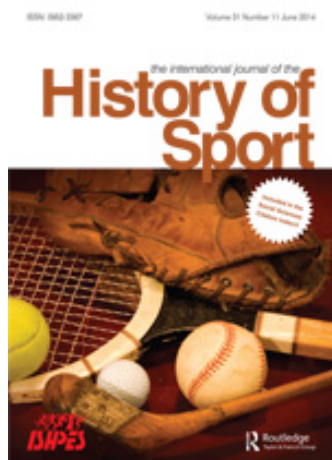


This article was downloaded by: [Yoko Kanemasu]

On: 19 July 2014, At: 05:02

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



The International Journal of the History of Sport

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fhsp20>

Life after Rugby: Issues of Being an 'Ex' in Fiji Rugby

Yoko Kanemasu^a & Gyoza Molnar^b

^a School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts, Law and Education, University of the South Pacific, Fiji

^b Institute of Sport & Exercise Science, University of Worcester, England, UK

Published online: 13 Jun 2014.

To cite this article: Yoko Kanemasu & Gyoza Molnar (2014) Life after Rugby: Issues of Being an 'Ex' in Fiji Rugby, The International Journal of the History of Sport, 31:11, 1389-1405, DOI: [10.1080/09523367.2014.924927](https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2014.924927)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2014.924927>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Life after Rugby: Issues of Being an ‘Ex’ in Fiji Rugby

Yoko Kanemasu^{a*} and Gyozo Molnar^b

^a*School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts, Law and Education, University of the South Pacific, Fiji;*

^b*Institute of Sport & Exercise Science, University of Worcester, England, UK*

Rugby has given Fiji international recognition and reputation. Not only is rugby a source of national pride but it has also become a valuable export, with an estimated 500 Fijian players currently in foreign leagues in, for instance, New Zealand, Australia, France, England and Japan. The economic and sociocultural gains from rugby migration are often considerable, and consequently, many players in Fiji aspire to secure foreign club contracts as their personal and professional goal. However, little is known about the realities and challenges of the players’ lives after their active playing career, the burden of which falls largely upon informal, community-/family-based support networks. Such informal structures are increasingly under strain especially in urban areas and, faced with a lack of formal structural support mechanisms, many retired athletes experience a number of socio-economic and emotional problems. Some negotiate their post-rugby life successfully, while many struggle with becoming and being an ‘ex’. Based on semi-structured interviews, the present paper explores these athletes’ experiences of ‘life after rugby’ and illuminates the local and international neoliberal power dynamics that intersects Fiji rugby.

Keywords: rugby; Fiji; post-athletic career; neoliberalism; informal social protection

Athletic career termination and its processes, causes and consequences have been widely discussed in the existing literature.¹ For the last three decades or so, ‘the sport science community has demonstrated a growing interest in conceptualising the sports career termination process’.² Thus, there have been a range of reasons identified as to why an athlete might drop out of sport or his/her career might be terminated. These reasons are gender, age group and level of involvement dependent but could include both normative and non-normative events,³ such as lack of social support, autocratic coaching style⁴, deselection, injury and ageing.⁵ The potential consequences of leaving sport have also been explored, including economic difficulties, loss of self-esteem, marital breakdown and substance abuse.⁶ Moreover, the process of overcoming and dealing with transitions in (post-sport) life has been widely scrutinised.⁷

Scholarly attention, however, has chiefly been focused on the troubles of agency in out-of-sport-transition regarding Western student-athletes⁸ and elite athletes.⁹ Butt and Molnar observed that there is little academic attention given to the structural reasons behind athletic career termination.¹⁰ In addition, although there is an expanding body of literature investigating the power imbalances in international athletic labour trade through which many foreign athletes are recruited and when ‘used up’ their career terminated,¹¹ so far there has been limited concern given to personal troubles and structural issues of non-Western returnee ex-athletes in their country of origin. In other words, even though

*Corresponding author. Email: yoko.kanemasu@usp.ac.fj

previous studies have extensively explored pre-migratory¹² and in-migration¹³ issues, we know little about the career termination experiences of non-Western migrant players who plied their trade in Western leagues and subsequently retired to their homeland. Nor do we know much about non-Western athletes who entered into the feeder system of professional sport, but failed or had their sporting career prematurely terminated.

Accordingly, while the struggles of ‘disposable heroes’ of the Western sporting world have been highlighted, little academic attention has been paid to the realities of ex-rugby players in developing societies. This is particularly evident by the absence of research in Fiji and other Pacific island rugby-playing nations (such as Samoa and Tonga), commonly associated with ‘utopian myths’ and ‘romantic visions of palms and beaches, an apparently easy life and a pleasant climate – a place where poverty does not quite exist’.¹⁴ Consequently, in this paper, we aim to unpack the romanticised image of Fiji and explore specific aspects of this scientific lacuna by introducing some of the key personal and structural issues of becoming and being an ex-rugby player in Fiji. Our main aim is to contribute to our understanding of the realities of ‘life after rugby’ in Fiji. We believe that scholarly inquiry into this area is urgently required for two reasons: the apparent gap in the literature and the far-reaching sociocultural/socio-economic and personal challenges returnee athletes tend to face in the context of developing countries such as Fiji.

Rugby in Fiji

Fiji has one of the highest player–population ratios among the rugby union playing nations,¹⁵ with nearly 50% of the indigenous male population reportedly playing the sport.¹⁶ The national rugby sevens side is among the most successful in the world, having won the prestigious Hong Kong Sevens tournament 14 times and the International Rugby Board (IRB) Sevens World Cup twice. Such prominence is widely associated by the local populations with a sense of national pride and aspirations.¹⁷ For indigenous Fijians, the sport also has multifaceted cultural significance; it has over the years become intertwined with the indigenous way of life and tradition, and today represents unique, indigenised meanings and values.¹⁸

Since the professionalisation of the game, Fiji’s elite players have been in high demand among professional metropolitan clubs, making them a valuable labour export and a source of remittances (i.e. money sent home by emigrants). Existing statistics suggest that up to 500 Fijian players are currently professionally contracted in foreign leagues,¹⁹ their collective remittances amounting to £6.54 million (F\$18.54 million) in 2006²⁰ – approximately 11% of the total workers’ remittances in that year. Consequently, the ‘rugby dream’ of ‘leaving Fiji to play in the professional rugby competitions’²¹ attracts countless Fijian men. Given its elevated social status and the global success of Fijian players, rugby has developed into a prominent career option for Fijian men.

In contrast to such sociocultural prominence and glamour-laden social perception of Fiji rugby, little is known about the realities and challenges of the athletes’ lives after their active playing career: there is virtually a complete absence of public discourse, relevant academic literature or official documentation. The common image of (especially prominent) rugby players in the popular mind is one of high social status, physical prowess and mastery of athletic skills, which perhaps diverts attention away from their retirement.

However, the realities of ‘life after rugby’ in a developing country can be rife with challenges and difficulties. Fiji is an island nation historically dependent on tourism, sugar production (detrimentally affected by currently phased-out preferential trade with the European Union) and remittances from emigrants and seasonal/contracted workers.²² The

economy has struggled due to long periods of political instability (four *coups d'état* since 1987), weak exports and geopolitical marginalisation. The country's Human Development Index has declined dramatically over the years and was 96th (out of 187 countries) in 2012.²³ Forty-two per cent of Fiji's labour force, struggling to secure formal employment, works in the informal sector (predominantly home-based activities, e.g. carpentry, bakery, hair dressing, binding and printing, tailoring and mechanical works²⁴). As much as 35% of the population (40% in rural areas) is estimated to live in poverty.²⁵ In short, Fiji is on the global 'periphery' and has taken a decidedly subordinate position in its politico-economic relationship with 'metropolitan/core' countries.²⁶

In terms of rugby, there exists a vast disparity between the institutional and socio-economic structures shaping the sport in Fiji and in the core countries. Fiji's peripheral politico-economic position limits the organisational capacity of the Fiji Rugby Union (FRU) and the life chances of athletes, making the negotiation of their sport and post-sport life extremely challenging. That is, while Fiji has become a key talent-supplier in international rugby,²⁷ athletes and their families bear much of the burden of both player development and career termination. Here, we explore this often-overlooked, less glamorous side of the sport by illuminating ex-athletes' experiences of *life after rugby* and related structural circumstances. The key research questions driving our inquiry are as follows:

- In what ways do ex-rugby players experience *life after rugby*?
- What structural and cultural factors shape ex-rugby players' *lives after rugby*?

We will address these questions with both empirical/practical and analytical objectives in mind, to illuminate areas of concern in the existing local and global rugby systems with regard to the welfare of Fijian athletes; and to shed light upon the local and international power dynamics and structures that intersect Fiji rugby.

Method

We adopted a qualitative approach that prioritises the lived experiences and voices of participants, through which we seek to explore the structural forces that mediate individual lives. As Butt and Molnar observed, 'life histories . . . give rich evidence about impersonal and collective processes as well as about subjectivity'.²⁸ Thus, our aim is to arrive at a rich, in-depth understanding of the ways in which such structural forces are experienced, interpreted and negotiated by athletes. The primary data for this study were collected between March 2012 and June 2013 through 16 semi-structured interviews with 12 former rugby players and 4 key rugby stakeholders in Fiji, recruited via the snowball sampling method. Six of the former athletes had played on professional club contracts outside Fiji (henceforth 'international players') and six had sought but never secured a foreign club contract and only played in Fiji (henceforth 'domestic players'). Of the six former international players, two had a professional career for more than 10 years, three did so for 3–9 years and one for less than 1 year. None of them settled overseas permanently. Given the qualitative nature of our research, it should be noted that the aim of this study is not to achieve a statistically accurate/generalisable description or explanation, but to capture the complex and ever-changing dynamics of individual athletes' voices and experiences through an interpretive approach. The interviews were recorded with the participants' permission. The interview data were subsequently transcribed and put to thematic coding guided by the research questions and triangular consensus.²⁹ Interview data will be presented in intended paragraphs or in inverted commas depending on the length of quotations.

In the following sections, we unfold the economic and sociocultural significance of a professional rugby career that prompts Fijian athletes' dedication to and sacrifice for the sport, followed by an examination of the structural context within which they pursue this goal. We then explore the realities of their *life after rugby*, highlighting some of the key circumstances and challenges experienced by former international and domestic players. Emerging from their stories is the essential role played by informal cultural support mechanisms in sustaining athletes both in pursuit of professional contracts and following the end of their playing career. We examine the importance and the possible decline of such support mechanisms, which currently fill the gaps left by the structures of professional rugby. Finally, on the basis of these findings, we argue for the need for formal support mechanisms for current and former rugby players.

'Every Kid's Dream': Rugby Aspirations of Fijian Youths

Since its introduction in Fiji, rugby has become closely connected with indigenous cultural heritage. Sanctioned by its long history of association with the traditional chiefly system, rugby has been regarded as a modern embodiment of the indigenous ideals of masculinity, martial tradition and Christian spirituality, among other things.³⁰ Beyond these indigenous cultural underpinnings, rugby is also invested with broader sentiments of national pride and aspirations. The interim Prime Minister, Commodore Voreqe Bainimarama, has been quoted describing it as 'a sport that touches all communities and goes to the very heart of this nation'.³¹ Participating and, more importantly, attaining international prominence in rugby is therefore not just an individual or family matter in Fiji; as explained by a former professional player, it is an achievement 'for me as a person but not only that, for my family, my people, for Fiji as a whole'. Indeed, a distinguished rugby career assumes an aspect of a service/duty to the nation and, thus, rugby 'is not just a game; it's promoting your country'.

Young Fijian men are therefore almost invariably expected to play and excel in rugby. As an interviewee expressed, 'When I grew up, my dad every day kept telling me "Play rugby to be someone in your life." In villages, every dad tells his son [this] ...'. According to another participant, 'If you are good at rugby, people respect you. It's like you are a chief of rugby. ... In Fiji, if you ... get to the national level, you are really well known ... You are a god.' Since the professionalisation of the game, these aspirations have become associated with professional rugby migration.³² Given the success and the growing number of elite players contracted by professional metropolitan clubs, particularly in New Zealand, Australia, France, England and Japan, rugby has rapidly become one of the few labour migration avenues available to indigenous Fijian men, along with overseas military deployment and private security services. In a society where 35% of the population lives in poverty, the economic rewards offered by metropolitan rugby clubs are perceived to be extremely lucrative. According to the FRU, Fijian players contracted to top-tier clubs can earn up to £380,000 (F\$1.1 million) per year,³³ while rugby in Fiji is a largely non-professional sport offering no monetary rewards other than small payments made to the national (and some provincial) squad members during camps and tours. Given the average indigenous Fijian household income of F\$10,559 per year,³⁴ the money earned from foreign club contracts has both individual and community-wide significance, as it can sustain the athletes themselves and their immediate families, along with benefiting (directly and/or indirectly) their extended families and communities (i.e. villages). Hence, those who secure overseas contracts are held in high esteem in their communities and wider society. One participant explained:

In Fiji, once you go overseas, everything is okay for your family back home ... So for anyone in Fiji, to get a contract ... overseas is to become a household name. People will always talk about your family.

The contemporary 'rugby dream' in Fiji is therefore directly tied to having an overseas contract. While 'everyone's childhood dream is to represent Fiji', the structural circumstances of the players' lives and the sport in Fiji dictate that the sociocultural prestige of the game has to be matched with economic benefits for themselves and their kin. Our interviewees explained that their career goal had always been to *both* represent Fiji and to secure a professional contract. For some, selection into the national team was primarily a pathway to becoming part of migratory talent pipelines. As a coach/trainer explained, 'Every kid, when you talk to them, the only thing they tell you is, "I need to get a contract." "I need to go overseas." ... Every kid's dream.'

Although it may appear ill-advised for young players to focus all their time and energy on 'going professional', many see foreign contracts as a real opportunity rather than a distant dream. First, the odds of success may not be as unrealistic as one might assume: while accurate statistical information is unavailable, the total registered player population of 23,000 and approximately 500 professional players suggest that an estimated 2.2% (1 out of every 45) of serious players can achieve their dream. It should be noted that this is likely to be a conservative estimate, since many migrant athletes, especially 'a huge number of Fijians playing at lower levels but using rugby as their primary source of income', are currently not traced or recorded.³⁵ Fijian rugby players thus have a considerably higher probability of 'making it' than, for instance, the high-school-to-pro odds of 0.03% for basketball and 0.08% for American football in the USA.³⁶ Second, many of our interviewees had friends, relatives and acquaintances who had indeed achieved their 'rugby dream'. National newspapers abound with stories of young players securing lucrative foreign contracts. Combined with the absence of comparable – or any – employment opportunities, professional rugby represents a challenging yet achievable aim. Therefore, from the standpoint of (especially socio-economically deprived) young men who see no immediate alternative, the pursuit of the 'rugby dream' is not necessarily a 'misguided'³⁷ endeavour. It is rather a conscious choice based on rational judgement of their life chances under the existing socio-economic circumstances. An interviewee aptly puts this in context:

I'm one of the people in Lautoka [the second largest city of Fiji] who watch rugby, the first game to the last. And I see the amount of talent we have. Sometimes I go back home and pray and ask the Lord, 'How come we've got so much talent, but we don't ... [have material resources]. After rugby, what do we have?'

Pursuit of and Sacrifice for the 'Rugby Dream'

Consequently, as our interviewees noted, the pursuit of a professional career becomes many athletes' sole focus, dominating their lives and requiring their utmost dedication. A coach/trainer explained:

One thing I tell the boys is 'If you go overseas, your talent buys you a house, a car, clothes, and buys you food.' When I train the boys, I tell them, 'If you miss a minute of training, you grow old by a minute, if you miss an hour, you grow old by an hour, if you miss a day, you grow old by a day. So while you still have it, you make use of it.'

In their earnest and sometimes desperate pursuit, aspiring players sacrifice many things, often including formal education. Many serious players exit the education system without completing secondary schooling, in some cases after Form 4 (Year 10) or earlier, to

dedicate more time to rugby. Of our ex-athlete interviewees, only one had a university degree, and one forsook his university scholarship in order to take up an overseas contract. Most of the others never completed secondary school education, which appears to be the norm and even encouraged by some families and teachers. According to an ex-domestic player who left school after Form 5 (Year 11):

My Form teacher said, 'You shouldn't be in school; you should just go and play rugby.' Because my school work wasn't good. I was in the papers [for prominent rugby performance]. So the teacher said 'Just go. You might get something out of it.'

A majority of these players are also unemployed and sustained by their immediate or extended families, whose financial and moral support enables their training; although a few are employed in the Police, the Army and the Navy or in the construction industry. For these unemployed athletes, playing rugby is their primary daily engagement, with securing a professional career being their single aim in life:

I guess it's my bread-and-butter thing. I left studies early and started playing rugby. They told me that you have to get a test debut for Fiji, then you could get a contract. I applied, I applied, and I applied. I was hoping that one day I would get a contract.

Such determination by the players and their families is also documented by Guinness, who observes that families support aspiring players by drawing on their stretched resources 'in the hope of the "rugby dream" . . .'.³⁸ Many players lack the resources even to meet basic needs such as bus fare to reach the training ground; yet, they walk several miles to the venue every day. Most are not covered by medical insurance and pay their own medical expenses at times of injury or cope with insufficient (or no) medical attention/treatment. Aspiring players (and families) thus strive to develop their athletic skills/talent at a considerable material and physical cost. An interviewee explained: 'it [rugby] is serious business, because the end game is the overseas contract'.

During this process of player development, athletes are largely unsupported by rugby bodies or other institutions until and unless they reach elite level. There is an absence of consistent institutional career development support for current players, except for the guidance offered by local clubs, coaches and individual mentors such as older players, ex-players, and family and friends (which many interviewees cited as their primary source of support). In the words of a participant: 'There is nothing [provided] in Fiji. You have to find your own way!' Unlike the metropolitan, first-tier unions that are able to draw on considerable corporate sponsorships and private revenues, the FRU struggles to secure sufficient sponsorships and IRB/government grants for survival, and has faced a series of financial/governance issues over the past decades. It has also grappled with local (in-house), national and international politics, which has impacted negatively on its operations. The FRU has consequently been unable to sufficiently assist, monitor or guide grass-roots player development. It provides only limited educational support via the Elite Player Academy (which consisted of 30 senior-player and 10 junior-player scholarships in 2011)³⁹ and little or no livelihood support (except for the allowances paid to the national team/Academy players), career guidance/counselling, vocational training or medical insurance (except in the case of the national team/Academy players) – i.e. what may be considered part of the essential responsibilities of rugby bodies in the core countries (see Figure 1).⁴⁰ While the many thousands who never reach the elite level in Fiji fall completely outside of the limited central support system, even elite players who attain national/international prominence receive little assistance in planning/managing their career. The stakeholders' attitude, according to one former international player, is: 'Good luck. It's a cruel world out there.'



Figure 1. Cover picture of Narsey's *To Level the Playing Fields*.

Many players thus devote all their time and energy – and thereby sacrificing education, vocational training, employment and standard of living – to their rugby-focused quest, with little or no institutional support along the way. One of the key consequences of this type of player development is that many players are left without employable skills/qualification or essential knowledge/skills relating to financial management, health and safety, or career development, which impacts critically on their own career management and post-career livelihood capacities. It is on the basis of such high level of sacrifice of masses of athletes that Fiji produces its outstanding elite players.

Living the Rugby Dream?: Realities of 'Life after Rugby'

As the existing statistics show, only some of the aspiring athletes achieve the 'rugby dream' and the rest never do. The end of career comes to both groups, however, by way of injury, contract termination, dropping out, etc., and our interview data suggest that both groups struggle to cope with their post-rugby life. The FRU holds no consistent records of or contact with former players, and no form of support currently exists. An ex-player explained this: 'Their [FRU's] concern is right now and the future of Fiji rugby. ... For those people who have finished rugby, it's really just them [ex-players]. Nobody else is going to help them.' So what happens to former domestic and international players in Fiji?

Our interview data show that there are four main employment options for ex-players: (1) farming, (2) Police/Army/Navy/Prisons employment (in the case of prominent domestic/international players), (3) self-employment (in the case of international players who invested their rugby income) and (4) other, non-rugby related employment (especially if the player is educated/skilled); or they become unemployed. It is important to note that some ex-players develop financially and professionally rewarding second careers and identities as coaches, trainers and (most commonly, taxi or property management) business owners. Some also cultivate fulfilling careers in the armed/correctional forces. Those with educational/vocational/professional skills and qualifications

and those who attained international prominence are best placed for these second-career paths. However, there are also a large number of ex-players who struggle to establish a second career/identity or even to make a living.

For former domestic players who never attained a professional career, their post-rugby options are usually limited to farming, alternative (often unskilled and minimum wage) work and unemployment. The most common choice is farming: ex-players struggle to sustain themselves and return to farming in their villages. Unemployment is not uncommon particularly among those who suffered major injury or are without livelihood skills or formal qualifications. Interviewees spoke of fellow players whose career had been abruptly ended by a major injury without any form of insurance protection and were facing long-term unemployment.

Furthermore, while a successful rugby career brings a great amount of prestige, an 'unsuccessful' one is often associated with shame and failure:

It's seen as a failure ... Because they see you go training and don't get any outcomes ... People abuse them: 'Just a waste of time' ... I've seen it ... There are a lot of good players, but not all go up to [the professional level]. People say 'You are not good enough.' 'We're tired of seeing you'.

This could cause ex-players a deep sense of embarrassment and shame, which, for those living in urban areas, often motivates them to move to the village:

Most of my friends went back to the village ... not to be embarrassed ... Just imagine what it feels like. You were struggling all your life to reach that [professional career], and you never made it. How would you feel? ... They don't want to face the embarrassment.

Ex-domestic players thus encounter not only extremely bleak employment prospects but also often humiliation and loss of face – that is, a serious damage to their social integrity and, in some cases, sense of masculinity. The stakes of the 'rugby dream' are high, but the consequences of *failure* are often grave and unforgiving.

By comparison, more employment options are open to former international players, yet they may also face difficult 'post-rugby dream' realities. Returning to farming in the home village appears to be a common choice in this group as well. An ex-international rugby star explained: 'Because I was brought up in the village, and I don't have a good education background, when I finished rugby, the first thing that came to my mind was "Just go back to the village."' Some who enjoyed international fame today work as security guards, bartenders or in other unskilled, low-paid jobs. Indeed, due to the lack of career/finance management skills, major injury and/or generous redistribution of rugby earnings among kin and in communities, even some former international stars find themselves without an income or employment. An interviewee described one such ex-player: 'One of the world's best wingers. Played for six years at the highest level ... Now he's got nothing.' With no formal support or advice available and their only trade lost for good, some face severe difficulties. One former rugby icon shared his telling story:

After I came back to Fiji, I looked for a job and I could not find any. I was famous in Fiji. Everybody in Fiji knows me, but [there was no job] ... That's why I'm staying home. Sometimes, I'm ... thinking about when I represented my country and [that] the Fiji Rugby Union cannot help us. Starting from then, till now, you [the first author] are the first person to come home. You're the first one to ask me [how I am coping]. That's about 16 years or 20 years. I look at my family, trying to buy dalo [Fiji's staple food] or cassava. I try to buy them but can't ... That's why I'm praying to God, for him to one day give me a job to help me.

Such economic hardships are often compounded by emotional difficulties. One interviewee recounted a major on-field injury that had changed his career prospects:

You are lying down and you think. 'Rugby is all I know. There's nothing else. I can't go and find a good job because I didn't finish my education.' That's the sad thing about it ... I would get all these ideas while I was lying down injured, thinking about all that.

For both domestic and international players, such difficulties at times escalate into serious physical, emotional and mental health problems, including depression, drug, alcohol, *kava*⁴¹ abuse and marital/relationship crises:

Most people I know find it [end of career] very difficult. Some become a burden. Some people get involved in what I did, drugs and everything.

A lot of people are very badly affected [by career termination]. I know of one player who almost had a nervous breakdown ... All the money and everything, he geared to this [his career] ... At the end of that, he didn't get what he wanted. He was ... devastated. That's just one. There are quite a few others. And it affects them. Definitely ... deeply.

The foregoing commentary suggests that both professional and non-professional ex-players encounter a range of challenges in reinventing their careers, identities and lives, and sometimes even in simply sustaining themselves, financially, emotionally and socially. In their struggles they have no access to the formal social protection system in Fiji, which, as in many other peripheral societies, is grossly inadequate. Fiji has a particularly low 'Social Protection Index value',⁴² even among the Pacific island countries, with only 22% of the target population covered by social protection programmes.⁴³ There exist no state unemployment benefits or adequate state (or private) employment agency services. Ex-players, with no systematic support from the rugby stakeholders or the state, are left to their own devices, with only informal cultural safety nets to turn to in coping with post-career challenges.

Significance and Decline of Cultural Support Mechanisms

Our data show that in most cases, families and communities constitute one of the critical sources of support for ex-players and bear the brunt of sustaining ex-athletes financially and emotionally. Here, we briefly discuss the roles of kin-based systems of social and economic cooperation and cultural obligations among indigenous Fijians. Reciprocal exchange of goods and services anchored in communal values has historically underpinned cultural practices in Fiji and other Pacific island societies.⁴⁴ Today, in the absence of adequate state-established social protection systems, Fijians continue to rely on informal social protection provided through extended families, kinship and communities.⁴⁵ According to Narsey's survey, 95% of unemployed indigenous Fijians receive support from their immediate family, relatives and/or friends, whereas 0% cited state welfare as a source of support.⁴⁶ Given limited financial, physical and human capital assets, social capital 'such as, social networks/ ties, and community/household relationships',⁴⁷ plays a crucial role in reducing the vulnerability of the poor and unemployed.

In rugby, families play a vital role in financially and emotionally sustaining athletes during both their development and the post-career stages. Beyond the kin-based social protection system, formerly prominent athletes also have access to symbolic, if not financial, capital offered by wider communities, which may give them a sense of reward and fulfilment. Rugby's privileged status in Fiji warrants that those who attained national/international success continue to command high social standing and prestige not only in their local community but also nationally, regardless of their present professional or financial circumstances. One of the interviewees described:

He works as a security guard at [a supermarket]. I was there the other day, and somebody went up to him and shook his hand and said 'I saw you on TV.' He still commands respect. Rugby holds a special place in people's hearts, you know.

Another participant explained:

There's always respect [for well-known ex-players], big-time respect. I think rugby players are respected more than chiefs and politicians in this country. People have more time for them. People believe the rugby player. When he says 'I'm gonna go and play for my country,' they're all like, 'Yeah, you are.'

Some community members offer gifts to former rugby stars in token of their appreciation of what is regarded as an important service to the nation. Two participants expressed:

By the government and by the FRU, it [the reward for athletic achievements]'s nothing. But by the people! The people are always good. When I go to the market or something, they say, 'This is for you.' 'Come and have juice or a pineapple.'

If you make it up there [national/international level], if you make a name for yourself, even if you are no longer playing, when you are walking on the road, taxis will stop and tell you to hop in, give you a free ride.

However, as Mohanty notes, such 'safety nets' of family and community relations are under increasing pressure today and showing signs of weakening as a result of:

... many factors such as a fast growing cash economy, urbanisation, rural–urban migration, rapid population change, growing poverty and increasing hardships due to economic crises and frequent natural disasters. The majority of people are under constant fear of losing their livelihoods due to economic crises, and are unable to meet social obligations.⁴⁸

Thus, the family/community that has long borne the burden of player development/retirement may not be able to fulfil this role to the same extent in the future. There are 'cracks in the wall'. The beginning of a cultural shift may be already weakening the local safety net on which Fiji rugby has long relied. Indeed, the previous quotes suggest that the safety nets no longer function effectively in some urban areas and that its consequences can be tragic.

Fiji's 'Disposable Heroes' in Local/Global Structures

The key issue that has emerged in this study is that the success of Fiji rugby rests on the sacrifice of many uninsured, unpaid and centrally unsupported athletes who develop their athletic skills at their own cost and deal with the consequences of their *life after rugby* on their own. Formal rugby bodies and structures engage with (selected) athletes almost only at the prime of their career and have little to no involvement at grass-roots level and post-prime stages. The FRU relies on the informal support mechanism for the development of local talent for its successful international performance and is also entitled to compensation for the training/development of its registered athletes moving to overseas clubs.⁴⁹ However, the Union is unable to invest consistently in the sustainable development of rugby talent or to fulfil its (ethical, if not legal) obligation of care towards retiring athletes.

Moreover, professional metropolitan clubs, systematically procuring Fijian talent in pursuit of professional and commercial interests driven by corporate logic, make no investment in or contribution towards local player development other than the compensation paid to the FRU for migrant athletes. In line with the IRB guidelines/regulations, professionally contracted players in metropolitan countries receive medical and welfare services through their host clubs, unions and/or players' associations. They may also be encouraged to access social insurance schemes and educational/vocational

training opportunities. However, beyond providing such support for contractually employed athletes, metropolitan clubs/unions do not recompense the local rugby community – i.e. grass-roots players as well as their families and communities who finance and facilitate their athletic development – upon which they rely for sourcing athletic talent. Securing highly skilled players is a major prerequisite for the commercial success of these clubs that depend on generating high revenues. In this context, Fijian rugby players represent low-investment–high-return athletic capital, since much of the necessary financial as well as human investment and social insurance is provided by the local communities.

Our interviewees expressed their frustration at what they considered the ‘use and abuse’ of local athletic labour:

Let’s be frank. Players have been used as a revenue generating source. They just know you when you are at your best. It’s a sad story.

When their time is over, they are treated just like old clothes. You just use new clothes, and old clothes, you throw them away. That is the way they [rugby clubs and unions] are treating rugby players.

Because there are a lot of players in Fiji, they [the FRU] just use us – like tools. Like, if you are not eligible, get another [player]. And most of the players are not well educated. So their welfare is not good. [In] Most of the overseas teams, players have [University] degrees and all, so they know their rights. It’s a major setback for local players.

Fijian rugby players’ pursuit of the ‘rugby dream’ is thus embedded in both national and global structures of athlete exploitation. Individual athletes, families and communities, who produce some of the finest athletic labour coveted by the national union and metropolitan clubs/unions, do so at a considerable and sometimes incommensurable cost. Some individuals, families and communities do receive returns from their investment; yet, the vast majority only contribute to the creation of a highly competitive sporting environment and a rugby-centred lifestyle and culture conducive to the production of elite athletic talent, themselves never making it to the top. They also constitute a ‘reserve army of athletes’,⁵⁰ which enables the continued lack of institutional attention or support for (both professional and non-professional) athletes who can be ‘replaced by another athlete if they become injured, fail or too controversial for the administrators of their code’.⁵¹ The result of this process is that, when national/international rugby is done with them, both professional and non-professional players are left to their own devices to reinvent their lives and to earn a living, and many families and communities today struggle to continue to bear the weight of this ‘rugby dream’.

The situation of Fijian rugby players presents a typical example of the consequences of the neoliberalisation of sport. Since its professionalisation, rugby has become one of ‘elite, organised, competitive, commercial sports’ that revolve around ‘free markets, political deregulation and privatisation, individual self-interest, and inequality as the foundation for progress and all forms of development’.⁵² These principles necessitate the privatisation of risk and responsibility, which are assumed ultimately by individual athletes in most Western societies, with some welfare support from their clubs/unions/players’ associations and (albeit declining) state welfare provision. In societies like Fiji that rely on an alternative cultural support mechanism, such risks and responsibility are transferred almost entirely to kin and community groups. While the underlying principles are the same in all societies penetrated by commercial sports and hence the athlete exploitation discussed here is far from unique, the case of Fiji and other peripheral societies that supply elite rugby labour is significant for at least three reasons.

First, it is not only individual athletes but also larger communities that are integrated into, and indeed subsidise, the existing professional rugby system by absorbing risks incurred by non-selection, injury, etc., and by bearing (almost all) the cost of elite player production. This means that a substantial part of the population in Fiji subsidises commercial rugby by absorbing the deficits of the rugby 'muscle trade'.⁵³ Second, with the collective safety-net mechanism weakening as a result of intensifying globalising influences, the (especially material) well-being of the former, current and future athletes faces bleak prospects. In the event of further disintegration of the informal support system, athletes in these peripheral societies, without recourse to formal social protection, would arguably suffer even greater material deprivation and consequential psychological distress. Third, the athletes and their communities are subjected to a *double structure of unequal exchange*. While the exploitation of peripheral athletic labour by the 'global athletic system' has attracted considerable scholarly attention,⁵⁴ our interviewees' accounts call equal attention to the internal, national sport structures. Although those may not be driven to the same extent by the corporate capitalist imperatives of metropolitan clubs, they too capitalise on the athletes' self-sacrifice and community support in response to the pressures from the 'competitive reward structures'⁵⁵ of the international rugby system and the corporate world that distribute resources according to performance hierarchy, competition and market values. Connor notes: the 'exploitation of the athlete does not need to be a result of the individual, calculated activities of a single actor within sport'; it is rather a manifestation of the 'consumer focused, capital driven, spectacularised, corporatised and marketed sport'.⁵⁶ Our data demonstrate that professional rugby exemplifies such power dynamics of sport neoliberalisation, which, compounded by the historical, politico-economic inequity between core/metropolitan and peripheral societies, renders the 'rugby dream' a highly onerous and consequential pursuit for many thousands of athletes and families in Fiji.

Conclusions

In this paper, we have explored the realities of Fijian ex-rugby players' lives. Drawing on the lived experiences and voices of former players, we have presented an in-depth account of Fijian rugby players' pursuit of the 'rugby dream' and their 'post-rugby dream' realities. To appreciate the motivation for their devotion to and sacrifice for the goal of attaining a professional club contract, we have examined the immense sociocultural prestige and economic rewards associated with a professional rugby career in Fiji. We have also noted that the athletes' decision to pursue this goal is based on a rational assessment of their own life chances and the structural conditions of Fiji. With few livelihood options available to them, aspiring rugby players make conscious and focused efforts to secure an overseas contract, receiving little or no formal support or guidance from rugby (or any other) bodies. In so doing, many forsake formal education, vocational training and employment to devote themselves to rugby, while they are sustained by their immediate/extended families. At the end of this process, many are left without livelihood skills, formal qualification or knowledge relating to finance management, health and safety or career development.

That is, *life after rugby* is challenging and offers limited employment options for ex-players in Fiji. While farming appears to be a popular choice, unemployment is not uncommon among both former international and domestic athletes. Indeed, former athletes often face grave difficulties, with even some former international stars struggling to find work or are in unskilled and low-paid jobs. In addition, ex-players face emotional

difficulties. Former domestic players in particular face the risk of societal humiliation and loss of face.⁵⁷ The prestige associated with the 'rugby dream' is a double-edged sword in that it gives successful players continuing respect from their communities long after their career is over, but creates a deep sense of embarrassment and shame for those who fail to make it. The economic and emotional difficulties in some cases escalate into serious physical, emotional and mental health problems.

In their struggles, ex-players have no access to formal support or guidance from the rugby stakeholders or the state. The resource-strapped state welfare system is grossly inadequate and virtually no social security services are available to them. Alternatively, ex-players' (immediate and extended) families and communities play a vital role as one of the few and critical sources of support. The significance of such informal support based on social and economic cooperation is enormous. In the absence of formal social protection, it has shouldered the economic and emotional costs of *life after rugby*. However, as indicated, this informal support mechanism is beginning to erode especially in urban areas, and there is evidence that some athletes are already facing severe difficulties as a result.

Fijian rugby players' *lives after rugby* exemplifies the consequences of the neoliberalisation of sport. Professional rugby operates according to the principles of free markets, deregulation, privatisation and individualism, among other things, and in the case of Fiji (and possibly other Pacific island countries) transfers risks and deficits of the 'muscle trade' to individual athletes, their families and larger communities. By making little or no investment in player development and no social protection provision, rugby bodies – both national and international – engage in unequal exchange with the local communities who absorb these costs and thereby subsidise the operation of commercial rugby. The struggles of ex-players and their families are the end product of the inequity inherent in both commercial sport and the core–periphery relations.

Consequently, it would seem pertinent to establish formal, centrally driven support structures to complement and relieve the informal ones. The rationale for this is two-fold. First, in light of the predicted erosion of the traditional cultural support system, continued success of Fiji rugby requires that athletes are provided with adequate centralised professional and livelihood support. Second, currently the costs of player development/retirement in Fiji are incurred by individual athletes, families and communities. However, it should not be the community who 'picks up the tab' of player development/retirement; the FRU and especially metropolitan professional clubs, who benefit the most from Fiji's talent development, should share these expenses. This should include the implementation of the following: education strategy for registered players, regular career counselling for registered players and for primary and secondary school players, the establishment of a database of former registered players and their current socio-economic conditions and a formal social protection scheme for current/former players. The establishment of such formal support structures would be a first step towards greater equity in the international rugby system.

Notes on Contributors

Yoko Kanemasu is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology who specialises in teaching social theory at the University of the South Pacific, Fiji. Her research interests include the sociology of sport, politics of representation, tourism, identity and rural development.

Gyozo Molnar is Senior Lecturer in Sport Studies in the Institute of Sport and Exercise Science at Worcester University (UK). His current publications and research revolve around migration, globalisation, national identity, the Olympics and sport-related role exit.

Notes

1. For example, see: Coakley, "Leaving Competitive Sport"; Lavallee, "The Effect of a Life"; Wippert and Wippert, "Perceived Stress and Prevalence"; and Butt and Molnar, "Involuntary Career Termination."
2. Cecič Erpič, Wylleman and Zupančič, "The Effect of Athletic," 46.
3. Wippet and Wippet, "The Effects."
4. Gill, Gross and Huddleston, "Participation Motivation."
5. Taylor and Ogilvie, "A Conceptual Model of Adaptation."
6. Rosenberg, "Athletic Retirement as Social Death," Lerch, "Athletic Retirement as Social Death"; Curtis and Ennis, "Negative Consequences of Leaving"; and Butt and Molnar, "Involuntary Career Termination."
7. For an overview of relevant conceptual models, see Taylor and Ogilvie, "A Conceptual Model of Adaptation."
8. Acaín, *Revenue Sharing*; and Beamon, "Used Goods"; "I'm a Baller."
9. Warriner and Lavallee, "The Retirement Experiences"; and Connor, "The Athlete as Widget."
10. Butt and Molnar, "Involuntary Career Termination."
11. Poli, "Football Players' Migration"; "Africans' Status"; Connor and Griffin, "The Muscle Trade"; and Darby, "Out of Africa."
12. Molnar and Maguire, "Hungarian Footballers on the Move."
13. Maguire and Falcous, *Sport and Migration*.
14. Bryant-Tokalau, "Twenty Years On," 196, 212. See also Horton, "Pacific Islanders in Global Rugby."
15. FRU, "The Fiji Rugby Union."
16. Guinness, "The Rugby Dream."
17. Kanemasu and Molnar, "Collective Identity"; "Pride of the People."
18. Kanemasu and Molnar, "Problematizing the Dominant"; Presterudstuen, "The Mimicry of Men"; and Schieder, "Rugby in Fiji."
19. Gallagher, "About Rugby"; and Pacific Islands News Association, "Fiji Rugby Union Reaffirms."
20. Gallagher, "About Rugby."
21. Guinness, "The Rugby Dream," 13.
22. Hayward-Jones, "Fiji 'Celebrates' Independence."
23. United Nations Development Programme, "Fiji, Country Profile."
24. Mohanty, "Squatters, Vulnerability and Adaptability."
25. Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, *Fiji Facts and Figures*.
26. Wallerstein, *Introduction to World-Systems Analysis*.
27. Kanemasu and Molnar, "Collective Identity."
28. Butt and Molnar, "Involuntary Career Termination," 246.
29. Ibid.
30. Kanemasu and Molnar, "Problematizing the Dominant."
31. Njororai, "Challenges of Being a Black."
32. Guinness, "The Rugby Dream"; and Kanemasu and Molnar, "Collective Identity."
33. Fiji Sun, "Rugby Exports Contributes."
34. Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, *Fiji Facts and Figures*.
35. See note 20 above.
36. National Collegiate Athletic Association, "Estimated Probability."
37. Njororai, "Challenges of Being a Black," 43.
38. Guinness, "The Rugby Dream," 79.
39. FRU, *Annual Report 2011*.
40. To put this into a global perspective, the English Rugby Football Union, for instance, spent £13.8 million (F\$41.4 million) on elite rugby and £15 million (F\$45.1 million) on community rugby in 2012 (Rugby Football Union, *2012 Annual Report*), and the Australian Rugby Union allocated A\$11.6 million (F\$20.3 million) for community rugby and A\$30.5 million (F\$53.4 million) for high performance/national team in 2010 (Australian Rugby Union, *Annual Report 2010*).
41. *Kava* (or *yaqona*) refers to the plant *Piper methysticum* and the drink made from it, which traditionally has ceremonial/spiritual significance and is today also consumed for social and recreational purposes.

42. Baulch, Weber and Wood, *Social Protection Index*.
43. Mohanty, "Informal Social Protection."
44. See, for example, Sahlins, *Moala – Culture and Nature*.
45. Mohanty, "Informal Social Protection"; and Ratuva, "Traditional Social Protection Systems."
46. Narsey, *Report on the 2004 – 2005 Employment*.
47. Mohanty, "Squatters, Vulnerability and Adaptability," 9.
48. Mohanty, "Informal Social Protection," 50.
49. IRB Regulation 4.7.
50. Connor, "The Athlete as Widget," 1371.
51. *Ibid.*, 1374.
52. Coakley, "Ideology Doesn't Just Happen," 68–9.
53. Connor and Griffin, "The Muscle Trade."
54. Bale and Sang, *Kenyan Running*; also see Andreff, "Sport in Developing Countries"; Bale, *The Brawn Drain*; Connor and Griffin, "The Muscle Trade"; and Horton, "Pacific Islanders in Global Rugby."
55. Coakley, "Ideology Doesn't Just Happen," 69.
56. Connor, "The Athlete as Widget," 1374–5.
57. On 'social death', see Rosenberg, "Athletic Retirement as Social Death."

References

- Acain, Michael P. "Revenue Sharing: A Simple Cure for the Exploitation of College Athletes." *Loyola of Los Angeles Entertainment Law Journal* 18, no. 2/3 (1998): 306–359.
- Andreff, Wladimir. "Sport in Developing Countries." In *Handbook on the Economics of Sport*, edited by Wladimir Andreff, and Stefan Szymanski, 308–315. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006.
- Bale, John. *The Brawn Drain: Foreign Student-Athletes in American Universities*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
- Bale, John, and Joe Sang. *Kenyan Running: Movement Culture, Geography and Global Change*. London: Frank Cass, 1996.
- Baulch, Bob, Axel Weber, and Joe Wood. *Social Protection Index for Committed Poverty Reduction*, Vol. 2. Manila: Asia Development Bank, 2008.
- Beamon, Krystal K. "'I'm a Baller': Athletic Identity Foreclosure among African-American Former Student-Athletes." *Journal of African American studies* 16, no. 2 (2012): 195–208.
- Beamon, Krystal K. "Used Goods: African-American Student-Athletes Perception of Exploitation by Division I Universities." *The Journal of Negro Education* 77, no. 4 (2008): 352–364.
- Bryant-Tokalau, Jenny. "Twenty Years On: Poverty and Hardship in Urban Fiji." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 168, no. 2–3 (2012): 195–218.
- Butt, Joanne, and Gyoza Molnar. "Involuntary Career Termination in Sport: A Case Study of the Process of Structurally Induced Failure." *Sport in Society* 12, no. 2 (2009): 240–257.
- Cecić Erpič, S., P. Wylleman, and M. Zupančič. "The Effect of Athletic and Non-Athletic Factors on the Sports Career Termination Process." *Psychology of Sport and Exercise* 5, no. 1 (2004): 45–59.
- Coakley, Jay. "Ideology Doesn't Just Happen: Sports and Neoliberalism." *ALESDE Revista* 1, no. 1 (2011): 67–84.
- Coakley, Jay. "Leaving Competitive Sport: Retirement or Rebirth?" *Quest* 35, no. 1 (1983): 1–11.
- Connor, James M. "The Athlete as Widget: How Exploitation Explains Elite Sport." *Sport in Society* 12, no. 10 (2009): 1369–1377.
- Connor, James M., and Amy L. Griffin. "The Muscle Trade: International Track and Field Athlete Mobility, Colonialism and Development." The Australian Sociological Association Annual Conference, ANU, Canberra, December 1–4, 2009.
- Curtis, James, and Richard Ennis. "Negative Consequences of Leaving Competitive Sport? Comparative Findings for Former Elite-Level Hockey Players." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5, no. 2 (1988): 87–106.
- Darby, Paul. "Out of Africa: The Exodus of Elite African Football Talent to Europe." In *Sport and Migration*, edited by Joseph Maguire, and Mark Falcous, 245–258. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics. *Fiji Facts and Figures as at 1 July 2010*. Suva: Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, 2010.

- Fiji Sun*. "Rugby Exports Contributes to Economy." February 16, 2011. Accessed December 14, 2012. <http://www.fijisun.com.fj/2011/02/16/rugby-exports-contributes-to-economy/>
- FRU. *Annual Report 2011*. Suva, Fiji, n.d.
- FRU. 2011. "The Fiji Rugby Union." Accessed October 23, 2011. <http://www.fijirugby.com/pages.cfm/about-union/>
- Gallagher, Brendan. "About Rugby: Fijians Tackle World." *The Telegraph*, October 26, 2006. Accessed September 22, 2011. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/columnists/brendangallagher/2348916/About-rugby-Fijians-tackle-world.html>
- Gill, Diane L., John B. Gross, and Sharon Huddleston. "Participation Motivation in Youth Sport." *International Journal of Sport Psychology* 14, no. 1 (1983): 1–14.
- Guinness, Daniel R. "The Rugby Dream: Fijian Masculinity, Communitality and Migration." MPhil diss., University of Oxford n.d.
- Hayward-Jones, Jenny. "Fiji 'Celebrates' Independence." *The Interpreter*, October 12, 2010. Accessed January 15, 2013. <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2010/10/12/Fiji-celebrates-independence.aspx>
- Horton, Peter. "Pacific Islanders in Global Rugby: The Changing Current of Sport Migration." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 17 (2012): 2388–2404.
- Kanemasu, Yoko, and Gyozo Molnar. "Collective Identity and Contested Allegiance: A Case of Migrant Professional Fijian Rugby Players." *Sport in Society* 16, no. 7 (2013): 863–882.
- Kanemasu, Yoko, and Gyozo Molnar. "Pride of the People: Fijian Rugby Labour Migration and Collective Identity." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 48, no. 6 (2013): 720–735.
- Kanemasu, Yoko, and Gyozo Molnar. "Problematizing the Dominant: The Emergence of Alternative Cultural Voices in Fiji Rugby." *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science* 2, no. 1 (2013): 14–30.
- Lavallee, David. "The Effect of a Life Development Intervention on Sport Career Transition Adjustment." *The Sport Psychologists* 19 (2005): 193–202.
- Lerch, Stephen. "Athletic Retirement as Social Death: An Overview." In *Sport and the Sociological Imagination*, edited by Nancy Theberge, and Peter Donnelly, 259–272. Dallas: Texas University Press, 1984.
- Maguire, Joseph, and Mark Falcois, eds. *Sport and Migration*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Mohanty, Manoranjan. "Informal Social Protection and Social Development in Pacific Island Countries." *Asia-Pacific Development Journal* 18, no. 2 (2011): 25–56.
- Mohanty, Manoranjan. "Squatters, Vulnerability and Adaptability of Urban Poor in a Small Island Developing State: The Context of Fiji Islands." Paper presented at the International Geographical Union Conference, Brisbane, Australia July 3–7, 2006.
- Molnar, Gyozo, and Joseph Maguire. "Hungarian Footballers on the Move: Issues of and Observations on the First Migratory Phase." *Sport in Society* 11, no. 1 (2008): 74–89.
- Narsey, Wadan. *Report on the 2004 – 2005 Employment and Unemployment Survey*. Suva: Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, 2007.
- Narsey, Wadan. *To Level the Playing Fields: Developing Our Small People*. Suva: Vanuavou, 2004.
- National Collegiate Athletic Association. 2012. "Estimated Probability of Competing in Athletics Beyond the High School Interscholastic Level." Accessed January 17, 2013. <http://www.ncaa.org/wps/wcm/connect/public/NCAA/pdfs/2011/2011+Probability+of+Going+Pro>
- Njororai, Wycliffe W. S. "Challenges of Being a Black Student Athlete on U.S. College Campuses." *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics* 5 (2012): 40–63.
- Pacific Islands News Association. 2011. "Fiji Rugby Union Reaffirms Stand on RWC 2011 Duties." Accessed November 15, 2011. <http://www.pina.com.fj/index.php?p=pacnews&m=read&o=20335287304d113633075db9f8a6c2>
- Poli, Raffaele. "Africans' Status in the European Football Players' Labour Market." *Soccer and Society* 7, no. 2–3 (2006): 278–291.
- Poli, Raffaele. "Football Players' Migration in Europe: A Geo-Economic Approach to Africans' Mobility." In *The Bountiful Game? Football Identities and Finances*, edited by Jonathan Magee, Alan Bairner, and Alan Tomlinson, 217–232. Oxford: Meyer & Meyer, 2005.
- Presterudstuen, Geir H. "The Mimicry of Men: Rugby and Masculinities in Post-Colonial Fiji." *The Global Studies Journal* 3, no. 2 (2010): 237–247.
- Ratuva, Sitiveni. "Traditional Social Protection Systems in the Pacific-Culture, Customs and Safety Nets." In *Social Protection of All Men and Women: A Sourcebook for Extending Social Security Coverage in Fiji: Options and Plans*, edited by ILO, 101–121. Suva: ILO, 2006.

- Rosenberg, Edwin. "Athletic Retirement as Social Death: Concepts and Perspectives." In *Sport and the Sociological Imagination*, edited by Nancy Theberge, and Peter Donnelly, 245–258. Dallas: Texas University Press, 1984.
- Sahlins, Marshall D. *Moala – Culture and Nature on a Fijian Island*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.
- Schieder, Dominik. "Rugby in Fiji: Unifying and Dividing a Multi-Cultural Society." *Pacific News* 37 (January/February 2012): 23–28.
- Taylor, Jim, and Bruce C. Ogilvie. "A Conceptual Model of Adaptation to Retirement among Athletes." *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology* 6 (1994): 1–20.
- United Nations Development Programme. 2013. "Fiji, Country Profile: Human Development Indicators." Accessed January 11, 2013. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/FJI.html>
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Introduction to World-Systems Analysis*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Warriner, Katie, and David Lavallee. "The Retirement Experiences of Elite Female Gymnasts: Self Identity and the Physical Self." *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology* 20, no. 3 (2008): 301–317.
- Wippert, Pia-Maria, and Jens Wippert. "The Effects of Involuntary Athletic Career Termination on Psychological Distress." *Journal of Clinical Sport Psychology* 4 (2010): 133–149.
- Wippert, Pia-Maria, and Jens Wippert. "Perceived Stress and Prevalence of Traumatic Stress Symptoms Following Athletic Career Termination." *Journal of Clinical Sport Psychology* 2 (2008): 1–16.