Victories abroad prompted the New Zealand government to advertise for immigrants in English newspapers on match days, and Premier Richard Seddon attributed the team’s success to the “natural and healthy conditions of colonial life” (Phillips, 1987, p. 112) in New Zealand. According to Phillips (1987), rugby was now viewed as a “barometer” (p. 111) of men’s health in the colony and the ‘Original’s’ victories over the Mother Country of England were reassuring for a nation concerned with the negative effects of urban decadence.

This model of masculinity remained the stereotype in New Zealand for many decades to come. It was reinforced by other successful teams, such as the 1924 ‘Invincibles’, and commonly understood to be a form of superior manhood that resulted
from pioneering, outdoor conditions (Phillips, 1987; 1996). The All Black’s adaptability and ingenuity of playing style were attributed to the colonial life, and their ‘pluck’ and determination was likened to the feats of New Zealand soldiers in the Boer War (1899-1902; Phillips, 1987).

2.5.4 The myth of the All Blacks. Ryan (2011) suggested that accolades afforded to the All Blacks were less prominent in Britain due to perceptions of rough play, dubious interpretations of the rules, and questionable displays of sportsmanship by the 1905 team. Daley (2005) cautioned about the possibility of an invented history as a result of historians portraying a “partial tale” about the role of rugby in New Zealand’s national history. According to Daley (2005), many other sources written at the time of the 1905 tour were contrary to the positive image painted by Phillips (1987) of the ‘Originals’ and the notion of a “superior … colonial manhood” (p. 75).

Daley’s (2005) critique of commentators of New Zealand sport and rugby (such as Phillips (1987), Sinclair (1986) and Nauright (1991) highlighted the alternative perception of the idolised 1905 New Zealand team as ungentlemanly, rough, and displaying poor sportsmanship. Nevertheless, as Thomson and Sim (2007) pointed out, this was interpreted as physical toughness and courage, and “a passionate desire to win at almost any cost [was a] characteristic that set rugby football in New Zealand apart from its Scottish, Irish and southern English counterparts during this period” (Vincent, 2005, p. 57). As Phillips (1987) posed:

Superior physical toughness borne of an open-air life, ingenuity and mental adaptability, courage, teamwork and good fellowship, an egalitarian spirit, modest leadership from the front – these were the ‘attributes’ which white New Zealanders read into the success of the 1905 team and which came to define the ideal New Zealand male (p. 118).
Despite varying assessments of the ‘Originals’ team (Daley, 2005; Ryan, 2005), Phillips (1987) insisted ensuing generations would embrace an idea of masculinity perpetuated by popular opinion-makers of the time.

2.5.5 Rugby in post-WW2 New Zealand. Phillips (1987) suggested that by the 1950s and 1960s the aforementioned image of strength was prevalent, and accolades for qualities such as agility, speed, and ingenuity had begun to disappear. Cunning on the field, once displayed by the backs of earlier teams, was considered suspect, and strategy began to change to allow the forwards greater opportunity for rucking. Here, the quality of bravery became prominent in the conception of manliness. By the 1960s “the single-minded emphasis upon strength and size and insensitivity to pain – images of toughness and hardness – to the exclusion of those earlier qualities of speed and artistry” became important because “as the nation became increasingly urban New Zealand males needed the vicarious assurance of male heroes who had become a caricature of the muscle-bound pioneer” (Veysey, 1976, p. 64).

Notwithstanding, New Zealand’s involvement in the major international conflict of the 1970s, the Vietnam War, was comparatively small. Phillips (1987) suggested the importance of this era was the expression of opposition to the conflict. With the abolishment of compulsory military training for young men in 1973, fewer males valued war as a sign of their masculinity (Phillips, 1987). Similarly, the popularity of rugby began to decline in the 1970s. With an unsuccessful tour in 1971 and defeat inflicted by the British Lions, and unpopular South African tours in the 1970s and 1980s, rugby’s reputation began to wane and, with it, the influence of rugby over New Zealand males (Phillips, 1987; 1996).

As Thomson and Sim (2007) suggested, “…rising political activism against the [South African] tour, particularly by New Zealand women and Maōri, divided the nation”
(p. 120) with the masculine hegemony evident of rugby culture at the root of disfavour for many (Chandler & Nauright, 1996; Thomson & Sim, 2007). Phillips (1987) proposed that “the obstinacy of the game’s administrators [to the issue of racial equality] became a judgment about the spirit of the game itself” (p. 271). Fougere (1989) has suggested that this point demonstrates “more diverse and complex ways of constructing individual and collective identities” (p. 111) as politics, and gender and race inequalities threatened traditional New Zealand rugby culture (Thomson & Sim, 2007). Also contributing to rugby’s weakened impact on New Zealanders were the increasing promotion of individual sports, greater public awareness of the injuries sustainable in rugby, and New Zealand women (mothers) commanding more influence over their sons’ pastimes (Phillips, 1987). While other team sports, such as soccer, began to accept a professional status with continued popularity, rugby administrators clung to traditional and humanistic values.

Fougere (1989) suggested that the impact of the ill-conceived 1981 tour continued to shift the centrality of rugby out of favour in New Zealand society. Rugby and its culture, which “promoted masculine and misogynist values” (Thompson & Sim, 2007, p. 120), became the focus of activists motivated by discontent with South Africa’s system of apartheid. Indeed, differing opinions about the South African Springboks’ presence in New Zealand “cut across families, across neighborhoods, across social, racial and political boundaries” (Fougere, 1989, p. 111).

Phillips (1987) noted that, although it is unclear exactly how the events of this era affected the course of rugby’s development throughout the 1980s, both attendance at games and participation rates declined. As such, the success and popularity of soccer began to capture the attention of New Zealanders, and rugby’s influence on male culture was conceivably less during this period. Accordingly, Phillips (1987) suggested that from
the mid-1960s through to the mid-1980s, the previously held stereotype of the New Zealand male, often personified by rugby players, was “becoming so mythical [it] could not continue to carry total conviction” (p. 268).

Nevertheless, Thomson and Sim (2007) and Nauright and Black (1996) suggested that this was only temporary. With assistance from the media and big business (Nauright, 1996), and “with the ‘cleaner’ image of rugby promoted through the winning of the inaugural 1987 Rugby World Cup and the positive and disarming leadership of All Blacks’ captain David Kirk, rugby once again reasserted its dominance” (Thomson & Sim, 2007, p. 121), if, indeed, it ever really lost it (Nauright & Black, 1996).

2.5.6 Rugby in the professional era in New Zealand. Ryan (2007) suggested that historically, amateur ideals, based on ‘gentlemanly ideals’ of playing sport for pleasure rather than reward, played a significant role in the sport of elite schools of New Zealand. While sports such as boxing, cycling, and athletics offered financial rewards and remuneration within a professional competitive structure, rugby union was known to periodically discipline or expel players known to receive monetary compensation for play or travel (Ryan, 2007). When rugby became the last significant international sport to turn to the professional model in 1995, some considered the transition inevitable while others lamented about the erosion of tradition and the limitation of benefits to a small minority of talented players (Ryan, 2008). Nevertheless, the professionalization of rugby in 1995 has resulted in increased pathways to lucrative employment opportunities, with the possibility of full-time professional coaching and playing as viable careers (Ryan, 2008).

The transition to professionalism in rugby and the subsequent growth in economic influences has significantly altered coaching practices over the past two decades (Light et al., 2015). For instance, in 2004 the NZR recognized the need to address an overall decline in participation in rugby as ‘New Zealand’s sport of choice’
within schools and community clubs on a nationwide scale (New Zealand Rugby Union [NZRU], 2005; 2008). The rationale for such erosion in numbers was attributed to urban drift and rural depopulation, the proliferation of sport and recreation options, changes in New Zealand’s ethnic and cultural profile, and changing work and employment patterns (NZRU, 2008).

In response to this regression, a proposed NZ$18 million was budgeted for the first stage of a Community Rugby Plan. Moreover, as the era of professional rugby continues to mature, examination of the NZR official website and Annual Reports (NZRU, 2011; 2012; NZR, 2013; 2014) shows the extent to which financial income and expenditure influenced the strategic goals of the Union. For instance, the 2014 annual Financial Statement suggested that NZ$120.8 million was generated by the NZR, with NZ$120.2 million being recorded as expenses. Outlay of the NZR was itemised as, but not limited to: game development (NZ$15.8 million), grants to provincial unions (NZ$9.2 million), expenses related to national grade ‘Representative’ teams (NZ$34.9 million), and competition-related costs (NZ$51.8 million) (NZR, 2014). Conversely, it is stated that commercial income (NZ$8.7 million), fixtures and tours (NZ$16.2 million), and gains from foreign exchanges (NZ$8.2 million) comprised the primary sources of annual income.

The extent to which these avenues contributed to the overall income of the NZR, in particular ‘commercial income,’ indicates the extent to which professionalism has influenced the operations of an organisation that once championed amateurism and its associated values. It also demonstrates Volkerling’s (2000) recognition of the development of a transnational sporting labour market, focusing on financial remuneration, as a consequence of commodification (of players) and sponsorship deals. Mindful of the income generated by tours and foreign exchanges, the impact of the
ever-increasing globalisation of the rugby community has proven to be a lucrative source of revenue.

Ryan (2008) highlighted the turbulent effect of professionalism and suggested that “New Zealand’s jury of public opinion has struggled to reach a verdict on the merits of professional rugby” (p. 41). The commodification of players as a result of the transition is one such issue (McGregor, 2000). For instance, drawing on the masculine image of the All Blacks, the commodification of players such as Colin Meads was made in order to sell fence posts. This later evolved into hamburger endorsements by Jonah Lomu and, more recently, men’s underwear advertisements by Dan Carter. McGregor (2000) has suggested that the upside of this commodification of players is the augmentation of salaries. A down side, however, includes the loss of privacy for the players, especially members of the All Blacks who become known as household names with near celebrity status.

The influence of the advent of professionalism in New Zealand can also be noticed by the economically-driven focus in Super Rugby and other international competitions in recent years. For instance, since the formation of SANZAR (South African, New Zealand and Australian Rugby) in 1995 as an administer for the Super 12 rugby competition (previously Super 6 and Super 10 prior to 1995), in addition to the launch of the Tri-Nations contested between New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa, the amount of revenue generated through television rights has steadily increased.

Initially, the broadcasting and marketing of rugby league, as offered by Kerry Packer’s Optus Vision network for paying viewers, was seen as a major threat to the survival of rugby union (Fitzsimmons, 1996). In order to create an exclusive product that would rival rugby league, SANZAR negotiated a 10-year contract with Rupert Murdoch’s Foxtel network, worth US$555 million, to broadcast Super 10 games and thus
maintain players’ contracts in rugby union. In 2004, SANZAR negotiated a new contract to take effect in 2006. Once again, Murdoch’s network retained coverage rights for the Super 14 and the Tri-Nations in the UK, Australia, and New Zealand, this time for US$323 million over five years, a 16% increase per annum on the previous deal.

In 2010, SANZAR confirmed another deal worth US$437 million that continued until the end of 2015, a 35% percent increase on the previous contract (Mortimer, 2012). SANZAR has indicated its intention to extend the contract until 2020. Sports broadcasting analyst, Colin Smith, has suggested that the addition of Japanese and American teams may result in contractual agreements worth more than US$690 million (AU$1 billion) beyond 2020 (Mortimer, 2012).

In competitions such as Super Rugby, pressures to produce a ‘product’ that consumers (rugby fans) will pay to view undoubtedly results in challenging schedules for players of a game that is continually influenced by the professional framework. An example of how coaching practices and player schedules are altered in this environment is outlined in an article retrieved from ‘Planet Rugby’. The article noted that during the 2007 season, 22 All Blacks missed the first seven rounds of the Super Rugby (at that time known as Super 14) competition due to the All Black “conditioning programme” in preparation for the 2007 Rugby World Cup (Planet Rugby, 2007). While this indicated advancements in player development programmes as a result of the professional framework, it can also be considered an example of a burgeoning rugby calendar, and of the pressures that are placed on players to win as they seek lucrative contracts (Ryan, 2008). As the era developed further, players found themselves in need of agents and player associations, and could be required to negotiate contracts which included behavioural, sponsorship, and sabbatical clauses (Hubbard, 2013; Smith, 2011).
Nevertheless, despite the existence of the business-orientated and, at times, ‘win at all costs’ attitude consequential of the professional era and characteristic of a neo-Liberal agenda, Hassanin and Light (2013; 2015) suggested that the desire to develop moral and ethical character and an ‘amateur ideal’ still permeate rugby coaching practice. The latter chapters of this thesis further explore this suggestion, and consider professionalism in New Zealand rugby and the subsequent commodification of the game and its players.

2.5.7 Summary of the historical and sociocultural influences on New Zealand rugby. Acceptance of the underpinning beliefs and practices of rugby was turbulent at different times in New Zealand’s history. The popularity of rugby, with its familiar and reassuring elements of ‘home’ for settlers, is said to have been influenced by the belief that pioneers required the cooperation and desire for self-improvement that could be found in sport (Ryan, 2007). Amidst concerns for the virility and ‘manliness’ of young New Zealand males, New Zealand’s rugby population continued to grow (Phillips, 1987), along with an emphasis on masculine attributes based on beliefs concerning the importance of military service (Burstyn, 1999). Nostalgia for a bygone, masculine, pioneering male began to receive more attention in media and schools as concerns that ‘manliness’ was being diminished by decadent urban lifestyles became common (Phillips, 1987; 1996).

An increasingly civilized structure of rugby facilitated a view that it was a vehicle for a ‘clean life’ and would foster discipline, determination, and character (Philips, 1987). While the ‘legend’ of the All Blacks also facilitated the message of bravery and manliness for many decades, the tours by South Africa saw New Zealanders temporarily challenge the underpinning values of rugby (Chandler & Nauright, 1996; Thomson & Sim, 2007). The advent of professionalism in the rugby world changed
coaching landscapes, and it was predicted that the educative, humanistic and amateur values that underpinned the game would be eroded (Ryan, 2008). Nevertheless, findings from Light et al. (2015) indicated the enduring desire to cultivate enjoyment, teamwork, commitment to the team, loyalty, respect, personal sacrifice and strong work ethics remains in New Zealand rugby practice, along with an importance placed on spirituality and cultural rituals (such as a Maori haka) as a means to facilitate these aims.

2.6 Comparison of Historical and Sociocultural Influences on Japanese and New Zealand Rugby

Lyle (2002) has suggested that most sport coaches place higher value on experience gained during a career as a player or coach than they do on that gleaned from formal coach education programs. Cushion et al. (2003), Cushion (2007), and Stephenson and Jowett (2009) also maintained that the impact of personal experience (i.e. as a player and coach) on dispositions and beliefs is profound. The ways in which the resulting pedagogies of coach participants in this study may have been influenced historically and socioculturally within their respective contexts may be considered as being resonant with ideals stemming from 19th century English public schools (Mangan, 1981; Phillips, 1987) and adapted to specific cultural settings (Light, 1999a).

Hassanin and Light (2015) suggested that the embracing of professionalism in rugby has been both rapid and problematic. Specifically, an influx of business-driven values is attributed to the difficulties placed on the meaning and practice of rugby (Skinner, Stewart, & Edwards, 2003). Such global discourses often contradict local values and cultural practices that have shaped coaches’ and players’ dispositions. Nevertheless, research conducted by Hassanin and Light (2013) highlighted that, despite differing sociocultural backgrounds, coaches shared beliefs that aligned with the educative value of rugby. Such findings are important to this study as, at the time of
writing, rugby’s professional era is still only 20 years old. Therefore, the influence of a more humanistic amateur ideal is conceivably strong on many of the coaches who participated in this study as their own, or their coach’s, formative rugby years were likely spent prior to 1995.

2.6.1 Militarism and masculinities. As a British export of the late 19th and early 20th century, the underpinning values in the rugby of both Japan and New Zealand share a similar set of guiding principles. The Edwardian and Victorian ideals of masculinity, so strongly advocated by British settlers, educators, and social commentators (see Phillips, 1987), were seen as paramount to ensure a nation’s health and perceived strength and status. This sentiment was naturally evident in New Zealand as a colony of the British Empire, but also found significant traction in Japan (Light, 1999a). As previously discussed, at the turn of the 20th century non-Japanese university educators declared their concern about the overly sedentary nature of Japanese students. At a time when Japan had begun to embrace Western systems and values, the assumption that sport would vitalize a nation’s youth and enhance a national identity encouraged growth in the popularity of rugby. Although rugby practices would later be heavily influenced with a set of appropriated traditional Japanese ethics with a strong military underpinning, the initial adoption of British values of military prowess and masculinity inherent in rugby was evident (Abe, 2008; Abe & Mangan, 1997).

Where the values perpetuated in British rugby were aimed at the civilisation of the upper classes (Dunning & Sheard, 2005; Mangan, 1981), rugby in both Japan and New Zealand was targeted at the wider population. As a result, meaning applied to the benefits of participation was shaped by cultural and national identities unique to each respective country. In New Zealand, rugby was a vehicle to develop a form of masculinity, nostalgic of a pioneering culture which championed courage and personal sacrifices, values
characteristic of Edwardian and Victorian ideas of masculinity (Phillips, 1987; Mangan, 1981). In Japan, rugby was shaped in near isolation within a context of nationalism and military fervour, and underpinned by seishin ideology that views physical tenacity as an expression of spiritual strength originating from a bygone feudal era (Light, 1999a). Cave (2004) suggested that the link between the practice of sport and military values and preparation had been present from the establishment of Japanese bukatsudō, and was not dissimilar to the ways in which school sport was promoted in Europe and North America.

2.6.2 Seishin and muscular Christianity. Abe (2008) suggested that the secularised notions associated with sportsmanship in Japan are largely a creation of the hybridizations of Bushidō and Christianity made by Japanese ‘muscular Christians’ (dansei teki kirisutokyo) in the early 1900s. The masculinity and gendered nature of seishin is acquired by investments made through corporeal and emotional hardship during practice, accrual of which is considered to have significant value in (a gendered) Japanese society and workplace (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). Toward the mid-Meiji era (late 1880s and 1890s), a ‘muscular spirituality’ ethic, expressed in terms of konjo (guts), is noted by Kelly (1998) as prominent in Japanese club baseball circles. In a similar way to Kano’s Judo, emphasis was placed on rugged group autonomy, self-imposed discipline, self-sacrifice, commitment to the club and overall comportment (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). McDonald and Hallinan have suggested that while Western sports such as rowing were assimilated into the education system, they were reshaped to reflect these objectives. Light (2008) suggested that similar aims can be noticed in the practice of rugby prior to and following WW2.

Of particular note is the link that scholars investigating this ideology in Japanese bukatsudō (extracurricular club) settings have made between seishin concepts and “muscular Christianity” (Abe, 2008; Cave, 2004; McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). For
instance, McDonald and Hallinan (2005) suggested several factors which resulted in a Japanese practice of sport which recognised the function of sport as a vehicle for the development of desirable character traits. These included the major educational reforms of the Meiji Restoration, the employment of Westerners into Japanese universities, and the migration of Japanese educators to Europe and America in conjunction with the prevailing concept of an English “muscular Christianity” model of education. As Kusaka (1987) suggested, Meiji adoption of (Western) sports hinged on the perception that the sport in question would accommodate the physical, spiritual and moral development of its participants. In the same way that McDonald and Hallinan (2005) suggested that this understanding of the function of sport for young people in Japan applied fittingly to rowing, Light (1999a; 1999b; 2008) indicated that a similar ideology befell the practice of rugby. Further, the British comparison of the playing field to the battlefield meant that the game of rugby was an ideal site for the promotion of a strong and athletic national identity (Roden, 2001). The notion that the muscular Christian ideal and muscular gentleman, as described by Mangan (1981), Phillips (1987), and Thomson and Sim (2007), was influential in New Zealand, and that of seishin, which underpins masculinity, was influential in Japan (Light, 1999a; 1999b), point to the historical desire of educators to develop preferred character in young men.

A synthesis of the literature (Abe, 2008; Cave, 2004; McDonald & Hallinan, 2005; Inoue, 1997; 1998; Mangan, 1981; Miller, 2011; Light, 1999a; 1999b; Phillips, 1987; 1996; Roden, 2001) indicates that the historical and sociocultural values considered important within the two cultures include: perseverance, resolve, character and moral development, courage, nationalism, military fervour, physical and spiritual tenacity, personal sacrifice, living a “clean life”, discipline, determination, bravery, respect, personal sacrifice, a strong work ethic, self-improvement, cooperation, virility and, above
all, masculinity. While this is not intended to be an exhaustive list, summarising examples of the values considered important in and across each culture at this point can act to secure them in the mind of the reader.

This section has provided an overview of the possible historical and sociocultural values influencing rugby coaches in Japan and New Zealand. Following on from this, literature concerning pedagogies is examined in order to develop a more contemporary and complete picture of coaching in Japan and New Zealand, and to provide the context for the theoretical framework for this study.

2.7 Dominant Theories of Learning and Their Influence on Coaching Pedagogy

Mindful of the notion that the topic of learning theory is vast, the following sections briefly address the literature on behavioural theory and demonstrate how the underlying tenets relate to coach-centred pedagogies. Following this, a brief overview of constructivist theory is linked to player-centred pedagogies, emphasising two ends of a coaching continuum. Review of the dominant learning theories provides a framework from which to consider implications for coaching pedagogies and leads to a synopsis of the coaching pedagogies found in Japan and New Zealand. The following review of learning theories is limited to those considered relevant to this study.

2.7.1 An overview of behavioural theory. Schunk (2008) explained that behavioural theory considers learning as “a change in the rate, frequency of occurrence, or form of behaviour or response, which occurs primarily as a function of environmental factors” (p. 16). That is, the learning process is viewed as a result of associations formed by stimuli and responses. The chief principle of behavioural theories rests on the analyses of human behaviour in observable stimulus-response interactions and the association
between them. Behavioural theories have been examined in depth by numerous theorists including Watson, Bloomfield, Thorndike, Skinner, and Pavlov (Demirezen, 1988).

Two prominent behavioural theories are identified by Cushion, Nelson, Armour, Lyle, Jones, Sandford, and O'Callaghan (2010) as connectionism and conditioning. For instance, Thorndike’s work is aligned with connectionism, and posits that a stimulus and a response are connected, reinforced, or disrupted based on the consequences of an action. Therefore, an action will be repeated by a learner until it no longer (re)produces a desired outcome (Jarvis, 2004; Cushion et al., 2010). Conditioning can be broadly viewed as classical conditioning (Pavlov, 1960), and operant conditioning (Skinner, 2014). Whilst classical conditioning posits that a learner is ‘conditioned’ to associate a reward with a stimulus (Pavlov, 1960); operant conditioning suggests that a response is shaped by a reward or punishment (Skinner, 2014). Skinner (2014) contended that reinforcing a behaviour is likely to see it reproduced, whereas punishing it is reduces this likelihood. In a practical sense, for example, verbal compliments or external rewards for good performance from a coach demonstrate ways that desired behaviour is reinforced. Conversely, reprimanding a learner or removing them from the training or game is an example of the behaviourist’s approach to preventing undesirable behaviour.

Bullock (1982) suggested that the three assumptions of behaviourism are:

*Objectivism* – the analysis of human behaviour lies in the observation of external events;

*Environmentalism* – the environment is the significant factor in determining behaviour; and

*Reinforcement* – the consequences of one’s actions affect subsequent behaviour.

Palincsar (1998) suggested that theorising learning in this way lends itself to procedures such as modelling, demonstrating, and reinforcement. However, the tendency
for behaviourists to focus on the causes of learning as observable, measurable phenomena due to environmental events, suggests that internal events such as thoughts, beliefs, feelings, and social meaning are given little attention (Brockbank & McGill, 2007; Schunk, 2008). As such, the active and directive role assumed by a teacher/coach who controls pace, sequence and learning content, suggests that direct instructional models are hallmark pedagogies that draw on the tenets of behavioural theory (Palincsar, 1998).

**2.7.2 Coach-centred pedagogy.** Rink (2001) argued that all pedagogical approaches have roots in a particular learning theory, and pedagogies that view learning as a simple linear process are typically underpinned by behavioural theory (Cushion et al., 2010). Such approaches are referred to as coach-centred pedagogies in this thesis. Cushion (2011) suggested that coaching based upon behavioural theory strongly informs coaching practices, and results in an instructional approach which emphasises the use of feedback and reward behaviour. Within this approach, Galvan et al. (2012) and MacDonald and Tinning (1995) suggested that the learning process is viewed as a simple transferal and internalisation of knowledge, for the purpose of enhanced performance. Accordingly, Schunk (2008) suggested that a clear outline of measurable objectives is provided to the learner and that the complexity of tasks is reduced by setting out progressive steps of content requirements, which reinforce desirable behaviour.

Cox, Bachkirova, and Clutterbuck (2014) have described coaching as “a human development process that involves structured, focused interaction and the use of appropriate strategies, tools and techniques to promote desirable and sustainable change for the benefit of the coachee and potentially for other stakeholders” (p.1). However, Bennett and Culpan (2014) contended that an approach to coaching that reduces learning to a simple and linear transferal of knowledge “foregoes recognition of the complex responsibilities that a coach has within the cognitive, social, cultural and moral dynamics
of the coaching environment” (p. 6). Therefore, these approaches fail to acknowledge the complexities of the coach-learner relationship (Cushion et al., 2003; Jones, 2006). According to Bennett and Culpan (2014), it is these complexities which endorse the notion that the coaching role is more than a mere transference of technical content knowledge.

Kidman (2007) has argued that, although coach-centred pedagogies can be necessary in certain contexts, it is possible for some coaches to abuse their influence as their power and leadership style often remains unquestioned. Kidman (2007) suggested that this is due to traditionally coach-centred coaches’ inability and unwillingness to consider the thoughts and needs of their players. Cox, Bachkirova, and Clutterbuck (2014) proposed that traditional coaching approaches are typified by emphasis on coach expertise and coachee (player) performance based on the agenda of the coach/others. Although it is a dominant approach in coaching contexts (Galvan et al, 2012), the traditional, technocratic coach-centred approach promotes improved technical performance in an unproblematic way, and can limit the opportunities for players to learn (Kidman, 2007). However, shifting coaching towards player-centred pedagogy has been noted to be difficult for some coaches because of traditional perceptions of the coach as the person in control of knowledge and the learning environment (Cushion et al., 2003; Kidman, 2001; 2007). Galvan et al. (2012) have also alluded to this, further suggesting that while coach-centred coaching can act to disempower learners, it is still prevalent in many sports teams and coach education programs.

Indeed, Lombardo (1999) posited that coaching that is typified coach control and dissemination of technical content knowledge is incongruent with the needs, assumptions, interests, and characteristics of many learners in the 21st century. Nevertheless, Galvan et al, (2012) noted that a majority of coaching programmes (in New Zealand) are
significantly limited to such traditional, coach-centred approaches. Bennett and Culpan (2014) and Cassidy et al (2009) have argued that if coaches were to consider their role as one of an educator, player development in a range of learning domains (e.g. physical, cognitive, social, cultural, and moral domains) could be addressed more effectively in the coaching environment. It is for this reason that Lombardo (1999), in viewing the coach as an educator, advocated the need to shift away from traditionally entrenched coach-centred pedagogies.

2.7.3 An overview of constructivism. A constructivist epistemology is attentive to the transformation of cognitive processes as an indication of learning and development (Piaget, 1977). It is a shift from viewing knowledge as a product (as in behaviourism) to understanding the cognitive processes of knowing (Jones & Brader-Araje, 2002). As learners form their own interpretation of information presented to them to make meaning of it (Bruner, 1990), constructivism emphasises the role of the learner in constructing their own view or model of the material. Meece and Daniels (2008) suggested that there are two influential theories situated in a constructivist perspective that have provided significant contributions to understanding human learning and development – that of Piaget (1977) and Vygotsky (1978).

Piaget (1977) argued that as the learner experiences a situation where their way of thinking or current understanding is challenged, an imbalance or state of disequilibrium is created. In order to restore equilibrium, one’s thinking must be altered or ‘constructed’ anew (Piaget, 1977). As the learner makes sense of new information, it is associated or assimilated with their current knowledge or understanding. However, if this new information cannot be assimilated, Piaget suggested that it is, instead, accommodated by restructuring the current knowledge into a higher level of thinking.
Piaget placed an emphasis on individual cognitive development, whereas Vygotsky and Bruner (1990) emphasised the social and cultural aspects of development (Meece & Daniels, 2008). For instance, the major theme of Vygotsky's theoretical framework is that social interaction plays a fundamental role in the development of cognition (Vygotsky, 1978). Often cited as his most significant contribution is the understanding of learning and development that draws focus to the role of more capable others to an individual’s ability to achieve and complete tasks they are unable to achieve by themselves. Schunk (2008) suggested that Vygotsky attempted to find a ‘middle ground’ to explain human thought which valued both the consciousness emphasised by conditioning theorists, and the role of the environment emphasised by introspectionists. As such, Vygotsky (1978) studied the influences of environmental effects on consciousness.

In contrast to the tenets of behavioural theory underpinning coach-centred pedagogies, constructivist theory views learning as an internal or mental phenomenon influenced by learners’ perceptions of themselves and their environments (Schunk, 2008). While behavioural theories emphasise the organization of stimuli and the importance of reinforcement, constructivist theories highlight the learner’s thoughts, beliefs, attitudes and values (Schunk, 2008). Palinscar (1998) explained that with behaviourism’s inability to satisfactorily explain the mechanisms that account for learning (i.e. how one learns), and with increased interest in human information processing, constructivist perspectives have become prominent. Perkins (1992) suggested that constructivism has multiple roots in psychology and philosophy.

2.7.4 Player-centred pedagogy. Cushion (2011) suggested that instructional pedagogies which utilise modified games (e.g. Game Sense, Teaching Games for Understanding) have an underpinning constructivist philosophy where a learner’s
understanding and knowledge is ‘constructed’ through social experiences. In order to encourage meaningful change, therefore, previous experiences and knowledge need to be considered in the learning environment (Culpan & McBain, 2012).

The transfer of objective knowledge in the “technical” approach (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982) gives little cognisance to players’ cognitive or social development and tends to disregard pedagogical and sociocultural considerations (Potrac, Brewer, Jones, Armour, & Hoff, 2000). Student-centred, athlete-centred, learner-centred or player-centred pedagogies are said to relate to the constructivist view of learning with particular importance placed on activity, discovery and independent learning (Carlile & Jordan, 2005). Player-centred coaching also embraces a humanistic perspective (Lombardo, 2010) that allows a learner to become empowered and take control of their own learning (Kidman, 2001).

Potrac and Cassidy (2006) suggested that cognitive development can be facilitated by coaches through player-centred pedagogies that encourage problem solving and questioning, such as Guided Discovery (Mosston & Ashworth, 2002) or Teaching Games for Understanding (TGfU) (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982). A further example of player-centred pedagogy is found in the Game Sense approach (den Duyn, 1997). This approach to coaching involves the use of modified games for contextualised learning, and comprises problem-solving with embodied learning (actually attempting or performing a task) reinforced by conscious learning through questioning, reflection and dialogue (den Duyn, 1997; Pearson, Towns, Webb, & Rowland, 2004). Player-centred pedagogy (Potrac & Cassidy, 2006) underpinned by (social) constructivist learning theory is now commonly promoted in rugby coach development (Light et al., 2015).

2.7.5 Summary of the implications for learning with behavioural and constructivist theory. Although behavioural and constructivist theories both
acknowledge differences in how the individual and the environment influence learning, Schunk (2008) suggested that the theories differ with regard to the degree of emphasis given to these factors. Table 2.1 provides a summary of the main contrasts and implications for learning in a coaching context.

Table 2.1: Learning theories and implications for learning

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<thead>
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<th>Learning Theory</th>
<th>Implications for Learning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>• Complexity reduced into smaller progressive parts reinforcing desired behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Clear measureable objectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Proceed in small steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Deliver reinforcement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reward/punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructivist (Cognitivist)</td>
<td>• Relate new information to known information and understand the uses of new knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Give strategies that allow the practice of concept learning, problem solving and self-regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Learners set goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Interact with others using mediational tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Structure learning environment to construct understanding, provide support (scaffolding) for learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Engage in social practice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cushion et al., 2010, p. 7).

2.8 Coaching Pedagogy in Japan

Miller (2011) acknowledged the prevalence of the ‘traditional’ coach-centred pedagogy often cited in Japanese sport coaching literature. For instance, the Bushidō coach, as Miller (2011) terms it, is underpinned by a warrior code of ethics (Bennett, 2015), and is a common explanation for the more austere pedagogies associated with seishin ideology in Japanese sport coaching. In contrast, Miller (2011) also pointed to the ‘scientific coach’ (see Table 2.2). This approach, he maintained, shuns pedagogy seen as typically traditional and coach-centred, and embraces a range of ideals that are found in
contemporary Western pedagogies. He noted, for instance, attempts to develop thinking players who were apt in decision making, taking responsibility within the team unit, and strategy (Miller, 2011).

Miller’s (2011) overview revealed the complex nature of these pedagogies. For instance, according to Miller’s table (see Table 2.2), the ‘scientific coach’ rejects top-down (coach-centred) pedagogies, while advocating a focus on technical performance. Conversely, the Bushidō coach attempts to promote holistic objectives and development founded in a uniquely Eastern concept of spiritual education with the use of coach-centred instruction. It is suggested that, due to an emphasis on the transfer of knowledge, limited awareness of players’ cognitive or social development (Potrac et al., 2000), and tendency to disregard sociocultural matters (Light et al., 2015), Miller’s ‘scientific coach’ is more closely aligned with definitions surrounding a ‘technical’ approach (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982). However, it is the coach-centred Bushidō approach that is more concerned with humanistic and educative outcomes from participation in sport (Miller, 2011).

While providing a more contemporary scope, the two broad categories addressed by Miller (2011) and summarized in Table 2.2 are not an exhaustive commentary of coach pedagogies currently found in Japan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of coach</th>
<th>‘Bushidō Coaches’</th>
<th>Scientific Coaches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of coach</strong></td>
<td>Command-style <em>(meireigata)</em>, employs authoritarian decision-making</td>
<td>Questioner/listener/suggestive-style <em>(shitsumon teiangata)</em>, employs cooperative decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of Guidance</strong></td>
<td>Coercive, expects obedience</td>
<td>Instil independence and individual decision-making ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Training methods, rest and recovery policies</strong></td>
<td>Hard training</td>
<td>Scientifically-tested training (never ‘over training’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Little or no water given even during hot summer training</td>
<td>Players decide when they drink water, regardless of training; training plans set according to season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Little or no recovery period given</td>
<td>Set recovery periods given to let muscles rest <em>(chōkaifuku)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Few days off, if any</td>
<td>Set days off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Training goals</strong></td>
<td>Generally prioritize education over winning</td>
<td>Generally prioritize winning over education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aim to develop endurance and character through physical hardship</td>
<td>Aim to develop skills through tested and proven training regimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Priorities</strong></td>
<td>Generally prioritize experience over information</td>
<td>Generally prioritize information over experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method of measurement</strong></td>
<td>Emphasis on qualitative nature of sports (i.e. importance given to intangible terms like ‘spirit’ <em>(seishin)</em>, ‘guts’ <em>(konjō)</em>, and ‘character development’ <em>(ningen keisei)</em>)</td>
<td>Emphasis on quantitative nature of sports (i.e. use of tangible, verifiable statistics, records and medal counts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source of strength</strong></td>
<td>Strength derived through spiritual effort; emphasis on ‘spirit’ <em>(seishin)</em> and ‘guts’ <em>(konjō)</em> for strength to persevere during intense game situations</td>
<td>Strength derived through cognitive effort; emphasis on ‘rational thinking’ and ‘mental training’ <em>(mentaru toreiningu)</em> for ‘mental toughness’ <em>(mentaru tafunesu)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Position re: hierarchy</strong></td>
<td>Top-down, strict hierarchy <em>(kibishii jōge kankei)</em> based on seniority</td>
<td>Merit-based, ‘flat’ social organization based on talent or ability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miller (2011, p. 396)
The *Bushidō* and scientific categories, however, give important recognition to the shift toward alternative pedagogies in Japan and subsequently move beyond a simplistic rendering of the Japanese sports experience. Miller (2011) states:

*Bushidō* and science are certainly not the only two possible lenses through which Japanese sports can be viewed, nor the only pedagogical positions from which sports can be taught. They just happen to be the two pedagogies that appear to have the most current cachet, and…what I have had the opportunity to observe and read about (p. 390).

Although Miller’s (2011) research centred on basketball, it was implied that there are an increasing number of Japanese coaches seeking to upskill ‘professionally’ through coaching accreditation programs. Nevertheless, Miller suggested that barriers to widespread adoption of the alternative ‘scientific coach’ approach include perceptions that such methods are “… too new’, ‘too confusing’, ‘too difficult to understand’, ‘not authoritarian enough’ or ‘too Western’, and therefore not seen as suitable to the ‘traditional’ Japanese sporting landscape” (p. 385).

Research conducted by Miller (2011) based on the thoughts and actions of basketball coaches, players, and policy espoused by the Japan Amateur Sports Association (e.g. JASA, 2008, as cited in Miller, 2011), suggested a shift from ‘traditional’ to contemporary coach pedagogies has begun in Japan. For instance, Miller (2011) suggested that, similar to other nations, there is increased level of debate in Japan concerning the relevance of traditional, disciplinarian or military type pedagogies. Guttman and Thompson (2001) suggested that increasingly fewer Japanese youth are eager to undergo the Spartan-style training required of them at representative level and which is often characteristic of sports influenced by *samurai* values. Additionally, reasons for the shift away from strict *Bushidō* coaching may include an increased
awareness of the dangers associated with ascetic training, such as burnout and heatstroke (Miller, 2011), and bullying (Cave, 2004).

Suzuki (2014) has suggested that, due to the evolving and more learner-focused objectives of Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), such as the ‘Sport Basic Plan’ (see Appendix 2), sport and physical education pedagogies in Japan are more likely to embrace player-centred pedagogies. Suzuki (2014) asserted that recent reforms to the national curriculum require an abandonment of the skill-based, teacher-centred pedagogies in favour of a range of game-based, tactical models of instruction. Additionally, Nakai and Metzler (2005) have suggested that, although many Japanese physical educators are less familiar with the teaching styles of Mosston and Ashworth (2008) or the instructional models of Metzler (2011), pedagogies of Japanese physical educators and coaches have been found to resemble a reciprocal, cooperative learning, and tactical games style of education models. In support of this suggestion, investigation of a number of articles published in the Japanese physical education-themed journal, Taiikuka Kyouiku, provide an insight to the pedagogies recommended for use by Japanese coaches and physical educators. Influenced by texts from authors such as Griffin, Dodds and Placek (2001), and Mitchell, Oslin and Griffin (2003), review of these articles shows a support for a use of pedagogies that:

1) Are conducted in a participation framework (Lave & Wegner, 1991);
2) Shift responsibilities and accountability on to learners;
3) Encourage development in social and cognitive domains in addition to the physical; and
4) Facilitate an environment where learners work in small groups and rely on each other to complete a task.
These aims denote a range of pedagogies akin to Sport Education, Tactical Games, and Cooperative Learning (Dyson, Griffin & Hastie, 2004).

Mention of effective questioning methods and the importance of well-timed critical feedback (Tanaka, 2006), the interaction between learners and the extension of skills through modified ‘task games’ (Saito, 2006), and an importance on enjoyment (Yoshinaga, 2006), suggest that Japanese sport and physical educators’ use of learner-centred, game-based pedagogies to teaching ball sports is increasing. The literature (e.g. Ikeno, 2005; MEXT, 2008; 2009; 2012; Nakai & Metzler, 2005) has suggested that MEXT intends to encourage ability-focused physical education to support the attainment of physical skills, pleasure through problem solving, and ultimately the development of a positive attitude toward sport. Nevertheless, Okade (2005) suggested that a focus on athletic prowess is prominent in sports and physical education assessment.

To summarize Miller’s (2011) synopsis of the Bushidō coach is used to describe austere approaches (shūgyō) associated with seishin ideology. Conversely, Miller also described the ‘scientific coach’ as an opposing approach. Despite the suggested intentions of the ‘scientific’ coach to develop decision-making skills, responsibility, and strategic ability in learners, it is the coach-centred Bushidō approach that shows primary concern for the holistic development of learners. While neither approach could be described as strictly learner-centred according to the Western literature (see Kidman, 2001; 2005), the ‘scientific coach’ is closely aligned with definitions surrounding a ‘technical’ approach (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982).

The conception of the Bushidō coach indicates a closer positioning to aspects of a humanistic approach, while also aligning with styles of rugby coaching noted as prominent in Japan (see Suzuki, 2014; see also Light, 1999a; Light, 2008; Richards, 2007). This is particularly so when referenced to repetitive drill sequences aimed at
perfecting technique and building tenacity in tough conditions (Light, 1999b; Suzuki, 2014). Nevertheless, Suzuki (2014) acknowledged the impact of recent reforms to the national curriculum that encourage an abandonment of both skill-based and teacher-centred pedagogies. Rather, on the basis of cultivating a desire for lifelong participation in sport (MEXT, 2012), a range of game-based, tactical models of instruction are promoted (Suzuki, 2014). Nakai and Metzler (2005) have suggested that pedagogies of Japanese physical educators and coaches resemble a reciprocal style, cooperative learning, and tactical games models.

2.9 Coaching Pedagogies in New Zealand

With influences such as the development of professionalism in sport, and the 2001 Graham Report, coaching in New Zealand has been afforded a greater focus. Kidman (2007) noted the trend of government mandates to target the development and training of New Zealand coaches. For instance, based on recommendations and guidance from Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC; now Sport New Zealand), the NZR and many other New Zealand national sporting organisations (NSOs) have integrated frameworks based on the Coach Development Framework (SPARC, 2006) to develop their respective coaching curricula. This move has ensured that the pedagogies utilised by many of New Zealand’s NSOs are founded on the idea of player-centred pedagogies (Cassidy & Kidman, 2010).

Kidman (2007) advocated for the need to draw on physical education research to improve the quality of coaching. Indeed, a review of the New Zealand Health and Physical Education (NZHPE) (Ministry of Education, 1999) and New Zealand’s Coach Development Framework (SPARC, 2006) reveals a philosophical alignment (see Cassidy & Kidman, 2010).
Advocacy for humanistic, player-centred, socio-critical and constructivist pedagogies in New Zealand sport and physical education is evident in the pedagogies outlined by Culpan and Bruce (2014). With the intention to address the socio-critical curriculum aim of the NZHPE (Ministry of Education, 1999), examples of these pedagogies are as follows:

- Te Ao Kori (World of movement) – A curriculum model that incorporates knowledge of Maori physical cultural practices (i.e. ti rakau or stick games) and culturally responsive pedagogies (Culpan & Bruce, 2014);
- Olympism Education – Olympism Education includes a social justice focus which critiques injustices within movement culture, is a response to the socio-critical intent of the NZHPE curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1999), and aligns with critical constructivism (Culpan & Bruce, 2014; Culpan & Wigmore, 2010);
- Sociocritical Pedagogies – Culpan and Bruce (2014) suggested that this approach draws on a socio-ecological perspective and encourages learners to engage in critically reflective processes through the medium of movement. Gillespie and Culpan (2000) suggested that underlining pedagogies with a critical perspective allows a ‘bigger picture’ or holistic approach.

Furthermore, Culpan and Bruce (2014) pointed out that there are many synergies with the NZHPE and the Global Forum for Physical Education Pedagogy (GoFPEP) 2010 consensus statement. In particular, both documents demonstrate awareness of cultural contexts within PE in order to ensure practices are socially just, ethical, and culturally responsive (Culpan & Bruce, 2014). Additionally, emphasis on constructivist and learner-centred pedagogies are located in both documents, with cognisance of the need of 21st
century learners to develop critical thinking skills, creativity, cultural competency, and the ability to construct new knowledge (Culpan & Bruce, 2014).

Petrie (2008) documented resistance to constructivist and player- or student-centred PE pedagogies in favour of coach- or teacher-centred pedagogies in Primary sector PE teachers. Reasons offered by educators in surveys and interviews conducted in Petrie’s (2008) study suggested a perception of inadequate teacher training and confusion about the PE curriculum. However, Dyson, Gordon and Cowan (2011) submitted that Secondary sector PE teachers use a number of social constructivist pedagogies within PE programs, such as the Teaching Games for Understanding model (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982; Griffin & Butler, 2005); the Sport Education model (Siedentop, 1994); Hellison’s model for personal and social responsibility (Hellison, 2011); and Mosston’s Spectrum of Teaching Styles (Mosston & Ashworth, 2008). Furthermore, in a (New Zealand) coaching context, the use of player-centred pedagogies in coaching have also been noted in the literature. For instance, Light et al. (2015) suggested that Game Sense models are implemented by the NZR in many areas of their coaching pathways. This suggests an alignment with constructivist, player-centred pedagogies (e.g. NZRU, 2007).

This brief review of the inferred pedagogies in the NZHPE (Ministry of Education, 1999), the NZC (Ministry of Education, 2007) and New Zealand’s Coach Development Framework (SPARC, 2006) reveals an alignment of philosophical positioning (Cassidy & Kidman, 2010). Specifically, these documents advocate for humanistic, player-centred, sociocritical, and constructivist pedagogies in New Zealand sport and physical education. Pedagogies are intended to draw on a socioecological perspective and encourage learners to engage in critically reflective processes through the medium of movement (Culpan & Bruce, 2014). Additionally, the use of player-centred pedagogies is advocated in the Coach Development Framework document (Cassidy &
Kidman, 2010), and Kidman (2007) has suggested that, based on recommendations from Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC, now Sport New Zealand), the NZR and many other New Zealand NSOs have integrated frameworks based on the Coach Development Framework (SPARC, 2006) to develop their respective coaching curricula. By adopting a problem-solving approach with embodied learning reinforced by conscious learning through questioning, reflection, and dialogue (Light, 2013; Light et al., 2015), this type of pedagogy is underpinned by (social) constructivist learning theory and suggests a sociocultural awareness in their coach education initiatives.

2.10 Synopsis of Coaching Pedagogies in Japan and New Zealand

The literature reviewed suggested that both Japanese and New Zealand coaching pedagogies, as mandated by governing sports bodies or respective governments, are increasing their attempts to employ player-centred pedagogies. However, such pedagogies are more evident in the literature concerning coach education in New Zealand than they are in that for Japan. For instance, constructivist player-centred pedagogies are encouraged by prominent documents guiding sport and physical education – the NZHPE (Ministry of Education, 1999), the NZC (Ministry of Education, 2007) and the Coach Development Framework (SPARC, 2006). The application of Game Sense models by the NZR is also indicative of this suggestion (see Light et al., 2015). The Game Sense model contrasts traditional or technical focused pedagogies and rejects decontextualized techniques and acquisition of knowledge as an external object (den Dyun, 1997). The contextualized and collaborative problem-solving environment reveals a sociocultural, constructivist positioning in the NZR which demonstrates a view of learning in sport as a complex, socially and culturally located activity (Light et al., 2015). This positioning by the NZR’s ‘Coaching Pathways’ (e.g. NZR, 2007) indicates cognizance of contemporary
literature, and a desire to develop players holistically as people, rather than commodity objects (Light et al., 2015).

While Nakai and Metzler (2005) suggested that pedagogies of Japanese coaches and physical educators have been found to resemble a reciprocal style, the repetitive drill sequences aimed at perfecting technique and building tenacity in tough conditions are seemingly more prominent (Suzuki, 2014). Accordingly, while Miller’s (2011) overview has revealed the complexity in summarizing Japanese pedagogical practices, it can offer a rationale for the persistent use of coach-centred pedagogy and drills noted by Richards (2007) and Suzuki (2014).

In Japan, according to Miller (2011), cultivation of humanistic objectives such as character development and other ‘qualitative’ aspects of participation in movement, are attempted via the use of top-down pedagogies, and reinforced by uniquely Eastern concepts of spiritual education (seishin kyōiku). This is indicative of the budō-ization of Japan sport practices (Inoue, 1998) noted by Light (1999a; 1999b) and Cave (2004). Although Kidman (2001; 2005) suggested that coach-centred pedagogies can limit the learning environment, she also noted that such pedagogies have a place, depending on various factors and player needs (Kidman, 2007). In the case of the Bushidō coach, the top-down environment is believed to facilitate the learning of important sociocultural values such as jōge kankei (vertical hierarchy), and, in the context of rugby, may be understood as a means to convey sociocultural values perceived as important in a sport that has a long history of promoting moral education in Japan (Cave, 2004; Miller, 2011).

Light et al. (2015) suggested that a desire to cultivate enjoyment and teamwork have been stated as aims in New Zealand amateur rugby. Such focus may be better aligned with social constructivist, player-centred pedagogies, as they require a higher level of social interaction by the learners in the environment (Meece & Daniels, 2008;
Schunk, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978). Conversely, as Miller (2011) and Light (1999a; 1999b) have indicated, the cultivation of character, perseverance, and konjo (guts) are commonly espoused as intended objectives by Japanese bukatsudō coaches. These objectives are remnants of traditional beliefs and explain, perhaps, the predisposition to coach-led, military-like pedagogies such as that of the Bushidō coach (Miller, 2011). The findings and discussions chapters provide insights into actual coach pedagogies within the secondary school rugby context to further these understandings.

This section provided an overview of the advocated pedagogies in each country according to the literature that was reviewed. The following text provides a review of the sociocultural theoretical framework drawn upon for this study.

2.11 A Sociocultural Theoretical Framework

Cushion et al. (2003) argued that a coach’s experience plays a powerful role in structuring their philosophies toward coaching, and Jones et al. (2011) suggested that, as coaching is a complex social practice, it can be better understood as socially and culturally situated. Nevertheless, Cushion, Armour and Jones (2006) suggested that social and cultural influences are often underemphasised. Mindful of suggestions about the importance of sociocultural understandings, the following section provides an overview of Vygotskian sociocultural learning theory, and attempts to locate this understanding of learning and development in the context of this hermeneutical study.

2.11.1 Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory. Vygotsky theorised that social interaction plays a fundamental role in the development of cognition (Vygotsky, 1978). However, Packer and Goicoechea (2000) suggested that it is helpful to distinguish Vygotsky’s use of the terms ‘development’ and ‘learning’ as each are often used interchangeably in the literature. Vygotsky developed his theoretical stance at a time
when these words were seen as dichotomous. Cole & Wertsch (1996) suggested that, like Piaget, Vygotsky emphasised the role of an active individual in the construction of knowledge, though he criticised the Piagetian understanding that viewed development as a prerequisite for learning (Piaget, 1976). Instead, he proposed the notion that learning and development occur in unison (Vygotsky, 1978). In contrast to popular Piagetian belief, which posited that stages of development must be reached before learning can occur (Meece & Daniels, 2008), Vygotsky stressed the notion that development does not precede learning. Rather, he believed, learning stimulates internal processes that set developmental processes in motion (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky believed that learning, under the guidance of more capable or knowledgeable others, leads to cognitive development in the learner in the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Vygotsky, 1978). Potrac and Cassidy (2006) suggested that the use of Vygotskian theory in coaching can be applied if coaches reflect on themselves as a ‘more capable other’ in the learning environment, and recognise that learning is both an active and social process. Within this environment, coaches can facilitate cognitive development through learner-centred pedagogies that encourage learners to problem-solve and question, such as with Guided Discovery (Mosston & Ashworth, 2002), or TGfU (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982).

Vygotsky’s contribution is visible in many of the disciplines that concern human development (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991) with the ZDP and his sociocultural theory considered his most important contributions to the fields of psychology and education (Meece & Daniels, 2008). The key tenets of Vygotsky’s theory according to Meece (2002) and Schunk (2008) are summarised as follows:

- Social interactions are critical; knowledge is co-constructed between two or more people;
- Self-regulation is developed through internalization (developing an internal
representation) of actions and mental operations that occur in social interactions;

- Human development occurs through the cultural transmission of tools (language, symbols);

- Language is the most critical tool. Language develops from social speech, to private speech, to covert (inner) speech; and

- The ZPD is the difference between what a [learner] can do on his/her own and what they can do with assistance from others. Interactions with adults and peers in the ZPD promote cognitive development.

John-Steiner and Mahn (1996) have suggested that it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that Vygotsky’s work found traction in the Western world. Since then, the uncountable amount of research that has given attention to Vygotskian theory is a tribute to his influence on psychology and education (Schunk, 2008). While he was initially influenced by the works and theorising of Pavlov (Schunk, 2008), Vygotsky later noted the limitations of the behavioural theory approach (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991), and shifted his ideas to stress the importance of cultural and historical perspectives that prioritised language and social interaction in cognitive development (Schunk, 2008).

Vygotskian theory stresses the mutual influences of cultural-historical, social, and individual factors on learning and development (Tudge & Scrimsher, 2003). Indeed, this emphasis aligns with Gadamer’s (2002) acknowledgement of the traditional (historical), social, and cultural influences acting on a person’s vantage point or perspective. This provides a complimentary structure from which to analyse the findings in this study.

### 2.11.2 Sociocultural factors influencing learning and development

The following sections provide a brief review of Vygotsky’s emphasis on the influences of cultural-historical, social, and individual factors on learning and development. Links to this research are also provided.
**a) Cultural-historical factors.** Vygotsky asserted that it was not possible to understand a learner’s development without knowledge of the culture in which the learner is raised. Therefore, an individual’s thinking patterns and cognitive development are not primarily a result of innate factors but, rather, a product of cultural institutions and the internalisation of social activities. Accordingly, consideration of the ways in which rugby was intended for the moral education of school boys of the English Public school setting, and later exported abroad, is a significant part of this study. Likewise, attention to the role of cultural constructs, such as seishin ideology in Japan and, similarly, British (and Maori) cultural influences in New Zealand, are also important considerations in developing interpretations of the data.

Vygotsky’s emphasis on cultural-historical factors suggests that learning and development cannot be separated from their context (Vygotsky, 1978). The way in which learners interact with the people, objects, and institutions in their world shapes thinking, and the meaning of concepts change as they are related to these aspects (Schunk, 2008).

Therefore, cognisance of the original intentions of educators in both Japan and New Zealand (from yesteryear) provides a starting point for attempts to understand the historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogical approaches in rugby from the perspectives of secondary school coaches.

**b) Social factors.** In contrast to the cognitive theory of learning posited by Piaget (1977), Vygotsky (1978) emphasised that knowledge was co-constructed between people through interaction. He believed that children are born with elementary mental abilities such as perception, attention and memory, and it is through interaction with more capable others that these functions progress to higher mental abilities (Meece & Daniels, 2008). Schunk (2008) summarised Vygotsky’s emphasis on social factors in the following way:
Interactions with persons in the environment (e.g. apprentices, collaborations) stimulate developmental processes and foster cognitive growth. But interactions are not useful in a traditional sense of providing children with information. Rather, children transform their experiences based on their knowledge and characteristics and reorganise their mental structures. (p. 243)

The knowledge transferred in this interaction is pervaded by cultural and historical contexts, and individual mental processes (such as memory, problem solving, and planning) are each underpinned by a social origin or on the “social plane” (Meece & Daniels, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978).

For this study, participants’ interactions with other coaches, other players, and their own personal experiences in and out of the coach-learner environment are possible contributing factors to consider. In Japan, social interactions for player participants are often framed by the jōge kankei relationship (a “cultural tool”) and although this vertical hierarchy is perhaps less prominent in New Zealand settings, it is important to know the role senior players have when it comes to the transferal of knowledge and customs. In addition, the significance of the interaction between players and their coaches on the social plane also allows interpretations which consider power and control in the learning environment.

c) Individual factors. Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory described the development of higher-order thinking or intellectual activity, such as reasoning, as primarily the result of an individual’s relations with the social and cultural environment (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky believed that, through the internalisation of external actions or mental operations, social interactions were crucial for individual development (Meece & Daniels, 2008). As Wertsch (1985) stated:
Vygotsky was not simply claiming that social interaction led to the development of the child’s abilities in problem solving, memory, etc.; rather, Vygotsky believed that the very means (especially speech) used in social interaction are taken over by the individual child and internalised (p. 146).

Through interactions with more knowledgeable peers or adults, elementary functions are transformed into higher mental functions. Internalisation, therefore, refers to the process of constructing a cognitive representation of the physical or mental operations that are first observed on the social plane and, in turn, learners develop methods of regulating their own behaviour and cognition (Meece & Daniels, 2008). While individual factors in learning and development as they relate to the practices of participants are more difficult to ascertain, they are considered in relation to the broader social and cultural-historical throughout data analysis.

d) The use of cultural tools. In a similar way to Piaget, Vygotsky was concerned with cognitive development in terms of qualitative change in mental processes. However, he emphasised developmental changes in terms of the psychological and technical tools used by the learner to make meaning of their surroundings (Meece & Daniels, 2008). While technical tools are used to gain mastery over the environment (pencil and paper, scales, hammers, machines, etc.), psychological tools involve the organisation of thought and behaviour (systems of logic, social norms, language, etc.). For Vygotsky, these cultural tools profoundly shaped the mind (Richardson, 1997).

For instance, from a Vygotskian perspective, coaches select relevant tools in order to develop learning in the areas they deem important for their players. To use the example of jōge kankei (vertically structured hierarchy systems) as an aim in Japanese sports clubs to prepare learners for Japanese society (see Cave, 2004), coaches may utilise various
tools such as language (e.g. *sempai* meaning seniors, and *kōhai* meaning juniors), and encourage leadership responsibilities that foster this system. As a further example, the influence of the All Blacks leadership groups may also affect the way in which a New Zealand coach structures a team and uses tools to achieve a similar or desired organisation. For Vygotsky, the tool of language and social institutions to mediate development was an important consideration.

**2.11.3 Limitations of Vygotskian theory.** Vygotskian theory can help to explain the way in which cognition and learning is a socially co-constructed process. As a theory, it differs from Piagetian perspectives which largely view these processes as individual, and has important implications for education (Meece & Daniels, 2008). However, Schunk (2008) suggested that some aspects of Vygotsky’s theory have been challenged in the literature and, as such, the limitations of Vygotsky’s theory should be considered.

Research by Bereiter (1994), for instance, has indicated that children develop a good understanding of their world prior to any substantial culturally specific interaction. Further, Geary (1995) suggested that children have shown a biological predisposition to understand concepts such as *addition increases quantity*. Schunk (2008) suggested that Vygotsky’s claim that all learning is derivative from social interaction is, perhaps, too strong. Meece and Daniels (2008) also suggested that Vygotsky’s theory places comparatively limited focus on physical maturation and other biological process than on other developmental theories. The complex interplay of genetics and the environment, for instance, are a shortfall of Vygotsky’s approach.

As Schunk (2008) pointed out, Vygotsky’s work was censored for many decades and, therefore, the contribution of Vygotskian theory is difficult to fully ascertain. Vygotsky produced oral narratives of his theory, contributing to the fragmentation of his ideas and some deficiency in the cohesiveness in his works (van der Veer & Valsiner,
Van der Veer and Valsiner (1991) and Meira and Lerman (2001) also noted that much of Vygotsky's early work was focused on the narrower context of traditional intelligence testing; it was not until later in his career that he broadened his theorising to account for the issues concerning the relationship between education and cognitive development. In a sport coaching context, Potrac and Cassidy (2006) highlighted that, although reference to collaboration, open-ended questions, demonstrations, and some forms of direction (e.g. scaffolding) were offered, Vygotsky never specified the forms of social assistance the ‘more capable other’ might provide to the learner when operating in the ZPD.

Schunk (2008) suggested that work placed in this theory often ‘zones in’ on one aspect (namely, the ZPD) without recognition of its place in the broader theoretical context of cultural influences. As such, the role of the individual and cultural-historical constructs brought to the learning encounter is often overlooked in research utilising Vygotskian theory. Nevertheless, Schunk cautioned that, despite limitations, the aspects that affect learning and development, such as culture, are still influential and deserve consideration (Schunk, 2008).

2.11.4 Theoretical framework summary. Vygotsky’s theory can be applied to examine the social, cultural and historical factors which influence coaches’ choice of pedagogies (used to convey aims). His emphasis on qualitative cognitive development and sociocultural influences on development fits well with the aim of this study, and compliments Gadamer’s (2002) emphasis on historical and social factors in hermeneutic interpretation (see Chapter 3: Methodology). Thus the use of Vygotskian sociocultural theory as a framework for this study is important as the participants are from two distinctly different historical, cultural, and social contexts.
2.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a review of the literature relating to the historical and sociocultural values stemming from the nineteenth century which may act to influence rugby and coaching practice in Japan and New Zealand. By addressing these areas, consideration is given to the ways in which coaches’ pedagogies may be influenced historically and socioculturally. This investigation provides a basis for discussion about the findings of this research project. The following chapter addresses the methodology and methods employed to investigate these matters.
Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Whereas ‘method’ refers to the specific technique(s), procedures and designs implemented in order to research a topic (Thomas & Nelson, 1996), ‘methodology’ indicates the principles and perspectives through which a researcher tackles problems and seeks answers (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Hermeneutics, such as Gadamer (2002), suggested that there is no true method or absolute truth so, in this sense, hermeneutics may not be considered a methodology. Nevertheless, the intention of this chapter is to address the nature of hermeneutics and provide the rationale for its significance to this study.

Within a sociocultural theoretical framework, this study used semi-structured interviews (from here on referred to as conversations) and followed a hermeneutic methodology. The following sections provide an outline of hermeneutics as a research methodology and its rationale for use in this research project. Following a review of the hermeneutic tradition, the research setting is described, as are the procedures followed to recruit participants from Japan and New Zealand. A profile of each participant is provided, ethical considerations are addressed, and the processes involved in the analysis of data, in English and Japanese, are described.

3.2 Research Paradigms

This section briefly reviews prominent research paradigms in education contexts, with a focus on qualitative research as the underpinning methodology of this study.

Sparkes (1996) cautioned that the use of a certain research design does not necessarily equate to application of a particular research paradigm. However, it is
suggested that positivist and post-positivist paradigms tend to favour quantitative research. An empirical investigation of social phenomena, and with emphasis on the process of measurement, quantitative research methodologies are often used in the social sciences and educational settings (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Sparkes (1996) suggested that a researcher operating within this paradigm has an external-realist ontological assumption, with an objectivist/dualist epistemology. That is, the social world is viewed as external to the individual’s cognition, and knowledge is comprised of hard, immutable facts that can be observed and measured (Sparkes, 1996). Research design and data analysis are, therefore, prescriptive and scientific in nature as the researcher seeks an empirical truth (Sparkes, 1996). Quantitative research provides mathematical expression of the connections between empirical data and a social phenomenon, and Johnson and Christensen (2012) suggested that such research is underpinned by an objective world view where a reality can be observed and rational observers of the same phenomenon will tend to agree on its existence and characteristics.

In contrast, an interpretive/constructivist paradigm tends to assist qualitative research designs (Mertens, 2010; Sparkes, 1996). This paradigm posits an internal-idealist ontological assumption and a subjectivist epistemology, suggesting the researcher views the social world as internal to an individual’s cognition, and knowledge is seen as an outcome of human activity or construction which is problematic and ever-changing. This paradigm rejects a dualist perspective and suggests that one cannot see the world outside of ones’ place within it (Sparkes, 1996).

The quantitative approach to research and its understanding of reality does not align with the qualitative nature of hermeneutics. Instead, qualitative researchers consider that reality is a social construction, and often involves an inquiry process in an attempt to understand a human or social phenomenon (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Denzin and
Lincoln (2003) have suggested that qualitative research approaches are suited to educational contexts as it allows the researcher to situate him/herself in the world of the informant(s) in an attempt to make this world visible to others. As such, Burns (1997) and Johnson and Christensen (2012) have noted that, unlike quantitative research, it is the qualitative approach that assists the researcher in developing a more intimate understanding of the phenomenon in question – particularly within an educational setting where various complexities and subtleties can be missed by mathematical expression of the data and findings. Creswell (2008) suggested that it is the qualitative approach to research that contributes to the construction of a complex and holistic picture, where the use of words, rather than numbers, are used to report a detailed description of the informants views in a natural setting.

Historically, qualitative research has been considered as an inferior methodology in comparison to scientific methods in quantitative methodologies of the positivistic paradigm (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In contrast, the dominant positivist paradigm has been criticised for its omission of contextual considerations in the study of human behaviour. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) suggested that it was recognition of these factors that would stimulate acceptance and credibility of the qualitative research methodologies.

Mason (1998) has suggested that there are three commonalities in all qualitative research. First, this includes their interpretivist nature and relates to how meaning of the social world is interpreted and understood, experienced and produced. Second, Mason (1998) suggested that qualitative research and inquiry are both flexible and sensitive to the setting in which data is being collected. Third, Mason (1998) draws attention to the emphasis that qualitative research places on an holistic understanding of the complex and detailed data gathered. As such, qualitative research attempts to provide rich and descriptive interpretations of data (Glesne, 1999), and does not seek to disprove a
hypothesis. Rather, a picture of the phenomenon is shaped by the descriptive interpretation of the collected data, which is guided by the research question and embraces the researcher’s ontological and epistemological stance (Glesne, 1999; Snape & Spencer, 2003). Snape and Spencer (2003) suggested that qualitative methodologies adopt a flexible research strategy for inquiry into natural environments, and is defined by the influencing paradigm, the research question, and the purpose of the research project. Similarly, Mutch (2005) has described qualitative research as “a research approach that looks in depth at fewer subjects through rich description of their thoughts, feelings, stories, and/or activities” (p. 223). Mutch (2005) added that due to the holistic nature of qualitative research, it is underpinned by a critical, emancipatory or interpretive worldview. Mutch (2005) argued that the strength of a qualitative research methodology is that it allows the researcher to become immersed in the study. In this way, qualitative research is supported by subjective ontology, and is described as having an elastic quality that allows a degree of adaptation as the research project progresses (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Gratton and Jones (2004) argued that the use of qualitative interpretive inquiry in a sport and physical education context is particularly relevant as it allows the complex interactions of thoughts, beliefs, values, and relationships to be interpreted with cognisance of multiple vantage points. Indeed, these characteristics of qualitative research enable the researcher to pursue a better understanding (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Gratton & Jones, 2004), or different understanding (Gadamer, 2002) of the data, and this was a central concern for this hermeneutic study.

The following sections provide a review of hermeneutics as an implicit part of qualitative research (Kinsella, 2006); and provides a rationale for its use as a methodology in this study to capture and interpret the perspectives of participants in order
to provide an enhanced and different understanding of historical and sociocultural influences acting on coaching practices in secondary school rugby in Japan and New Zealand.

3.3 Hermeneutics

This study uses a hermeneutic methodology which could be considered an interpretive paradigm in accordance with the explanations in the preceding text. A review provided by Ramberg and Gjesdal (2014) attested to the long history of hermeneutic scholarship. They traced hermeneutic tradition back to Greek philosophy as utilised by Plato (in contrast to *sophia* (wisdom) as demarcated by Aristotle and Augustine) (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2014). Throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, hermeneutics emerged as a central approach to the interpretation of Biblical texts and has been influenced by the likes of Martin Luther. For instance, Luther’s emphasis on faith and inwardness made it possible for his followers to make sense of Biblical text in their own way, rather than rely on the interpretations of others.

According to Ramberg and Gjesdal (2014), major philosophical shifts in hermeneutic thought were prompted by Schleiermacher and Dilthey who replaced questions such as “How to read?” with “How do we communicate at all?” Influenced by the work of these scholars, Heidegger’s *Sein und Zeit* (Being and Time) (Heidegger, 1967) marked the emergence of an ontological turn that contributed to shaping modern hermeneutics (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2014). Husserl’s phenomenology has also been attributed as an influence on Heidegger (Macann, 1993). However, a key difference between the two philosophies can be located in the existentialist approach assumed by Heidegger (1967). Husserl posited that the phenomenon, or essence therein, could be described as the observer could transcend the meaning to take an objective or global view (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). In contrast, Heidegger insisted that one could never detach
oneself fully from the analysis of a text, and that one exists within the phenomenon and its essence (Heidegger, 1967). The role of language in the interpretive process, as one seeks meaning, is also central to Heidegger’s (1967) approach.

The ontological turn attributed to the work of Heidegger, and furthered by his student, Gadamer, moved hermeneutic practice toward the theorisation of human life and existence. Gadamer (2002) suggested that the purpose of hermeneutics is to clarify the interpretive conditions in which understanding takes place, as opposed to developing a procedure of understanding. He further remarked that this understanding is achieved through a fusion of horizons, a merging of past experiences, or a text, with one’s present circumstances and understanding, thereby creating a new meaning in lived experience (Gadamer, 2002). This fusion takes place with cognisance of prejudices or preconceptions brought into the interpretation process by an individual or researcher. Gadamer suggested that while these biases are hidden, they establish the horizon of a particular present. This horizon is continually formed due to a continual requirement to challenge one’s own prejudices. This is particularly true when one considers one’s past in order to understand the tradition that has shaped one’s present.

Gadamer (2002) suggested that “the horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past” (p. 306), and that “part of real understanding…is that we regain the concepts of a historical past in such a way that they also include our own comprehension of them” (p. 374). That is, in order for the process of understanding to occur via a fusion of horizons, one must transcend the historical past to include one’s own conceptual understanding in the present. Gadamer (2002) observed that understanding or, in German, verstehen, is universal in an interpretative paradigm. Therefore, as qualitative research emphasizes the interpretation and understanding of data rather than explanation and verification, it is implicitly informed by hermeneutic thought. Here, Kinsella (2006) and
Schwandt (2001) suggested the potential of hermeneutics as a methodology in qualitative inquiry.

Hermeneutic inquiry provides a strategy to discover and understand what the original author of a text intended to communicate (Klein, Blomberg, & Hubbard, 1993), and for Gadamer (2002), understanding is “assimilating what is said to the point that it becomes one's own” (p. 398). When one attempts to interpret the text, one’s own thoughts, or horizons, will naturally be revealed in the interpretation. Gadamer suggested that this is not a personal standpoint that will be maintained or enforced in the analysis, but rather, “an opinion and a possibility that one brings into play and puts at risk” (Gadamer, 2002, p. 388) in an attempt to reawaken a possible meaning behind the text, and make it one’s own.

The use of ‘text’ in this thesis is intended to align with Gadamer’s (2002) broader understanding of the word, which is captured by Schwandt’s (2001) statement that hermeneutical scholarship is considered to be “the art, theory, and philosophy of interpreting the meaning of an object…a text, a work or art, social action, the utterances of another speaker” (Schwandt, 2001, p. 115, original emphasis). Moreover, Rudestam and Newton (2014) suggested that a researcher engages in the hermeneutic approach in order to develop a better understanding of the context that gives the text meaning. However, Gadamer suggested caution about developing a ‘better understanding’ of a subject and that “it is enough to say that we understand in a different way, if we understand at all” (Gadamer, 2002, p. 297, original emphasis).

3.4 Hermeneutics as a Research Methodology

It has been suggested that hermeneutics can offer an implicit conceptual underpinning to research conducted in the qualitative tradition (Kinsella, 2006). While Weinsheimer (1985) suggested that the hermeneutic tradition is increasingly familiar in
research, he noted that its influence has been limited. Kinsella (2006) suggested this is contrasted by the prominent role of hermeneutics in methodological discourses in European contexts, particularly in the social sciences and educational traditions.

Hermeneutics challenges the limitations of positivist paradigms in research, and Kinsella (2006) suggested that the process of interpretation and the transformative possibilities therein, are critical in an age of post-positivism. Gadamer (1990) asserted that “over against the whole of our civilization that is founded on modern science, we must ask repeatedly if something has not been omitted” (p. 152-153). Hermeneutic thought and qualitative research attempt to compensate for such omissions.

Sloan and Bowe (2014) described hermeneutics as a type of phenomenological methodology situated among interpretive phenomenology. Further, Heywood and Stronach (2005) suggested that the hermeneutic approach requires the researcher to tack “between theory and data . . . and the voice of the researcher and the voices of the other” (p. 117). Hermeneutics, as a methodology, requires researchers to analyse a text as a ‘whole’, whether this be written or spoken, poetry or a form of movement, in order to attempt to understand it from their own vantage point. On the basis of this, the inquirer will then identify hermeneutical moments as ‘parts’ that can be investigated in depth in order to develop this understanding, and enhance their understanding of the ‘whole’ (discussed further in section 3.5). As Gadamer (2002) highlighted, one cannot expect to fully understand the text from the author’s vantage point. However, having laid bare (Heidegger, 1967) one’s own biases, a fusion of present and traditional horizons (that is, one’s current perspective, as influenced by past experiences), the text can be interpreted and understood differently through an interpretive process.

Rudestam and Newton (2014) suggested that the hermeneutically-informed research approach is complex because the analysis of texts must remain loyal to the frame
of reference of its author and the subject. Hermeneuts, such as Gadamer, considered language as the core element of human understanding (Schwandt, 2001). As such, the interpreter is required to repeatedly return to the data in an effort to create a dialogue with the text (Rudestam & Newton, 2014). By considering the meaning of the data to the author, the researcher then attempts to interpret or integrate the author’s meaning with their own. This ongoing process is referred to as the ‘hermeneutic circle’ (Dilthey, Makkreel, & Rodi, 1996) and involves analysis of the text first as a whole, then in its parts, and then again as a whole. That is, hermeneutic analysis considers the way in which the meaning of the text, in its entirety, informs the meaning of segments of the text, then considers the meaning of these segments in relation to the meaning of the entire text (Rudestam & Newton, 2014).

Gadamer (2002) insisted that the actual intention of the author cannot be accessed. Rather, based on the theory that there is no singular correct interpretation of a text, one will never actually access the truth intended by the author. Therefore, the interpreter must acknowledge their own situational circumstances and prejudices in the process of analysis (Sloan & Bowe, 2014; Rudestam & Newton, 2014). Gadamer (2002) posited that “the circular movement of understanding runs backward and forward along the text and ceases when the text is perfectly understood” (p. 293). Nevertheless, a total understanding may never actually be reached. In this sense, Clifford, Friesen, and Jardine (2001) suggested that, as there is no one truth, the process of interpretation will break open the text to be understood from many different vantage points.

In light of the ambiguities of the hermeneutic approach to research, Rudestam and Newton (2014) suggested that hermeneutics may be considered more of a theoretical perspective than a research methodology. However, Kerdeman (1998) suggested that Gadamer, following on from Heidegger, maintained that meaning is not something that
has to be produced methodically. Moreover, understanding is not seen as an outcome that a researcher can intentionally set out to achieve. Instead, by virtue of being human, we “...cannot help but engage in understanding the people, events, institutions, and practices that comprise our everyday world” (Kerdeman, 1998, p. 248-249).

Packer (1985) addressed the distinction between this approach and other, perhaps more common, methodologies in the following way:

The difference between a rationalist or empiricist explanation and a hermeneutic interpretation is a little like the difference between a map of a city and an account of that city by someone who lives in it and walks its streets (p. 1091).

Packer highlighted the abstract nature of the map, in contrast to the personalised and biased interpretation of the city’s resident. Accordingly, the hermeneutic approach is considered applicable to all human action, where said actions are captured in textual form as the researcher investigates everyday practical activities. A distinctive difference of this approach from more empirical orientations in the study of human behaviour is that attempts to understand human activities can only be accomplished with cognisance of the context in which they transpire, rather than as an abstraction or set of causal relationships (Packer, 1985; Rudestam & Newton, 2014).

In addition to the hermeneutic idea of understanding, and the situated nature of interpretation, there also has to be consideration of the roles and limitations of history and language in the hermeneutic process of understanding. For instance, Wachterhauser (1986) suggested that “what is distinctive about human understanding is that it is always in terms of some evolving linguistic framework that has been worked out over time in terms of some historically conditioned set of concerns and practices” (pp. 5-6). That is,
hermeneutics requires an awareness of historically informed prejudices as a condition of understanding. Gadamer (2002) argued:

A person who believes he is free of prejudices, relying on the objectivity of his procedures and denying that he himself is conditioned by historical circumstances, experiences the power of the prejudices that unconsciously dominate him (p. 360).

Kinsella (2006) and Greene (1995) noted the importance of recognising the influence of historically conditioned prejudices on interpretive inquiry. Kinsella suggested that “texts are considered through the historically and culturally situated lens of the researcher’s perception and experience” (2006, p. 5) and, as such, only a partial perspective of the world can be offered by any one interpreter or researcher.

Rudestam and Newton (2014) highlighted an ongoing debate in the field of hermeneutics between those who consider a text to contain meaning that is independent of the interpreter, and others who consider active interpretation as a principal factor in all understanding. Rudestam and Newton (2014) suggested that the latter position is aligned with modern constructivist thinking, and involves fusion of the perspective of the phenomenon, and the perspective of the interpreter. While a researcher’s own historically and socioculturally formed prejudices will shape their interpretations of a text, these biases are only partially understood by the researcher. An active interaction between the text and the interpreter, therefore, will result in enhanced understanding of both the text and the self.

3.5 The Hermeneutic Circle and a Whole-Part-Whole Approach

Kinsella (2006) explained that the objective of a hermeneutic research approach is to pursue an understanding of the data, as opposed to offering explanations or an authoritative reading or conceptual analysis of a text. Kinsella asserted that Dilthey’s
‘hermeneutic circle’ is central to this concept of hermeneutic understanding. The hermeneutic circle is a methodological process whereby comprehending the meaning of the whole text, and its parts, are interdependent activities (Schwandt, 2001). That is, “construing the meaning of the whole meant making sense of the parts and grasping the meaning of the parts depended on having some sense of the whole” (Schwandt, 2001, p. 112).

The hermeneutic circle is continuously supplemented with the synthesis of new interpretations and, as such, furthers one’s understanding (Kinsella, 2006). In this way, the complexity of the process of understanding is evident as information is incorporated “piecemeal” in order to illuminate meaning of the parts and, subsequently, the whole (Bontekoe, 1996, p. 4). Therefore, “the object of comprehension, taken as a whole, is understood in terms of its parts, and . . . this understanding involves the recognition of how these parts are integrated into the whole” (Bontekoe, 1996, p. 3, original emphasis). That is, once the parts have been contextualised, they can be integrated to understand the meaning of the whole text (Bontekoe, 1996).

This process has been distinguished from a vicious circle (Kinsella, 2006). For instance, upon reaching a stage in the interpretive process where the researcher is either satisfied with their understanding, or alternatively, disinterested in pursuing a matter any further, the process is ceased at the level of understanding currently achieved (Kinsella, 2006). Bontekoe (1996) suggested that the process will only resume when new instances are not regarded as “more of the same” (p. 6) and are instead inquired in terms of the significant differences in the text.

Hermeneutic inquiry considers the circular nature of interpretation as an essential aspect of understanding. Kinsella (2006) and Schwandt (2001) have suggested that one’s interpretation will rely on other interpretations. Here, interpretation is viewed as an
inescapable element of all human efforts to understand. For instance, Schwandt (2001) observed that, “there is no special evidence, method, experience or meaning that is independent of interpretation or more basic to it such that one can escape the hermeneutic circle” (pp. 112-113).

3.6 A Critique of Hermeneutics as a Methodology

Due to its ontological and epistemological positioning, Kinsella (2006) suggested that hermeneutic scholarship is an implicit part of all qualitative research. Indeed, Gadamer (2002) has emphasised the universal role that understanding plays in the interpretive paradigm. Therefore, it may be appropriate to suggest that any critique of qualitative research would also befall hermeneutic research (Shenton, 2004). Notwithstanding, Kafle (2011) argued that due to its wide application in many disciplines (including medical science, education and science and technology), it has, unlike other qualitative research designs, tended to avoid criticism on the basis of its philosophical and methodological strengths. In spite of this suggestion, however, a search of the literature reveals two major critiques offered by Betti (1990) and Habermas (1990). The following section will highlight the concerns raised by these scholars and provide a summary of Gadamer’s responses and reassurances about the philosophical and methodological stance of hermeneutics.

Habermas (1990) spoke of the ‘political naiveté’ of Gadamer’s hermeneutics. For him, Gadamer placed too much emphasis on tradition whilst failing to acknowledge the importance of critical judgments. For Habermas, this attachment to the past would potentially limit people’s ability to develop new ideas and, therefore, future transformation and revolutionary change (Frazier, 2015). According to Frazier (2015), Gadamer retorted by asserting that the past profoundly shapes and influences the present,
and importantly, change can only be enabled with an understanding of the past. For Gadamer, even the revolutionary is rebelling against something (Frazier, 2015).

Additional critique was articulated by Italian hermeneutic law scholar, Emilio Betti. According to Betti (1990), the nature of Gadamer’s hermeneutics suggested that there could never be one truth. If the closest we could come was a fusion of horizons based on cultures, languages, or contexts, how could we ever come to an agreement? Frazier (2015) reminds us that this was important to Betti in his work in the field of law. According to Frazier (2015), Gadamer’s response argued that in search of an agreement there is always the possibility that a ‘best fit’ solution. Gadamer's assertion was that the more we attempt to understand the context, needs, and traditions of the circumstance(s), the more possible it becomes to find an agreement suitable for the situation in question. Although this may elicit more than one solution, Gadamer contended that Betti’s search for a suitable resolution is always achievable through the attempts to understand (Frazier, 2015).

In addition to these debates, Kinsella (2006) suggested that the hermeneutic approach has been criticized due to the elusiveness of its conceptual nature. However, Gadamer, Misgeld, and Nicholson (1992) proposed that “hermeneutics is a protection against abuse of method, not against methodicalness in general” (p. 71). The hermeneutic approach embraces a degree of ambiguity as an implicit part of the process required to understand. From a hermeneutic perspective of analysis a text cannot be assigned an immovable or fixed position (Gadamer, 2002). For instance, Gadamer (2002) stated that “to understand a text always means to apply it to ourselves and to know that, even if it must always be understood in different ways, it is still the same text presenting itself to us in these different ways” (p. 398). In his view, the historical life of tradition relies on constant assimilation and interpretation in order to adapt to the hermeneutical situation in
which it belongs. As such, hermeneutics resists the notion that there can be one single definition or understanding of a text with neat reconciliations. Rather, it recognises the complexity of the interpretive process and therefore embraces the ambiguity associated in such endeavours (Kinsella, 2006).

Hermeneutics recognises that all interpretations are situated and located. Acknowledgement of the situated nature of interpretation, in addition to the impossibility of establishing one overarching truth, is an expanding trend in contemporary literature, although this is not always articulated in terms of a hermeneutic understanding (Kinsella, 2006). Eisner (1998) suggested that an interpreter’s own perspective, or “unique way[s] of experiencing” (p. 48), is relevant as it bears a unique insight into a situation. In this way, a hermeneutic process of understanding is less a liability than it is a relevant and unique insight. As Gardiner (1999) stated:

The hermeneutic approach stresses the creative interpretation of words and texts and the active role played by the knower. The goal is not objective explanation or neutral description, but rather a sympathetic engagement with the author of a text, utterance or action and the wider sociocultural context within which these phenomena occur (p. 63).

In an effort to summarise key characteristics of hermeneutics as a methodology, Kinsella (2006) suggested that the reader of a hermeneutic study must remain cognisant that such an approach seeks to: (a) understand the data rather than explain it; (b) acknowledge the situated location of interpretation; (c) recognize the role of language and historicity in interpretation (therefore drawing on etymological understandings); (d) view inquiry as conversation; and (e) be comfortable with ambiguity.
3.7 Evaluative Criteria in Hermeneutic Research

To address the question of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of this research, it is first necessary to provide a brief synopsis of the literature on these matters. Hudson and Ozanne (1988) suggested that broadly speaking, a common ‘terminal’ goal of research, in any paradigm, is understanding. However, this view of understanding varies across the paradigms. For example, a normative, positivist paradigm, would consider understanding as ‘explanation’, and would likely link this with the concept of ‘prediction’ (Anderson, 1986; Packer, 1985). Anderson (1986) posited that these explanations ideally take the form of general laws capable of predicting many occurrences of a phenomenon – which is conceivably based on their ontological assumptions that reality is composed of context-free elements.

Hermeneutic studies share the goal of understanding. However, Patterson and Williams (2002) suggested that predictions and conclusions of a phenomenon under universal laws are not necessary for explanations to be considered useful or satisfactory in hermeneutics. Rather, meaning and behaviour are seen as open and subject to change. Therefore, according to Patterson and Williams (2002), prediction is not necessarily possible or useful. As hermeneutic ontology recognises the change of reality over time, and the differences of the perceptions of reality between individuals (e.g. what is masculinity in New Zealand?) it maintains that scientific explanations and predictions cannot be useful for all time (Patterson & Williams, 2002). At best, these predictions may only be applicable at the most general or abstract of levels (e.g. people play sport to get fit). This also acts to deny the possibility that some phenomena are unique in time and space. In contrast, hermeneutic understanding is not “pre-dictive”, but “retro-dictive” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 171). That is, according to Polkinghorne (1988) and Ricoeur
(1981), the hermeneutic analysis of events should be retrospective, which will in turn, make the conclusions reasonable and believable.

In terms of the ‘instrumental’ goal of the axiological commitments of hermeneutics, of which specific research applications are assessed and evaluated, Patterson and Williams (2002) suggested that it is the differing ontological, epistemological and axiological commitments of a research paradigm that result in differing evaluation criteria. In this discussion of hermeneutic scholarship, Thompson’s (1990) notion of foundational and anti-foundational approaches is helpful. For instance, foundationalists seek to clarify methodological procedures in order to distinguish truth from non-truth, and this is measured in terms of validity, reliability, and generalisability. In inquiry paradigms, similar methodological evaluative criteria are outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Shenton (2004) as; credibility (i.e. does the interpretation agree with the subject’s opinion?), dependability of measure (i.e. is the researcher, as an instrument, consistent?), transferability (i.e. given sensitivity to changing context, is the interpretation generalizable?), and confirmability (i.e. is the interpretation logical, nonprejudiced, nonjudgmental, and supportable based on data?). Patterson and Williams (2002) acknowledged the differing ontological assumptions of the interpretivist research and positivist research, however they suggested that both are foundationalist in approach when attempts are made to ground knowledge with these types of methodological procedures as evaluative criteria.

Patterson and Williams (2002) referred to this as a dualistic separation of the knower and the knowledge, and it is therefore inconsistent with the ontological (co-constructed) and epistemological (fusion of horizons) commitments of hermeneutics. In fact, Holt (1991) and Mishler (1990) suggested that prescription of methodological procedures that aim to assure validity of interpretation, and an objective truth, are not
possible in the hermeneutic tradition. Instead, it is argued, as hermeneutics maintains that there is no single correct interpretation of phenomena – especially as they refer to experiences, no one understanding can capture all elements of an experience, and therefore, there is a possibility of multiple interpretations. Hermeneutics maintains that the ‘truth content’ of an observation or theory is insufficient because, as Hudson and Ozanne (1988) suggested, there is “no defensible method for establishing that truth exists” (p. 516). For instance, in looking at trustworthiness of inquiry research, Holt (1991) suggested that peer auditing to assure trustworthiness fails because the auditor’s interpretation is equally subject to the bias as the original researcher. Similarly, Holt (1991) and Packer and Addison (1989) argued that respondent audits are not necessarily an indication of trustworthiness, as these too are interpretations.

Patterson and Williams (2002) suggested that based on its ontological and epistemological positioning, the dualistic notion of confirming an objective truth via measurable components (which can be achieved by adhering to a set of methodological procedures) is incompatible with the hermeneutic tradition. Therefore, hermeneutics assumes and anti-foundationalist philosophy on the matter of evaluative criteria and the instrumental goals of its axiological commitments – and this is based on the idea that the credibility of the interpretation cannot be deduced separate from its readings (Holt, 1991). For instance, Murray and Ozanne (1991) and Patterson and Williams (2002) offered the example of ‘length of immersion’ as an evaluative criterion in foundationalist paradigms that is used to assure credibility or trustworthiness. However, Holt (1991) notes that this is perhaps better assessed based on the richness of the data collected, rather than the time spent gathering it – thus, “this evaluation can only be made based on a reading of the research text” (Patterson & Williams, 2002, p. 32).
As such, Holt (1991) suggested that, although the validation frameworks presented by Lincoln and Guba (1985) offer useful techniques, they are not viewed as mandatory procedural guidelines to assure validity in hermeneutic methodology. Instead, hermeneutics directs attention to “defining evaluative criteria related to the product [the research text] itself” (Patterson & Williams, 2002, p.33). In order to evaluate the research text, the three criteria of; persuasiveness; insightfulness; and practical utility, are proposed (Patterson & Williams, 2002).

3.7.1 Persuasiveness. On the matter of persuasiveness Mishler (1990) suggested that the primary evaluative criterion for research requires the reader, having adopted the same vantage point of the researcher, could reasonably see what the researcher saw; that is, validation requires the reader to be able to make a reasonable judgment about the interpretive claims of the researcher. As such, persuasiveness as an evaluative criterion, requires interpretations to remain coherent and documented with appropriate and relevant examples from the data (Arnold & Fischer, 1994). Persuasiveness is therefore a concept akin to validity measures in other research paradigms, and is assured by providing clarity of data and a comprehensible ‘map’ to which the researcher reached the conclusion(s) of his/her interpretations. Patterson and Williams (2002) noted that this is consistent with the characterisation of other evaluative criteria that seek external critique whilst maintaining that multiple interpretations exist, and as such, we “should not necessarily expect inter-rater agreement” (p. 33).

3.7.2 Insightfulness. Thompson (1990) suggested that the second criterion of insightfulness relates to a coherent pattern in the interpretation that draws the data into a “good conceptual figure” (p. 28). To achieve this results in interpretations which increase our understanding of a phenomenon (Patterson & Williams, 2002). For instance, rather than simply threading the qualitative data together (in long quotes from conversations),
the data is presented and interpreted in such a way that the reader is guided through the research text, and their understanding of the phenomenon is enhanced with a greater insight than that prior to reading the research text.

3.7.3 Practical Utility. The third criterion emphasised by Patterson and William (2002) for the evaluation of hermeneutic research is practical utility. Packer and Addison (1989) and Patterson and Williams (2002) posited that this principle recognises that a research project is underpinned by a particular concern, and so a useful interpretation will assist in the discovery of an answer related to that concern. This may be thought of in terms of trustworthiness (Mishler, 1990).

Assessment of the practical utility of an hermeneutic interpretation is consistent with ontological commitments regarding a shift from the belief that absolute truth is possible, and epistemological commitments based on its contextual and situated nature of knowledge or a phenomenon. Additionally, assessment of practical utility considers the axiological commitments of hermeneutic research (specifically the ‘terminal’ goal) to engage in communication, rather than making predictions related to universal laws (Patterson & William, 2002).

3.7.4 Summary. Packer and Addison (1989) have suggested that an insistence on a fixed set of validity criteria for hermeneutic research is a demand for something that even the natural sciences cannot provide. Further, Patterson and Williams (2002) noted an acknowledgment made by Lee Cronbach, a prominent figure in the development of validity procedures, that “validity is subjective rather than objective: the plausibility of the conclusion is what counts. And plausibility, to twist a cliché, lies in the ear of the beholder.” (Cronbach & Shapiro, 1982, p. 108).

Holt (1991) and Patterson and Williams (2002) have asserted that the validity frameworks of inquiry research methodologies provide helpful techniques. However,
based on its ontological, epistemological, and axiological commitments outlined in the preceding sections, these frameworks should not be considered mandatory guidelines that assure validity in hermeneutic scholarship. Patterson and Williams (2002) cautioned that this does not infer that hermeneutic interpretation is an anti-science, nor is it based on conjecture. Instead, correct hermeneutic interrogation of a text is an empirical enterprise characterised by critical and ‘meaningful’ thought; beginning with a perspective (the forestructure of understanding; Gadamer, 2002); subject to rigorous and systematic analysis (the hermeneutic circle; Bentekoe, 1996); resulting in interpretations that are evaluated and modified according to data (literature, and lived experiences); and that are presented in a way that evidence persuasive, insightful, and justified practical conclusions (Patterson & Williams, 2002).

In sum, the hermeneutic piece is empirically grounded, subject to external critical audits, and is systematic and rigorous rather than selective in analysis (Patterson & Williams, 2002). As such, throughout the findings and discussion chapters my hermeneutic research project has endeavoured to satisfy these three evaluative criteria, which align with the validity checks in other inquiry research paradigms.

3.8 Rationale for Hermeneutics in this Study

Gadamer’s (2002) emphasis on the sociocultural context provides the main rationale for the use of the hermeneutic approach in this thesis. Gadamer’s acknowledgement of the traditional (historical), social, and cultural influence on human understanding and one’s vantage point aligns with Vygotsky’s similar emphasis on an individual’s development and view of the world (Vygotsky, 1978; see section 2.11). Recognition of historical and sociocultural influences on human learning and development provided by a Vygotskian theoretical perspective, within the conversation-style interpretive approach of hermeneutics, allowed me to investigate and seek
understanding of the ways in which the pedagogies of Japanese and New Zealand rugby coaches are learned and reproduced.

3.9 Research Setting

The impetus for this study stems from my interest in both Japanese and New Zealand coach pedagogy. With over five years of residence and tertiary study in Japan, I was able to become fluent in the Japanese language. This allowed me to form relationships and have discussions that would lead to an improved understanding of the sport and physical education setting in Japan, along with first hand experiences. In addition to tertiary level study and personal coaching experience in New Zealand, my curiosity as a researcher was piqued, and I made the resolution to investigate these countries simultaneously.

Knowing the strength of rugby in New Zealand and its continued growth in Japan, I conducted a review of cross-cultural and rugby related studies in search of specific research questions, and being mindful of differing cultural values and ideals, I also investigated coach pedagogy. A paucity of research relating to these matters at high school level rugby, a popular site for selection of professional participation in the game, suggested that advancements in this area could provide helpful contributions. I anticipated that findings from this research could contribute to an understanding of the historically and socioculturally influenced experiences of Japanese and New Zealand secondary school rugby coaches and players, and the pedagogies used therein.

3.10 Methods

I conducted the first phase of this research in New Zealand where I contacted high school rugby coaches with a request to participate in a one-on-one conversation (semi-structured interview). I also requested a conversation with their players, and assured
...confidentiality to all participants. Later, I travelled to Japan where a similar procedure was followed, and where the conversations were conducted in the Japanese language.

As a method of obtaining qualitative data, interviews can be conducted as structured, semi-structured or un-structured (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Creswell (2003; 2008) suggested that data obtained during the interview process can be limited by an interviewer’s filtered interpretation of responses, or the interviewee’s desire to convey a biased set of information. However, the interview also allows for a richer set of data to be obtained (Gratton & Jones, 2004). Burns (2000) added that the semi-structured interview allows participants the chance to provide their own perspectives, use a natural language, and enjoy equal rights to the researcher during dialogue. This allows the researcher to adopt a flexible approach during discussions (Gratton & Jones, 2004) and is harmonized with Gadamer’s (2002) notion of conversation. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) suggested that too much rigidity in the control of content casts the interview outside of the qualitative range. Given the aforementioned considerations, I attempted a conversation style in the interviews, with the use of some guiding questions throughout.

3.11 Procedures

Participants were invited from the Canterbury region in New Zealand, and Kanto and Kansai regions in Japan primarily because these were accessible locations. After receiving approval from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee to conduct this research (see Appendix 3), I carried out the following procedures:

New Zealand – I conducted a search for ‘high school rugby contacts’ utilizing the Canterbury Rugby franchise website, and selected team contact names, phone numbers, and email addresses. I also contacted coaches enrolled in a sport coaching degree and requested their participation. Following an initial ‘cold-call’ introduction, I sought permission to post an introductory letter, a description of the research project, and a
consent form, along with assurance of confidentiality. From the ten coaches approached, five agreed to an interview or conversation and met with me at a mutually agreed time and location.

Japan – A representative of the Kansai Rugby Football Union provided me with a list of contacts for Japanese high school rugby clubs. At this point, the exact same procedure was followed as in New Zealand, though I made contact via email rather than phone calls. Of the seven coaches approached, five agreed to an interview or conversation and met with me at a mutually agreed time and location. However due to an unresolvable scheduling conflict, my appointment with one coach was cancelled.

A condition of the coach conversation was that at least one player was also available to participate in a separate conversation with me. There were no specified requirements for coach participant age, sex, or coaching experience, and all participants were actively coaching or playing rugby in either Japan or New Zealand during the data collection phases. I conducted conversations with Japanese participants within a year of the New Zealand data generation.

Before commencing, I requested and obtained permission to record the conversation. Furthermore, I explained the purpose of the study, readdressed the terms of confidentiality, and inquired if the participant had any questions prior to starting the conversation. Though I am native English speaker, I had a suitably high level of Japanese language ability to conduct conversations in the Japanese language. Nevertheless, a native Japanese speaker checked all transcripts for accuracy. I used question prompts to ensure consistency during the conversations (see Appendix 5 and 6), and these remained consistent for conversations with all participants (in Japan and New Zealand).

Each conversation lasted approximately 20 minutes. Rationale for the duration of the conversations includes two interrelated factors. The first may be considered from a
pragmatic perspective. Coaches had limited available time to spend with me for the purpose of a conversation. Often the only opportunity was during a lunch time break, before or after staffing duties had been completed; or after school and therefore just prior to training or meetings. Further scheduling obstacles included my request to speak with players.

As participant availability was limited for these reasons, my use of a hermeneutic methodology became an important approach and indicates the second rationale. By utilising strategies such as the hermeneutic circle I was able to ‘drill down’ into the salient parts of data in the whole-part-whole approach suggested by Benetekoe (1996). Furthermore, by using various sources (i.e. the literature, players’ conversations, my own lived experiences) to triangulate data, it was through a (semi-structured) conversation that I was able to obtain a rich set of data from participants.

Acknowledging that a longer duration of conversations and longitudinal or reoccurring conversations would serve to further strengthen the trustworthiness of the findings (Shenton, 2004), I am reassured that data obtained by the end of my conversations with participants was rich, particularly when coupled with other sources of data. Notwithstanding, this is perhaps better assessed based on the persuasiveness, insightfulness, and practical utility of my interpretations (Patterson & Williams, 2002; see Section 3.7).

Once the conversation was completed, I thanked and dismissed the participants. All conversations were digitally recorded, transcribed, and re-examined many times during the data analysis process to ensure that important information was not missed.

3.12 Participants
Participants were actively coaching or playing rugby in either Japan or New Zealand at the time of data collection. Participants were divided into the following categories:

a) Coaches of secondary school rugby in Japan or New Zealand, and;
b) Players participating in secondary school rugby in Japan or New Zealand.

3.12.1 Japanese demographics. The following section provides a brief description of the four coach participants, and their players, from Japan.

Coaches:

Jin – Jin was aged between 51-60 years old, and stated that he had over 20 years of rugby coaching experience. The player age group he was primarily concerned with was U16-U18, and his coaching was conducted solely in a school team setting. During his coaching career, Jin and his players had won the Japanese national high school championship competition more than once. Jin stated that, above all other influences on his coaching, he had been most profoundly influenced by exchanges with, and seminars run by, New Zealand rugby coaches. He indicated that his role as a senior staff member in the school provided him with a challenge as he attempted to balance his work load and coaching responsibilities. The player Jin coached was Hiro.

Naoto – Naoto was aged between 41-50 years old and had over 20 years rugby coaching experience. He was primarily concerned with coaching in a school team where his players were aged between 16-18 years old. Naoto coached in a prominent Japanese high school that boasted high achievement in both academic and sporting pursuits. During Naoto’s coaching career at this school, the rugby team had achieved first place at the national high school championships. Naoto indicated that his primary coaching influences included IRB- and JRFU-run workshops, personal experiences as a player,
observations of other coaches, and academic coaching journals. The players Naoto coached were Nori and Ryuji.

Yuji – Yuji indicated that he was under 20 years old, and had three to five years of rugby coaching experience. He coached solely at a school club where his players were between 16-18 years old. Yuji indicated that in his time as a rugby coach he and his team were yet to place highly in a competition. However, he didn’t consider this to be a priority in his coaching. Yuji was employed as a physical education teacher at a mid-city school in the Osaka region. He said his coaching was influenced primarily by his experiences as a player. The players Yuji coached were Ken and Taro.

Ito – Ito indicated that he was between 31-40 years old, and had 6-10 years of rugby coaching experience. Similar to all of the Japanese participant coaches, he too was coaching a school-based team of players aged between 16-18 years old. Ito was employed as a teacher in a ‘technology’ school in the outskirts of the Kansai region. As a coach, Ito was eager to utilise rugby to facilitate his players’ development into adults. Although he did not indicate any major wins during his career as a rugby coach, he highlighted various influences on his coaching including journals, observations of other coaches, and personal experience as a player. The player Ito coached was Masa.

Players:

Hiro – Hiro was aged 18; he indicated that he had over 10 years of rugby-playing experience. Hiro was a 3rd year student and the captain of a team that had previously won the national high school championships. Hiro’s focus was on maintaining a high level of performance from his team mates during his tenure as captain of a prominent Kansai region school rugby team.

Nori and Ryuji – Both Nori and Ryuji were 17 years old. Each stated they had 6-10 years of playing experience. Although both were junior members of the group at the
time of their school’s national level success, Nori and Ryuji were on their way to becoming senior members in a Kanto region school team that has a long and prominent history in rugby and academic achievement.

Ken and Taro – Both Ken and Taro were 16 years old. Each indicated that he had two or less years of rugby playing experience; they both began playing rugby when they entered high school. In contrast to some of the other participant’s, Ken and Taro were students at a mid-city school in the Kansai region that could not yet boast a high level of sporting or academic achievement. Nevertheless, it was clear that their experiences within this school were positive, and they were often encouraged to focus on correct manners and etiquette in their actions and behaviour around the school.

Masa – Masa was 17 years old and stated that he had three to five years of rugby playing experience. A student of a ‘technology’ high school in the Kansai region, Masa began playing rugby when he joined high school. Masa indicated that his school had not achieved any major successes in sport in recent years; it was his intention, as well that of his teammates, to alter this state of affairs by embracing club or school tradition.

3.12.2 New Zealand demographics. The following section provides a brief description of the five coach participants and their players from New Zealand.

Coaches:

Brian – Brian indicated that he was aged between 31-40 years old, with approximately three to five years of rugby-coaching experience. Brian was employed as a PE teacher at a school on the outskirts of Christchurch. His role at the school led to his position as coach of the school rugby team; he was primarily coaching players aged between 13-16 years. During his tenure as a rugby coach, Brian stated that he and his team had won a junior rugby competition for schools in the Canterbury region. With
“many years” as a rugby player himself, Brian highlighted that his experiences had been instrumental in his coaching pedagogies. In particular, this influence related to both a negative perception of the coaching he had received and, therefore, a desire to coach in a different way; and to the positive memories he wished to recreate. The player Brian coached was Stan.

Peter – Peter stated he was under 20 years old, and he had between three to five years of rugby coaching experience. While Peter’s team was part of a Christchurch school with a long history of rugby prowess, he did not indicate any significant successes in his time as a rugby coach. Peter’s role was to coach players between aged 13-15 years old. His time as a player provided the biggest influence on his style of coaching which he described as “direct” coaching. The player Peter coached was Terry.

Joe – Joe was the oldest coach participant from New Zealand; he indicated his age as between 51-60 years old. Joe had been coaching secondary school rugby for more than 20 years, making him the coach participant with the longest coaching background. Joe stated that the majority of his players were aged between 16-18 years, and that his coaching was conducted primarily within a school-team setting. One of Joe’s teams achieved runner-up position at a New Zealand 1st XV championship competition. Joe was employed at a Christchurch school as a Mathematics teacher, but his formal title was that of a more authoritative position within the staff. Joe indicated that the primary influences on his coaching included informal dialogue with other coaches and observed coaching practices, but that the needs of his players also impacted on his decisions. The player Joe coached was Greg.

Glen – Glen was aged between 21-30 years old and identified as “part Maori”. Glen was coaching players between the ages of 15-16 years old as part of the requirements of a sport coaching degree. With less than two years operating as a rugby
coach, Glen’s experience as a player proved to be the biggest influence on his coaching. Glen indicated that his team had won a ‘Section 2’ division championship. He described his coaching as predominantly “direct,” with a focus on skill development; his intention was to implement an increased number of coaching pedagogies in order to enhance the overall experiences of his players. The player Glen coached was Steve.

Cleveland – Cleveland indicated that he was 20 years of age. He was in the final year of a sport coaching degree and had been working with an U13-U15 rugby team in Canterbury as a part of the requirements for the completion of his degree. The majority of his coaching had been conducted with school rugby teams. Within this setting, Cleveland indicated that he had been coaching secondary school rugby for “two years or less” – a short time in comparison to the other participants. However, during this time, Cleveland had coached a team that reached a third place ranking at an U14 competition. While he acknowledged that coaching workshops and his own observation of coaching methods had been important influences on his coaching, Cleveland pointed to his experience as a player as having the most profound effect on his current practice. Specifically, this related to his attempt to coach in a way that was different to his own coaches’ approaches. The player Cleveland coached was Roger.

Players:

Stan – Stan was 14 years old, and stated that he had been playing rugby for 6-10 years. In his career, Stan played a mixture of school and club rugby in teams which had won and placed at various competitions. Stan played as a ‘back’. He highlighted the motivating factors for his participation in rugby as camaraderie, enjoyment, fitness, and challenges.

Terry – Terry was 14 years old. He had between 6-10 years of experience playing a mixture of school and club rugby. He stated that he and his team were able to achieve
first place position in a 1st division competition for their age group. Terry played primarily as a ‘back’.

Greg – Greg had recently turned 17 years of age. He had played rugby for 10 years, giving him one of the longest playing backgrounds of the New Zealand participants. Greg’s career was primarily in the school-team setting, and he was a senior member in a team with a long and strong rugby tradition. Greg recalled his biggest achievement with a rugby team was placing second in the Press Cup.

Steve – Steve was 16 years old and had over 10 years of rugby playing experience. He had played a mixture of school- and club-based rugby during his career, and was a member of the winning team at the South Island championships in the “Under 15 A” grade. Steve derived a sense of enjoyment from playing rugby. He also commented on his belief in the importance of teamwork.

Roger – Roger was 14 years old and had amassed 6-10 years of rugby playing experience. At the time of our conversation, Roger represented his school, but he indicated that the majority of his career was played in a club setting. Roger had been a member of teams which had achieved placings at several 1st division competitions.

3.13 Ethical Considerations

The Human Ethics Committee of the University of Canterbury approved the ethics application for this research (see Appendix 3). Once participants indicated they were interested in taking part in the research, I provided a written information sheet and a consent form (see Appendix 4). The forms clarified that participants acknowledged and understood the purpose of the research and their role as a participant, that any questions they had had been answered to their satisfaction, and that they had the right to request further information at any stage. Further, it was acknowledged that participation was voluntary and withdrawal from the study was possible at any time without penalty.
Conversation transcripts and participants’ names were kept confidential and securely stored. Pseudonyms were used in the reporting of data gathered in this thesis. While both the researcher and academic supervisors had access to the data, only the researcher had access to the names of the participants. I made participants aware that the results of the research might be published but names and other information which could reveal identity would remain undisclosed.

3.14 Data Analysis

Kinsella (2006) observed that the objective of hermeneutic research is to pursue understanding rather to offer an authoritative explanation of a text, and that the hermeneutic circle is a primary part of this pursuit. Throughout the process of data analysis, I read and reread transcripts numerous times as a means to develop my understanding of the texts in their entirety ‘as a whole’.

As the hermeneutic circle is a way of understanding the whole and its parts, I then began reading the text for hermeneutical moments that, in essence, stood out as the most salient. These moments formed the ‘parts’ of the texts that were then interpreted with cognisance to the etymology of the words and phrases used by participants, the way in which my own coaching and playing experiences in Japan and New Zealand related (or otherwise) to the moment, and the sociocultural understandings the text evoked. The interpretation and reinterpretation comprised a re-examination of the text(s) as a whole, in relation to its parts, in order to uncover different understandings. As I continued this “piecemeal” process (Bontekoe, 1996, p. 4), I enhanced my understanding of the influences of historical and sociocultural values on participants as a whole through the interpretation of its smaller parts. In considering my own traditional (historical) and present horizons, my interpretation of the participants’ voices led me to further my understanding of the text.
According to Gadamer (2002) one’s attempt to develop this understanding is a process of “assimilating what is said to the point that it becomes one's own” (p. 398). While I, as the researcher and interpreter, attempted to interpret the text itself, my own thoughts, or horizons, were naturally revealed in the interpretation. As Gadamer (2002) suggested, this is not a personal standpoint that will be maintained or enforced in the analysis, but rather “an opinion and a possibility that one brings into play and puts at risk” (p. 388), in an attempt to reawaken the meaning of text. Because my horizon does not remain static (Kinsella, 2006), the text is blended with my own articulated assumptions in a dialectical play that constitutes a fusion of horizons (Gadamer, 2002; Weinsheimer, 1985).

3.14.1 Researcher journals. Consistent with the hermeneutic approach, and in order to triangulate the data, I drew on collection of research records. Specifically, this involved keeping a diary of my time training kendo in Japan; and both training and coaching kendo in New Zealand.

Further, as part of the analysis I also accessed and interpreted journal entries I had written from the age of 12 to 18 years old whilst living and studying in Japan, and being involved with Japanese sports clubs. These journal entries proved to be extremely beneficial as a source of data as they were penned when I was of a similar age to the players I spoke to for this research. They allowed me to recall my experiences and what I had endured within the often intense setting that was Japanese bukatsu.

I wrote these journals prior to undertaking a PhD; they were “raw” and unreserved, written by me, for me, and with no motivation other than to capture the new and sometimes curious circumstances I faced as I tried to immerse myself into the Japanese sport club culture. As these journals captured my experiences as a New Zealand
player under both Japanese and New Zealand coach guidance, my journal entries were a valuable source of data and triangulation.

3.14.2 Researcher conversation. In an approach similar to the conversations that I conducted with the coaches and players, I asked a colleague to hold a conversation with me using the same semi-structured question schedule I had used with the participants. I recorded and transcribed this conversation so I could use it, where appropriate, in the analysis as a means to indicate how I could relate to and make sense of the participant data, both as a coach and a player, during the hermeneutical interpretation process.

3.14.3 Treatment of the Japanese data. I captured conversations on a digital voice recorder and transcribed data into Japanese text in order that it could be reviewed and hermeneutical moments be revealed. Although my Japanese language ability was sufficient to conduct the conversations in Japanese and read through the data without translating it into English, I sought clarification on the nuance of several comments made by Japanese participants to ensure the accuracy of my comprehension of the vocabulary and syntax used. The Japanese data was treated in the same manner as the New Zealand data, and I sought and interpreted hermeneutical moments in the aforementioned whole, part, whole approach (Schwandt, 2001).

3.15 The Use of Etymology in Interpretations

Hermeneutics is concerned with the pursuit of understanding. Mindful of Gadamer’s (2002) suggestion that we can never really know the true intended meaning of the original author of a text, my attempts to understand (differently) must draw on many different sources. This is in order to make an interpretation that is both relevant to the context, but that still brings together my horizons and the participants’ horizons (to achieve a fusion of horizons, that indicates an understanding at some level). As such, in
addition to drawing on texts related to my lived experiences, the literature, the data, and understanding of the historical-cultural, and social context that both Gadamer (2002) (in hermeneutics) and Vygotsky (1978) emphasised as important factors, drawing on etymological understandings was yet another way in which to achieve a fusion of horizons.

Indeed, as Gadamer (2002) and Wachterhauser (1986) argued, hermeneutic interpretation requires an awareness of the ways in which language evolves over time. As Gardiner (1999) suggested, the hermeneutic approach stresses the creative interpretation of words and texts and the active role played by the knower. Mindful of this, and the suggestion made by Gadamer (2002), Heidegger (1967) and also Wachterhauser (1986) that language is an evolving framework over history, providing etymological understandings of words used in the data (or text) was a mechanism for me to enter the hermeneutic circle of interpretation and examine the parts of the text – without first making assumptions about what that word or term might have meant to the original author (or in this case, the participants).

As Kinsella (2006) suggested that “texts are considered through the historically and culturally situated lens of the researcher’s perception and experience” (p.5). As a consequence, a word may hold different meaning for each of us. Therefore, the ‘whole-part-whole’ approach to the analysis meant that my understanding could only be furthered if I attempted to understand the ‘parts’. In this sense, some of these ‘parts’ were found in the use of words and terms voiced by the participants. As a way for me to begin an interpretation that is relevant to my horizons, whilst also honouring the participants’ voice, and additionally acknowledging the situated nature in which the word was used, etymology offered a platform from which to facilitate that interpretive process.
Examples of the use of etymological strategies in research include 19th century philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche’s work, *On the Genealogy of Morals* (Nietzsche, 1969). Here Nietzsche contended that moral values have definite historical-cultural origins, and to show how variations in meaning regarding certain concepts (i.e. ‘good’ and ‘evil’) have changed over time, and were dependant on which value-system appropriated them. With growing popularity in the 20th century, philosophers such as Jacques Derrida utilised etymologies to highlight the former meanings of words in an attempt to ‘de-center’ what he termed “violent hierarchies” in Western philosophy (e.g. Newman, 2001).

3.16 Chapter Summary - Towards Hermeneutical Understanding

Hermeneutics challenges the limitations of positivist paradigms in research. For instance, drawing on Gadamer’s (1990) query on whether or not something has been omitted from our understandings in a civilisation founded on modern science, Kinsella (2006) implied that hermeneutic thought and qualitative research attempt to compensate for such omissions. It is suggested that hermeneutics can offer an implicit conceptual underpinning to research conducted in the qualitative tradition thus highlighting the potential of hermeneutics as a methodology in qualitative inquiry (Kinsella, 2006; Schwandt, 2001).

While the hermeneutic approach has been criticized because of the elusiveness of its conceptual nature, Gadamer’s suggestion that “hermeneutics is a protection against abuse of method, not against methodicalness in general” (Gadamer, Misgeld & Nicholson, 1992, p. 70) is significant. The hermeneutic approach embraces a degree of ambiguity as an implicit part of the process required to understand. Therefore, findings associated with a hermeneutic methodological approach become a collection of interpretations of meanings (Creswell, 2007) according to the lived experiences and practices of the Japanese and New Zealand participants, and me as a researcher.
The following chapters demonstrate this methodological approach, whilst remaining mindful of the sociocultural theoretical framework. Beginning with the Japanese data and then shifting to the New Zealand data, I interpreted conversations with participants in an attempt to enhance an appreciation for and understanding of the historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogical approaches in rugby from the perspectives of secondary school coaches and players in Japan and New Zealand.
Chapter Four: Japanese Findings and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the interpretations of the findings from my conversations with Japanese participants as they spoke about their pedagogies and experiences. I have drawn on the literature and my own lived experiences as a coach and a player (of kendo) in Japan, and mindful of the hermeneutic circle, I moved from the whole to the part, and part to the whole, in my endeavours to understand differently, if at all (Gadamer, 2002).

Japanese coaches, in their dual roles of rugby coach and school teacher, outlined their intention to enhance various qualities in their players. Although skill and tactical improvement was mentioned at times, the coaches often spoke explicitly about development outside of the physical domain. For many, the idea of ningen keisei (人間形成; character development or human cultivation) was the premise of their rugby coaching and, as the following sections will show, this is closely related to the previously described seishin ideology. For instance, the findings presented highlighted ways the Japanese coaches sought to positively develop a player’s character by creating an environment that encouraged a kind of kimochi (feeling/attitude/vitality) that would, in turn, lead to the development of a strong kokoro (mind/heart/spirit). Throughout the data analysis the concepts of kimochi and kokoro were interpreted philosophically, etymologically (see section 3.15), and through the lived experiences of the players, coaches, and me. The interpretation revealed underpinning sociocultural values which influence the ways rugby coaching might unfold in the Japanese high school context.

4.2 Development of Seishin

Coach participant, Naoto, spoke of the notion of seishin and its influence in the development of players:
Development of seishin, more than emphasising physical effort, helps you to push yourself consistently in training ... so I think that developing seishin first makes [the physical requirements] easier to perform. (Naoto)

Similar to findings in the literature (Cave, 2004; Kasulis, 1987; Yuasa, 1987), Naoto indicated that without a focus on developing players’ seishin at some level, it becomes difficult to achieve the appropriate level of physicality required for rugby. In this way, seishin ideology appeared to be understood by Naoto as a type of persistence or tenacity. Yet, it is difficult to assert whether this should be interpreted as either mental or spiritual tenacity. Nevertheless, efforts to understand the type of tenacity referred to by Naoto should not attempt to reduce this idea into precise categories. Rather, as the literature explained (Yuasa, 1987), the mental and spiritual domains should be thought of in a holistic sense. Development or cultivation of one’s seishin does not refer solely to the enhancement of mental skills, nor is it strictly a spiritual process. To differing degrees, in differing situations, and for each individual, addressing the development of one’s seishin is a far more profound concept. Here, the important point to note is Naoto’s understanding of the role of seishin ideology. For him, players must endure physically tough sessions to achieve their seishin strength; concurrently, they must also develop seishin in order to be able to endure such demanding practices.

The literature on seishin ideology has been covered in detail in the Review of the Literature chapter (Chapter Two; Cave, 2004; Yuasa, 1987). Additional consideration for the etymology of its kanji (written Japanese characters) may also provide helpful insights in the context of its use in this data.
Seishin is scribed with the combination of two kanji: 精 and 神. Howell (2015) suggested that the etymology of the first kanji (精; sei or shō) can be broken down into two parts. The right hand side, 青, references the idea of ‘clean’ or ‘pure’. This is based on its combination of 生, meaning fresh grass shoots, with 井, referring to pure water in a well. As such, 青 suggests the meaning of grass that is fresh, clean and pure. The radical attached to the left hand side of this kanji is that of 米, the character depicting rice. According to Howell, the combination of the character denoting clean or pure with rice indicates an extraction of the essence of rice by cleaning or polishing it. Howell suggested that this links to the idea of ‘spirit’, because it is something that has its true essence extracted through the process of polishing. Indeed, a similar understanding is suggested in the literature on seishin ideology (Cave, 2004; Miller, 2011; Yuasa, 1987).

The second kanji, 神, can also be interpreted in two parts. The right hand side comprises the character 甲, depicting a bolt of lightning. The left hand side radical is a variation on the character 示, representing an altar or the supernatural. As such, it can be understood etymologically as a supernatural force associated with lightning and thunder, mysterious power, or God (among others). Howell (2015) indicated that this may also lead to the concept of ‘mind’. The link of this kanji to the supernatural also ties it to the soul of the dead (Howell, 2015). The combination of these two kanji, one depicting to polish or clean (精) and the other depicting a supernatural notion (神), suggests the enhancement of one’s self inclusive of and beyond the physical domain.

In a Japanese coaching context, the development of seishin is not always specifically expressed; it is “subjectively experienced rather than being objectively understood and tends to operate implicitly” (Light, 1999a, p. 115). Light suggested that while some coaches and players mention the cultivation of seishin as important through
participation in rugby, such as Naoto advanced, others express the importance of related notions such as konjo (guts/courage) and gaman (endurance/perseverance).

Indeed, coaches in this study did not always use the term seishin during the conversations. This may be due to the strong military undertone of the term and, as such, it was not viewed as an appropriate description of their respective philosophies. Nevertheless, it is based on my understanding of the seishin ideology through my lived experiences in kendo training that I posit the development of the kokoro and, as the following sections demonstrate, an emphasis on kimochi, can locate the findings within seishin ideology. With confidence that the practices and rationales articulated by coaches can be aligned with the description(s) of seishin ideology in the literature, and my own understanding of its intended purposes, I have made further references to seishin ideology throughout my hermeneutical interpretations.

4.3 Kokoro

On the basis of his experiences as coach of a school-based team consisting of players aged between 16-18 years old, coach participant, Ito, referred to the strengthening of players’ kokoro [mind/heart/spirit] as central to his coaching.

心の発展が6割です…日本は、心技体って、よく言うでしょう。僕らもそういうふうに思ってるんで、心が育つと体も育つし、体を育てようと思ったら心も育つと思うんで。フィフティフィフティって言いたいところなんですけど、うちとこどちらかというと、心をしっかりと育ててあげたいっていうのが、どちらかというとありますね。(Ito)

Around sixty percent of my coaching places emphasis on the development of “kokoro [mind/heart/spirit]”. In Japan we have the words “shin-gi-tai
“[mind/heart/spirit, technique, physique as one]”. Right? Well, I like to base my approach to rugby coaching around this idea. If the kokoro is cultivated, their body will follow, and if the body is cultivated, the kokoro will become stronger, too. While I really would like to say I place an even “50-50” balance on the boys’ development overall, I try to cultivate the kokoro foremost. (Ito)

Perhaps Ito’s rationale could be thought of as similar to Naoto’s sentiment regarding the intention to cultivate the sociocultural value of perseverance? Notwithstanding, Ito’s reference to the budō-related phrase of shin-gi-tai (心技体) demonstrates Inoue’s (1997; 1998) reference to the budōization of sport in Japan, and deserves further scrutiny.

While the latter two characters, gi (技) and tai (体), pertain to technique and the body respectively, interpretation of kokoro (心) (which is also read as shin when connected to the other characters) can provide a helpful insight into its meaning and, therefore, its prominence in the conversations with the Japanese coaches. Eastern understanding of the body-mind, mind-body relationship suggests that the mind can be cultivated and even enlightened through rigorous physical training (Hurst, 1998; Yuasa 1987). Terms used in many forms of geidō (artistic ways) such as shinshin ittai (心身一体) (mind and body as one) and shinshin ichinyo (心身一如) (mind and body unity) illustrate this point (Hurst, 1998). In each of these aforementioned phrases, the kanji, 心 (kokoro/shin), is used to represent the component of the ‘mind’; a word often mentioned by Japanese coaches and players in our conversations.

According to Howell (2015), the pictograph at the root of the character 心 (kokoro/shin) represents a slender object that is thrust deep into the heart of another
object. Accordingly, while the potential definitions offered by Howell are: mind; breast; centre; core; thought; consideration; meaning; taste; sincerity; emotion; and feelings, perhaps the notions of ‘mind’, ‘heart’, or ‘spirit’ provide helpful demarcations in the English language. In any case, kokoro provides an example of a word whose definition transcends the utterance of the word itself (Gadamer, 1990; 2002).

In discourses about the mind-body connection, Eastern perspectives consider kokoro as a paramount concern. For instance, Yuasa (1987) suggested that Eastern philosophies consider that one gains access to the development of the kokoro through rigorous and continuous physical training. However, Western philosophies drawing on Descartes have tended to deny any unity between body and mind (Kasulis, 1987). Where unity has been envisioned, it has often been “as an essential, substantial, unchanging link” (Kasulis, 1987, p. 2). In Yuasa’s (1987) interpretation of Western philosophical discourse, there was a tendency to consider the mind-body relationship as both constant and universal – that is, it is not necessarily something that can be cultivated, and does not vary from person to person (Kasulis, 1987). In contrast to this universal Western consideration for the mind-body connection, Eastern thinking considers the exceptional. This Eastern understanding is surmised by Kasulis (1987), in his commentary on Yuasa’s work, as an “achieved body-mind unity” (p. 3, emphasis added). Might this be a concise way in which to interpret Naoto’s comments about developing seishin, and Ito’s intention to develop kokoro through demanding physical training? As Ito and Naoto both indicated that they considered dedicated and repetitious physical training as important, an alignment with Yuasa’s (1987) interpretation of Eastern philosophical understanding may be noted. Framed by the notion of ‘the way’ or dō (道, an ascetic path to perfection), this finding may also indicate the enduring nature of Inoue’s (1997; 1998) suggestion about the budōization of Japanese sport prior to WW2.
A similar influence can be seen in various Japanese sport practices which aim to develop character (Hamaguchi, 2006). The harsh and monotonous practices, such as that found in the Japanese rugby summer training camp and training regimes such as the ‘run-pass’ drill (Richards, 2007), are examples of this. For some Japanese coaches, such unforgiving practices show little distinction between the physical development of the body and the cultivation of the mind and spirit, other than to claim that forging (kitae) the body leads to cultivation of the kokoro. As a result of my own lived experiences, and my attempts to understand the conversations conducted in this study as a whole, I recognise the coaches’ articulations as aiming to cultivate kokoro in the name of ningen keisei, thus revealing an approach akin to seishin ideology.

4.4 Kimochi

In addition to references to kokoro, the term kimochi (気持ち) was referred to numerous times, and took a variety of forms in the conversations. From my perspective as a speaker of Japanese as a second language, I note that, depending on context, kimochi is open to various interpretations. While I have attempted to interpret the multiplicity of understandings and usages of the term, cognisance for the breadth of ways it is used by coaches and players is significant. For instance, while coach participant Jin noted that: “you have to run with kimochi (気持ちも入れて走らないと)”, referring to his understanding that kimochi is an important component of the training session, Ito associates the term with preparation to enter the work force. Indeed, conversations with player participants such as Hiro and Masa suggested that kimochi was understood in terms of effort or, more specifically, an attitude toward effort. Hiro’s experience indicated how kimochi was perceived by his coach, Jin.
試合前とかやったら、気持ちの面で負けたらあかんっていうのを伝えて、しっかり。練習中でも、ダラダラ練習しないように、そこは注意しながらやってます。(Hiro)

Before a game, we are told clearly not to lose on kimochi. Even in practice, [the coach] focuses on making sure we aren’t sluggish/mucking around. (Hiro)

In a similar vein, Masa also alluded to the emphasis placed on kimochi in trainings:

やっぱり気持ちの面が多いっていうか、そういうやっぱり出てくる競技なんで。そういうところでやっぱり気持ちが入ってないプレーとかには厳しくなってくるし、気持ちが入ってたらミスであっても次につながると … チームのコンセプトとして、練習を全力で常にするっていう … 全力とか、100 パーセントっていうのは、やっぱりキーワードですかね … 試合では、練習でやったことしか出ないって、いつも言われてるんで、練習をどんどんレベルを上げていって、それを試合に出していけたら、試合もいい感じになってくるんで。(Masa)

Of course, kimochi is a big part of it, because it is a game where it shows a lot. So if you don’t have enough kimochi in play it becomes very tough, and if there is kimochi [in the play] and you make a mistake you can carry on and recover … Our team concept [philosophy] is about always putting as much into practice as possible … I guess keywords would be things like zenryoku [full power] and [giving] 100% … we are always told that in a game you only get out what you put in at training. Yeah, so, the harder we
train, and the more serious we are in training, the better we can be at
game time. (Masa)

As such, Hiro’s and Masa’s idea of *kimochi* could be interpreted as physical effort. For instance, Hiro contrasted *kimochi* with being ‘sluggish’ or ‘mucking around’ (*dara dara; ダラダラ*), which may indicate such an understanding. Its use here may also be interpreted as the *feeling* or *attitude* one is required to exhibit. However, the way in which Hiro articulated his thoughts implied a mental attitude in one sense (e.g. *if there is kimochi [in the play] and you make a mistake you can carry on*), but alluded to (physical) intensity in another (e.g. *if you don’t have enough kimochi in play it becomes very tough*). Might this allude to a combination of mental, spiritual, and physical attitude? Later examples attempt to draw out a deeper understanding of *kimochi* in the eyes of the coaches and players. Prior to this, however, the etymology of the *kanji* used to scribe *kimochi* provides a starting point from which to theorise in more detail.

Howell (2015) suggested that, when separated into its parts, the first character, read as *ki* (気), depicts a combination of rising vapours (気) and a variation of the character for rice (米). Therefore, the etymology of 気 suggests vapours rising from steaming rice, and may subsequently be understood as breath or spirit, vitality or mood, or even energy or life force.

The latter half of the word, *~mochi* (持ち), is a combination of *tera/ji* (寺) and *te/shu* (手). While the meaning of *te/shu* (手) refers to hand and depicts an action indicator, the conceptual linage of *tera/ji* (寺) references “standing straight and attending on a superior” and, therefore, to “carry out orders” (Howell, 2015). Howell suggested that the latter half of *kimochi* (i.e. *~mochi*) refers to the action to hold an object upright; to bear, carry, own, possess, have, keep, and preserve. Accordingly, the etymology of *kimochi* indicates an understanding which resembles *the bearing of a vitality* or *energy*. 
Throughout this chapter I attempt to link the word *kimochi* to an understanding that resembles *feeling* or *attitude*, and I suggest that the etymological lineage of the *kanji* can contribute to this interpretation. While *kimochi* can be translated as effort in some contexts, to understand it as a feeling or attitude may be more appropriate if we also consider the breadth of use of these terms in English.

An effort to understand the complexity of *kimochi* was epitomised by coach participant, Naoto, as he referenced his emphasis on a “*kimochi* of respect”.

まず、[精神的なポイントは]「優しさ、思いやり、気配り」…ラグビーなんか、1人じゃできないんですから。仲間に対してもそうですが、敵チーム、相手チームに対してもやっぱり、リスペクトするような気持ちを持ってほしいなと。(Naoto)

*First and foremost [the seishin points I emphasise] are “kindness, compassion, and consideration”…because rugby is something you can’t play by yourself. So it applies to your teammates, and of course to the enemy team, the opposing team, I like them to have a kimochi of respect.*

(Naoto)

The three qualities Naoto wished to instil in his players indicated his aim to pursue *ningen keisei* through rugby participation. Indeed, this was understood by his players, Nori and Ryuji, who echoed the words *kindness, compassion, and consideration* in a reflective moment of their rugby experience, and their perceptions of Naoto’s intentions. Direction provided by the notion of *ningen keisei* appears to be a prominent part of the coaching process; in this instance it was articulated by Naoto, Nori, and Ryuji in conjunction with the notion of a “*kimochi* of respect” toward the opposition.

The various situations and contexts in which I refer to *kimochi* in my own coaching are equally diverse. In a recent kendo training session I used the word *kimochi*
to a Japanese player, suggesting that his *kimochi* was lacking during a sparring bout between us ("*kimochi ga tarinai*" [Blake]). My aim was to convey observations about his physicality, and instruct him to "really go into the attack as hard and fast as possible" (Blake). Simultaneously, I wanted him to adopt an attitude of total conviction in his attacks and "throw more at me", thus demonstrating his mental or spiritual tenacity. Hence, my understanding of the word *kimochi* (and perhaps even the aim of *ningen keisei*) may be similar to that of some coaches and players. While we can never really know the extent of this similarity of understanding, the use of the word in other contexts as offered by the participants here has led me to further appreciate its complexity.

As a further indication of the depth of the concept of *kimochi*, Naoto mentioned that he prioritised the idea of *tatakau kimochi* (戦う気持ち). Howell (2015) suggested that the etymology of *tataka(u)/sen* (戦) can be investigated in two parts. The radical on the left hand side, 単, depicts a simple or single flat hunting weapon made of rattan. In addition, the character on the right hand side, 戈, represents a spear or halberd with a curved handle and sharp blade. The combination of these two characters implies the use of a weapon, or perhaps the “simple use of” or “use of a single weapon” (Howell, 2015). Its contemporary usage suggests the action of beating enemies into submission or to death and is, therefore, interpreted as fight or war (Howell, 2015). (The *kana* attached to the end, *u* or う, is indicative of the dictionary form or reading of the word). By combining *kimochi* with the verb for fighting, Naoto’s description suggested a fighting spirit of sorts, but may also be seen as a type of vitality or attitude associated with a contest or challenge against an opposing group (or team), albeit within a framework of "*kimochi of respect*".

Naoto also referenced *tōsōshin* (闘争心) as an area he focused upon with his players. Here, the character *kokoro* (心; also read as *shin*) is attached to the end of two
characters which are defined in their combined state as conflict or strife – that is, a kokoro associated with conflict. This combination suggests a conflict, competition, challenge, or struggle that is reliant on an attitude or mind/heart/spirit to sustain it. Or, more appropriately to the context, the fighting spirit required of players to play with vitality against the other team. Naoto’s use of the term teki chiimu (敵チーム) to refer to an enemy team – before rephrasing this to aite chiimu (相手チーム; opposing team) – is also indicative of his position, and the way in which he views the competitive struggle or conflict played out on the rugby field.

Naoto’s use of tatakau kimochi and tōsōshin (fighting spirit) caused me pause during the conversation. Upon reflection, I wondered if this is due to the few times I have heard this word used beyond a kendo setting. Moreover, I found it difficult to remember many instances where I have heard ‘fighting spirit’ (in the English language) uttered in New Zealand sport contexts to any great extent. While his comment may suggest the importance of kimochi in order to fuel the drive to temper the kokoro, Naoto’s choice of the words tatakau kimochi and tōsōshin imply a struggle, the need to fight harder than the opposition with a ‘never-say-die spirit’.

In line with the Eastern philosophical stance that the mind-body connection is established through the applied effort of an individual as an achieved unity (Kasulis, 1987), emphasis on the importance of developing the kokoro in the context of a fight, conflict or struggle is noteworthy. Perhaps what we are seeing is an understanding which posits that: as the physical capacity of the body begins to waver, it is one’s tenacity and resolve that comes to the fore. The struggle, then, is to find a non-physical strength in order to push through to achieve the desired outcome.

Perhaps one way to understand coaches’ emphasis on development of the kokoro, and on kimochi as a requirement in training to achieve this development, is in terms of a
struggle between the body and the mind? Are Naoto and Ito’s comments about *kimochi*, and its role in cultivating *kokoro* through (physical/mental/spiritual) hardships, referring to the vigour and holistic strength required of players in order for them to overcome the struggles they may face on and off the rugby field? If so, this line of thinking might be closely aligned with the understanding of *seishin* ideology and the mind-body connection as an achieved unity (Kasulis, 1987; McDonald & Hallinan, 2005; Yuasa, 1987).

This understanding may not necessarily be defined in the same way as it is in the West; for instance, through the mental preparation players undertake with sports psychologists to build confidence or manage anxiety and strengthen performance. In my experience in both contexts, as a coach educated in the West and a player taught in an Eastern context, I posit that this mind-body connection is more profound. Perhaps it is spiritual strength. Perhaps it is a combination of mental and spiritual strength. In either interpretation, emphasis on development of the *kokoro* with and through *kimochi* suggests there is an inherent struggle between one’s physical capacity and the tenacity or fortitude which carries one past the (perceived) limitations of body and mind/spirit. After all, we are unified beings (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Nonetheless, the etymological analysis of the characters, and the context in which the terms were used have provided insight into a Japanese approach to coaching, namely, one that is conspicuously influenced by a distinctive and vast set of sociocultural values.

4.5 Encouraging *Kimochi* as a Means to Forge and Temper the *Kokoro*

The importance of *kimochi* was indicated by player participant, Masa, when he commented about his coach’s (Ito) demeanour over a perceived lack of *kimochi*:

ラグビーでの失敗に対しては、そんなに怒るっていうのはあんまし

ないんですけど、気持ちが乗ってないときのプレーであったり、簡
単なミスとか、そういうことに関しては、やっぱり集中力が足りないとか、そういうところではすごい怒りますね。(Masa)

*If we make a mistake in our rugby [play] he doesn’t get too angry, but if we don’t have enough kimochi during play or we make a mistake on a simple skill, and our concentration was low, he does get angry at us then.* (Masa)

This excerpt is presented while being mindful that players are required to train up to six or seven days per week in many cases. For coaches to show disappointment about a perceived lack of effort in such circumstances is further indication of the profound degree to which the concept of seishin ideology – aimed at the forging/tempering (kitae; 鍛え) of players’ bodies and kokoro – underpins the coaches’ practices.

As I reflected on the emerging ideas in this data, I began to recognise similarities to my own lived experiences. For instance, after joining a new kendo club during one trip to Japan, I developed a rapport with one of the dōjō leaders. He coached the female players in the club (approximately 35 in number) and was a skilled and experienced kendo practitioner with many years of playing and coaching experience. Our relationship was friendly, albeit defined by my use of honorific language (keigo) toward him, due to our differing age and social status. Nevertheless, the positive rapport we had developed in a short time caused me to neglect the expectation that I would spar with him at the earliest possible opportunity – a requirement as he was a respected part of the club’s hierarchy. One day, three weeks and approximately 15 trainings into my enrolment in the club, this man summoned me to spar together. Rather than sparring, however, it soon became clear that his intention was for me to engage in karkerigeiko (a form of extremely rigorous attacking practice, in which the attacker is required to exhaust all energy, and the receiver aims to draw more ‘fight’ from the attacker by pushing, clashing, and
suppressing their attacking attempts) as, what appeared to be, punishment for my error in judgement. The following excerpt is from the journal I wrote at the time.

[Today] I squared off against the kantoku, or manager/coach, of the [girls’ team]. He is a 7th dan, and resembles a concrete block with a shinai [bamboo sword]. We started off with jigeiko [sparring]. Actually, it wasn’t much of a jigeiko session, more of a fatal beating! We started as normal, but I guess it was about 1 minute in that he started with the bone-crushing taiatari [body clashes] which made my legs and arms go like jelly. It got bloody scary when I hit the deck on a couple of occasions, ‘cos I wasn’t sure where it was going end up from there (sic.) … I was thrown about, tsuki’d [thrust to the throat] around and spent a lot of time trying to get back on my feet, only to be tsuki’d off them again! 10 or so minutes later, all was well with the universe and me and the sensei were square. [The session took place] much to the surprise…[and] actually, out and out joy of my club mates; the sensei certainly made an example of me [for not sparring with him sooner]. (Blake – Journal Entry)

Although this session was implemented as chastisement for not approaching him sooner to spar, it might be considered somewhat unreasonable that I would know about the expectations of this new club, or indeed, of that individual. However, in honesty I did know better, and to this day I do not really know why I failed to spar with him sooner. After much reflection I consider the experience to have been a ‘lesson’ in tōsōshin (fighting spirit). The test was whether I would run and hide, or whether I would come back to fight again. In one sense the coach had been observing my physical tenacity but, as I see it, it was also something bigger than that. Indeed, it was an assessment of my kokoro and the kimochi I was willing and able to apply.
In a display of stubbornness, perhaps, I returned to fight him again the very next day. This was met with a positive response from him and the other sensei (coaches) of the club; subsequent conversations about this occurrence spawned the phrase, 「若い時に流さない汗は年寄りになったら涙になる。」 "What you don’t sweat out when you are young, turns into tears when you are older". Certainly, these words signal the emphasis placed on tenacity in order to develop a stronger self in, and for, the future. Maybe this was also a lesson in ningen keisei (character development)? In contemplation over the incident, I later wrote:

As the days pass, and I fight that sensei almost every morning training, I begin to wonder if it really was anything to do with my ‘slackness’ and was actually a test of my nerve/courage/guts. Would I go back to fight him? Would I run and hide in the lines? In other words, “does the new guy have what it takes to be here?”

As I reflected on these words, the experience I have just described, and many other mantras and occurrences I was introduced to during my training, I could identify the links between harsh training as a means to forge the kokoro, reinforced by seishin, the kimochi required to get through such training, and the underpinning objective of ningen keisei. For me, this was, and is, a lived experience through kendo – one that has profoundly shaped my coaching. Through my research, I have come to recognise a remarkably similar trend in the aims of the coaches in this study.

4.6 ‘Kokoro wo kitaeru’ (Forging Kokoro) - A Process of Ningen Keisei

The practice of coaches to call on players to constantly display kimochi in order that they develop in various ways (including their kokoro), is another indication that attempts to pinpoint a singular definition of the term kokoro are perhaps less constructive than consideration of the depth of meaning coaches and players associate with it. The
comment made by (coach participant) Jin about the importance of *kimochi* in the context of physical training, demonstrates how the presence and application of *kimochi* is considered key to the development of players’ physicality and beyond:

*yappari, fittonyu asugeru tame ni mo, kachitachi ga soko he tori imemurou nana na, sou iji kachitachi nanette inai keba, kyōdo ugairu de su kara. Kyōdo o asugeru tame ni hana, yappari kachitachi mo inrete waranai to akanishi,Sou neko itai to akanishi…* (Jin)

*Of course, in order to build fitness, *kimochi* has to drive it, because without that *kimochi*, *kyōdo* [strength; intensity] would not increase. In order to increase the *kyōdo*, you really have to run with *kimochi*, and you have to forge (*kitae*) yourself.* (Jin)

Here, Jin spoke of the importance of *kimochi* as a driving force in training, and related it to the process involved in his players’ development. He suggested that *kimochi* is required in order to develop the strength required to play the game. Yet we might ask, what is his intended meaning of *foraging* one’s self? The comment was made in the same breath as development of *kyōdo* (strength; intensity) but, with consideration to the preceding conversations regarding the tempering of the *kokoro*, maybe Jin’s use of the term *kitae* (*锻え; forging or tempering*) was a reference to a loftier aim associated with *ningen keisei*, as my *sensei* had intended of me?

Indeed, players indicated an awareness of the ways in which their experiences in the rugby club had extended beyond the training or match. Masa (coached by Ito) referred to an emphasis on moral qualities in a comment that highlighted the aim of *ningen keisei* and the application of moral qualities in daily life through participation in rugby:

「目配り、気配り、思いやり」っていうのを、ずっと言われてて、それを毎日、ラグビーしてるところじゃないけども、私生活でも、そ
We are always told about “being observant, considerate, and having compassion”. And like, we have to try and do this off the rugby field as well, in normal, daily life, because if we can’t, we won’t get stronger. (Masa)

Similarly, player participants Ken and Taro suggested their appreciation for ningen keisei through their involvement in rugby (or as players of Yuji). It was their perception that Yuji placed importance on them being strict on themselves for the purpose of becoming better people.

It may have nothing to do with rugby, but [our coach] [would emphasise the importance of] greeting people, even if you are not in a club, he tries to get us to act properly. We need to be strict on ourselves, and like, throw away our weak points. (Ken and Taro)

Players Masa, Ken, and Taro did not articulate kitaе in our conversations – perhaps the word was not part of their usual vocabulary? Nevertheless, could their reference to being “strict on ourselves” be considered as a notion synonymous to forging or tempering a certain kind of being? With consideration particularly to the wording “throw away our weak points”, might we consider this as a sentiment akin to forging or disciplining of the self (aligned with Ito’s or Yuji’s idea of kitaе)?
Etymologically, the *kanji* used for *kitae* (鍛え) offers an interesting insight. The right hand side of this character is represented by 段 (*dan*) – an arrangement which depicts a neat alignment at the edges of something and the inclusion of 柄 as an action indicator. Howell (2015) suggested that the character 段 indicates an orderly descent of a staircase with the feet neatly aligned or, in other terms, steps, stairs or stages (Howell, 2015). In the same sense, these steps also refer to demarcation, rank or ranking. With the addition of the character 金 (*kin*), or metal, as a radical on the left hand side of *kitae* (鍛え), Howell suggested its definition to temper, forge, train, drill, or discipline, stems from the actions required to pound metal (into shape) with rhythmic, downward blows.

As Yuasa (1987) suggested, Eastern philosophy considers both the body and the mind to be inextricably linked. It is through tempering or forging the body with an attitude of sutemi (absolute conviction to an attack/self-sacrifice) that one may achieve mental strength in the form of confidence, and realize the virtues of humility, patience and kisei (will power; Sumi, 2006). As such, the previous etymological understanding is akin to Eastern thought regarding the mind-body relationship. In this sense, it may be more appropriate to understand *kimochi* as an important means to facilitate the *kitae* of one’s physical and spiritual being, in turn contributing to the process of *ningen keisei* (see also McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). Coach participant Jin’s reference to *kitae* and the association of the *kimochi* required in training to fulfil this aim, may provide another indication of the intention to work toward *ningen keisei* in a rugby context, reinforced by a seishin ideology.

### 4.7 *Kimochi, Ningen Keisei and the Group*

Coach participant Jin also considered *kimochi* to be an important contribution to the workings of the group.
Of course, if teamwork is not good, you can’t exhibit your [full] potential.
So, in order to really show 100% of your strength, it is important to unify kimochi, and [therefore] teamwork becomes extremely important. (Jin)

Although Jin used the Westernised version of the word teamwork (i.e. ‘chiimu waaku’), the importance of the group ideal is certainly not a new concept in the literature pertaining to Japanese society (e.g. Rohlen & LeTendre, 1998). However, the significant moment here is the notion that a “unification of kimochi”, indicated as possible within the framework of teamwork, might assist individuals to forge and develop kokoro (i.e. by exhibit[ing one’s] full potential; show[ing] 100% of [one’s] strength). Does this, in turn, facilitate a greater social function? My interpretation of Jin’s comments is that through their shared experiences of hardship and joy, players are bound together as a unit; the unification of kimochi, then, also serves the objective of ningen keisei. If it is reasonable to consider the concept of “forging the kokoro” and variations of this sentiment as synonymous with the notion of ningen keisei, why would Japanese coaches pursue such a goal in a team setting?

Ito indicated one rationale when he stated that he and his coaching staff were committed to preparing their players for the workforce, and so they emphasised the role of preparing players’ kimochi:

うちとこは工業高校なので、8割は大体就職が多いんですよ。... 今、
特に就職のほうが多いので、すぐ社会人になるので、社会人として
Because this is a “technical high school”, about 80% of the kids will graduate and join the workforce ... Especially now, there are a lot [of boys] heading straight into the workforce, and becoming fully fledged members of society, so we are really conscious of helping them to prepare themselves for this transition, and want to sufficiently develop aspects of their kimochi to this end. (Ito)

In a similar vein (yet a less overt manner), Yuji said he felt it was important for his players to display self-sacrifice for their team:

[I encourage the players to show] the kimochi associated with self-sacrifice ... that is the seishin of rugby, it is not only about you being OK, or not going in for a tackle because you are afraid, it’s about being OK with sacrificing yourself, and playing for the sake of the team. (Yuji)

While the topic of self-sacrifice demonstrates another level of kimochi, and could be considered in light of references to tatakau kimochi and tōsōshin (fighting spirit), locating Yuji’s comment here highlights the intention of coaches to encourage effort above and beyond that required in a normal situation (and, perhaps, indicates an attitude associated with seishin) for the sake of the group. Coaches Yuji, Ito and Jin may be
suggesting that the ‘end goal’ of their respective pedagogies is as much about physical and mental or spiritual cultivation, as it is about developing a player’s character and identity as a capable member of Japanese society – not unlike the aim of team sports in the earlier stages of their dissemination in Japan (Passin, 1980; Roden, 1980).

Firmly demonstrating the previously mentioned point, Jin indicated how the kimochi required in the group setting was, for him, linked to ningen keisei. Leading with a brief comment about common rhetoric in the martial arts, I asked Jin whether he believed ningen keisei featured in his coaching practice. He replied strongly in the affirmative:

全くそうだと思いますよ。人間形成というか、人づくりですからね。やっぱり組織は人の固まりですから。1人ずつがやっぱり責任のある、規律を守る、そういう約束事で成り立つわけですから。そういうお互いに信頼できる人間性を築き合うというのが、これはチームづくりにとって絶対に必要なことですよね。(Jin)

I absolutely think so. I mean, ningen keisei is a case human development, right? Of course, an organisation is made up of people [within which] each person has responsibilities, and rules to uphold, and everything is comprised on the basis of this understanding. With this mutual trust relationships can grow, and this is paramount for the team to grow, too.

(Jin)

Throughout this chapter, I have discussed the role of kimochi in the cultivation of kokoro. Jin’s opinion provided an important link between these emerging concepts (kimochi and kokoro), their subsequent impact on ningen keisei, and the importance of ningen keisei to the ultimate realization of the character that befits a Japanese individual operating well within the group context. As such, it appears that cultivation of the kokoro,
with an application of *kimochi*, is seen as paramount in the development of Japanese players as they move into wider society. The physicality of a sport like rugby is used as a medium to achieve this culturally embedded aim.

4.8 *Jōge kankei* and the Group

A general emphasis on social rank and hierarchy throughout Japanese history has resulted in a decidedly vertical orientation of Japanese society and culture (Donohue, 1991). Jin’s aforementioned reference to mutual understanding, developing trust, and taking responsibility may also be understood in the framework of this strict vertical hierarchy (*jōge kankei*) operating in Japanese society and the *bukatsudō* (club) environment.

While coaches did not always articulate *jōge kankei* – likely due to it being an inherent part of Japanese club praxes (Cave, 2004) – the aims of coaches appeared to strongly align with the vertical hierarchy structure. For instance, while it is possible that Jin was referring to following the rules of the game, he may also have been referring to the rules of the *jōge kankei*. Indeed, this is more likely to be the reality of the company life for his players. While leaving little room for individual expression, following rules is paramount if the group is to survive harmoniously, whether in a sports, institutional, or community setting.

As an example of the underlying *jōge kankei* structure, Japanese players indicated that, at the beginning of a training week, their coach and the senior members of the team discussed the required learning objectives for the week’s ‘training menu’. Following this, the coach generally left the senior students to discuss the menu among themselves and decide on the finer details, or, having voiced his recommendations to the senior players, would oversee the team discussion and offer guidance and feedback only when he deemed it necessary. For instance, Hiro explained that he, as a captain and therefore
situated at the top of the senpai (senior) group, took responsibility to control training content and direction.

During training, sensei doesn’t really say much to us at all; and me, the backs leaders and the forwards leaders each have our say. We plan the trainings…and the menu…is decided on by me, the leaders, and also the sensei with some discussion before the training starts. (Hiro)

The jōge kankei system is typical of many school club teams; it gives older students the power and responsibility to guide their younger club-mates, passing on knowledge and the accepted customs of the club or team, ideally on the premise of kōken chiai (mutual respect). Perhaps even a ‘kimochi of respect’? Often a case of the kōhai (junior) imitating the behaviours of the senpai (senior) or sensei (teacher or coach), this is commonly understood in terms of the sensei/senpai as the ‘needle’ and kōhai/student as the ‘thread’. As one follows the same path as the other, it is insinuated that one’s senpai has been through the trials of kitae, and as a result, is stronger physically, technically, and mentally and spiritually. Thus, the sensei and the senpai have a similar role, and it is deemed important for the kōhai to undergo a similar set of (coach-led) experiences in order to develop an appreciation for the values associated with hard training. In this sense, Jin may be suggesting that despite the monotony or rigorousness of certain training associated with kitae, the notion that both the senpai and the kōhai are putting their bodies and minds on the line for the shared goals of the team, and for the sake of
character development, leads to a mutual respect (kōken chiai) that contributes to the development of players as young adults.

The jōge kankei structure provides a framework for knowledge to be passed from senior to junior, and tradition is reproduced. However, in the context of rugby, it has also been noted to limit the influence of contemporary pedagogies and information prevalent outside of Japan (Light et al., 2005). Indeed, player participants, Nori and Ryuji, indicated a discord in their training experiences when their coach (Naoto) attempted to provide feedback and encourage an inquiry approach while he also maintained the majority of control over the lesson plan.

Feedback and advice usually comes from ... the coach, the senior players, and the people who understand telling the people who don’t understand, things like that...primarily we work from the [training] menu, but if there is a mistake made the coach gets us to ask questions among ourselves and think about it among ourselves, and say ‘try doing it this way’ to each other ... [but] the menu is decided by the sensei. (Nori & Ryuji)

Indeed, this account suggested some movement between coach-centred pedagogy and player-centred pedagogy; albeit Nori and Ryuji indicated that their input was heavily influenced by that of their coach and seniors. And, while Hiro previously indicated that he, as a senpai, was afforded control of the learning content (perhaps indicating the use of
a player-centred pedagogy), the same hierarchy structure could also be considered as coach-centred (or senpai-centred) from a kōhai perspective.

At this point, based on the social and historical nature of such practice, it is possible to draw on Vygotsky. As Vygotsky (1978) suggested, it is through interactions with more knowledgeable peers or adults (i.e. senpai or sensei) that elementary functions are transformed into higher mental functions. Internalisation of knowledge takes place within the process of constructing a cognitive representation of the physical or mental operations first observed on the social plane. In turn, learners are able to develop methods that regulate their own behaviour and cognition (Meece & Daniels, 2008).

In my experience within the dōjō, for instance, hierarchical structure dictated where I sat in relation to my senpai and kōhai, through to the language used and the roles related to coaching duties. As previously indicated, the co-constructed learning (Vygotsky, 1978) achieved between my club mates and me through jōge kankei-based interactions significantly influenced the pedagogies I adopted as I progressed in rank. I would posit, therefore, that the jōge kankei structure in a Japanese high school rugby context has a similar influence on learning and development, specifically the physical, mental, spiritual, and moral qualities observed and reproduced practices of each team or club.

Through my own experiences in Japanese high school and university sport (kendo) clubs I recognised many similarities between the pedagogies and rhetoric of the participant coaches to that of my own coaches. Indeed, the pedagogical aims articulated throughout the Japanese data may be considered indicative of an approach akin to the Bushidō coach (Miller, 2011). The Bushidō coach operates in a top-down, coach-centred way and aims to facilitate learning of important sociocultural values such as jōge kankei. Underpinned by ningen keisei for the benefit of the self and the group, the Bushidō coach
seems to be, on many levels, driven by seishin ideology. As such, perhaps this process of forging players’ kokoro and encouraging certain types of kimochi is best understood in terms of the sociocultural context in which it is conducted, and as a traditional framework in a sport that has a long history of promoting moral education in Japan (Cave, 2004; Light et al., 2005; Miller, 2011).

4.9 Chapter Summary

Although a complete understanding of the findings are unlikely (Gadamer, 2002), I have offered possible interpretations of the Japanese data based on the literature and my own experiences. Through the hermeneutical process, I pondered the extent that Yuasa’s (1987) and Kasulis’s (1987) articulation about Eastern mind-body connections as an achieved unity permeated contemporary Japanese rugby coaching practices. Further, I considered Inoue’s (1997; 1998) suggestion about the influences of budō in sports pertaining to character development or ‘the way’ (dō; 道). On the basis of these considerations, I also deliberated the extent to which the struggle to cultivate the individual (through harsh corporeal practices requiring kimochi, and aimed at forging tenacity of one’s kokoro in the name of ningen keisei) was intended by Naoto, Yuji, Jin, and Ito as a means to prepare players to contribute to Japanese society.

The conceptualisation of these findings was aided by Vygotsky’s (1978) notion of social interactions with more knowledgeable peers or adults (i.e. senpai or sensei). Given that the internalisation of knowledge and construction of cognitive representation of physical or mental operations can take place through observations on the social plane, jōge kankei (vertical hierarchy structure) demonstrated an important sociocultural framework for the reproduction of ideas and customs in the Japanese secondary school rugby context and, undoubtedly, beyond this setting. My involvement in kendo from an early age exposed me to similar philosophies. My coaches often remarked that hard
physical training would benefit me in ways I would “understand and appreciate later in life” – perhaps this is an example of them directing me on the path of *ningen keisei* and their adoption of a *seishin* ideology? In order to generate further and deferring understandings of pedagogies and influences in the secondary school rugby context, the following chapter explores the New Zealand data through the same hermeneutical process.
Chapter Five:  
New Zealand Findings and Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides hermeneutical interpretations of the findings from my conversations with New Zealand participants as they talked about their lived experiences and uses of coaching pedagogies. Applying the same analysis processes used in the Japanese data, I employed etymological strategies (see section 3.15), made references to the literature, and highlighted interpretations from my own lived experiences as a coach and a player (of kendo) in New Zealand in an attempt to enhance my understanding of the data. Following the “piecemeal” process of the whole-part-whole approach of the hermeneutic circle (Bentekoe, 1996, p. 4), analysis required me to follow the data in order to make my interpretations. As such, the structure of this section may appear different to that of the preceding discussion chapter. Gadamer reminds us that hermeneutic scholarship does not necessarily promise methodicalness (Gadamer, Misgeld, and Nicholson, 1992), and as such, the reader should remain mindful that the presentation of data and interpretations is not always linear (Kinsella, 2006).

An emphasis on technique and skill development as primary aims of the New Zealand coaches emerged from the findings. Further, coaches expressed that a direct style of coaching was often used during their sessions. Although some recognised the importance of giving their players a degree of control (over their own learning) at times, players acknowledged that their coaches made most of the decisions and provided most of the feedback. As such, a combination of centricities arose during the conversations, albeit with an apparent prominence of coach-centred pedagogy. On the basis of these findings, matters that are presented as salient moments in the New Zealand data focus on the notions of power and control.
5.2 Beginning to Understand Control and Power

Brian, the head coach of a school rugby team situated on the outskirts of Canterbury, New Zealand, spoke primarily about his experiences coaching the U13-U15 players. During our conversation, Brian suggested that he did not believe his players had the ability or know-how to decide which practices are best suited to their (current) needs. He intimated that their lack of understanding, due to their age and therefore, perhaps, a lack of experience, required him to make decisions on the content covered and, presumably, the direction of the learning episode:

*I don’t really believe in letting [the players] go away and deciding their own thing, because they are still really young and don’t really know what they need to develop on, as such. So I think you need to be in a little bit of control.* (Brian)

Because of his age and experience, he suggested, his knowledge was superior to that of the players. In this case, it may be appropriate to locate this comment on control with the idea of *power* (Erchul & Raven, 1997; Raven, 1993). Accordingly, the following section seeks to understand the idea of control (i.e. control of the body, control of the learning environment, etc.) and power within the coach-player encounter, thus providing a basis from which to interpret the possible meaning(s) of my conversations with other New Zealand coaches and players.

Etymologically, control is derived from the Anglo-French word *contreroller* meaning to “exert authority” (Harper, 2015). A word dating back to the early 14th century, control conveys the aims “to check, verify, regulate”, while, from the mid-15th century, the verb ‘to control’ implied the objective “to dominate” or “to direct” (Harper, 2015). From an etymological position, the terms authority, regulate, dominate, and direct become striking descriptors of the notion brought forward by Brian’s reference to
remaining in control. For instance, the term ‘authority’ conveys the meaning “power to enforce obedience”; ‘regulate’ refers to the act of “control[ling] by rule” or “to govern by restriction”; ‘direct’ as a verb also implies a sense “to govern”; and ‘dominate’ denotes “to rule” or “to govern” (Harper, 2015). With particular note of the latter term, the action of ruling or governing as a result of control through the domination of people finds its origins in dominus, or domain, depicting the concept of an “owner” (Harper, 2015). Furthermore, in an etymological sense, the word ‘power’ references ‘battle’ and suggests “efficacy; control, mastery, lordship, dominion; legal power or authority; authorization; military force; an army” (Harper, 2015). Stemming from the Anglo-French word pouair, and Old French povoir, its use from the 13th century indicates the “ability to act or do” with “strength, vigour, might”, and from the early 1700s, ‘power’ referred to “a state or nation with regard to international authority or influence” (Harper, 2015).

One might surmise, from its etymological origins, that the term ‘control’ relates strongly to the concept of power – especially with regard to power in the learning environment, where coaches enforce or govern their players, and, thereby, dominate and direct the encounter. Indeed, the previous etymological analysis relates to Brian’s sentiment that situating himself in a position of power over players, or control over their training content, was a result of him deeming his own mastery and efficacy as superior to the ability of the players.

For some, the notion of being controlled, or to be under the control of another, may evoke feelings of oppression, exploitation, or subjugation (Freire, 1970). However, with consideration to Brian’s rationale for “be[ing] in a little bit of control” of the learning content and context of his players, it is sensible to consider the possibility that he was not seeking to oppress. Rather, perhaps it was more a case of him wanting to provide safe opportunities for his players to develop skills and understandings of the game so they
could gain as much from their rugby playing experience as possible? If so, I also consider this an important role of a coach.

In considering the way in which Brian (and later, Joe and Peter) was able to maintain his position of power, and not face opposition from players feeling ‘oppressed’, we may consider French and Raven’s (1959) typology regarding power. For instance, it might be conceived that Brian focused on transferring his technical knowledge on the premise of informational and expert power. Because of his experiences and knowledge of rugby, he can instruct his players in such a way that they can improve their performance (informational power; Erchul & Raven, 1997; French & Raven, 1959; Raven, 1993). It could also be that the players consider Brian to be an expert because of their perception that he has a ‘superior’ level of knowledge (expert power; Erchul & Raven, 1997; French & Raven, 1959; Raven, 1993). This possibility is explored further in section 5.6 with cognisance to Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of capital and the interplay of power (between coach and player). In any case, in light of contemporary coaching literature advocating player empowerment (e.g. Kidman, 2001; 2005), Brian’s comment (and the comments of other coaches concerning control and power) may point to tensions between theory and practice, and in the coach-player relationship.

On the basis of the etymological analysis, the following section highlights the emergence of control and power during conversations with other coaches. Interpretations consider the pedagogies that result from coaches’ use of power and control and the possible influence of historical and sociocultural values therein.

5.3 Control and Power through Corporeal Practices

Joe, the oldest New Zealand coach in this study, revealed that his sessions were highly structured and he was less inclined to implement an approach that he considered to be overly complex in design or resource requirements.
I would say the older you get, the more simple your coaching becomes ...

you stop trying to produce drills that make people think, ‘wow, that’s an impressive drill’, and it becomes more about what is totally specific ... so,

my emphasis is on a specific ‘wham, bam’ kind of practice. (Joe)

Joe’s ‘wham-bam’ approach to specific and performance-focused drills may be considered in light of trends toward technique-focused intentions and coach-centred pedagogies that have resulted from improvements in biomechanics, and the application of associated research paradigms, which have significantly influenced coaching practices in the post-WW2 era (Kirk, Nauright, Hanrahan, MacDonald & Jobling, 1996). Indeed, it is noted in the literature that dissemination of technical content knowledge is typified by coach-centred pedagogies (Galvan et al., 2012), and Joe’s simplistic focus gives scant attention to the range of pedagogical practices available to maximise learning (Bennett & Culpan, 2014). Further, these simplistic drills suggest a transfer of objective knowledge with little cognisance given to players’ cognitive or social development (Potrac et al., 2000). Yet, what would we notice if Joe’s intention to utilise simplistic drills was interpreted with cognisance of historical and sociocultural influences?

Kirk (1997) suggested that the exercises and drills of the late 1800s and early 1900s were primarily for the purpose of overcoming the perceived problem of feebleness of the body. School-based initiatives to address this objective were militaristic in nature, and this was reflected by directive style teaching (Kirk, 1997). Perhaps this demonstrates a complimentary connection between drills and the ‘soldier-making’ pursuit of rugby (Phillips, 1987; 1996)? That is, we might consider the possibility that Joe’s (and Brian’s, for that matter) aims signal an alignment with the early intentions of rugby (Mangan, 1981; 1996; Phillips, 1987; 1996). If that is the case, it is, perhaps, indicative of an enduring sentiment aimed at developing a desired type of character, obedience, and
compliance in players (read: soldiers) through the medium of secondary school rugby in New Zealand. And if so, may again point to the emergence of the use of control and power (albeit, in Joe’s case, through simplified drill exercises).

To provide an additional perspective, the following is an excerpt from a conversation I had with a colleague regarding my use of control and power in the kendo dōjō:

Mindful of the underpinning rules and regulations of kendo, I endeavour to structure training sessions with young or beginner players with a highly technical focus in order to meet safety objectives. This, in turn, leads to fairness in game play, and provides a platform from which to develop strategy and cultivate learning in other areas. With these principles at the foundation of my own beliefs regarding coaching [of kendo], I notice that my default approach to learning, especially prior to pursuing higher education in coaching and pedagogy, has been primarily technical-focused and coach-centred. This has allowed me to maintain a level of control so that I may promote a safer environment, and provide players with a better understanding of the physical and technical requirements of kendo which are extremely stringent, and at times, highly mechanical.

(Blake)

Similar to that of Brian and Joe, my coach-centred pedagogical approach is based on an idea of expert knowledge (Brian) and simplicity (Joe). Moreover, my aims suggest an accord with the coaches as I seek to develop technical proficiency (albeit for safety purposes). Indeed, our rationales imply that we, as coaches, are more knowledgeable in a given skill, or the more capable other in terms of the zone of proximal development (ZPD; Vygotsky, 1978). Nevertheless, while our rationales may be considered an
example of our self-perceived expert knowledge, we deem our coach-centred pedagogies a necessity, rather than a negative practice. This necessity, however, deserves further consideration – particularly as the etymological interpretation suggested the idea of “ruling” or “dominating” another person. It may be possible to attempt an understanding of our coaching pedagogies mindful of Kirk’s (1997) notion of schooling bodies.

Kirk (1997) suggested that drills, exercising and competitive team games in school physical education and sports can be considered sites where the surveillance of bodies is monitored for the purpose of regulating and normalizing behaviours to satisfy social and economic ends. It may be possible to consider that the physical activities introduced to schools by coaches such as Brian and Joe can be understood as corporeal practices with two significant regulating and normalizing purposes in modernity, surveillance and capitalism (Kirk, 1997). The former is related to “the control of information and social supervision” (Giddens, 1990, p. 59), while the latter concerns the accumulation of capital in competitive labour markets. This relates to the application of corporeal regulation and controls to the health and docility of the working class which could contribute to profits (Kirk, 1997; Turner, 1984). Referring to the economic ends noted by this approach, Kirk suggested:

Regardless of the actual effectiveness of drilling and exercising, their sociological significance lies in their use as a strategy of corporeal power, focusing in this case specifically on the construction of acquiescent and productive working-class bodies. (Kirk, 1997, p. 47)

While these regulative and normalizing corporeal practices have become relaxed over time, the purpose of physical education and sport in schools can still be viewed as a political and economic means to the creation of docility and utility in working class bodies (Foucault, 1977).
Schooling of the body in both informal and formal educational settings, whether this be physical education or sport participation, can be both facilitating and limiting (Kirk, 2002). For instance, while the disciplined use of the body requires the individual to conform to prevailing cultural or societal norms, such as the sociocultural values seen as attainable through rugby (see section 2.6), the same process also enables social interaction (Kirk, 2002). It is also possible to draw on the work of Foucault (1977) in such discourses, especially if one was to consider the dual process of docility and utility. Foucault (1977) suggested that “discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies” (p. 25); this results in the docile body. For Foucault (1977), the duality produced by a disciplined body, such as that conceivably facilitated by Joe’s use of drills, works to both increase the forces of the body in an economic sense (i.e. utility), and decrease the same forces in a political sense (i.e. docility; obedience).

Joe’s comments, perhaps, provided an example of the exertion of control over players and the training content towards these ends and, consequently, the persistence of power relationships in a learning environment characterised by the aim to school bodies. Based on the concept of a coach-player relationship framed by expert or informational power (among other types), it may be conceivable that Brian was also influenced by an underlying, wider sociopolitical and sociocultural function of rugby (and sport) to school the bodies of his players. While it may be possible to locate Joe’s intention (as he “gets older”) to use simplistic models – and possibly Brian’s use of power to control content – in this sociological context, I wonder whether it is even reasonable to contend that they would have considered this in their coaching. For Joe, it is maybe the case that he utilised simplistic and specific drills as a means to develop technique in the most unproblematic and time efficient manner known to him (i.e. in absence of proficient knowledge of other coaching pedagogies), a concern brought forward by Kidman (2007). Indeed, the
presence of conformist pedagogies (Jeanne Kentel, personal communication, November, 2015) may be a result of the technical focus typical of many coaches’ emphasis on skill and fitness.

5.4 Maintaining Control and Power

Peter, a volunteer coach of a school team in Canterbury, was another who suggested his coaching style was a result of his desire to remain in control of the learning situation.

*I’m definitely direct. We opened up to let the players come up with ideas and stuff, but if we had something to say, we’d be pretty direct about it. And, if they had something to say we would sort of brush them off. Well, we’d always listen to what they’d say, but if we thought it was kind of irrelevant, we would sort of just not acknowledge it.* (Peter)

Although Peter suggested that he and his colleague coaches would “*maybe bring [the player’s suggestion] up in another training*”, Peter’s comment indicated he placed little value on his players’ input to his own knowledge or intended direction. Peter’s apparent desire to retain control over learning was conceivably as strong as that of Brian and Joe. However, when he was asked to provide a rationale for his approach, Peter indicated that his decision to set aside the players’ suggestions was because, in absence of such a direct approach, he would often find them “*mucking around*” rather than focusing on the task set for them.

Peter also intimated that his players would “*cause havoc*” if not told specifically what to do. Etymologically, the word ‘havoc’ stems from early 15th century usage referring to the expression to “cry havoc” or to “give the signal to pillage” (Harper, 2015). Havoc, therefore, relates to “pillaging” and “looting”, and generally depicts a sense of “devastation” (Harper, 2015). If Peter’s use of the term referred to a feeling of
chaos and confusion (whether this be within himself, as he saw the movements and behaviour of his players on the practice field, or both), his use of “direct” coaching pedagogies could be understood in terms of his efforts to control player behaviour. Indeed, Peter indicated this aim to maintain control for behavioural reasons:

[I was concerned with] getting the boys to focus rather than just mucking around. So we enforce the idea, like, we as the coaches do our job, so if you can respect that then things can run a bit more smoothly. Yeah, so keeping them disciplined and behaved at trainings has probably been my main focus. (Peter)

Here, Peter draws our attention to the term ‘discipline’. Etymologically, ‘discipline’ offers a sense of “treatment that corrects or punishes” which stems from a notion of “order necessary for instruction” (Harper, 2015). Further, from the late 14th century, the meaning “branch of instruction or education” is recorded, with “military training” and “orderly conduct as a result of training” applied from the 1500s (Harper, 2015).

In the context of New Zealand sport (rugby) coaching, is this focus on discipline peculiar? From an historical and sociocultural perspective, the work of Phillips (1987; 1996) and Mangan (1981; 1996) has explained the discourse of discipline and control over the body as an inherent aspect of the rugby experience from its inception in schoolboy education – as was pointed out in interpretations related to Brian and Joe.

The game of rugby has been described as “manly and soldier-making” (Phillips, 1987, p. 103). It was believed that a team game such as rugby taught young men conformity and loyalty and, as such, it served a broad social function. This included the desire to achieve propriety and order in a sometimes unruly masculine culture of drinking, brawling, and chauvinism (Phillips, 1987). Such principles have accompanied
rugby in New Zealand from its introduction to the colony (Phillips, 1987; 1996). Peter’s views about discipline indicate, perhaps, a similar and enduring sentiment.

Notwithstanding the historical and sociocultural context we can use to attempt to understand the rationale driving Peter (and Brian and Joe), his reference to havoc, or avoiding chaos in the learning environment, and his focus on discipline for orderly conduct may have brought about a certain disregard for his players’ input. Peter had been coaching his players for a comparatively short time, as part of the requirements for his under-graduate degree in coaching. It is possible his approach was due, in part, to frustration when his attempts to demonstrate the contemporary pedagogies he learned about, had been met with little noticeable success. As well, he may not have been able to develop rapport with his players because of the short time he had been coaching them. If such was the case, his lack of experience and insecurity as a coach may have caused him to “brush [his players] off” and attempt to maintain control through a direct approach. This is difficult to affirm, but it may point to other possible reasons for his chosen approach to coaching, and his intent to develop and maintain discipline.

Foucault (1977) observed that the body is controlled and disciplined in preparation for the work force via participation in physical education and sport. It has been suggested that the perceived benefits to capitalist labour markets of the internally and externally refined body as achieved in physical education and sport, has ensured its survival in contemporary school systems (Foucault, 1977; Kirk, 1997). Peter’s intention to ensure discipline as an outcome of his direct approach in his school-based team could be aligned with both the military underpinning of rugby and its use as a vehicle for character development for young men, and the behavioural conditioning of school boys as suggested by Kirk (1997) and Foucault (1977).

5.5 Maintaining Power Relationships as a Coach
Joe also indicated his aim to maintain a relationship of power in his dual role of coach and teacher in his school. Joe’s views about coaching pedagogies used by himself and another coach, who works with the team once a week, are delineated in the following conversation, and demonstrate the complexity of his intention to retain a degree of power:

Joe: *Because [the other coach] is not like me, like, he’s not a teacher, there is a lot more discussion [between him and the players]. So, [the players] have a chance to talk about what they’d like to do. And quite often he’ll come to me and say ‘the boys think they should be doing this, and this, and this, so what do you think about that?’. So...*

Blake: *But that’s not really what your approach is? You’re a little more...*

Joe: *Well, I’m making use of his ability to do that. And the other coach we have, he is very good with the one-on-one type thing. He does a lot of talking to the boys.*

Blake: *It sounds like you have got a pretty good balance of coaching styles across [all the coaches], and you know obviously, some boys prefer different things, whatever it is. Do you find the team you’ve got at the moment are pretty responsive to the balance in the coaching team?*

Joe: *Yeah, well, those coaches who talk with the boys have been involved for three years ... But again, in the first 15 you’ve got to remember the fact that you are still a teacher, you are a figure around the school. You have a completely different way of dealing with things. So to coach a team like this in a school has a completely different feel to it.*

Joe indicated his perceived need to maintain a role of power, as demonstrated by the suggestion “you are a figure around the school”. For Joe, being a figure around the school, in front of the players in a setting separated from the playing field, resulted in a
“completely different way of dealing with things”. Brian also maintained that his tendency to “make the final decision” regarding training content was based on his perception that it was “important that [the players] look up to you as the coach”. Consideration for the perception that one needs to be a figure, and therefore, feels the need to maintain a certain type of coaching, warrants further interpretation.

Etymologically, it was from the mid-1300s and into the 1400s that the term ‘figure’ indicated a “visible appearance of a person” or a “visible and tangible form of anything” (Harper, 2015). From the mid-1400s, the word suggested a “human body as represented by art,” and from the late 1500s it represented “the human form as a whole.” As a verb, ‘figure’ portrays an intransitive meaning to “make an appearance”, to “make a figure”, or to “show oneself” (Harper, 2015).

Joe’s use of the term ‘figure’ related to his position in the school as a teacher; it is conceivable that he was referring to his position as a figurehead. The noun ‘figurehead’ dates back to the mid-1700s. It portrays the ornament on the projecting part of the head of a ship, positioned immediately under the bowsprit. Use of the term to convey a sense of “leader without real authority” was first attested in 1868 (Harper, 2015). Notwithstanding, the latter interpretation of ‘figurehead’, as a “leader without real authority”, was not necessarily Joe’s intended meaning. Rather, as a senior staff member and teacher, it was more likely he considered himself to be a figure (or figurehead) around the school with a degree of authority.

How does this interplay between power and control, which sits alongside the perception of being a ‘figure’, affect the coaches’ relationships with players? Erchul and Raven (1997) posited that ‘legitimate’ power empowers coaches because of their positioning within the social structure of the learning environment. In the context of the coach-player relationship, Joe may have viewed his position as one that holds ‘legitimate’
power (Raven, 1993; Galipeau & Trudel, 2006). Joe’s perception of his position as a “figure around the school” was one that, possibly, limited the degree to which he felt comfortable interacting with his players. For instance, his suggestion that “a completely different way of dealing with things” was necessary, may indicate that he viewed his ability to interact on a more personal level with players (through discussion based on their performance on the playing field) was limited because of his need to retain the formal image of a ‘figure’ in the school.

It is also possible that Joe’s perceived need to maintain power over his players resulted from a concern that players could become more relaxed around him in the classroom setting. Perhaps, in Joe’s assessment, this would negatively impact on his ability to effectively discipline misbehaving students, as was required in his senior staff role? Perhaps this also signals an example of his intention to maintain a form of coercive power (Erchul & Raven, 1997; Raven, 1993)? In any case, Joe’s pursuit of some degree of obedience by using his position of power may demonstrate another example of the functions of power, control, and discipline aimed at schooling the bodies at play (Foucault, 1977; Kirk, 1997), and could also allude to the underlying influence of the soldier-making intentions of rugby in New Zealand.

5.6 The Interplay of Control and Power

The conversations and ensuing interpretations demonstrate the complexity of the flow of control and power between coach and player. Drawing on my conversation with Brian once more, it is noted that this interplay was acknowledged at times by coaches. For instance, despite his disclosure of having or seeking control and power, Brian seems to sway from his position when he is coaching players who are older or more experienced:
I’d go to the leaders of the team and tell them what I would like them to do, and they would take the majority of the lesson ... they would basically be in control the whole time. I mainly coach the backs, because I am a back, but I could leave them with the forwards and they’d keep doing what I’d asked of them. I just had those really good leaders in the team which made it a lot easier. (Brian)

While Brian may have attempted to shift power to the players, it could be surmised that by “telling them what to do” he continued to maintain control over players’ learning. Albeit in a framework that shifted some control to senior players, this stance could be seen as another example of his reluctance to relinquish his power over the players, even in cases where the players were senior in the team and lack of experience was perhaps less of a concern. How, I wondered, was this transferral of power considered by players?

Greg, a participant player coached by Joe and deemed a ‘senior player’ on his team, offered his insight regarding his responsibilities on and off the field:

This season we’ve been given more decisions, a lot more decisions actually. Like, the coaches would tell us where they want to go, and ask us what we think ... We do a video session where we talk about what we could’ve done and what we should’ve done, amongst each other. It seems to work pretty well. (Greg)

In this example, power appears to shift from the coaches to the players. Although, because Greg noted that his coaches “told [him] what to do” the power seemingly shifts back again to the coaches. Galipeau and Trudel (2006) offered further examples of control and power imbalances in the coach-player relationship that, more often than not, favoured the coach. For instance, a coach is often appointed to a team without
consultation or discussion with players. Also, coaches select players and control their playing time and other aspects of their development throughout a season. Indeed, one might query whether power ever actually belongs to the players?

It was notable, however, that the coach controlled environment was not referred to in a negative way by players. Rather, when asked to describe his feelings about Brian as his coach, Stan indicated an acknowledgment for discipline, yet framed this in a positive voice: “... respect. Like, we respect [Brian] by listening. Like, we know not to talk back, because he’s a good teacher. And we respect that.” (Stan). Further, Roger (a player coached by Cleveland) underscored his perception of the benefit of coach-led trainings by way of direct pedagogies. Roger indicated that Cleveland’s technical focus was to inform players about “stuff like learning how to tackle properly so we wouldn’t get injured, because we needed to be able to put on the big hits” (Roger). Additionally, Greg did not see his coaches’ tendency to direct a majority of the learning episode negatively. Rather, he approved of the coach-led learning environment, at times, to maintain order. Greg contended, “I would describe [Joe’s] methods as, probably, a bit old school (laughs) ... but it’s really effective ... he still yells ... but I think it’s needed, in some instances, otherwise the guys wouldn’t really listen (laughs)” (Greg). Greg’s comments, similar to those of Stan and Roger, suggested that coach control may be perceived as a necessity by players also.

Here, Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of ‘capital’ provides a possible framework from which to interpret this power relationship between coaches and players, and attempt to understand why players were seemingly compliant with the imbalance in power. For instance, the use of capital can be understood as one’s capacity to impact or control a situation (Tomlinson, 2004), and can be seen broadly as economic, social, or cultural (Bourdieu, 1977). Each type of capital refers to the possible ways one might exercise
control or power in a given situation. Economic capital relates to one’s control over economic resources; cultural capital refers to the role of education and experience; and social capital is related to the resources one has based on their membership or role within a social group (Bourdieu, 1977; Calhoun, 1995). Waquant (1995) suggested that it is the volume and composition of the capital individuals have that indicates the power or advantage they can attain within various spheres of their lives and the social interactions therein. However, as the volume and composition of one’s capital can vary over place and time, our social lives are characterised by a constant process of striving to accumulate capital, thereby influencing our ability to exercise power over others (Calhoun, 1995; Cassidy et al., 2009). Appreciation for Bourdieu’s concept of capital can help us understand how coaches can assume their position in their social space (Waquant, 1995).

In the context of these findings, the cultural capital brought to the coaching encounter by Joe and Brian, for instance, allowed them to exercise power over their players, (e.g. as a ‘figure’ in the school or team) and have players willingly participate. The players’ perception of their coaches’ cultural capital – that is, the knowledge and experience coaches offer in the context of rugby – may explain why players did not begrudge their coach-controlled learning experiences.

This can be related back to Erchul and Raven’s (1997) conception of informational and expert power; the capital afforded by players to their coaches was given with consideration to the benefits to their own performance and overall learning. Cushion and Jones (2006) reported on the ways in which soccer players afforded their coaches cultural capital and, therefore, power over the learning environment, on the premise that coaches controlled access to professional contracts. This resulted in player willingness to endure particularly negative coaching behaviours (Cushion & Jones, 2006). Likewise, it is possible that Greg, for example, accepted his experience in rugby as a
coach controlled environment based on his perception of Joe’s capital. Greg’s desire to increase his own social capital within the school (as a member of a representative team), or economic capital (by way of leveraging from his school career into a paid position in a provincial or franchise team) may explain his compliance and obedience. That is, Greg may have sought to improve the volume and composition of this own capital on the basis of his perception that Joe had expert knowledge, and therefore, expert and/or informational power (Erchul & Raven, 1997). Deliberation about how players strive for the accumulation of capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Calhoun, 1995) could indicate how discipline and the schooling of bodies is facilitated, reproduced and accepted by players in the secondary school rugby context.

Player compliance can also be considered to be a result of being indoctrinated to coach- (and maybe even teacher-) controlled learning environments where learners are afforded little empowerment over the content and context of their learning. Accordingly, in the absence of a truly player-centred experience, it may be unreasonable to expect the players in this study to speak ill of a coach-controlled training environment (as they may simply not know otherwise). The literature suggests that coach reproduction of behaviours and practices can be largely attributed to personal experiences (Cushion, 2007; Cushion et al., 2003; Lyle, 2002; Stephenson & Jowett, 2009). Therefore, if players are to persist in this coach-centric setting, it could be expected that such practices will be continually reproduced as they grow older and assume coaching roles themselves.

As Galipeau and Trudel (2006) have posited about the coaching environment, and Foucault (1977) about every corner of society, power relations are always evident. Therefore, if players like Greg were contented about the balance of centricity in their learning environment, should we really be concerned? Conversely, in an important counter-argument, we could also consider ways in which this line of thinking acts to
perpetuate and exacerbate power imbalances in the coach-player relationship to a precarious extent (Cassidy et al., 2009).

5.7 Coaching and the Struggle to Relinquish Control and Power

Despite the emergence of control and power in the New Zealand data, some coaches described practices which indicated the use of player-centred pedagogies. For instance, Cleveland acknowledged the importance of affording his players a degree of control in the planning of their session or season. As an undergraduate student completing his degree in coaching, Cleveland demonstrated his knowledge of coaching pedagogies in the following way:

I really like trying learner-centred pedagogies out in my sessions ... stuff that we’ve covered at course. Like, it helps to give [the players] more responsibility and stuff, which I think is better because they are more keen to learn ... like, instead of me yelling directions at them, they have to think for themselves ... yeah, just like, take responsibility and be accountable for their own learning. (Cleveland)

Cleveland inferred that his coach education at university led him to acknowledge the benefits of employing a range of pedagogies depending on the needs of the players. He also revealed his use of questioning and problem-solving which lead to a shift in the control of content from him to his players (i.e. Roger):

[This season] I started in a direct kind of style, but then I tried to get my players to be a bit more accountable. I thought that they would actually learn more from that way of coaching ... I would ask them questions about their next game, like “We’re in this situation, how can we achieve this?”... I would try to get them to come up with a whole lot of solutions. (Cleveland)
Cleveland’s reference to “a whole lot of solutions” suggested that he attempted to separate his coaching practice from the direct and coach-controlled dissemination of content knowledge noted throughout the preceding data. In a similar vein, Glen, also undertaking a degree in coach education at the time of our conversation, described his efforts to implement peer teaching strategies:

*I put quite a lot of peer teaching into my sessions. Like, getting them to come up with moves and that by themselves, and then teach each other those moves ... other than that I was just really direct with them.* (Glen)

Interestingly, while Glen noted that he was aware of a broader spectrum of coaching pedagogies, he, too, defaulted to being direct. It is possible that Glen, in the same way as theorised about Peter earlier, was limited by his lack of experience. Indeed, he indicated that, with less than two years operating as a rugby coach, his experience as a player proved to be the biggest influence on his coaching. Perhaps his apparently fleeting attempts at peer coaching highlight the ingrained nature of direct pedagogies in New Zealand (Galvan et al., 2012)? This may also raise queries about the extent to which his university education had succeeded in extending him beyond a surface knowledge of player-centred pedagogies (and their successful and maintained execution).

Despite attempts by some coaches to use player-centred pedagogies, some players provided a contrasting interpretation. For example, in the following excerpt coach participant, Peter, insisted that he seldom used a direct approach:

*I tend to do a lot of questioning and try and get the guys to work it out for themselves. I would usually notice something that they needed to work on in the breakdown or something, and then ask them some questions to try and come up with the solutions ... I would ask them what sort of things they want to do in training too.* (Peter)
However, Terry, who was coached by Peter, suggested there was a high quantity of direct coaching in his sessions:

[Peter] would ask us what we wanted to do sometimes, or we would tell him what we wanted to do ... but he would usually just run the whole session, eh ... he didn’t really ask us any questions about strategy or anything. We would talk about stuff in our debrief, but in training he would run everything. (Terry)

Stan corroborated Terry’s perceptions: “[The coach] would always let us have a say... [but] he probably made 85% of the decisions about training content though” (Stan).

These counter narratives underscore the complexity of coaching practice and player experience, but they also act to confirm the emerging idea that New Zealand coaches seek a high degree of control. The possibility that there is a lack of knowledge around player-centred coaching remains, as do questions about the extent to which coach education initiatives and courses (i.e. universities; initiatives run by Sport New Zealand and the NZR, etc.) actually permeate coach practice.

Addressing my own thoughts on this matter, my reflections in a conversation with a colleague are recorded in the following way:

With my [tertiary level coach] education I think I have broadened my pedagogies or my coaching style a lot more. But as a bread-and-butter type style I think I’ve always been quite direct. And I'm not sure if that is a ‘necessary evil’ in a martial art because things need to be in place, technique needs to be correct, otherwise you won’t score a point, or you might injure somebody. So technique needs to be spot on before we can get players into a competition or anything like that. So in that regard the
coach-centred pedagogical approach, with drills added in, works really well to tick those objectives. But as I said with my coach education, my perspectives have been broadened a little bit, and we now include a lot of peer coaching within the trainings so that we can try and tackle that social interaction as well. So that builds a really nice bond. I’m not sure if that would be defined as teamwork, but it is certainly about the really important social aspect of the club. (Blake)

In a similar vein to the coach participants, my reflection indicated a use of both direct and non-direct pedagogies in my coaching, the latter being largely influenced by my tertiary education in coaching. However, I am also aware of the influence of my own coaches’ coach-centred pedagogies, and the way in which my experiences within such environments still shape my ‘default’ pedagogies.

Reading through my conversation transcript, I have become more aware of my tendency to control content and context during trainings. I realise that peer coaching is often the extent to which I feel comfortable relinquishing my control of content and context during training. In considering my attempts, and those of the participant coaches, to transfer control and power to players, I feel conflicted. Often the literature tells us that, as coaches, we need to aim at being player-centred, relinquish control and seek to empower players as much as possible. However, might we consider the possibility that a degree of (coach) control and power imbalance is a natural outcome of labelling one person a ‘coach’ and the other a ‘player’?

Notwithstanding, Kidman (2001) suggested that, while coach-centred pedagogies can limit opportunities for player decision-making, shifting towards player-centred pedagogies can be difficult for some coaches because of traditional perceptions of the coach as a person in control of knowledge and the learning environment. Indeed, coach
comments suggested that player-centred pedagogies were overly time consuming or complex to implement regularly. It is possible that the primary role of coaches, such as Joe, as senior staff in the school, presumably with demanding schedules, has contributed to the emphasis on ‘specific’ training content taught in a simplistic, direct manner.

Is it also possible that the coach comments made about player-centred pedagogies are examples of token efforts to implement such practice? Or are they attempts to convince me, as the researcher, of the use of player-centred practices, in the awareness that, to some degree, player-centred pedagogies are preferred in the literature and coach education resources? Whatever the case, based on the comments made previously by coaches (on their practices relating to control, power, and discipline) and players (reflecting on their coaches’ practices), the findings suggested that player-centred practices are limited.

5.8 Technical Focus and the Desire to Win

With consideration to the exercise of control and power, maintenance of a disciplined learning environment, and the emergence of coach-centred pedagogies therein, the suggestion made by Kidman (2007) that coach-centred pedagogies are prominent in environments where pressures are placed on coaches to produce wins warrants further theorisation. As I read and re-read the New Zealand transcripts, it became clear that the coach participants in this study were steadfast in their aims to develop skills. For instance, when asked to elaborate on his intended learning areas, Glen stated:

\begin{quote}
\textit{I think it is [important to focus] more on the skills development and stuff like that. Like, with the team I'm coaching it is more important to get things right. Like, their passing is still not right, stuff like that. So it's just about trying to get that skill level, like, up to scratch, I guess.} (Glen)
\end{quote}
Comments like Glen’s about skill development and methods to develop skill were common in the New Zealand data. Certainly, mindful that rugby in the secondary school context is a sport, coaches’ technical focus could well be a result of performance targets. It is natural that coaches would prefer to produce a consistently high-performing team with strong skill ability as the pathway to successful results. However, findings suggested that if skill acquisition was the primary aim of New Zealand coaches, this was articulated in absence of any reference to educative or moral intentions.

Speaking specifically about discussions prior to playing an important match, Joe indicated his team’s focus on winning:

[I would probably give players] a reminder about where we are tracking in terms of how the season is going. Like, we said we were going to be unbeaten by this stage, and we’re having a really good week... ‘things are falling into place this week, so let’s build on that’. (Joe)

Given Joe’s statement about his preference to use simplistic drills (undoubtedly employed for specific skill and performance improvement in order to enhance match results), it could be reasonable to suggest that, through the development of skills, winning was the primary aim. An additional statement Brian made further demonstrated this possibility. Despite a brief comment regarding leadership and contribution to the school and team, Brian indicated that the effectiveness of his own coaching could be measured based on the results of his team.

Yeah, it was a really good year. Um, I mean they didn’t lose a game in the Year 10 side of it, so they won that competition. And then in the Under 15s they only lost one game, so obviously they didn’t win it, but they were good enough to win it. So it was really a good year...[so the effectiveness of my
coaching] would be a ‘4 out of 5’ because we didn’t win that last game.

(Brian)

Brian implied that his team’s results were an indication of his success, or otherwise, as a coach. Once again, I acknowledge that the desire to win, or at least the satisfaction of winning, is a common and understandable intention for many coaches. However, it is important to note that skill development and successful performances were often mentioned in the conversations with New Zealand coaches in the absence of reference to more holistic aims (such as intentions involving character development or cultivation of mental or spiritual tenacity as in the Japanese findings) as “markers” of successful coaching in rugby.

It is not suggested there is a complete paucity of underlying philosophies regarding character development in New Zealand secondary school rugby coaching practices. As mentioned, the use of a coach-centred pedagogy, and the emergence of control, power, and discipline, may be considered indicative of an underlying and unarticulated intention to develop values originating from yesteryear English and New Zealand notions of masculinity and other historical and sociocultural values (see section 2.6). Irrespective of this, however, the finding that New Zealand coaches spoke often about performance matters and skill acquisition and seldom mentioned players’ holistic development as young men, could signal an important consideration for future directions of school-based rugby participation.

5.9 Chapter Summary

Jones, Armour, and Potrac (2004) suggested that in order for effective coach education and practice to occur, it is necessary to understand the dynamic power relationship between coach and player. Indeed, attempts to understand coaches’ experiences demonstrated to me that the very notion of coaching pedagogy is complex.
Nevertheless, as I sought to understand the perspectives of secondary school coaches and players in New Zealand, the data revealed tensions around power and control.

Through a relationship often distinguished by coach control and power, coaches suggested behavioural aims such as discipline, akin to historical and sociocultural values (i.e. the soldier-making intentions of rugby; Phillips, 1996). Interpretations linked this to the concept of schooling bodies (Kirk, 1997), and highlighted the possible ways in which rugby practices are underpinned by enduring sociocultural intents to create and maintain obedience for docility and utility (Foucault, 1977). Further, (a simplistic) transferal of technical knowledge as an aim emerged, demonstrating the possibility of pressures on coaches to produce wins, whilst also facilitating coach-centred pedagogy. While it is possible that these pedagogies were due to a strong desire to produce positive results, as well as being heavily prejudiced by personal experiences, it is also conceivable that the approaches by Brian, Peter, Joe, Glen, and Cleveland were limited by a lack of experience in player-centred pedagogies.

Linking the literature to the findings is a means to understand the extent to which coach pedagogies are informed by historical and sociocultural values. The New Zealand coaches’ focus on skill development and performance was in contrast to the Japanese focus on the long-term, educative benefits that could be gained from participation in rugby. I wonder if the cultivation of morals and character were underlying, unarticulated pedagogical aims. The following chapter weaves the interpretations and understandings of the Japanese and New Zealand data together with my own experiences to assist the interpretation of the text as a whole and the possibilities of intercultural exchange.
Chapter Six:  
Japan and New Zealand - An Intercultural Hermeneutic for Coaching

6.1 Introduction

Gadamer (2002) suggested that when one attempts to interpret a text, one’s own thoughts, or horizons, will naturally be revealed in the interpretation. This is not a personal standpoint that is maintained or enforced in the analysis, but rather “an opinion and a possibility that one brings into play and puts at risk” in an attempt to reawaken a possible meaning behind the text and make it one’s own (Gadamer, 2002, p. 388). Therefore, as an interpreter, my horizon does not remain static (Gadamer, 2002; Kinsella, 2006). Instead, the text blends with my own assumptions in a dialectical play constituting a fusion of horizons (Gadamer, 2002; Weinsheimer, 1985). In the preceding chapters, findings from my conversations (the texts) with participants of Japan and New Zealand merged with the literature and my own experiences as ‘parts’ that could aid interpretation of the texts as a ‘whole’. As such, the hermeneutical task is incomplete.

Considering the data from Japan and New Zealand, it could be considered whether (re)framing the ‘whole’ text would bring forth a nuanced understanding. For instance, an alternate philosophy may allow us to reconsider our understandings of coach-controlled learning environments. Further, we might consider what it would look like if New Zealand coaches tapped into an indigenous philosophy akin to the Japanese coaches. Through interpretation of parts of the data from each site, and then fusion into the whole, the possibilities of this study remain open. The following sections draw upon interpretations made in the preceding chapters in order to consider the possibilities of an intercultural exchange.

6.2 (Re)Framing the Findings – Control and Shu Ha Ri
Considering the potential of a fused interpretation of the findings from Japan and New Zealand (i.e. a fusion of horizons; Gadamer, 2002), the following section examines the possibility of reframing control and power in a learning context through an Eastern philosophical lens.

A concept often espoused in martial art circles, *shu* (*守*) *ha* (*破*) *ri* (*離*), is used to describe the stages of learning from ‘beginner’ to ‘master’. As a theory of the stages of learning, the transition from *shu* through to *ha* and, finally, to *ri* may provide a way to make sense of the exercise of control over content, context, and players as one stage in a process ultimately aimed at learner (player) empowerment.

**6.2.1 Seeking an Understanding of Shu Ha Ri.** Comprised of these three *kanji*, the notion of *shu* *ha* *ri* depicts an understanding of learning as acquiring knowledge by rote, detaching and beginning to form a personal interpretation and, finally, transcending what one has learnt to form a unique style or way. Etymologically, Howell (2015) suggested that *shu* (*守*) combines 寸 as a hand or action indicator, with a stroke shape indicating a cover. Therefore, 守 implies the meaning: enclose; surround; defend or protect; guard; watch; govern; observe (a tradition); maintain (a position); keep (one's word); stick to; and protect. In the context of its use in the martial arts, it therefore suggests that the first stage of one’s training journey is to both “obey” and “protect” the traditional wisdom one receives – learning the fundamental techniques, heuristics, and proverbs.

Howell (2015) submitted that the right hand side of *ha* (*破*), that is 皮, is a combination of a drooping pelt (animal hide) with the head still attached, and the hand or action indicator 又. Etymologically, this implies that one would spread open a pelt, then *align* it over one’s body (i.e. wear it). With the left hand side radical depicting a stone (石
the use of 皮 in the kanji for ha indicates that a stone is broken and its pieces are aligned. However, with reference to the initial breaking of the stone, meanings associated with this character include tear, rip, and expose (Howell, 2015). Thus, distinct from the meaning of shu (守), ha (破) indicates that one breaks, detaches, or digresses from the tradition of their previous learning.

Finally, ri (離) is also a combination of two kanji. The left hand side radical depicts 異, meaning odd or strange beast. The right hand side character, 隹, represents a short, squat bird. Here, the bird and beast are understood to be tangling, and separate after a protracted fight. The etymology of this kanji therefore implies: separation; to part (from); to come apart; release; leave; or drift away (Howell, 2015). In this sense, one then leaves, separates, or transcends one’s earlier training. At this point, all moves are natural, and one no longer clings to forms.

Framed in this way, one may consider an alignment with the three stages of motor learning posited by Fitts and Posner (1967). Fitts and Posner suggested that a learner is thought to move from an initial stage of identifying and developing component parts of a skill (the Cognitive Phase); linking these component parts into an efficient action, and using feedback to perfect it (Association Phase); and finally, developing the learned skill to a point where it has become automatic with no conscious thought or attention required during performance (Autonomous Phase) (Fitts & Posner, 1967) – indeed, achieving a mastery akin to ri.

Nevertheless, Fitts and Posner’s (1967) theory focuses primarily on motor skill learning. Accordingly, while I acknowledge there may be similarities between Fitts and Posner’s theory and shu ha ri, I contend that shu ha ri is a more appropriate framework for interpretation here as it allows us to make inferences about matters that extend beyond motor learning, and move toward a greater understanding in a broader, holistic sense. For
instance, *shu ha ri* could allow us to enhance our understanding of the use of control with regard to sociocultural values (such as notions of masculinity, *ningen keisei*, perseverance and courage, etc.), and as a part of an extended process that starts as a coach-controlled encounter (i.e. *shu*), but leads to empowerment of one’s whole being as an outcome (i.e. *ri*).

6.2.2 Reconceptualising *Shu Ha Ri*. The initial stages of *shu ha ri* may be understood in Western contexts as similar to: an ‘apprenticeship’; someone learning; someone unskilled or inexperienced (Harper, 2015). For instance, in the early stages of their career, a tradesperson is taught the correct way to use their tools and apply them to create the product or service of their trade. Throughout this education the rules and regulations of the trade must be followed and upheld in order for the apprentice to progress toward a level of proficiency.

We might interpret the control and power exercised over players in the same way. That is, the control of content, context, and players might be framed in light of the concept of *shu* – the beginning stages of an apprenticeship where the more capable other (Vygotsky, 1978), or person with informational power (Erchul & Raven, 1997), directs and controls the content and context of the learning environment.

*a) Shu* – Learning by rote. Framed by *shu ha ri*, New Zealand coaches’ aims to focus on technique could conceivably be akin to the ‘maintenance’ or ‘protection’ of a style of rugby that is considered (by the coach) as traditional or representative of their ideal game or style of play.

So what you’re doing in the final meeting before the game may be appealing to certain things that revolve around background of that game. Be it the tradition of the game or who you’re playing...[I might] remind them that our line outs are our real strength and these guys aren’t very
good at that so, lets, you know, push towards that. So it’s a bit of an appeal to the sort of things that are important about that game. (Joe)

Further, it may be considered as a case of encouraging the adoption of a certain type of tradition or cultural identity.

(Ito)

I think that, in order to help the child’s growth, I need to teach well, and therefore, I think it is appropriate to be strict ... There are many amazing qualities that the Japanese as a people embody, but if you look at kids in more recent years, I don’t really think you would find those qualities as much as you used to. As a teacher, it’s important to make sure the students know how great Japanese culture is ... [when I’m in a teaching role] I have two responsibilities. One is to ensure the kids as players can get enjoyment out of playing rugby, and the second is to make sure the
students are behaving in a way becoming to a Japanese person in everyday life. (Ito)

My conversations with Joe and Ito featured prominently in the interpretations of the texts, and the aforementioned comments further highlight the nuances between the sociocultural understandings of the data. For Joe, a focus on control of the knowledge is possibly more concerned with (re)producing a certain technical proficiency or strength deemed by him to be important. Ito spoke about control as a means to cultivate his notion of “Japaneseness”. Both indicated a development of some form of cultural (and possibly social and economic) capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Control and power over content, context and players can still be recognised, however, and might be understood as being underpinned by (socioculturally informed) intentions that are maintained or protected by the coach during the stage of shu.

b) Ha – A Transition Phase. Howell (2015) suggested that the ‘journeyman’ is a “qualified worker at a craft or trade who works for wages for another”. It is a position, moreover, between apprentice and master. As such, ha might be interpreted as the journeyman stage. Accordingly, the concept behind ha could be another way to interpret the transition between coach-centred and player-centred pedagogies in the findings.

Well I guess I did put a little bit of peer teaching into it, like getting them to come up with moves and stuff themselves, and then teach each other...

(Glen)

Glen’s notions about introducing peer coaching, albeit periodically with a majority of the lessons coach-controlled, could be an example of the aim to help players consolidate their understanding, and thus provide opportunities to implement a unique or personalised style of play. Further, with regard to findings in the Japanese data related to ningen keisei and transition into a shakaijin (fully fledged members of society), Masa’s
account of his team’s community work could provide an example of one way his coach
(Ito) intended to extend his players’ learning through social interaction.

[Ito sensei] created opportunities for us to train with and coach rugby
clubs from other schools. [Ito] sensei would decide on the menu, but
because we were the ones who had to teach the content, we had to actually
understand it too, otherwise we couldn’t teach it, right? If we couldn’t
focus and do those things on a daily basis, we wouldn’t be able to teach
the others. (Masa)

Here, Ito’s intent could be viewed as an attempt to develop Masa’s social capital
by providing him with opportunities to cultivate the social skills deemed important for
shakaijin (fully-fledged member of society). Indeed, in accounts offered by Glen and
Masa, coach aims and control can be noticed as coaches attempted to develop forms of
social and cultural capital in players (Bourdieu, 1977). However, while the approaches
differed in the examples presented here, an appreciation for ha as a transitional phase
between apprentice and master could help to explain the moderated shifts between coach
control and player empowerment found in the Japanese and New Zealand data.

c) Ri – Toward mastery. As previously discussed, coaches can be, and have been,
located in a position of power that is based on a perception of, among others, legitimate
power or informational power (Erchul & Raven, 1997). This understanding endorses the
view of the coach as a ‘master’ or ‘more capable other’ (in comparison to the players) (Vygotsky, 1978) similar to the stage of *ri*. However, conversations with coaches from either country did not reveal a full transcendence from a coach controlled environment. Indeed, once players leave high school and ‘graduate’ from their team, the experiences and knowledge they have accumulated could provide them with the propensity to coach or play from the position of ‘master’ – albeit, perhaps a ‘technical master’ in the case of New Zealand?

**6.2.3 Experiences with Shu Ha Ri.** Problematising these matters led me to consider my own experiences in a sport strongly influenced by a form of Japanese ideology. Arguably, my experiences of “being controlled” have created opportunities for me to experience empowerment later in life. Mindful of Kinsella’s (2006) suggestion about the transformative possibilities of the interpretation process, the ways in which I make sense of my lived experiences and the nuances in the Japanese and New Zealand texts are offered in the following excerpt from my training journal. This was recorded as reflection of my experiences in a coach-controlled environment.

*I recall many instances in kendo trainings where I was physically and mentally challenged by my brother in trainings. These were satirically dubbed ‘fatal beatings’ with reference to a Rowan Atkinson skit. As a group we were pushed to train the techniques and movements as decided by him, no question, no delay. These trainings were hard, and for the most part, I found them wholly unenjoyable. I regularly felt tired, anxious, and nervous when contemplating the duration and severity of the impending training. In truth, until the age of 14, I would often be in tears by the end of a sparring session with my brother – a mixture of nervousness and fatigue that would wear me down until I lost my composure. At times this*
emotion would overwhelm my desire to participate in the training; and I recall an instance earlier in my kendo career where, mid-‘fatal beating’, I decided that I would not soldier on. Upon being swept from my feet, I opted to remain lying in the middle of the floor. I felt tired, frustrated, embarrassed, and refused to fight back. With few options available, my brother crouched down beside me and convinced me to stand up and finish the session on a ‘high note’. While I obliged in the end, my brother pointed out to me later that by “lying there like a wet towel”, I had short changed myself and the potential of such a hard session to benefit me in the future. (Blake, Journal entry)

This was a defining moment in my journey as a kendoist. I clearly remember the disappointment I felt in myself when I had surrendered, and the conscious decision I made thereafter to “fight hard” and “never give up” so that I would not let my brother, or myself, down again.

As I reflect on this now, I note the relevance of the concept of shu ha ri as a means to frame my experiences. I would first follow my coach and do exactly as he asked of me – no matter how physically and mentally or spiritually challenging it was. In each instance, my determination was nurtured by the people in my club. As “[a group] of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly”, the people in this Community of Practice (COP; Wenger, 2011, p. 1) pointed to the benefits that could be gained by this type of hardship in training. Accordingly, I now wonder if they might have been signalling ri as a reachable outcome (albeit, I would first need to move through, or endure, the two earlier stages)?
Throughout the analysis of the Japanese data, *kimochi* was shown to be a key focus of coaches, and was aligned with an aim to forge players’ *kokoro*. Masa’s mention of *zenryoku* (full power) and giving “100 percent” could also be considered an example, similar to mine, of acceptance of coach control as a step toward empowerment.

チームのコンセプトとして、練習を全力で常にするっていう … 全力とか、100 パーセントっていうのは、やっぱりキーワードですかね … 試合では、練習でやったことしか出ないって、いつも言われてるんで、練習をどんどんレベルを上げていて、それを試合に出していけたら、試合も良い感じになってくるんで。(Masa)

*Our team concept [philosophy] is about always putting as much into practice as possible ... I guess keywords would be things like zenryoku [full power] and [giving] 100 percent ... we are always told that in a game you only get out what you put in at training. Yeah, so, the harder we train, and the more serious we are in training, the better we can be at game time.* (Masa)

Similar to my own experiences, Masa’s coach (Ito) appears to have clarified his perception of the importance of “giving one’s all”. Might the Japanese coaches’ use of a coach-centred pedagogy and prominent emphasis on developing *kimochi* and *kokoro* be understood as the intent to foster *power* (or *zenryoku*) within players themselves? If so, it may be that control of content, context, and players is seen as a process toward empowerment, facilitating both the transition into adulthood and coping with the trials of company life. Is development of a desire to demonstrate *zenryoku* intended to be a path to *ri* (mastery) beyond technical proficiency? If so, coach control in the stages of *shu* and *ha* could be interpreted as an important part of the journey toward empowerment in the long term, having fully learned the values conveyed by the coach.
Drawing upon *shu ha ri* is a way to consider the relationship between the Japan and New Zealand texts, control, and power. In this context, the earlier stages of *shu ha ri* could be considered as the initial part of a longer process, and, simultaneously, offer a way to (re)frame a coach’s control and power as an enabling construct, rather than as an oppressing one.

The intention of attempting to understand the data in this way was to highlight possible similarities (i.e. the prominence of control and power across both sets of data), whilst also acknowledging differing intents. However, further interpretations are possible. The following sections consider the relationships and nuances in the data to question the role of character development, masculinity, national identity, and pressures of winning as possible sociocultural values informing the participants’ coaching pedagogies.

### 6.3 Japan and ‘Japaneseness’

Coach-centred pedagogies with the purpose of emphasising a sense of ‘Japaneseness’ and masculinity have been referred to in the literature as *Bushidō* coaching (Miller, 2011). If this is an accurate portrayal of the coaching pedagogies of the participant coaches, an historical account of rugby coaching styles in Japanese school rugby provided by Ito may give insight into the origins and aims of such pedagogies, and, once again, indicate the prominence of *ningen keisei* underpinned by *seishin* ideology.

Ito mentioned that his experiences were markedly different to that of his players. Contrasting his own experiences with contemporary practices, he stated that: 「厳しかったです…ものすごく厳しい中でもやってきたんで…日本ではあまり、どっちかっていうと、変わってきてるところが多いと思いますね。」 “[My coaches were] extremely strict. We were run ragged ... [But now], if you compare it, Japan has changed in many ways I think.” (Ito).
Ito suggested a change in the wants, needs, and beliefs of his players in contrast to his own experiences. As such, with acknowledgement of the needs of his current players, it was important to him to find a balance of discipline and direct coaching pedagogies. Even so, he considered the direct approach an important way to show his players the extent to which they could achieve things and truly exhibit their strengths as Japanese people: 「日本人としての素晴らしい文化とか…そういうのはちゃんと教えていてあげるべきやなと。」 “It is important to make sure the students know how great Japanese culture is” (Ito).

Ito’s comments indicated that his challenge was to find a balance between the strictness he endured (which made him appreciate what it was to be Japanese) and the need to cater for contemporary youth with different motivations. His sentiments reflected those made by Jin who opined that an increasing level of liberalism has significantly changed the way Japanese youth respond to authority and strict learning environments. Although both Ito and Jin acknowledged the need for balance, the previous comments imply a desire to control the direction of learning wherever possible. This could be thought of in terms of kokoro wo kitaeru (forging or tempering the kokoro). Perhaps Ito’s inference that such strictness could lead to an understanding of “what it is to be Japanese” is an indication of his root desire to control the training environment? If so, this interpretation highlighted an alignment with the aims and expectations found within the concept of the Bushidō coach.

If ningen keisei is the guiding aim, and forging of the kokoro is the process in which to pursue it, in what ways does the Bushidō coach contribute to being Japanese? Miller (2011) asserted that the idea of Bushidō coaching, or the construction of a pedagogy linked closely to the values of the samurai, is an example of nihonjinron – theories of Japanese (cultural) uniqueness espoused by many Japanese and non-Japanese
scholars (Bennett, 2015). Miller further suggested that these *nihonjinron* theories are important to emphasise the national identity sought after by many in Japanese sport. Kelly (2009) contended that the notion that Japanese players derive their playing and coaching style from the *samurai* is an example of the capacity of modern sports to embody the interests and anxieties of a nation’s identity. The rhetoric that has accompanied the notion of the *Bushidō* coach in Japanese sport, and in this research as it relates to rugby, has accentuated the influence of nationalism in Japanese sport circles (Bennett, 2015; Miller, 2011).

**6.4 Technique over Character**

Rugby in the secondary school context is a sport and, as such, coaches may have considered performance as a target to be met. Kidman (2007) has alluded to the pressure to obtain results affecting coaches’ choices of pedagogies, and it is questioned whether a desire to win resulted in coach-centred (and technocratic) pedagogies. In a similar vein, the influence of the professional game may also explain the emphasis New Zealand coaches placed on technical development and winning. Indeed, the success of the All Blacks and other regional and professional teams in New Zealand, or media representations of success (Kentel & Ramsankar, 2015), might also be indicative of contributing pressures felt by coaches to produce results.

Perhaps the emerging focus of the All Blacks to develop “better people” is eclipsed by their performative feats? From the perspective of other coaches, perhaps the numerous staff employed by professional teams to address technical analysis, statistics, and other matters regarding performance undermines such holistic objectives (Hugh Galvan, personal communication, December, 2015)? Given the role of secondary school rugby games as an environment for recruitment into regional franchises, and the recent success of the New Zealand All Blacks (as the only team to attain consecutive wins in the
Rugby World Cup), it is possible that the focus of New Zealand coaches on technique and results is a ‘trickle-down’ effect from New Zealand’s rugby prowess and the societal importance placed on the game. One might question whether this achievement has promoted (or will promote) a technical focus – particularly with regard to the lucrative opportunities players and coaches encounter within the professional era (Ryan, 2008), and the economic capital one can achieve with superior skill sets (Bourdieu, 1977).

Martinkova and Parry (2011) stated “When the end is more highly valued than the means, process becomes just a means to a goal” (p. 31). Might the inference made in the New Zealand findings be considered an example of this? If overemphasis is given to results in this way, we could expect that the coach controlled environment would lead to the exploitation of players and their bodies, as Martinkova and Parry have suggested. However, if the educative purpose of rugby is overshadowed by a technical focus and, moreover, a desire to produce results, there may be grounds for concern about further erosion of more complex educational aims in school rugby, such as those advocated by Arnold (1996; 1998) or Martinkova and Parry (2011). One might theorise that, on the basis of the noticeable emphasis on technique rather than on the promotion of holistic aims, nowadays the pressure to win is enculturated in the New Zealand rugby context.

To Martinkova and Parry (2011) it is the over-emphasis on result, rather than the process of perfecting one’s autotelic, or intrinsic, goals (e.g. the objectives, rules, and goals followed in order to play the sport) that is problematic. In contrast to the New Zealand findings, I noted that Masa’s reference to zenryoku and giving 100% in training, Yuji’s reference to self-sacrifice, and the frequent references to kimochi and forging the kokoro (kokoro wo kitaeru) are salient moments in the Japanese data that could be associated with Martinkova and Parry’s proposition pertaining to the autotelic value of
perfecting one’s movement. Might the Japanese emphasis on developing seishin strength be more aligned with the educative focus that Martinkova and Parry (2011) have advocated?

6.5 **Contrasting Japan and New Zealand for a Nuanced Understanding**

Emergence of a philosophical stance concerning character building and integration of players into society akin to Bushidō coaching was prominent among Japanese coaches. However, there is a noticeable paucity in such sentiments from the New Zealand coaches. New Zealand coaches such as Glen and Brian revealed that correct execution of skills is a paramount concern when coaching rugby. The focus on skill development and performance by the New Zealand coaches, in contrast to the Japanese focus on long-term benefits from participation in rugby, caused me to question whether the development of technical proficiency, within a coach controlled environment, is driven by the desire to win games rather than a desire to cultivate character. It may be conceivable that the objectives of moral and character development expressed by Shields and Bredemeier (1995) and Arnold (1998) were overridden by a technical focus. Accordingly, the paucity of sentiments pertaining to character building by the New Zealand coaches might indicate an important distinction between the two contexts of this study.

The use, at times, of harsh training methods in New Zealand, akin to those found in an environment influenced by the seishin ideology such as the Bushidō coach (Miller, 2011), is not refuted here. Anecdotal stories and adages such as “no pain, no gain” have pointed to a similar sentiment in rugby circles in New Zealand. As noted in the literature throughout, rugby in New Zealand has advocated for the development of austere values, ‘manliness’ and ‘character’ (Mangan, 1981; 1996; Phillips, 1987; 1996). It is with this understanding in mind that I might have queried whether the underpinning intentions of
rugby in New Zealand were comparable to seishin ideology and the processes associated with ningen keisei. Interestingly, however, this idea did not emerge in the New Zealand data. During the conversations, Japanese coaches seemed eager to explain to me how they intended to develop the character of their players. They aimed to afford their players the best opportunity to join Japanese society as capable people prepared for the pressures and hierarchical structures of adult and company life. I have approached this interpretation and quest to understand mindful of the anecdotal evidence and literature-based suggestions that New Zealand rugby practices can be gruelling for the purpose of developing masculinities and character. However, the question I am now left wondering is: Why were the responses of New Zealand coaches so noticeably removed from the development of character and other educative aspects of sport, such as those advocated by Arnold (1998)?

Phillips (1987) suggested that the influence of the All Blacks on New Zealand masculinity during the 20th century was so significant that both New Zealand men and women came to view the team as “the purest manifestation of what a New Zealander was” (p. 109). Phillips went on to imply that the encouragement of rugby in the school system in the 1900s reflected the acceptance of the game by New Zealand’s urban middle-class. Rugby was viewed as a vehicle to preserve masculine values associated with the pioneers, while its structure and constraints ensured male culture was kept orderly and disciplined (Phillips, 1987). “The schools thereupon became a central institution for spreading the game and imposing its value system upon virtually every New Zealand male, Pakeha and Maōri, in the twentieth century” (Phillips, 1987, p. 108). As such, one interpretation might be that a certain type of (New Zealand) masculinity was naturally cultivated through participation in the contact aspects of rugby. If so, might
objectives related to character development, morals, and masculinity (muscular Christianity) be so implicit that they were not articulated?

Drawing on the work of a number of researchers, Cassidy et al. (2009) contended that coaches and coach educators who do not reflect on their philosophies may overlook significant aspects of understanding, such as the influences of culture and personal experience on beliefs about learning. I am left wondering: Does the seeming paucity of an educative philosophy underpinning the practice of New Zealand coaches to favour a technical focus indicate concern for the direction of rugby in schools? Or, as previously queried: If these educative aims are operating below the surface at an unarticulated level, is there a need for coaches to articulate their intentions so that players can create and maintain meaningful experiences through their participation?

As I suggested with regard to Joe’s comments in the New Zealand findings, it is possible that some coaches had not considered the wider sociocultural and sociopolitical influences acting on, or outcomes of, their coaching practice. Nevertheless, inferences made in the Japanese findings, such as the often cited aim to cultivate a particular type of Japanese citizen, could suggest the contrary in the Japanese context. Indeed, a much clearer picture of the type and role of ‘body’ that was being developed (read: schooled; Kirk, 1997) seemingly emerged in my conversations with coaches such as Ito, Naoto, and Yuji. This may be due to a common rhetoric in Japanese rugby circles; a discourse that often takes place before and after rugby practices between coaches, players, and old boys of the club. Notwithstanding, it remains unclear as to whether New Zealand coaches’ gave overt thought to the (re)production of cultural and national identities or whether these intentions were implicit.

6.6 Possibilities of a Revived Philosophy in New Zealand
Mindful of the previous discussion, we might ask what could be gained from participation in secondary school rugby that extends beyond technique and draws on a culturally responsive approach. What might happen if, as in the Japanese findings, secondary school rugby in New Zealand was more strongly underpinned by indigenous cultural notions regarding the cultivation of the body, mind, spirit, and heart? Indeed, such conversations could result in a greater number of New Zealand (Maōri, Pasifika, and Pakeha) players experiencing more fulfilling involvement in rugby.

The influence of Maōri culture and spirituality in New Zealand sport has often been referred to as it relates to the haka (see Hassanin & Light, 2013). For instance, Brian mentioned that he and his team adopted a school haka which resulted in team cohesion: “This year we learned a haka and stuff like that. Just things to get them [together] as a team” (Brian). However, there was no apparent identification with an ideology unique to New Zealand during the conversations. Historically, British colonisation of New Zealand during the 1800s and 1900s led to the marginalisation of Maōri culture, language, customs, values and traditions (Culpan, Bruce, & Galvan, 2009). It also resulted in “Pakeha [New Zealanders of European descent] governance and control over Maōri physical cultural practices” (Culpan et al., 2009, p 117). Yet, could Maōri concepts of hauora (well-being), emphasised as a unique cultural construct, be applied to sport (rugby) in New Zealand?

Hauora is defined by the Ministry of Education as: “A Maōri philosophy of well-being that includes the dimension taha wairua (spirituality), taha hinengaro (mental and emotional), taha tinana (physical), and taha whanau (social), each one influencing and supporting the others” (as cited in Culpan & Galvan, 2012, p. 33), and draws on the whare tapa wha (four sided house) health promotion model posited by Durie (1994). Moeau (1997) further suggested that whenua (connectedness with the land) is an integral
component to this philosophy. *Hauora*, mindful of its place in the NZHPE (Ministry of Education, 2007), could be a considered as a possible supporting philosophy in New Zealand rugby coaching, and provide an holistic alternative to the technical focus predominant in the data.

Maōri conceptions concerning health and physical education are often lived experiences (Salter, 2000a; 2000b), where physical activity is heavily intertwined with daily life (Culpan et al., 2009). Likewise, the *seishin* construct “exerts a strong influence on the practice and meaning of sport in Japanese schools” (Light, 2008, p. 167). Why, then, is Maōri philosophy apparently absent, even in school rugby where awareness of the physical education curriculum might be more fully realized? Burrows (2004) argued that the inclusion of holistic concepts in physical education ensures learners are encouraged to explore more comprehensive notions of well-being during their physical education or sporting experience:

Conceiving of well-being in such a holistic fashion [as in the NZHPE] disrupts conventional mind/body dichotomies, disturbs everyday understanding that health and fitness can be achieved through individual discipline and effort alone, and creates possibilities for students to recognise and interrogate multiple meanings for their own and others’ health and well-being. (p. 112)

The construct of *hauora* was included in the NZHPE (Ministry of Education, 1999) with the intention of promoting opportunities for learners to process their experiences and acquire personal and social meaning, within a more holistic and bicultural framework (Culpan & Bruce, 2014; Culpan & Galvan, 2012). However, considering the technical focus noted in the New Zealand text, a Maōri perspective does not seem to have influenced coach participants, despite the tertiary level education they
have acquired to become PE teachers and coaches of their school rugby teams. Criticism of the inclusion of Maōri concepts in the NZHPE (Ministry of Education, 1999) relate to the perceived limitation of definitions and understandings of Maōri world views (e.g. Fitzpatrick, 2007; Hokowhitu, 2004; Salter, 2000a; 2000b). Perhaps the coaches in this study faced similar limitations?

Cognisance of hauora illustrates the connection between a unique cultural construct and sport and physical education in New Zealand. While philosophical differences naturally exist between seishin ideology and hauora, might the way in which these cultural constructs inform physical, cognitive, emotional, social and spiritual objectives within Japan and New Zealand positively affect player experiences? Can indigenous philosophies be infused in other cultures? If the seishin ideology could be thought of as an integration of Western notions of muscular Christianity with uniquely Japanese notions of masculinity, it is possible to imagine some degree of infusion. Drawing again on the Eastern concept of shu ha ri, the shift toward player empowerment might be aided by cultural ideologies that better capture the bicultural and multicultural makeup of New Zealand. We might ask what it is that some players are required to forgo, or miss out on, in a coaching environment that gives scant attention to culturally sensitive ideologies and pedagogies. Drawing on Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of capital, such questions are worth considering in light of the possibility that some New Zealand players may sacrifice cultural fulfilment in their endeavours to accumulate and manoeuvre their cultural and social capital in order to be part of their teams.

6.7 Attempting to Understand Player Experiences of Coach Control and Power

The Japanese findings highlighted the possible influence of seishin ideology as a foundation of coaching practices. In a (bukatsudō) setting, which often requires players to attend training up to six or seven days a week, it was suggested that the seishin ideology
– aimed at the *kitae* (forging) of players’ *kokoro* and bodies – reinforced the encouragement of varying kinds of *kimochi* and possibly the aim of *ningen keisei*. Interpretation of New Zealand texts drew attention to the use of control, power and discipline by coach participants in learning environments. Legitimisation for coach-centred pedagogies related to correct technique, maintaining order and discipline in the session, and the perceived importance of the position of coach and teacher. In both Japanese and New Zealand contexts it was implied that coaches made a majority of the decisions about context and content.

As Kidman (2007) noted, all coaching pedagogies have a place, depending on various factors and player needs. However, findings have suggested that player needs tended to be decided by coaches. For instance, although control and power did not emerge in the Japanese findings and discussion as overtly as in the New Zealand context, one could theorize that *ningen keisei* is also controlling as coaches, such as Ito, sought to convey an interpretation of what was required to be Japanese. Given that coaches “*told [players] what to do*” (Brian), and evidently had significant influence over training content (e.g. Hiro and Masa), it is perhaps important to consider whether power was ever really turned over to players. If not, how and why was this power relationship and imbalance facilitated and maintained?

Players in this study did not speak negatively about their coaches’ experiences, so it could be inferred that players were not troubled by their coaches holding power. As theorised previously, players’ attempts to accrue volume and change the composition of their capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Waquant, 1995) could be one explanation of their willingness to relinquish control and follow obediently, in both Japan and New Zealand. This compliance could also be understood on the basis of coaches’ social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) framed by player perceptions of coaches’ expertise (expert and
informational power) and social status (referent, legitimate, coercive, and reward power; Erchul & Raven, 1997).

Perhaps, considered as a mutually accepted exchange of capital (Bourdieu, 1977) in this sense, we might be able to understand how power imbalances in the coach-player relationship are played out and facilitated. Such theorising may help us to understand why, as Cassidy et al. (2009) posited, the option of being more deeply involved in the decision-making process (thus regaining more power over their own learning) is not something players desire. Yet, as Denison (2007) queried: Could control of players’ training menus (and their time and space) in a coach-centred environment remove their sense of self, and lead them to question: ‘Why do I play rugby?’ and ‘Who do I play rugby for?’

Giddens (1998) suggested that if a player is confident that their coach is acting in accordance with the accepted social rules and routines of normal life, it could be inferred that they do not feel oppressed in their learning environment. Rather, confidence in their coaches’ practices could possibly stem from an ontological security (or a security of being) (Giddens, 1991). Therefore, if players were contented at the balance of centricity in their learning environment, should we really be concerned? It is possible to think that, as long as safe and fair play is at the fore, and players experience benefits from participation in (team) sport, coach-centred pedagogies do not warrant concern. Arguably however, this line of thinking could perpetuate and exacerbate power imbalances and the reproduction of practices already prominent in the field of coaching.

In my attempts to understand the possibilities of theorising about control and power in the coach-player relationship, and how players respond therein, I drew on my own experiences as a player. From a kendo player’s vantage point, I have an enduring perception of the coach as a person who is required to lead and, importantly, control the
direction and content of the learning environment. Through my participation in coach-controlled trainings, my belief in the coaches’ experience and expertise (expert power; Erchul & Raven, 1997; and cultural capital; Bourdieu, 1977) led to my acceptance of a coach-centred environment.

This is exemplified by an excerpt stating: “[I must] copy the sensei – so many years of practice coupled with 7th dan can’t be wrong!” (Blake, Journal entry). My desire to become a stronger kendo player was underpinned by the belief that I must follow and copy the exact model set by my senpai and sensei – people who had walked the path ahead of me. Because the primary influencing agents acting on my development as a kendo player were either Japanese coaches, or New Zealand coaches who began their kendo journey in Japan, the coach led, top-down, seemingly Bushidō coach approach (Miller, 2011) was a profound aspect of my development as a player and, I believe, as a coach.

As a researcher I note the personal tensions between agreement with the literature about the limitations of coach-centred pedagogies and my lived experience as a player-turned-coach who has often adopted a coach-centred pedagogical approach (based on an ontological security I was aware of in the care of my Bushidō-like coaches). This is an example of the influence of personal experience on my own coaching practice (Cushion et al., 2003). Conceivably, it is the same for the coaches from each context in this study. This cyclic process could be interpreted as COP as found in the works of Lave and Wenger (1991), and emphasises Vygotsky’s (1978) point about the construction of cognitive representations on the social plane. It is possible the players in this study could be travelling a similar path, and will (re)produce similar pedagogies if they go on to coach.
The findings have suggested instances of coaches’ attempts to minimize their control in favour of contemporary, empowering pedagogies. This could be the result of various factors, such as the effects of contemporary coaching literature, and coach and teacher education initiatives (see Cassidy & Kidman, 2010; see Suzuki, 2014). It could also be that they were making efforts to convince me as the researcher, or themselves, of this point. Nevertheless, I am reminded of Galipeau and Trudel’s (2006) suggestion that, while some coaches attempt to circumvent power imbalances in the learning environment by adopting a player-centred pedagogy:

The nature of the coaching role naturally demands that coaches exercise control over the players (e.g. player selection, starting line-ups, technical and tactical decisions, etc.). Thus, regardless of how ‘[player]-centred’ many coaches claim to be, it is nearly always he/she who makes the final decisions. (p. 80)

Despite an abundance of literature on the benefits of shifting to a player-centred coaching approach (e.g. Kidman, 2001; 2005; 2007), the experiences I bring as a player, researcher and interpreter to an analysis of the findings presented here, suggested that the multiplicity of realities of coaching involves instances where coach control is not only necessary (i.e. for correct technique to ensure safety or, in my case, for motivation and life lessons), it is generally unavoidable (Galipeau & Trudel, 2006). Rather than advocating for a complete shift to player-centred pedagogies, it is perhaps more important to encourage cognisance of the impact that (mis)use of power by a coach can have on player experience, and how these practices can be used to foster positive development, for instance, in terms of shu ha ri – notwithstanding the fine line a coach must walk to achieve this.

6.8 Chapter Summary
In this chapter, the literature on control and power, as well as my lived experiences in seemingly similar settings, aided my attempts to understand and provide interpretations of the findings. Reframing the findings into an Eastern context provided a way to interpret the coaches’ pedagogies in terms of a progression along a learning continuum that could be understood as embracing coach control. Importantly, this chapter considered various sociocultural interpretations in an attempt to enhance understanding.

What might transpire if coaches, and subsequently coach education, embraced culturally sensitive ideologies and alternative philosophies? What might coaches from Japan and New Zealand learn from each other? I remain uncertain whether indigenous and ethnic philosophies can be fully embraced by one culture from another. However, perhaps engaging in conversations with an authentic attempt to understand culturally borne philosophies might incite a fusion of horizons (Gadamer, 2002), thereby broadening coaches’ perspectives and fostering intercultural understandings? The following chapter provides a final reflection on the findings as a ‘whole’, and offers suggestions for future research.
Chapter Seven:
Ketsuron no Nai Ketsuron
結論のない結論
Conclusion without Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

As a process of the hermeneutic circle, the previous chapters queried and theorized about the possible historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogical approaches in rugby from the perspectives of secondary school coaches and players in Japan and New Zealand. This closing chapter provides a summary of the findings and interpretations, insights into my transformation as a researcher, and suggestions for possible future research for coach pedagogy and intercultural studies. Although this chapter may be commonly labelled as a conclusion, it is due to the recursive interpretive process of hermeneutics that I have it considered it a “conclusion without conclusion” (Kentel & Dobson, 2007, p. 159).

7.2 Reflecting on the Findings

In response to the research question: What are the historical and sociocultural influences on pedagogical approaches in rugby from the perspectives of secondary school coaches and players in Japan and New Zealand?; the differing perspectives of Japanese and New Zealand participants provided the basis for much theorisation and interpretation throughout the findings and discussion chapters. The following section highlights the major findings of this research in an attempt to answer this research question.

Findings suggested that Japanese coaches focused on preparing players for adult life in society, while New Zealand coaches focused primarily on specific skill development. This is not to suggest that there is a complete paucity of educative or cultural philosophies in New Zealand schoolboy rugby. However, given equal
opportunity, it was the Japanese coaches who emphasised such aims and New Zealand coaches who spoke frequently of technical matters.

Japanese and New Zealand coaches alike indicated their intention to control the content and context of their players’ rugby experiences, while also expressing a tendency to implement coach-centred pedagogies. Although coach participants from both countries indicated that they attempted to give players a degree of control over some aspects of their learning, players indicated that their coaches made many of the decisions throughout the session and season. Accordingly, the analysis revealed a combination of coach- and player-centred pedagogies, albeit with an apparent prominence of coach-centred pedagogies in both contexts.

Interpretations about the Japanese data were made with full consideration to the related literature in order to probe my understanding of the mind/body connection – particularly as it related to my own lived experiences in kendo – and the use of corporeal practices to ‘access’ and cultivate the mind/spirit and vice versa (Kasulis, 1987; Yuasa, 1987). Japanese coaches spoke of their aims to forge their players’ kokoro, and indicated their mindfulness of the potential long term benefits that could be gained from participation in rugby. Importantly, coaches’ aims seemed to centre on kimochi; and accordingly, interpretations sought to understand why Japanese coaches considered it so highly. The spiritual, mental, and physical strength required to play the game of rugby appeared to be a primary reason for considering kimochi a fundamental requirement. This related, in turn, to the aim of forging one’s self (kokoro wo kitaeru), and underpinning the term kitae (鍛え; forging or tempering) and the intention to develop kimochi was a loftier aim associated with ningen keisei (人間形成; character development or human cultivation). My lived experiences allowed me to theorise authentically with these ideas.
The data generated in Japan resonated with the literature referring to the Bushidō coach (Miller, 2011) as the notion that players should display and develop kimochi in order to cultivate a strong kokoro emerged throughout the text(s). As Japanese coaches indicated that their aims centred on the idea of ningen keisei, discussion attempted to relate such intentions, and the ensuing coach-centred pedagogies, to seishin ideology.

New Zealand coaches submitted that their aims were primarily focused on developing technical proficiency. Coaches sought to achieve their aims through efforts to maintain control and power over players and content which was associated with the intent to discipline (or avoid a ‘chaotic’ learning environment). In an attempt to find deeper meaning within the conversations, theorisation posited several possibilities for these aims: alternatives to coach-centred pedagogies may have been considered overly complex; pressures to produce wins may have resulted in coach-centred pedagogies; and historical and sociocultural values may have influenced approaches which, in turn, facilitated and produced processes akin to Kirk’s (1997) notion of schooling bodies. New Zealand coaches’ use of simplified, technical focused drills and direct (coach-centred) pedagogies highlighted a conflict between the recommendations of contemporary coaching literature (e.g. Cassidy & Kidman, 2010; Coach Development Framework, SPARC, 2006) and the influence of personal experiences (Cushion et al., 2003; Cushion, 2007; Stephenson & Jowett, 2009) within COPs (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

An historical perspective records the ways rugby and its underpinning games ethic were considered as vehicles to develop a desired character, as well as instil the moral and social values which stemmed from 19th century England public schools, and which were later shaped within the New Zealand context (Mangan, 1981; 1996; Phillips, 1987; 1996). The findings in this study may indicate that the aims of New Zealand coaches have shifted, or, perhaps, the values have become so ingrained that they operate at an implicit
level. Indeed, the paucity of reference to character development or any overt acknowledgment for the educative possibilities of rugby (e.g. Arnold, 1998) was considered as a potential concern in the interpretations.

In sum, inferences have been made about the use of control and power by Japanese and New Zealand coaches throughout the findings and discussion chapters. While one motive may have been more central to some coaches, a combination of factors may have also informed Brian, Joe, Peter, Cleveland and Glen. However, conversations with Ito, Jin, Yuji, and Naoto explained a more apparent rationale. Their control and power over content, context, and players appeared to be less concerned with technical instruction, and more with the cultivation of their players’ character through physically, spiritually, and mentally demanding training. Might this suggest that the Japanese coaches’ aims could be considered as more closely aligned than that of New Zealand coaches to the Edwardian and Victorian notions of masculinity and moral education? Indeed, a similar conversation with a coach in a different area of New Zealand could reveal the prominence of a culturally sensitive or educative philosophy in rugby. Yet, on the basis of these findings, I am left wondering how some (coaches and players) might experience their involvement in rugby differently if discussions about players’ contemporary and sociocultural needs were explored further by coaches.

7.3 Fusing Horizons

Preceding chapters discussed the possible contribution that could be made through greater use of culturally sensitive philosophies in New Zealand in a way that seems to exist in Japan (albeit a coach-controlled notion). However, could an intercultural exchange of ideas between Japanese and New Zealand coaches prompt the creation of new meanings or a fusion of horizons (Gadamer, 2002)? With consideration to how the initial (British) hegemonic masculine aims of rugby were assimilated and superseded by
uniquely sociocultural values, desirable educative values, and societal pressures in both Japan and New Zealand, it could be salient to consider what an intercultural exchange or conversation between coaches could yield in a contemporary setting. What sort of understandings would transpire? Light and Kentel (2013) argued that Eastern concepts could be used to inform Western practices, but to what extent? If philosophies and subsequent practices are culturally embedded, some understanding may transpire. A fusion of horizons, however, may be a much more difficult challenge.

The possibility remains that, through an intercultural exchange of ideas, New Zealand coaches could be convinced by Japanese coaches to (re)consider their technical focus. This may be so in light of the Japanese emphasis on a spirit/mind/body connection, and the perceived benefits that cultivation of kokoro can offer individuals in terms of their contributions to society.

Conversely, it is possible that New Zealand coaches could urge Japanese coaches to (re)consider their use of demanding training regimes and, instead, implement simplified or specific pedagogies to skills training for enhanced performance. Yet, could such an approach be integrated with the notions of kita and a seishin ideology, or would this act to dilute such a uniquely Japanese understanding of sport participation? We could consider how Japanese coaches have attempted a fusion while remaining mindful of their intention to retain and advocate a sense of “Japaneseness” in a sport that has British roots. Taken from the Japanese position, a degree of fusion can be observed.

Notwithstanding, in theorising whether a philosophy could be transplanted from culture to culture, Vygotsky (1978) would argue that, as learning unfolds differently from one cultural context to another, this would be a difficult task. However, Gadamer (2002) posited that one must remain open to the possibilities and, at the same time, acknowledge
that understanding is shaped by historical prejudices (i.e. previous experiences; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Cushion et al., 2003).

As I reflected on these questions and possibilities in the context of my lived experiences, and as a researcher and interpreter, I was mindful of the transformative possibilities presented to me through the hermeneutic process. Throughout the analysis and interpretation of the Japanese data, I found that I was much more comfortable making sense of the words and concepts offered by Japanese participants. My position as an ‘outsider-insider’ in the Japanese context allowed me to view the practices of a bukatsudō (extracurricular) sport club from the vantage point of a non-Japanese person, while also actively participating in the activities.

While I have acknowledged the possible shortcomings of coach control, I have also suggested a way to reframe it in the Eastern context of shu ha ri. With reflection on my lived experiences, consideration for this notion proved a satisfying fit. For me, shu ha ri allowed an acceptance of coach control. It provided me with an aspiration – someone to emulate and, one day, surpass. Indeed, this concept still makes sense, even though I have become more aware (in my research and through my own coaching practise) of the benefits of alternative coaching pedagogies. Accordingly, I continue to find contradictions in my thinking and coaching philosophy. Coach control ensures the attainment of adequate and safe technique (shu) but, while this might be justified as a way to reproduce knowledge, skills and behaviours, it could be at the expense of a player’s important personal and sociocultural needs.

(Re)framing the findings with the notion of shu ha ri allowed for consideration of the coach – on the premise of their informational power (Erchul & Raven, 1997), a more capable other (Vygotsky, 1978), or someone who has walked the path before – as someone who can guide players to the empowered position of ri. However, this could
also be interpreted as a reproduction of discourses prominent in the field of coaching. This thesis highlighted the various complexities involved in theorizing about two distinct cultures and the influences acting on rugby coaches’ practices. Indeed, the process of interpretation and theorising on these matters has challenged my enduring beliefs and practices as a coach and a player. My attempts to reconcile these beliefs in light of the literature remain ongoing.

7.5 Suggestions for Further Research

A limitation of this study was that it focused on the unique experiences of the participants in their own sociocultural context. For instance, while Glen identified as “part Maori”, cultural perspectives from New Zealand were constrained. Further, because participants were all male, alternative gendered perspectives were not considered. Accordingly, as a characteristic of (qualitative and) hermeneutic methodology, findings could not be considered predictive for the wider population (Plager, 1994). Nevertheless, unlike the generalizability often understood of findings in quantitative research designs (Falk & Guenther, 2007), the unique experiences described in this thesis yield insights at a more intimate level and, as such, contribute to different understandings that could be significant to the field.

Furthermore, though drawing on the literature, the understandings offered throughout this thesis are limited by my own interpretations which are influenced by my own traditions and prejudices (Gadamer, 2002). While my ‘insider-outsider’ vantage point could offer unique and authentic interpretations, future research in and around this topic could benefit from joint efforts of both Japanese and New Zealand researchers. Such collaboration might further enhance and augment the authenticity of the interpretations – both in the context of rugby and, more broadly, in sociocultural understandings regarding Japan and New Zealand. The following section offers
suggestions which could assist possible future research projects overcome the limitations of this study, and continue to shift understandings in different directions.

Both cohorts of participants were in accord on the use of control and power over content, context, and players. Despite differences in the aims of pedagogies, dialogue between coaches generated questions that would challenge the field. Though the game of rugby shares similar origins in Japan and New Zealand (i.e. underpinned by British notions of moral education, ethics and masculine character), practices in schoolboy rugby have, over time, come to encompass the unique sociocultural values and aims of each country. Japanese coaches, for instance, engaged with their own dominant culture, even in a sport rooted in Great Britain. In comparison, as this study indicated, New Zealand coaches (mostly of British heritage) did not draw upon Maōri philosophy or principles in their coaching. While reasons for this remain unknown, it could be that despite efforts towards biculturalism in New Zealand the dominant effects of colonisation prevail. Perhaps if I had conducted my conversations with coaches from various areas of the North Island of New Zealand my findings might have suggested a more prominent cultural sensitivity? This could highlight an area for future research on a broader scale throughout New Zealand.

Likewise, future research might consider the possibilities of conducting conversations with Maōri coaches and players. Studies which documented and explored the perspectives of coaches identifying as Maōri alongside those of coaches who identify as non-Maōri could likely provide some important socioculturally-located insights. Such research could lead to further understanding about how an introduced philosophy or ideology is shaped outside of its (original) culture. Indeed if an intercultural exchange is to be beneficial, further research into what such a conversation might look like is requisite.
Querying the pedagogical aims in coaching while being mindful of historical and sociocultural perspectives could be extended to other sports. One might wonder, for instance, how coaching practices manifest and exist in different ways in sports which are not as strongly informed by Edwardian and Victorian ideas of masculinity. Using similar methodologies and theoretical frameworks, what could be revealed in an investigation on the aims of secondary school basketball coaches or in other sporting contexts? Cognisant of the previous discussion and questions pertaining to the transferal and assimilation of historical, social and cultural practices, and the way in which coaching practice and player experiences are shaped therein, to what extent might American culture permeate New Zealand practitioners’ pedagogies?

With consideration to gender, as well, what might be discovered through further hermeneutic interpretation about the experiences of female coaches and players in a ‘masculine’ context such as rugby? Recent doctoral research has considered the experiences of female Japanese university students in the arguably masculine context of kendo. Sylvester (2015) explored the way in which university-aged female Japanese kendōka (kendo practitioners) negotiated their kendo capital and gendered identity in the processes of club membership. Sylvester posited that as modern kendo is considered a means to preserve a sense of ‘traditional’ Japanese identity, it has acted to (re)produce bushidō (the way of the warrior) and ryōsai kembo (good wife-wise mother) practices. Additionally, contemporary employment culture has also shaped and informed women’s kendo participation and, as a result, women have been encouraged to perform in masculine style with the fencing mask on. Yet, as the kendo bukatsudō is a site of cultural apprenticeship, and given that women were expected to eventually fulfil the ryōsai kembo role, Sylvester suggested that female kendōka learn how to perform appropriate femininity upon removing their training equipment. Hence, as gender performance can be
fluid (Sylvester, 2015), female kendōka have embodied a ‘bi-gendered identity’. What could be brought to light in a hermeneutical study of the experiences of (Japanese and New Zealand) female coaches and players in sports which, like rugby, are dominated by hegemonic, masculine practices?

During analysis of the data, I also considered the potential of the players’ narratives; conversations with players about their experiences under their coaches’ instruction provided important vantage points. However, I wonder if findings from longitudinal research with specific focus on players would reveal significant findings to benefit the field? In particular, what could be revealed by exploring the experiences of New Zealand players residing and playing in Japan? Likewise, what challenges are faced by the increasing number of Japanese high school rugby players active in New Zealand secondary school rugby teams? Interpretations stemming from such a study could extend understandings which could, in turn, point to possibilities for mindful coaching practice in an ever-growing global community of sport.

7.6 Summary

Given the complexity and multiplicity of the coaching process, the multitude of questions and theorised possibilities in this thesis could offer future directions towards enhancing understanding of the similarities, differences and nuances of Japanese and New Zealand secondary school rugby. Through engagement with hermeneutics, and drawing upon a sociocultural framework, I was exposed to the possibilities of new conversations, new questions, new understandings, new research, and new directions in secondary school rugby contexts, and more broadly, in the field of sport coaching. For instance, with notable exceptions such as Jones et al. (2004) and Potrac et al. (2002), scholars such as Cassidy et al. (2009) suggested that the issue of power in the coaching context is largely under theorised. The use of the Eastern construct of shu ha ri to reframe
the coach-player power imbalance, in an attempt to illicit different understandings of the data (Gadamer, 2002), was an important tool used in this hermeneutic interrogation. Therefore, this may also be considered as a contribution that the discussions in this thesis have offered to understandings in the field of sport coaching.

In addition to the major findings, I also posit that the contributions that this study offers include the use of a hermeneutic methodology in the field of sport coaching, especially across Japan and New Zealand, and in the secondary school context. Further, the finding that Japanese rugby coaches employ the use of what Miller (2011) termed a *Bushido* coach approach is significant as, according to my search of the relevant literature, a similar sentiment has not been made in the context of Japanese secondary school rugby.

My attempts to understand the conversational texts led me to search for meaning from different vantage points. As I reflected on the interpretations made, I was aware of Gadamer’s (2002) suggestion that we can never fully understand the meaning of a text or conversation, even if the author or speaker attempts to explain it. Each reader or listener is situated in their own perspective, and their attempts to understand are underpinned by an ever-changing culmination of experiences. Nevertheless, drawing on the findings and contributions that this study has presented, additional exploration and understanding of the influences and practices in the secondary school rugby experience can be extended in order to benefit coaches and players in both contexts, thus furthering our understanding of the use of rugby (and other sports) as a vehicle for sociocultural learning in the secondary school context.

In this thesis, focus on rugby in the secondary school context, and with the implementation of a hermeneutic methodology, I have attempted to move beyond a simple comparison of coaching styles and approaches, to one that provides hermeneutic interpretation (based on my lived experiences as a coach and player in Japan and New
Zealand) of the coach-player relationship from both a theoretical and interpretive perspective. As such, my research can be considered for its contribution to an enhanced intercultural understanding in the field of sport coaching, and more specifically, to sport education contexts in Japan and New Zealand.
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Appendix 1:  
Rugby Coach Education Pathways in Japan and New Zealand

**JRFU Coach Education**

In early 2010, the Coaching Division of the Japan Rugby Football Union (JRFU)’s Performance Enhancement Committee (“競技力向上委員会・コーチ部門”) revamped their “jrfu-coach.net” coaching resource website. Developed with intentions of enhancing connections between the governing body and Japan’s community based rugby coaches, this website exists to provide information regarding coach education and qualifications offered by the JRFU (JRFU, 2010).

The JRFU outlines the four objectives for their coach development website. These are;

1) to provide information in order to strengthen the consistency of coaching structures

2) to aid in improving quality of coaches

3) to stimulate dissemination of rugby, and

4) to manage a database of qualified persons

(JRFU, 2010)

The first three of these objectives are undertaken to some degree by regular updates to a news-feed concerning upcoming ‘open seminars’. Seminars are focused on a range of coaching considerations such as mental training and team management, and at times, suggest alignment to pedagogies akin to those adapted by the New Zealand ‘All Blacks’ (JRFU, 2010). Additionally, seminars are available for a range of coaching levels.
and abilities, target the instruction of various ages and skill levels, and provide guidance on topics from training menu composition to ground management (JRFU, 2010).

Further investigation into the content of seminars shows themes such as the differences between ‘teaching’ and ‘coaching’, in addition to instruction methodology are also addressed. The specific nature of the pedagogies covered to this end is not clarified, however pedagogies that develop ‘decision making players’ are mentioned at times as an underlying thesis (JRFU, 2010).

The JRFU’s coaching website provides a non-complicated access point for Japanese speaking rugby coaches to retrieve information about services available to them, which are facilitated by either provincial federations or the governing body.

**JRFU Coaching Qualification Structure**

In line with the JRFU’s aforementioned objective of ‘improving quality of coaches’ (JRFU, 2010), the Performance Enhancement Division of the JRFU, tasked with both improving the quality and abilities of Japanese rugby coaches and placement of qualified coaches into affiliated clubs and teams, have implemented a coach qualification system closely aligned to that of the IRB.

With the desire to disseminate an interest for rugby on an increasingly wider scale, it is through their coach education structure that the JRFU wish to;

1) build the foundations for [good performance at] the Rugby World Cup
2) enhance coaching abilities and the overall number of coaches
3) facilitate the discovery of talented new coaches and revitalise [the abilities of] existing coaches
4) improve awareness of risk management (JRFU, 2010)

Divided into four specific qualification categories, the JRFU coach education
and qualification structure is investigated and summarized in the following text. This section will indicate the areas of coach education that are prioritised at each level, and the emphasis, if any, placed on pedagogy.

**New Start Coach (Shin sutaato kouchi)**

The New Start Coach Qualification acts as an introductory course to coaching, and addresses the knowledge and skills considered necessary for rugby coaches. The JRFU focuses this entry level course on developing the following:

- An understanding of, and ability to implement the JRFU guidelines of Rugby Coaching
- The ability to coach with a focus on safety
- The fundamental ability to create and implement a focused training program

The content of this entry level qualification is akin to the RugbyReady (see International Rugby Board [IRB], 2014) initiative. This course acts as the mandatory ‘stepping stone’ for Japanese rugby coaches to progress from in this qualification structure.

**Coach Development Qualification (Ikusei kouchi shikaku)**

The Coach Development Qualification focuses on knowledge and skills considered necessary for the development and instruction of beginners, both children and adults, in rugby. It is stated that this course is conferred in conjunction with the Japan Amateur Sports Association (JASA) ‘Level 1 Instructor’ qualification (see JASA, 2013) and the IRB’s ‘Level 1 Coaching’ course (see IRB, n.d.).
Each 30 hour course is conducted by provincial unions up to four times per year. It is intended that course participants will attain the knowledge required to provide instruction that will assist the dissemination of rugby and development of beginners and children during their physical growth (JRFU, 2010). To this end, expansion of fundamental knowledge required by rugby educators and the ability to analyse and convey information, are the predominant objectives for graduates (JRFU, 2010).

**Skills and Performance Coach Qualification (Kyouka kouchi shikaku)**

The Skills and Performance Coach Qualification focuses on knowledge and proficiencies considered necessary to coach for enhanced performance to a broad spectrum of rugby players (JRFU, 2010). This 40 hour course is run in conjunction with the Japan Amateur Sports Association’s ‘Coach Qualification’ (JRFU, 2010: see JASA, 2013), and content is influenced by the IRB ‘Level 2 Coaching’ (see IRB, 2013a), and the IRB ‘Coaching Sevens' course (see IRB, 2013c).

Courses are conducted by the JRFU once per year, and admission is granted upon completion of the New Start Coach Qualification. Applicants are required to have a recommendation or letter of support from their provincial federation, or acceptance granted from the JRFU, before entrance is approved (JRFU, 2010).

Participants are expected to acquire the skills necessary to deliver performance focused instruction to promising players, and course curriculum encourages ongoing research into education processes for the purpose of player development. Primarily, development of the knowledge, communication skills and analysis abilities of a specialist rugby instructor is the focus of this qualification.
**Top Team Coach Qualification (Toppu chiimu kouchi shikaku)**

The ‘Top Team Coach’ qualification focuses on knowledge and skills considered necessary for coaching players at a national or top league team level. This qualification is a requirement for coaches of Top League coaches.

Applicants for this JRFU run course must first complete the New Start Coach Qualification, and be nominated by the JRFU High Performance division to gain entry. Course content is said to cover items such as game planning, communication, and coach management/meeting requirements (JRFU, 2010), and is influenced by the IRB Coaching Level 3 course content (see IRB, 2013b).
Requirements for graduates of this course are stricter than the other qualifications offered, as each person must attend one JRFU lead ‘brush-up course’ per year (see below), or the qualification will be invalidated. The JRFU (2010) states that if a Top Team qualified coach loses his/her position as a National team or Top League team coach, their qualification will be suspended until employment in such a position is obtained. During the time of suspension, the coach must still attend JRFU led brush-up courses once yearly, in order to maintain validity of their qualification.

Figure 2:
The structure of coach qualification options available to JRFU coaches in addition to the focus of each on a continuum.

Adapted and translated from www.jrfu-coach.net (JRFU, 2010).
**Advocated pedagogies within the JRFU coaching qualification structure**

The type of pedagogies advocated within the JRFU coach qualification structure were not readily available on the www.jrfu-coach.net website or other publically available resource at the time of writing. However, a conversation conducted with the JRFU Director of Coaching, Ryuji Nakatake in December, 2013, did reveal that the pedagogies encouraged to coaches during these courses were becoming increasingly learner centred.

Nakatake explained the role of an initiative labelled the ‘Resource Coach’ committee. Consisting of a handpicked selection of coaches from high performing clubs and schools, and joined by the several Japanese coaches trained by the IRB as ‘Coach Trainers’ for the purpose of being course instructors, the discussion and trialling of various pedagogies in the coaching environment are used to add to or amended the JRFU coach curriculum. When pressed for specific pedagogies and models used in the process of JRFU coach education, a specific pedagogy was not mentioned. However, Nakatake pointed out the underlying motif of the coach development movement was; “the development of an player who could think for him/herself, discover a solution by him/herself, and thus continue to develop” (Ryuji Nakatake, personal communication, December, 2013).

**NZR Coaching Pathways**

The NZR identifies coach education as a critical area of focus for the future of New Zealand rugby. As such, in addition to the introduction of Regional Coach Development Manager roles in October 2008 as part of the revamped coaching strategy, a substantial range of coaching resources has also been made available to community and
youth rugby coaches. By way of an online service and certified coaching courses, these resources act to ensure that both coaches and officials have the necessary materials and training for the continued growth and development of New Zealand rugby players (NZRU, 2007; 2008; 2009).

Referred to as ‘Coaching Pathways’ (NZRU, 2007), development opportunities for coaches of school children through to club level, in addition to provincial and professional level rugby is introduced on the “nzrugy.co.nz” website. Courses are facilitated by Provincial Union Rugby Development Officers (RDOs), a part of the Community Rugby Plan (CRP), are aimed at meeting the requirements of coaches at each level of the game (NZRU, 2007).

The NZR targets coach education for all ages of rugby participation; however a review of all courses cannot be covered succinctly here. Therefore, mindful of compulsory NZR Small Blacks accreditation courses (including Beginning Rugby Course for Under 6 – Under 7 coaches, Learning Rugby Course for Under 8 – Under 10 coaches, and Playing Rugby Course for Under 11 – Under 13 coaches), only coach education relating to U13-U18 age groups will be summarised in the following sections.

**Rugby Smart**

Regardless of the pathway a coach follows, the NZR RugbySmart safety course is a compulsory requirement for all coaches of U14 grade and above each year. As illustrated throughout the remainder of this section, this requirement demonstrates a prominent focus of the NZR on safety. RugbySmart is equivalent to the IRB coaching level 1 (Auckland Rugby Union, n.d.).

Based on ACC SportSmart, a 10-point action plan for prevention of sports injury, the RugbySmart initiative focuses its course content on improving knowledge and
safety in the key danger areas of the tackle, concussions from impact, and the scrum (NZR, 2014). Rugby Smart targets the enhancement of team performance by ensuring that coaches have the necessary knowledge and skills to prepare players physically and technically in order to avoid injury where possible (NZR, 2014).

**Teenage Coaching Course**

With a focus on developing basic knowledge of the game for coaches of teenage age grades, the Teenage Coaching Course offers coaches the skills for coaching rugby and ensuring players gain skills and enjoyment (NZRU, 2007). The practical element of the course requires coach participants to be able to apply a range of skills, so that they may be successfully conveyed and thus employed by the players (NZRU, 2007).

Specifically, the content covered in the Teenage Coaching course is separated into the four areas of:

1) Game knowledge – which covers the Principles of Play

2) Teaching skills – covering the two topics of Skill Analysis and Coaching a skill

3) How to run an effective practice – addressing the three topics of The warm-up and cool-down, Individual skills, and Unit skills

4) RugbySmart

(NZRU, 2007)

**Developing Rugby Coaches**

The NZR’s Developing Rugby Coaches course is a series of practical and technical workshops that cover modules designed to develop rugby knowledge and ‘best
practice’ methods regarding how to apply that knowledge in the rugby coaching environment (ARFU, 2014).

Run in a series of 1-2 hour modules, these courses are conducted for attendance by; Club coaches; Secondary school coaches; Senior club coaches; Provincial age-grade coaches; National age grade coaches (U17, U19, U21); Provincial senior coaches; Rebel Sport Super 14 coaches; and All Blacks coaches. Courses are facilitated by Provincial Unions if accredited to do so, or alternatively by Regional Coach development staff, either as a series sessions or over a weekend (NZRU, 2007).

To complete a Developing Rugby Coaching Course and therefore be accredited with International Rugby Board ‘Level 2 Coaching’ (IRB, n.d.), coaches must attend all modules from the ‘Rugby Knowledge’ component of the course:

- Principles of Play
- Skill analysis and the coaching of skills
- Scrums
- Lineouts
- Attack
- Defence
- Continuity
- Counter Attack
- Kick starts and re-starts

(NZRU, 2007)

Additionally, coaches must also attend all modules from the ‘Coaching Process’ component of the course:

- The Role of the Coach (including Team Profiling)
• Session and season planning
• Developing the Coaching Process
• Communication (Feedback; Questioning; Listening)
• Player Physical Growth and Development
• The Review Process

(NZRU, 2007)

Further, accreditation at this level requires coaches to complete a minimum of 50 hours coaching with a team whilst maintaining a comprehensive log book of all sessions and matches, complete and submit a written assignment, pass an open book Laws Test, and undergo at least two observations by an assessor who will assess the coach’s performance against a set of prescribed competencies. If the assessor deems that the coach is consistently demonstrating the specified knowledge and skills accreditation be conferred (NZRU, 2007).

Advanced Coaching Course

With a focus on a more specific set of skills for the acquisition of developing a higher level of knowledge in coaches, the Advanced Coaching Course is recommended for First XV secondary school coaches; Senior club coaches; Provincial senior coaches; Provincial and national age-grade coaches; Rebel Sport Super 14 coaches; and All Blacks coaches (NZRU, 2007).

This course is conducted over approximately 32 hours, wherein the following areas are covered:

• functional role analysis
• team selection
• establishing an effective team culture
The Advanced Coaching Course is equivalent to the International Rugby Board’s ‘Coaches Level 3 – Analysis and preparation for coaches’ (IRB, 2013b). Successful graduates at this level of certification must attend and participate in all modules; achieve of 80% in open book tests; achieve of two satisfactory practical assessments; submit a coaching diary for a season; present a seasons plan for a team; and attend an IRB Level 2 Officials course (IRB, 2013b).

Prior to gaining entrance into this course, coaches are required to be nominated by their Provincial Union, in addition to being certified to Coaches Level 2 (NZRU, 2007).

**Advocated pedagogies within the NZFU coaching qualification structure**

Course content and coaching manuals from these workshops, obtained from the NZR for review in this research, indicate that player centred pedagogies are advocated – utilizing a game sense/teaching games for understanding (TGfU) model, and effective questioning methods (NZRU, 2007).
Appendix 2:
The ‘Sport Basic Plan’

A further perspective on the role of sport in Japan for a broad spectrum of participants is provided in MEXT’s ‘Sport Basic Plan’ (MEXT, 2012). With the intention of addressing community and school participation, in addition to professionalism and sport for the disabled and the elderly, this document was developed with the purpose of fulfilling the goals set within the Basic Act on Sport (MEXT, 2012).

Key principles for the promotion of sport in Japan over a 10 year period are outlined, in addition to a set of measures to be implemented until 2017 (MEXT, 2012). MEXT further outlines its latest position on the role of sport in Japan as a means to emphasize a “society where all people can enjoy a happy and fulfilled life through sport” (MEXT, 2012, p 1).

The roles of sport in society have been offered by MEXT as the following:

a) A society in which the youth grow up soundly and value cooperation with other people, fairness and discipline

b) A society that ensures a long life replete with health and vigour

c) A vigorous and united society in which residents are deeply bound by active cooperation among themselves

d) An economically developed and vigorous society where citizens are proud of their nation

e) A nation which contributes to peace and goodwill, and is trusted and respected by the international community

(MEXT, 2012, p 1).

The ‘Sport Basic Plan’ asserts that sport encompasses the ability to produce
positive feelings such as satisfaction and joy, while playing a key role in the diverse facets of human life including fostering youth development, revitalizing communities, retaining mental and physical health, and generating social and economic vitality (MEXT, 2012).

While mention is made about the importance of teacher and coach education in order to achieve the outlined objectives, no indication as to the pedagogies recommended to this end are offered. However, this document gives an indication to the stance MEXT has taken regarding sport in the wider community, with focus on the benefits of participation in sport such as enhanced quality of life for oneself and the community.
Appendix 3:
Ethical Approval

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE
Secretary, Lynda Griffen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2012/46

14 May 2012

Blake Bennett
School of Sciences & Physical Education
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Blake

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal “A comparative study of the intentions and perceptions of pedagogies used in New Zealand and Japanese U13-U18 rugby coaching practices” has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 12 May 2012.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

Michael Grimshaw
Chair
University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee
Appendix 4:  
Participant Consent Forms

Telephone: +64 22 426 2248  
Email: blake.bennett@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

17th August 2012

Consent Form for Coaches

Re: The Coach’s Intent and the Athlete’s Perception – A comparative study of the intentions and perceptions of pedagogies used in Japanese and New Zealand U13-U18 rugby coaching practices

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have been given an opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what will be required of me if I agree to take part in this project.

I understand that any interviews will be audio-taped.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any stage without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify me.

I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities at the University of Canterbury and will be destroyed after 10 years.

I understand that I will receive a report on the findings of this study. I have provided my email details below for this.

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Blake Bennett. If I have any complaints, I can contact Garry Hornby, Ian Culpan, or the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Full name: ____________________

Signature: ____________________

Date: ____________________

Email address: ____________________

Please return this completed consent form and questionnaire to Blake Bennett in the envelope provided by 24th August, 2012.
Consent Form for Athletes

Re: The Coach’s Intent and the Athlete’s Perception – A comparative study of the intentions and perceptions of coaching methods used in Japanese and New Zealand U13-U18 rugby coaching practices

I have read the information sheet and understand what will be required of me if I participate in this project.

I understand that any interviews will be audio-taped.

I have read the information letter and understand that all information collected will only be accessed by the researcher and that it will be kept confidential and secure.

I understand that neither I, nor my school/club, will be identified in any presentations or publications that draw on this research.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and I may choose to withdraw at any time without penalty.

I understand that I can receive a report on the findings of the study. I have written my email address below for the report to be sent to.

I understand that I can get more information about this project from the researcher, and that I can contact the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee if I have any complaints about the research.

I agree to participate in this research. (And if under the age of 16, my parents have also given consent on this consent form).

I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Blake Bennett. If I have any complaints, I can contact Garry Hornby, Ian Culpan, or the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Full name (player): ___________________________________

Signature: __________________________

Name of legal guardian if participant is under 16 years old:

______________________________________________

Signature of legal guardian if participant is under 16 years old: __________________

Date: __________________________

Email address (optional): ________________________________________

Please return this consent form in the sealed envelope to your coach, who will keep it confidential and kindly send it to Blake Bennett in the envelope provided by 24th August, 2012.
帯電話: 090-9289-5574
Eメール: blake@lifecyclist.co.nz

高校ラグビー指導法に対する指導者の意思、そして選手の感覚
～日本とニュージーランドの高校ラグビー比較研究～

個人情報の取扱いに関する同意書（コーチ用）

私（提供者）は、本研究に関わる下記の条件に同意します。

- 私は、この研究の目的を充分な説明を与えられています。質問もしくは意見のある場合、
  連絡先を与えられています。
- このアンケート調査における調査結果の利用目的を理解しています。
- 私が提供するインタビュー内容を記録・保管されることに同意します。
- 本研究における調査への協力は、私の意志で取りやめることができます。（調査への協力
  を中止した場合、研究者が個人情報を破棄します。）
- 調査に協力した際に提供された個人情報を研究者が適切に管理し、これ以外の目的には利
  用しないことに同意します。
- 本研究のために収集されたデータはカンタベリー大学に約10年間保管された後、破棄され
  ることに同意します。
- 私は、本研究における要約報告書を請求し、意見がある場合は研究者に連絡することがで
  きます。

個人情報を上記のとおり取り扱うことに同意します。

名前: ________________________________
Eメール: ________________________________
高校ラグビー指導法に対する指導者の意思、そして選手の感覚
〜 日本とニュージーランドの高校ラグビー比較研究 〜

個人情報の取扱いに関する同意書（選手用）

私（提供者）は、本研究に関わる下記の条件に同意します。

- 私は、この研究の目的を充分な説明を与えられています。質問もしくは意見のある場合、連絡先を与えられています。
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- 調査に協力した際に提供された個人情報を研究者が適切に管理し、これ以外の目的には利用しないことに同意します。
- 本研究のために収集されたデータはカンタベリー大学に約10年間保管された後、破棄されることに同意します。
- 私は、本研究における要約報告書を請求し、意見がある場合は研究者に連絡することができます。

個人情報を上記のとおり取り扱うことに同意します。

名前: ___________________________________
Eメール: ________________________________
Appendix 5:
Question Prompts for Conversations with Coaches

Date: ___________________________ Time: ___________________________
Coach name: _______________________________________________________
Player(s) of coach: _________________________________________________
School: ___________________________________________________________

• What are the sorts of things you hope that your players learn from their rugby experience?

• Why are these things important to you?

• What are some of the ways you attempt to help players to learn these things?

• Can you describe what kind of coach you are/how you coach?

• What do you consider to be the major influences on your coaching (What would you consider are the historical, social and cultural influences on your coaching)?
Appendix 6:
Question Prompts for Conversations with Players

Date: ___________________________ Time: ___________________________
Coach name: ______________________________________________________
Player(s) of coach: ________________________________________________
School: __________________________________________________________________

• What are the sorts of things you think you learn from rugby?

• Why are these things important?

• Are these things your coach puts emphasis on?/ What do you think your coach puts emphasis on?

• Can you talk a little bit about your coach? What kind of coach he is; how he coaches, etc.?

• Can you talk about your rugby training sessions a little bit? What are the types of things you do in practice?