

A Call for a Level Playing Field
A Study of Masculinity 1999–2000

Submitted by
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STATEMENT OF SOURCES

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics/Safety Committees (where required).

Greer White

ABSTRACT

The impetus of this study was a concern for the education and general welfare of boys. The interest in boys' education has grown notably over the past ten years. This interest is evident in media reports, popular psychology texts, education reports and scholarly writing. Academic research on boys' experience of education is less prolific although it does include studies conducted by Australian and international researchers. Central to this commentary on boys' education is the concept of masculinity. Here there is a strong claim that boys' academic performance and behaviour is influenced by the way they construct and live out masculine expressions.

This research study is situated in a Catholic secondary school for boys (referred to as the College) and seeks to illumine the school experiences of students at the school. As school Counsellor I noted that some boys were displaying a lack of motivation for learning, resisted independent thinking and seemed to be opposed to authority. These characteristics, in turn, contributed to diminished academic performance and troublesome classroom behaviour. This observation raised issues in respect to the boys' perceptions of masculinity and the various expressions of masculinity within the school.

An analysis of historical and contemporary documents identified a mismatch between the stated vision and mission of the school and the structural organization it creates. This mismatch pointed to a critical gap between the stated purpose of its education and the social reality of boys' educational experience. This critical gap was particularly evident in the school's commitment to educating boys within a social justice framework. It seemed that investigation into the gender regime of the school and the implications this has for students was warranted.

A review of literature in respect to the concept of masculinity and boys' education served to further clarify the research problem and the purpose of this study. This review identified the various contemporary understandings of masculinity. It also explored the current debate about

what is happening to boys in education and provided an outline of particular elements of the social constructionist's understanding of collective masculinity expressions within a school setting. Commentary on how a school can configure its particular gender regime was of particular interest to this study.

This review identified three research questions to guide this study. These questions are:

Research Question 1: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?

Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?

Research Question 3: What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

This research study was informed by a pragmatic understanding of the epistemology of constructivism and the principles associated with the theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism. A two-stage research design of exploration and inspection was employed to aid data collection, analysis and interpretation. In the exploratory stage data was collected through a questionnaire to 255 of the 301 Year 12 cohort. These data were analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods and the results gave direction to the type of data needed in the second stage of the study, the stage of inspection. In the stage of inspection, data were obtained through two processes, one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions.

An analysis of data collected in the second stage of the study led to the identification of a number of key findings in the way boys understand masculinity and the school has organized its gender regime. These findings highlight the domination of playing sport and the subordination and marginalization of other masculine expressions. They also give evidence of the existence of a critical gap between the school's stated purpose based on Christian values, justice, holistic development, respect for the dignity of the individual, human striving and so on, and the reality it produces.

The study concludes by outlining a number of recommendations that suggest themselves for the future development of the College. It recommends that the school introduce a gender education programme for students, review the gender regime that supports playing sport as the dominant masculine expression, and provide structures and opportunity for other masculine expressions to

find approval and acceptance. Finally it is recommended that the vision that the school holds for the education of boys and its structural organization be open to scrutiny and exploration in order that what the school holds to be most important in the education of boys will be intentionally pursued.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
STATEMENT OF SOURCES	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
CHAPTER ONE The Research Defined	
1.1 Introduction to the Research	1
1.2 Identification of the Research Problem	1
1.3 Purpose of the Research	3
1.4 Research Questions	4
1.5 Design of the Research	5
1.6 The Researcher	6
1.7 The Research Site	7
1.8 Significance of the Research	9
1.9 Explanation of Terminology	11
1.10 Outline of the Thesis	13
CHAPTER TWO Context of Study	
2.1 Introduction	15
2.2 Traditional Vision	16
2.3 Reform Agenda	19
2.4 Education for a New Millennium	21
2.5 Conclusion	22
CHAPTER THREE Review of the Literature	
3.1 Introduction	24
3.2 Masculinity Theories	25
3.2.1 Masculinity – Biologically Determined	25
3.2.2 Masculinity – Psychological Development	29
3.2.3 Masculinity – Sex Role Socialisation	30
3.2.4 Masculinity – Social Construct	31
3.2.5 Summary	33
3.3 Boys Education Debate	33
3.3.1 Essentialist Discourse	34
3.3.2 Anti-Feminist Discourse	35
3.3.3 Social Construction Discourse	36
3.3.4 Pedagogical Discourse	40
3.3.5 Summary	42

3.4	The School and Masculinity	42
3.4.1	School Masculinities	43
3.4.2	Gender Regime	46
3.4.3	Summary	51
3.5	Conclusion	51
CHAPTER FOUR Design of Research		
4.1	Introduction	53
4.2	The Study in Relation to Social Inquiry	54
4.2.1	Symbolic Interactionism	57
4.3	Methodology	58
4.3.1	Case Study	59
4.3.2	Quantitative and Qualitative Methods	60
4.3.3	Research Design	61
4.3.4	Stage I – Stage of Exploration	62
4.3.5	Stage II – Stage of Inspection	68
4.4	Limitations of the Study	74
4.5	Issues of Validity	75
4.6	Ethical Considerations	78
4.7	Conclusion	80
CHAPTER FIVE Data Display Stage I – Stage of Exploration		
5.1	Introduction	81
5.2	Display of Quantitative Results of Questionnaire	82
5.2.1	Research Question One: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?	83
5.2.2	Research Question Two: What is the College’s gender regime?	86
5.2.3	Research Question Three: What are the implications for students of the College’s gender regime?	105
5.3	Display of Qualitative Results of Questionnaire	109
5.3.1	Research Question One: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?	110
5.3.2	Research Question Three: What are the implications for students of the College’s gender regime?	113
5.4	Conclusion and Stage II Direction	120
CHAPTER SIX Data Display Stage II – Stage of Inspection		
6.1	Introduction	124
6.2	Research Question One: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?	125
6.3	Research Question Two: What is the College’s gender regime?	129
6.3.1	The Ideal Man of the College	129
6.3.2	Structures and the College’s gender regime	132

6.4	Research Question Three: What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?	147
6.4.1	Great Pride in College Sporting Achievement	148
6.4.2	Inequitable Valuing and Treatment of Students	149
6.4.3	Lack of Acceptance of Some Masculine Expressions	151
6.4.4	Limited Academic Achievement of Students	155
6.5	Conclusion	155
CHAPTER SEVEN Discussion of Findings		
7.1	Introduction	157
7.2	Findings Research Question One	157
7.2.1	Masculinity – Traditional Understanding	158
7.2.2	Masculinity – Fuller Expression	161
7.3	Findings Research Question Two	163
7.3.1	College Gender Regime	163
7.3.2	Participants' Perceptions of College Masculinities	167
7.4	Findings Research Question Three	172
7.4.1	Narrow Definition of Masculinity	172
7.4.2	Policed Conformity in Masculine Expression	173
7.4.3	Lack of Equal Opportunity	175
7.4.4	Limited Academic Achievement	176
7.4.5	Heightened Status	177
7.5	Conclusion	179
CHAPTER EIGHT Review and Syntheses		
8.1	Purpose of the Research	181
8.2	Overview of Study	181
8.3	Research Questions Answered	184
8.3.1	First Research Question	184
8.3.2	Second Research Question	185
8.3.3	Third Research Question	186
8.4	Conclusions and Recommendations	188
8.5	Implications for Further Research	195
8.6	Concluding Remarks	196
REFERENCES		198

APPENDICES

	page
A College Mission Statement	218
B Extract from Policy on Bullying	219
C Edmund Rice Education	220
D Questionnaire	221
E Overview of Questionnaire	231
F Presentation of Questionnaire Data Not Displayed in Chapter 5 of Thesis	237
G Ethics Approval, Letters to Participants and Consent Forms	249
H Matrix of Responses: Participants' Understandings of Masculinity	257
I Matrix of responses: Participants' Perceptions of the College's Idealised Masculine Expressions	260
J Matrix of Responses: Participants' Perceptions of the College Curriculum	264
K Matrix of Responses: Participants' Perceptions of the College's Discipline Practices	270
L Matrix of Responses: Participants' Perceptions of the College's Sporting Programme	272
M Matrix of Responses: Implications for Students of College's Gender Regime	282

LIST OF TABLES

	page	
Table 3.1	Summary of Biological Theories of Masculinity	27
Table 3.2	Summary of Psychoanalytical Theories of Masculinity	30
Table 3.3	Summary of Sex Role Socialisation Theory of Masculinity	31
Table 3.4	Summary of Social Construction Theory of Masculinity	32
Table 3.5	Difficulties Boys Face: Summary of the Essentialist Discourse	35
Table 3.6	Difficulties Boys Face: Summary of the Anti-feminist Discourse	36
Table 3.7	Difficulties Boys Face: Summary of the Social Sonstruction Discourse	38
Table 3.8	Difficulties Boys Face: Summary of the Pedagogical Discourse	40
Table 4.1	Overview of Research Design	62
Table 4.2	Characteristics of Participants in Inspection Stage of Research	70
Table 5.1	Participants Characteristics with Student Numbers	83
Table 5.2	Factor Loadings of 34 Desirable and Undesirable Masculine Qualities on 13 Factors	85
Table 5.3	Factor Loadings of 17 Masculine Qualities that the College Holds to be Important on 8 Factors	87
Table 5.4	Factor Loadings of 7 Meanings of the Words “Men of the College” on 4 Factors	89
Table 5.5	Student Involvement in 29 Aspects of College Life Grouped into 5 Categories	90
Table 5.6	Percentage of Participants Involved in Different Sporting Activities	91
Table 5.7	Factor Loadings of 5 Ways the College Teaches Boys to be “Men of the College” on 2 Factors	91
Table 5.8	Factor Loadings of 9 Understandings of the Spirit of the College on 5 Factors	92
Table 5.9	Factor Loadings of 10 Essential Elements of College Life on 2 Factors	93
Table 5.10	Factor Loadings of 14 Appropriateness of Engaging in Activities at the College on 3 Factors	95
Table 5.11	Factor Loadings of 11 Heroes of the College on 5 Factors	99
Table 5.12	20 Significant Differences between Vocation Education Students and OP Students from Analysis of 57 Scores	101
Table 5.13	Five Significant Differences among Enrolment Status of Students from 57 Scores	102
Table 5.14	Mean Factor Scores for 5 Measures	102
Table 5.15	Six Significant Differences among Residential Regions from 57 Scores	103
Table 5.16	Mean Factor Scores on 3 Measures	104
Table 5.17	Mean Factor Scores on 4 Measures	104
Table 5.18	Factor Loadings of 9 Responses to How the College Values its Students on 2 Factors	107
Table 7.1	Participants’ Understanding of Masculinity Described in a 13 Factor Solution	158
Table 7.2	Participants’ Observations on Masculinity together with a Social Construction Analysis on these Observations	161
Table 7.3	Participants’ Understanding of Important and Approved Ways of being Masculine	168
Table 7.4	Participants’ Understanding of Masculinity Displayed beside the Masculine Qualities that the college Holds to be Important	173

LIST OF FIGURES

	page	
Figure 1.1	Dimensions of school life	12
Figure 3.1	Organisation of the literature review	25
Figure 4.1	Overview of questions used in the exploratory and inspection stages of the research and their relationship to the research questions	63
Figure 5.1	Overview of questions used in the exploratory stage of the research and their relationship to the research questions	82
Figure 5.2	Mean scores for how appropriate it is to engage in 14 activities at the College	88
Figure 5.3	Cluster Analysis of 18 College events that contribute to feeling “A Man of the College”	96
Figure 5.4	Mean score for societal influence on masculine development	98
Figure 5.5	Frequency responses to 8 levels of importance of being “One of the Men of the College”	105
Figure 5.6	Mean scores for how the College values its students	106
Figure 5.7	Mean Scores for how often different insults are used at the College	108
Figure 6.1	Overview of guiding questions used in the inspection stage of research and their relationship to the research questions	125

CHAPTER ONE THE RESEARCH DEFINED

1.1 Introduction to the Research

The impetus for this study is a pragmatic concern for the education and general welfare of boys. It focuses on the difficulties some boys have with schooling by exploring the relationship between their schooling experiences and the social reality of masculinity. Some boys display a lack of motivation for learning, a resistance to independent thinking and an opposition to authority that creates diminished academic performance and troublesome classroom behaviour. Boys' academic performance can suffer and their behaviour can be disruptive because of the ways they construct and live out masculine expressions. The study is situated in a Catholic secondary school for boys and seeks to illumine the school experiences of these boys. As such, this study holds the possibility of contributing to improving the education and general welfare for future students of the school and adding to the interest in what is happening for boys in education.

This introductory chapter provides a preamble to the thesis by considering several important areas. Initially the research problem is identified. The purpose of the research study is presented and the research questions that govern the study are displayed. Then the research design is outlined. There is an introduction to myself as a researcher and a description of the research site. The significance this research can claim is outlined and an explanation given of the terminology that is imperative to understanding the research study. Finally this section provides a chapter by chapter outline of the whole thesis.

1.2 Identification of Research Problem

In this study boys' education and general welfare are identified as problematic. Concern for the education and general welfare of boys has grown in Australia and in many other western societies. This concern can be situated historically as one part of a movement that has identified gender as an educational issue. This movement can be broadly described in three periods.

The first period can be identified from the late 19th century through to the 1970s. This period was concerned with establishing equality of educational access for all boys and girls. In Australia, each state had legislated for free and compulsory primary education for all children by the end of the first decade of the 20th century (Turney, 1983). In the period after World War I, opportunities to engage in post-primary and tertiary education were extended for both boys and girls (Lawry, 1972). Gender divisions governed the curriculum. A “narrowly conceived elementary curriculum” (Lawry, 1972, p. 14) based on the three Rs of reading, writing and arithmetic was supplemented with practical subjects for boys and girls such as cooking, woodwork, needlework, drill and gymnastics (Bessant, 1972). It was taken for granted reality that boys’ education was more important than girls’ education (Cohen, 1998; Mahony, 1998; C. Skelton, 2001) and that boys had a greater natural intelligence and potential than girls (Clarricoates, 1980; Cohen, 1998; Walden & Walkerdine, 1985).

The second period straddled the two decades of the 1970s and 1980s. In this period, gender was identified as an educational issue as a result of feminist exploration of girls’ education (Acker, 1994; Lown, 1995; Yates, 1993). The issues facing girls in education were framed around discourses of equal opportunity and educational disadvantage (Daws, 1997; Sampson, 1989). The first major Australian Government-sponsored report into girls’ education was the Commonwealth Schools Commission’s, *Girls, School and Society* (1975). This report claimed that traditional schooling operated to marginalise girls and privilege boys (Gill & Starr, 1999; Yates, 1993). Consequently, schooling structures and processes became the focus of critique and girls’ educational needs became the topic of education policy at both a Commonwealth and State level. By the 1980s, change was being implemented for girls but there emerged a more finely nuanced understanding of the power relations that existed between men and women and a clearer picture of the realities that girls faced within the school in terms of sexual harassment, racism and a masculine curriculum design (Gill & Starr, 1999; Kenway, 1990a; Yates, 1993).

The third period began in the 1990s and is marked by an interest in boys’ education. A strong debate has developed about the difficulties boys are facing and the solutions that can be implemented to address these difficulties. The debate is supported by a large commentary on the topic. This commentary includes media reports, (*Lack of role models*, 1999; Hussey, 2000; Jones & Grimm, 2000; Legge, 1995), popular psychology texts (Biddulph, 1994, 1997; Gurian, 1996, 1999, Kindlon & Thompson, 1999), education reports (Gender Equity Taskforce, 1997; Management Committee for the National School English Literacy Survey, 1997; NSW

Government Advisory Committee on Education, Training and Tourism, 1994), a Senate enquiry (House of Representatives, Standing Committee on Education and Training, 2002), and scholarly writing (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Mills & Lingard, 1997; Hickey, Fitzclarence & Matthews, 2000). Academic research on boys' education is less prolific although it does include studies from Australia (Connell, 2000; Keddle, 2003; Martino, 1998, Mills, 2001), the United Kingdom (Epstein, 1997b; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2001; Mac an Ghaill, 1994) and North America (Davis, 2001; Frank & Davison, 2003, Kehler, 2000).

Within this body of work the concept of masculinity emerges as being central to an understanding of what is happening for boys' education and general welfare (Blackmore, 2000b; Lingard & Douglas, 1999; Martino & Meyenn, 2001). Masculinity as well as existing in the individual is also defined and embodied in the school site (Connell, 1987, 1995; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003). Boys negotiate how they will express themselves within a school's particular historical and cultural context (Connell, 1995; Davies, 1989). Consequently, particular configurations of collective masculine expressions known as gender regimes are created (Connell, 2000; Kenway, Willis, Blackmore & Rennie, 1997a; Millard, 1997). Some of these gender regimes define masculinity in ways that lead to social constraints and power imbalances that influence the educational experiences of boys (Kenway, Willis, Blackmore & Rennie, 1997a; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996; Martino & Meyenn, 2001). When boys are limited and constrained by the choices and options that are available to them because of masculine constructions they are denied gender justice (Connell, 1996; Kenway, 1990a; Lingard, 1998). The principles of gender justice ensure the pursuit of freedom of expression for all boys and girls (Jackson, 1998; Martino, 1997; Mills, 2001).

Consequently, the research problem for this study is identified in terms of the education and general welfare of boys from one Catholic secondary school. This study seeks to add its own value to the discussion on masculinity and its relationship to the issues of boys' education. In particular, this study investigates the perception of boys in respect to the concept of masculinity, the school's gender regime and the issue of gender justice.

1.3 Purpose of the Research

Given this research problem the purpose of this study is to understand boys' perceptions of their masculine experience within one school site. This understanding will highlight both the

consensus and the multiple perceptions that boys have of their experience. The study aims to bring into juxtaposition in a dialectical context all meanings in order that the content of these meanings will become clear. In this way the study seeks to produce a more informed and sophisticated construction of what is happening for boys in the school site. This construction will take account of the school's "layers of intelligible activity" (Starratt, 2003, p. 17)¹ and will open up the possibility for reconstruction of meaning and positive educational change. This study is an exercise in constructivist leadership (Fosnot, 1996; Lambert, Collay, Dietz, Kent & Richert, 1996; Sjöstrand, & Tyrstrup, 2001) for the College. The study also holds the possibility of contributing to the theoretical understanding of what is happening in the education of boys.

1.4 Research Questions

Given the purpose and aims of this study three research questions are presented.

Research Question 1: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?

This question seeks to investigate boys' perceptions and experience of their social reality of masculinity. It acknowledges that the learning boys have engaged in about what it means to be masculine has taken place in a wider social context than the school, that is in the context of their family, friends, sporting teams, churches and so on. It also acknowledges that this context is influenced by multiple factors such as the media, entertainment, advertising and internet. Responses to this research question will provide a description of how participants have come to understand the meaning of masculinity in their whole life context. This description will provide a valuable comparative reference point to how the College understands masculinity.

Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?

This question acknowledges the importance of the school site in the formation of boys. It draws its authority from a social construction theory of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Epstein, 1997a; Kenway, 1997) in its acknowledgment that masculinities can exist both in the

¹ Starratt (2003, pp. 17-20) provides a useful explanation of the elements that constitute school life. These include operations, organization, programs, policies, goals and purposes, beliefs and assumptions and myths. An inspection of these elements makes apparent the gap or mismatch that exists between the vision of the school and its structural organization. Starratt notes that the vision of a school "does not have an impact on students' learning unless it is institutionalized in the various layers of school life" (p. 20).

individual and the collective. It also draws on this theory by claiming that masculinity is uniquely constructed within a cultural and historical context by individuals and by the whole school community. An answer to research question two will reveal the particular way the College has organised itself around its masculine expressions. This particular configuration of masculinity will be the College's gender regime. A gender regime is an institutional arrangement through which a school functions according to gender (Connell, 1996; Kenway, Willis *et al.*, 1997a; Millard, 1997).

Research Question 3: What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

This question seeks to understand the implications for students of the College's particular gender regime. This question assumes that the College's particular gender regime will open up opportunities and create barriers for students throughout their College life. This question seeks to discover if the College has aligned its practice with the principles of gender justice (Connell, 1996; Kenway, 1990a; Lingard, 1998). Gender justice is concerned with a gender fair culture where both boys and girls are allowed full expression of what it means to be human. The principles of gender justice address the interrelated issues of boys and girls in order that they are not constrained in the choices of expression that are available to them (Jackson, 1998; Martino, 1997).

1.5 Design of the Research

A research design was developed that would provide the best way to answer these three research questions (Howe & Eisenhart, 1990). This research design is founded within an epistemology of constructivism (Burbules, 2000; Latour, 1992; Phillips, 2000a) and informed by a theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969; Charon, 1998; Hewitt, 1997). It takes a case study approach and employs both quantitative and qualitative research methods. This study involves two stages of research, a "stage of exploration" and a "stage of inspection" (Blumer, 1969). The stage of exploration takes a broad base approach. A questionnaire was developed and completed by the majority of a year 12 cohort of students. This questionnaire generated a large quantity of data that was distilled to provide tentative answers to the research questions and to form further questions to direct the second stage of the research. The second stage involves a direct examination of the experience of a number of boys through one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions.

1.6 The Researcher

I come to this study as counsellor educator. I am a woman and a Gestalt² therapist who has worked in both the welfare and education sectors. Concern for the education of boys took on a personal interest when I returned to work as a counsellor educator in a boys' secondary school after some years absence from the education sector. In this context I became aware that many of the boys appeared to be actively working against their own education. The following story illustrates my experience.

Kim was a year 8 student of high ability. He was exhibiting poor classroom behaviour and limited academic achievement. During a discussion on his behaviour with his teacher Kim revealed that he wanted to be accepted by the other boys. He stated that he had, "Caught on real quick." He went on to explain that if he was "foolish" and "loud" the other boys would accept him into their games and into their lives. When asked by the teacher if he would like to do well and be praised for his good work, he smiled and said he would love that but in order for that to happen he would have to sit in the class "all soft". He was unsure as to whether he was prepared to accept the cost.

Concern for Kim and other students provided the initial impetus for this study. In my role as counsellor educator I observed that many boys displayed a lack of motivation for learning, a resistance to independent thinking and an opposition to authority that created for them diminished academic performance and troublesome classroom behaviour. I was keen to embark on a learning journey that would enable me to discover what was happening for boys and particularly what was happening for the boys at the College. I believed that my role as counsellor would provide me with a unique opportunity to work in partnership with my school community in order to bring about necessary change (Littrell & Peterson, 2001). I act as both advocate and activist (Sach, 2000) facilitating the process of exploring meaning in order that a purposeful process of deconstruction and reconstruction may begin.

In this study I acknowledge a personal bias towards the theoretical perspective of social psychology. Social psychology has roots in both psychology and sociology. It has been defined as "the attempt to understand and explain how the thought, feeling and behavior of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others" (Allport cited in Hewitt, 1997, p. 3). It acknowledges that individuals are products of an existing social order but that they are also active agents who create and change that order. Social psychology is concerned

² Gestalt therapy is a form of psychotherapy with roots in phenomenology, field theory and existentialism. Developed by Frederick Perls in the early to mid 20th century it is a creative and holistic way to expand awareness and consequently choices for living.

with how everyday realities are changed, created and sustained by individuals, within the framework provided by society and culture. This research represents my perspective of what I've seen and how I've interpreted this perception. It contains assumptions, value judgments, and ideas that by their very nature are biased. I claim this bias from the outset but I also claim the validity of my perspective. I ask that this study be evaluated within the limits that accompany any perspective.

1.7 The Research Site

This study takes place at “the College”³ a Catholic secondary school founded by the Christian Brothers⁴. The College is one of ten schools in Queensland that are managed by the Christian Brothers. College education as with all Christian Brothers' education is an expression of the mission of the Catholic Church in education and as such is subject to ecclesial authority through the Archdiocese of Brisbane.

The College was opened in 1891 as a boarding school. The school's foundation was “an admixture of two experiences, the educational venture of the Irish Christian Brothers and the life of a frontier society in Queensland” (Boland, 1991, p. 2), that aimed to “open up the social and economic opportunities of the new land to the children of the Irish” (O'Mullane cited in Boland, 1991, p. 3). The College continues to be owned and directed by the Christian Brothers. Its association with the Christian Brothers is attested to in its mission to be “faithful to the dream of Edmund Rice” by holding “a special concern to act justly and with compassion, especially towards those most in need” (The College, 199Xb, p. 3. See Appendix A).

The College has an enrolment of approximately 1400 boys with approximately 400 of this number being boarders. Its property of 136 hectares houses “world class facilities and state of the art resources” (The College, 199Xa. p. 2). These facilities and resources include:

³ The College is a pseudonym for the name of the actual school. In order to ensure the anonymity of the College, texts written by the College will be authored “The College”.

⁴ The Christian Brothers are a Catholic Religious Congregation of lay men founded in the city of Waterford, Ireland by Edmund Ignatius Rice in 1802. Their primary mission to the people of Ireland was in the education of boys. They extended this mission of the Catholic people of Australia in the mid-nineteenth century. In Queensland the first Christian Brothers' school was established in 1875. Throughout the years the Brothers have opened a number of day and boarding schools.

- Education facilities: chapel, classrooms, science laboratories, library and technology centre, music department, agricultural science centre, catteries and cattle pastures;
- Boarding facilities: dormitories, kitchen, dining hall, health centre, eight residences and 6 independent units for boarding staff and their families;
- Sporting facilities: fourteen football fields, world class athletics track, eight tennis courts, cricket nets, cricket pitches, two heated swimming pools, bowling green, nine hole golf course, golf driving range, rifle range, indoor basketball and volleyball courts and a weights room; and,
- Business facilities: FILA sporting store, golf club and bingo facility.
(The College, 199Xa, pp. 2-3)

The College was founded specifically as a boarding school to cater for the boys of Queensland who because of “extreme distances” (Boland, 1991, p. 3) could not access education. Today, approximately 30% of students are boarders. Boarders are drawn from Queensland, other parts of Australia, Papua New Guinea, Asia and other areas of the world. The boarding structure claims to offer “diversity in activities [that] nurture development” (The *College*, 199Xc, p. 7). A significant proportion of boarders are metropolitan (metro) boarders. These students come from families that reside close enough to the College to make it possible for them to live at home. However, they choose boarding in order that they can more easily access College activities especially sporting activities. These students usually board at the College from Monday to Friday.

The College provides education for boys from years eight to 12. Its academic curriculum offers students a wide range of subjects. This is particularly evident for years 11 and 12 where 21 Authority Subjects⁵ are available together with 14 Authority Registered Subjects⁶. It is noted in the College Prospectus that, “The College is proud of its academic record with many students each year achieving at the highest level at both State and National levels” (The College, 199Xc, p. 5). The College also provides opportunities for students to be involved in a number of cultural activities, including drama, music and artistic productions and debating, chess and public speaking competitions. An outdoor education programme is also provided for students at an off campus facility which the College owns and operates.

⁵ Authority subjects are those Year 11 and 12 subjects that have been approved by the Queensland Studies Authority. Completion of 20 semesters in these subjects enables students to receive an Overall Position (OP) at the end of their senior schooling. An OP is used to determine eligibility for tertiary education entrance.

⁶ Authority Registered subjects include nationally accredited Vocational Education subjects. These subjects provide for students who are more practically oriented.

Sport is of particular importance to the College. The College is surrounded on three sides by sporting fields with the most sacred ground being on the northern corner of the property. Rugby Union is the sport given the most prominence at the College and Rugby Union premierships have been won since 1918. It has been recorded as “the cornerstone of College sport” (Hose cited in D.P. Murphy, 1992) and as “synonymous” with the College (*The battle of the colours: The College centenary Rugby programme*, 1991, p.18). “There are two religions at the College, Catholicism and Rugby. They celebrate the rites of one on Saturday and of the other on Sunday” (*The battle of the colours: The College centenary Rugby programme*, 1991, p. 40). Besides Rugby Union the College caters for the sporting interests and levels of ability of boys by offering a total of 17 sports with competition at both age and ability levels. It claims high achievement in many. For example it has won the swimming championship for thirteen consecutive years. The College is a member of the Queensland Greater Public School (GPS) Association. The member schools of this association represent Queensland’s most elite schools. These schools compete with one another in sporting competitions.

The College is proud of its achievements and its identity as a Catholic boarding and day school for boys. This pride is reflected in the recorded words of a late Archbishop of Brisbane, Sir James Duhig. He is recorded as claiming the College to be, “the chief educational institution in Queensland,” (Boland, 1991, p. 126).

1.8 Significance of the Research

The usefulness of the potential application of the research findings from this study is particularly evident for the College at this time. Since the completion of the data collecting processes a new principal has been appointed to the College. His appointment has begun a period of school renewal. Leadership structures and processes are under review, a strategic plan to direct the College’s mission is in draft form and a whole school curriculum plan is nearing completion. Also the issue of boys’ education and general welfare is now on the College’s agenda. Now is an opportune time for College leadership to reflect on the gender regime described by participants of this study and the resulting issues that emerge. This study will provide a valuable base upon which College leadership can evaluate the education it is offering its students. This study could lead to positive educational change at the College.

The study could also be potentially useful by making an important contribution to Christian Brothers' education. The school is one of ten schools within Queensland that form part of the Christian Brothers' education system. It is also part of the worldwide Christian Brothers' education endeavour. Many of the Christian Brothers' schools are also single sex boys' schools. It is anticipated that the study will have particular significance for these schools and the completed study will be easily accessible to leadership teams and teachers within these schools. Research that explores the particular context of the Christian Brothers' school in Australia (Angus, 1993, 1987; Harney, 1997; McManus, 1990) has taken only little regard up to the present of issues concerned with masculinity or boys' education (Vallance, 2002). This study will also make an important contribution to Catholic education and single sex education, in general. There is also very little research addressing issues of boys' education within the context of the single sex (Hatchell, 2001; Kay, 1995; Reichert, 2001) and the Catholic school (Lee, 2000, 2001; Martino, 1998). This research could also be of significance for personnel in other single sex boys' schools and to Catholic education, in general. Indeed, the findings of this study could contribute to the body of knowledge that addresses what is important in the education of boys in any school situation.

The study is also potentially useful in contributing to formal theory around what is happening for boys in education. Although Australia is in the forefront of theorising about boys' education (Blackmore, 2000b; Connell, 1996, 2000; Kenway 1990a, 1990b, 1997) there is an increasing amount of literature (Hawkes, 2001; Lillico, 2000, 2001; K. J. Rowe, 2002) and a number of workshops (Lillico, 2002a; Shores, 2002) that rely on "policy logic"⁷ in their recommended responses to the difficulties boys are experiencing. The assumptions that are the basis to such work can only be challenged by the development of formal theory. In particular this study is potentially useful in contributing to the formal theory that indicates that the education of boys must concern itself with issues related to gender (Blackmore, 2000b; Lingard & Douglas, 1999; Gilbert & Gilbert 1998) and gender justice (Connell, 1996; Kenway, 1990b).

This study is supported in the literature on a number of fronts. Firstly, it is asserted that gender issues cannot be ignored in the processes of change that "have become a prime focus of attention in education" (Blackmore, 2000a, p. 460). Secondly, that research needs to be

⁷ Policy logic embodies assumptions that explain how particular results are to be achieved but unlike formal theory fails to explain why relationships between means and ends are likely to exist. Policy logic is generally political or outcome oriented (Smylie, 1997).

undertaken that inspects the narrow models of masculinities that are offered for boys in schools (Blackmore, 2000b). Thirdly, that responses to the issues of boys' education "need[s] to be site-specific, and based on a thorough, sensitive collection and analysis of local data" (Epstein, Elwood, Hey, & Maw, 1998, p. 14). Lastly, that boys need to be listened to in order to uncover what is actually happening for them (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; Slade, 2002) and that gender audits need to be conducted to achieve this end (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003).

1.9 Explanation of Terminology

Masculinity must firstly be understood in its relationship to gender. Gender is a Western binary concept that grew in significance during the Enlightenment period of history. During this time, the erosion of a belief in God led to a weakening of the belief that there was a direct and certain path that men and women were to follow (Connell, 1987). How men and women expressed themselves became open for examination and gender came to be understood as the social or cultural expression of what it meant to be male or female. Two movements, libertarianism and feminism were of great importance in developing an understanding and a critique of gendered expressions (Connell, 1987). Libertarianism⁸ in its commitment to the freedom of the individual, the pursuit of civil liberties and equal opportunity (Mulhall & Swift, 1992) challenged divisions between men and women that left people "politically helpless" (M. P. Smith, 1983, p. 1). Feminism in its direct concern with the condition of women challenged the exploitation of women by the dominant group in society, adult males (Acker, 1994; Lown, 1995; Porter, 1986).

As a concept gender is distinguished from sex. Sex refers to those physical characteristics that make us male and female. For most of the population the biological basis of sex identification is a simple matter of genitalia identification or reproductive abilities. On the other hand:

Gender is a term that has psychological or cultural rather than biological connotations. If the proper terms for sex are 'male' and 'female', the corresponding terms for gender are 'masculine' and 'feminine'; these latter might be quite independent of (biological) sex. (Stoller, cited in Haralambos, van Krieken, Smith, & Holborn, 1996, p. 452)

Masculinity consequently can be defined as the cultural ways that men express themselves. The simplicity of this definition defies the complexity that lies at the heart of understanding the

⁸ Libertarianism is a part of the broader liberal political movement of the nineteenth century. It differs from the liberal movement in its heightened demand for individual liberty and rejection of those distributive aspects of liberalism that lead to a welfare state component of the liberal package (Mulhall & Swift, 1992).

concept of masculinity. Biological, psychological, sex role and social construction theories compete with one another to explain the existence of masculinity as a phenomenon.

Given this definition of masculinity as cultural expression, this study concerns itself with the construction of masculinity within the culture of the school. Starratt (2003, pp. 17–23) provides a useful conceptualisation of the dimensions of school life in the “Onion Model of Schools” (p. 17). In this model, portrayed in Figure 1.1, the school is perceived as being made up of layers of intelligible activity. The first four layers, operations, organisation, programmes and policies make up the structural organisation of the school. Here is the school’s pattern of organisation encompassing for example, bell ringing, classroom schedules, curriculum programmes and discipline policies. The inner layers of the model include a school’s goals and purposes, beliefs and assumptions and myths. These inner layers represent a school’s vision. Here lies the school’s mission statement, its values, its goals, its attitudes and the meanings by which people make sense of education and life. At the deepest level, the level of myth, lies people’s convictions of what a school can and should be for students and the community. Starratt claims that some schools fail to articulate their vision clearly. These schools can fail to intentionally pursue what they hold to be most important and create a critical gap between their stated purpose and the reality they produce. These schools fail “to confront their organisational structures’ resistance to the vision” (p. 20). Consequently school renewal must concern itself with translating the dimensions of a school’s vision into the practical detail of its structural organisation.

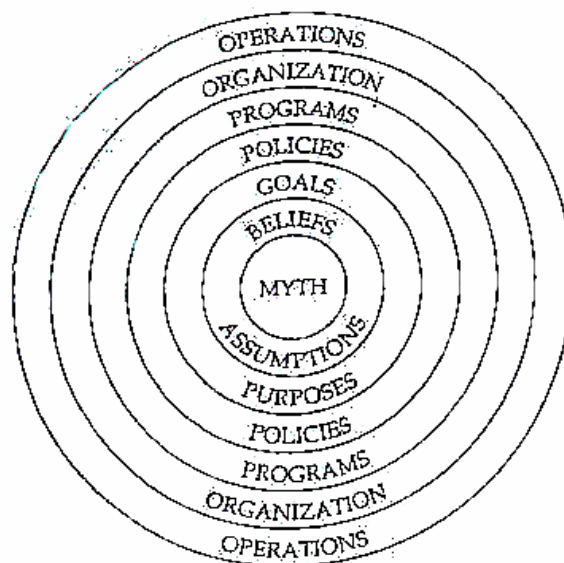


Figure 1.1. Dimensions of school life. From Figure 1.1 p. 17 in R. J. Starratt, (2003). *Centering Educational Administration*, 2003.

1.10 Outline of Thesis

This thesis has seven chapters apart from this introductory chapter. The study is best seen as a learning journey with each chapter representing a step in this journey. The first step documented in Chapter 2 clarifies the research problem. It accepts that education at the College is not all it should be and begins the process of identifying what may be happening for boys. This chapter engages a document analysis and provides a rich picture of the structural organisation, vision and social reality of College education from an historical and cultural perspective. The description of the interrelationship between Catholic education, Christian Brothers' education and College education that is presented in this chapter not only helps to clarify the research problem but introduces themes that are important to the purpose of this study.

Chapter 3, the Literature Review displays the second stage of this learning journey. It aims to further clarify the research problem and to identify the research questions that guide the study. Central to this chapter is the relationship between boys' education and masculinity. The literature is presented in three main sections. The first section presents ways that masculinity has come to be understood theoretically. Four perspectives are outlined. The second section presents the current debate about boys' education. It outlines what the literature claims is happening for boys and the responses that have been suggested are needed to ensure the well being of boys. The third section is informed by the social construction perspective on masculinity. It concerns itself specifically with collective expressions of masculinity as identified within a school site and with the elements of a school's gender regime.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology adopted for this study and represents the third step of this learning journey. This chapter written in five sections outlines each element of the research. Firstly, it provides a description of the epistemology and theoretical framework that informs the internal logic of the research. Secondly, it fully describes the methodology employed by the researcher. Thirdly, it notes the limitations of the study and fourthly, it addresses the question of the validity of the study. Lastly, this section deals with the study's ethical issues.

Chapter 5 presents a display of data obtained in the first stage of the research, the exploratory stage. A questionnaire was developed and used to collect the first round of data. This questionnaire produced a wealth of material from the 255 participants in the study. Data

addressing the research questions are displayed in this chapter. The final section of this chapter presents the particular questions that guided the next stage of research, the stage of inspection.

Chapter 6 presents a display of data that was obtained in the second stage of the research, the inspection stage. These data were obtained through two processes: one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions. These data are presented in themes that directly relate to the three research questions.

Chapter 7 provides an interpretation of the research data presented in Chapters 5 and 6. This analysis interprets the research findings in a way that will answer the projects three research questions. It presents the way participants have understood masculinity, the College's gender regime and the implications that arise for students because of this gender regime. An analysis is also made of these findings in relation to relevant aspects of the historical and cultural context of the study (Chapter 2) and the literature review on masculinity and boys' education (Chapter 3).

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by presenting a review and synthesis of the research. This chapter represents the final stage of this learning journey. It concerns itself initially with a summary of each of the important elements of the research including a summary of the research findings. It then offers some conclusions that can be drawn from these research findings and recommendations that are suggested for the future development of the College. The thesis concludes with noting implications for further research and some concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2

CLARIFYING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to understand boys' perceptions of their masculine experience within one school site. The introductory chapter has indicated that the schooling difficulties boys are experiencing are linked to the ways that they construct and live out masculine expressions. At the outset of this study I have a vague feeling of unease about the educational experience that is being offered to boys at the College. At the same time I have no explicit understanding of what may be happening. Consequently my first step in this learning journey is to obtain a rich picture of the context of the study from an historical and cultural perspective. This rich picture obtained through engaging a document analysis aims to clarify the research problem. Key documents within Catholic, Christian Brothers' and College education are inspected in order that they can provide insight into the vision the College has for the education of boys, the structural organization it has produced and the social reality this has shaped for boys. As well as clarifying the research problem this chapter will introduce themes that are important to the purpose of this study. Its contents will also contribute to the analysis of the findings of this study (Chapter 7) and build a sound basis for the review and synthesis of the research that are located in the final chapter of this thesis (Chapter 8).

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section explores the traditional vision and structural organisation of Catholic, Christian Brothers' and College education. It introduces themes that influence College education to the present time. The second section explores the vision and structural organisation that was produced as a result of the reform agenda for Catholic education initiated by Vatican II⁹ and supported by official Church educational documents up until 1988. This section identifies the congruence that was maintained in Christian Brothers' and College education with the reform agenda. The third section identifies the vision of Catholic education for the new millennium as expressed in *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997). It notes how Christian Brothers'

⁹ Vatican Council II was the 21st general council of the Catholic Church. It was held in four separate sessions between October 11 1962 and Dec 8 1965. The council's goal was to eradicate the seeds of discord and to promote peace and unity for all human kind (R. P. O'Brien, 1995). It produced 16 documents in all, one of which was the *Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis)*. This Council produced strong winds of change in all aspects of Catholic Church life.

and College education have translated this vision for their own particular contexts. The final section summarises the material presented in a way that clarifies the research problem.

2.2 Traditional Vision

The traditional aims of Catholic education were reflected in the document *Divini Illius Magistri* (Pius PP. XI, 1929) and themes that are central to this document are also central to the early writings of the Brothers and the early education offered at the College. *Divini Illius Magistri* describes the primary aim of education as being to form persons into spiritual beings in order that they may be “wholly directed to man’s last end” (Pius PP. XI, 1929, para. 7). This aim rests on an understanding of human weakness which is ever ready to fall into sin “from the grave danger of all kinds of doctrinal and moral evil” (para. 24). The Institute of the Christian Brothers and College education strongly reflected this as their primary aim of education. Christian Brothers were encouraged to;

Labour, in the first place, for their own perfection; and in the second, for that of their neighbour, by a serious application to the instruction of male children, especially the poor, in the principles of religion and Christian piety (Society of Religious Brothers, 1932, para. 1).

As one Brother stated, “Nothing is more glorious than to labour for the salvation of souls... What is the Religious Brother doing all his life, but instructing young souls to avoid the ways of error and teaching them wisdom” (A Christian Brother, 1945, pp. 46-47). At the College the importance of preparing children for the eternal salvation of their souls is recorded in a report of the First Communion and Confirmation classes for 1897.

A boy who has been well prepared for the reception of these Sacraments, has, in the first place, put before him the absolute necessity of his soul being purified from all evil, and in addition, the necessity is brought home to him, perhaps for the first time, that what refers to the salvation of his soul is of far greater importance than any advantage he may reap from the cultivation of the powers of his intellect (The College, 1897, p. 39).

Here is an understanding of a separation between the material and the spiritual in the individual and in society. The spiritual claims much greater importance and is always in danger of being corrupted by the evils of the material especially the material body.

Every action may be said to have a body and a soul; the exterior act is the body and the interior intention is the soul. As the soul is of more worth than the body, so is the perfection of intention of more value in the sight of God than the perfection of the external act. However, although the exterior is only the body of the action it is necessary we should regulate it also; for where the exterior

discipline is wanting, the interior perfection cannot be observed (Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland, 1927, p. 216).

Of prime importance in guarding against the corruption of the spiritual was the students' religious education. Boys needed to be "taught the catechism" (Society of Religious Brothers, 1932, para. 2) and engage in "a solid religious training" (Rev. A. E. O'Brien, 1927, p. 42).

Education which is not founded on religion is unworthy of the name, for though the mind and body may be brought to the highest perfection, it leaves the nobler faculties undeveloped. "... Quarry the granite rock with razors or moor the vessel with thread of silk, then may you hope with such keen and delicate instruments as human knowledge and human reason to contend against those giants, the passion and the pride of men." Convinced of the truth of this, we strive to keep the moral and religious training of our pupils always in the foremost place (The College, 1900, pp. 7-8).

A Catholic way of life supported this religious instruction. At the College students immersed themselves in Catholic company and Catholic reading (The College, 1898, p. 17). For example boys were encouraged to join one of the Catholic sodalities of the time. These included the Knights of the Blessed Sacrament, The Holy Name Society, and the Sodality of Our Lady, the Champion Society.

"Secular instruction" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1962, para. 37) came second to this religious education. In accordance with the directions of *Divini Illius Magistri* emphasis was placed on a liberal education that developed right reason (para. 95). The one goal of learning was to come to know the objective reality of truth. This encompassed truths about God, the nature of persons and the nature of the world. The relativity of truth was not accepted (Elias, 1999). The teacher acted as an instrument cooperating with God in order to assist the student to reach spiritual perfectionism and liberated action.

However whether boys were being given religious or secular instruction, or whether they were engaging in games, they were taught discipline and kept busy. *Divini Illius Magistri* (Pius PP. XI, 1929) articulated the importance of providing "physical training" for boys (para. 49) and "occasions for good in recreation and social intercourse" (para. 89). Such activities it was claimed engendered within boys a spirit of discipline and a removal of occasions of evil. It was noted that "physical training must avoid the excesses of violence and the exaltation of athleticism" (para. 49). Christian Brothers' education and College education followed these directives. It was claimed that in order for a boy's body to be healthy it was "necessary to develop its form" and "direct its movement" through "healthy exercise and physical drill and

joyous recreation” (Gallagher cited in *Golden Jubilee of the Christian Brothers in Australia, 1869-1919*, 1918). Such discipline would ensure a mastery of self (Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland, 1927; Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1968) and the resulting constant employment would avoid “idleness which is a fruitful source of evil” (Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland, 1927, p. 267). At the College the saying, ‘*Mens sana, in corpore sano*’ (a sound healthy mind, in a sound, healthy body) became popular. This quotation, one writer claimed, was “almost threadbare from long and frequent use” (The College, 1900, p. 29). The same writer also stated that there was a necessity, even an obligation for each young man to maintain and develop his bodily strength. Yet he echoed the warning voiced in *Divini Illius Magistri* and cautioned against the dangers of placing “too high a value on Athletics” (The College, 1900, p. 31). These dangers are noted as treating the champion as a demigod, of over-training and of engaging in drinking (The College, 1900).

Of particular concern for the Christian Brothers was the care of boys in boarding schools during play hours. “During the play hours they [Christian Brothers] are to guard the pupils as far as they can from moral as well as from physical danger. In residential schools special vigilance is required in guarding the morals of the pupils” (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1962, p. 34). These dangers were well addressed in all Christian Brothers’ schools including the College through an extensive sporting programme.

Christian Brothers’ education and College education in its focus on the education of boys was in tune with Catholic education directives. *Divini Illius Magistri* (1929) condemned the practice of coeducation and defined the rightful place of women. It stated that the practice of coeducation was founded upon “naturalism and the denial of original sin” (para. 68) and was a “deplorable confusion of ideas that mistakes a leveling promiscuity and equality, for the legitimate association of the sexes” (para. 68). Women were described as having been fashioned by God as a different organism having different temperaments and abilities to men. There is nothing to suggest that there can be “equality in the training of the two sexes” (para. 68).

Christian Brothers’ and College education remained a consonant expression of the traditional vision of Catholic Church in education well into the second half of the 20th century.

2.3 Reform Agenda

Change in Christian Brothers' and College education became evident from the 1970s. This change reflected the themes of change evident in the Vatican documents on Catholic education, that is in the *Declaration on Christian Education* (Vatican Council II, 1966), *Catholic School* (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977), *Lay Catholics in Schools: Witness to Faith* (Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1982) and *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1988). Two themes are evident. Firstly, there was a growing recognition of education being the task of forming the whole human person and a consequent weakening of the separation between the spiritual and the material. "Brothers should lead their pupils towards a harmonious development of their spiritual, mental, physical and aesthetic powers and direct them in such a way that they will become men of character and right judgment" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1972, p. 44). For the College this recognition of the need to form the whole human person is highlighted in the headmaster's report of 1983. This report refers to the College's obligation "to provide opportunities for boys to develop to their maximum potential, spiritually, intellectually, culturally, socially and physically" (Connors, 1983, p. 4). The *College Mission Statement* (The College, 199Xb, p. 3) also recognises the task of education to be about the forming of the whole human person by proclaiming that the College provides "a balanced education for the development of the whole person" that is based "on a century of Catholic faith" where the "values of the Gospel" are "upheld, communicated and nurtured". It goes on to identify that "every person is respected and each student is encouraged to strive in the academic, spiritual, social, personal, cultural and sporting aspects of life". (See Appendix A for *College Mission Statement*.) The College's *Policy on Bullying* (The College, 199Xd) also reflects some of these themes. It notes that the College is a caring community that values everyone and treats everyone with respect (See Appendix B for extract from *Policy on Bullying*).

Secondly, there was a movement towards collaborative action with society. This is particularly noted in the Congregation of Christian Brothers' 1968, *Acts of General Chapter* which quotes the *Declaration on Christian Education*,

The Church's involvement in the field of education is demonstrated especially in the Catholic school. ... It strives to relate all human culture eventually to the news of salvation, so that the light of faith will illumine the knowledge which students gradually gain of the world of life and mankind (Paul VI, cited in Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1968, p. 19).

At the College the 1987 *Vision Statement* also reflects this theme. It notes that the school “exists as a community in a larger society” (Boland, 1991, p. 314) and that with constant interaction between itself and society the student becomes “both a product of and a contributor to the many positive features of society.” (Boland, 1991, p. 314)

The most notable movement of Christian Brothers’ education into society in this time of change was in their rediscovery of the charism of their founder Edmund Rice. Edmund Rice education demanded that their schools “especially respond to the needs of the materially poor” (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1978, p. 50) and “have a clear thrust towards justice” (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1995, 16). By the late 1980s this was evident at the College. This change has been referred to as the “Rice vision” (Boland, 1991, p. 283) and encapsulated a commitment to working for social justice particularly for the materially poor and marginalised. It is expressed in the Headmaster’s Report of 1988.

Edmund Rice, the founder of the Christian Brothers, reached out to those he saw so needy around him, the poor children of Waterford, unloved, unwanted, uneducated and neglected. This is the Edmund Rice vision for the College ... A place where we make friends, respect the dignity of others and work towards a just and peaceful society. (S. McLaughlin, 1988, p. 6)

It is expressed more formally in the *College Mission Statement* with the words “Faithful to the dream of Edmund Rice, we hold a special concern to act justly and with compassion especially towards those most in need” (The College, 199Xb, p. 3).

Two unchanging factors of Christian Brothers’ and College education amidst this period of change were the importance placed on physical activity and sport and the gendered nature of the education offered. Sport remained an important part in all Christian Brothers’ schools but schools were asked in this time of reform to assess what their aims were in their students’ involvement in games and athletic activities (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1978b). At the College sport continued to take its place as a central activity in developing the character of young men.

The Brothers and Teachers at the College try to instill into the boys a love for sport as a means of relaxation and as an aid in character formation. The boys spend much time at study and it is essential for them to participate in strenuous sport to keep them mentally alert and sufficiently fit to continue to study assiduously. It seems to me that boys who develop interest in sport and participate in it with relish usually become good citizens. (The College, 1966, p. 12)

Boys have always been the prime educational focus for the Christian Brothers. Yet the gendered nature of this education in its official texts if not in practice is largely invisible. The 1932 reference to “male children” (Society of Religious Brothers, 1932) is replaced in later constitutions and writing by terms such as “young souls” (A Christian Brother, 1945), “pupils” (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1962, 1972), “youth” (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1962, 1984, 1996) and “student” (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1978a). College education continued to be solely for boys although there is no written analysis of what this gender specific education offered.

This era of the 1970s to the early 1990s was a time of expansion and development for Christian Brothers’ and College education. Yet it was also a difficult time. This difficulty was especially noticeable in the first decade of reform when large numbers of Christian Brothers left the order, Catholic practices and Catholic devotions were challenged, boys were difficult to handle and the spiritual formation programmes produced less response from students (Boland, 1991). Much of the reform described in this section continues to drive the educational agenda for Christian Brothers and the College in the present time.

2.4 Education for a New Millennium

The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997) the document that holds for the present era the vision of Catholic education demands that Christian Brothers’ and College education:

- Be wholly involved with and at the service of society in its promotion of “the human person”¹⁰ (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997, para. 9);
- Form itself into a community that will respond with care and love to young people and their families especially to those young people “who are the weakest” (para. 15);
- Configure itself “in the perspectives of the Catholic faith” (para. 16) but open itself to all who appreciate and share its education perspective;
- Be “a school for all” (para. 15) fulfilling a public role in society with no common identity with schools that can be regarded as ‘private’ (D. McLaughlin, 2001); and,

¹⁰ The Catholic school’s promotion of “The human person” rests in the theological concept of Jesus’ humanity. God in taking on the human condition in Jesus opened up the whole of humanity to the divine potential (D. McLaughlin, 2001). All human values find their fulfillment and unity in Christ. The temporal and the spiritual united in Jesus are united in that which is truly human.

- Give students the opportunity to experience “personal relations with outstanding educators” (para.18).

A translation of this vision is evident in some aspects of the document *Edmund Rice Education* (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997, see Appendix C). The Christian Brothers, as the owners of their Colleges, have formally advocated that schools need to take regard of the following: the dignity of the person, the nurturing of right relationships, a clear commitment to the poor and marginalised, excellence in teaching and learning, curriculum that responds to the diverse needs of students, partnership with families and openness to continual review (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997). It is noted that this document gives no indication of the overwhelming male ratio of the pupils being educated within Christian Brothers’ schools. In this statement the young men and the small number of young¹¹ women who attend Christian Brothers’ schools are referred to as “students”.

There is some limited evidence that the College has responded to *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997). This evidence lies in the 1999 Principal’s Report where three themes articulated in the 1997 document are identified. These three themes are the need to bring “faith, culture and life” (para. 11) into harmony, the need to create a Catholic school that is “a school for all” (para. 7), and the need to experience “personal relations with outstanding educators” (para. 18). At the time of data collection for this study there was no documentary evidence that the College has responded to the Christian Brothers’ document *Edmund Rice Education* (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a rich picture of the particular cultural and historical context of College education through a document analysis. In this analysis the vision and structural organisation of the College and the social reality of College education has been displayed. The College has offered a singular ways of educating boys. This education directed by the Christian Brothers has shown changes over time but has remained consonant with the directives of Catholic education. Early emphasis on the grave necessity of ensuring the salvation of boys’ souls and the separation between the spiritual and the temporal produced an educational

¹¹ At the present time the Christian Brothers are responsible for ten schools throughout Queensland. Eight of these schools are single sex boys’ schools. The two school which have a coeducational enrolment offer some form of alternate education and do not have high enrolment numbers.

experience built around religious education, the development of right reason and the discipline and self-mastery of the body through physical exercise. These themes have been replaced with those that recognise the importance of forming the whole human person within the context of society and in collaboration with society. In addition the College has mandated that it have a concern for justice and the needs of the materially poor and marginalised. The College's expression of its purpose in education is best revealed in the *College Mission Statement* (The College, 199Xb, p. 3).

This presentation of the College's historical and cultural tradition indicates that there may be a mismatch between the vision it proclaims for College education and the structural organization it creates. It would appear that the mismatch is evident in the College's commitment to educating boys within a social justice framework. This document analysis has uncovered no evidence that the College has addressed the issue of gender or that its commitment to social justice has encompassed the principles of gender justice. This could be a serious gap given the connection previously noted between the social reality of masculinity and boys' education and given that boys construct and express masculinity within particular historical and cultural contexts (Connell, 1995; Davies, 1989). It could also be a serious gap given that the vision of a school will not have an impact on student learning unless it is institutionalized in all the various layers of school life (Starratt, 2003, p. 20). It would seem that this site of masculinity making has not associated the social realities of masculinity with the attitudes boys have towards schooling or the behaviours boys exhibit at school.

Also of interest in clarifying the problem is the limited recorded response that the College has made to *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997) and to the Christian Brothers' document *Edmund Rice Education* (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997). Perhaps in failing to respond to these documents the College has created a mismatch between its vision and structural organization and the vision for Catholic education directed by the Christian brothers for the present millennium.

This clarification of the research problem helps direct the next stage of the learning journey, the study of relevant literature. This literature is presented in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the particular cultural and historical context of the College was examined. It was proposed that this study needed to be concerned with the College's particular cultural and historical expression of masculinity and its relationship to the education received by College students. This was particularly so, given that the gendered nature of College education has been largely invisible. This chapter places the problem of the College's education of boys within the current debate on boys' education. It does this by reviewing the literature that is pertinent to this study. This literature review, the second stage of my learning journey, aims to further clarify the research problem and to identify the research questions that guide the study. Within this process, it is also important to gain knowledge of the most effective theories, the best available research and the correct facts, about masculinity and boys' education (Connell, 2000).

The literature review is divided into three sections. The first section presents four ways of understanding masculinity. These four theories are society's ways of explaining the existence of masculinity. Masculinity is held to be a biological determinate, a result of psychological development, a process of sex role socialisation or a social construction. The second section builds on the theory presented in the first section and presents the discourses that attempt to make sense of what is happening in the life and education of boys. Four discourses are discussed, the essentialist, the anti-feminist, the social constructionist and the pedagogical discourses. The responses that each of these discourses suggest to the perceived difficulties boys are experiencing, are also presented. The third section of this literature review inspects the social construction perspective with regard to its analysis of masculinity as a collective expression within the school. This section explores how a school organises itself around gender, especially hegemonic forms of masculinity. The final section draws conclusions about this literature and its relationship to this research project. Figure 3.1 presents an overview of the organisation of the literature review.

3.1	Introduction
3.2	Masculinity Theories
3.2.1	Masculinity – Biologically Determined
3.2.2	Masculinity – Psychological Development
3.2.3	Masculinity - Sex Role Socialization
3.2.4	Masculinity – A Social Construct
3.2.5	Summary
3.3	Boys and Education Debate
3.3.1	Essentialist Discourses
3.3.2	Ani-Feminist Discourses
3.3.3	Social Construction Discourse
3.3.4	Pedagogical Discourse
3.3.5	Summary
3.4	The School and Masculinity
3.4.1	School Masculinities
3.4.2	Gender Regime
3.4.3	Summary
3.5	Conclusions

Figure 3.1. Organisation of the literature review

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3.2 Masculinity Theories

This section of the literature review concerns itself with theories that explain the existence of masculinity in society. Masculinity can be conceptualized in a number of ways (Haralambos *et al.*, 1996; Kenway, 1997) and for the purposes of this study, four conceptual understandings of masculinity are explored. These are biological theories, psychological theories, sex role theory and social construction theory. An exploration of these theories is relevant to this research because it is these theories that are drawn upon, at times unconsciously, to explain what is happening in our present time for boys. Each perspective holds different implications for educational practice and each serves particular interests within the community (Kenway, 1997). This section also presents a critique of each perspective.

3.2.1 *Masculinity - Biologically Determined*

One of the most influential and persistent arguments about how the reality of masculinity comes into existence arises out of research in the biological sciences. This research claims that

masculine identity is a biologically determined reality (Barash, 1979; Moir & Jessel, 1989; Semple, 1993). Masculinity is defined with femininity as a “defined category [ies] of being” (C. West & Zimmerman, 1991, p. 15) with singular psychological and behavioural propensities. These categories arise directly as a result of an individual’s sexual biological make up. According to the biological perspective masculinity is fundamental and enduring.

Four distinctive explanations are offered to illustrate biological differences. Masculinity can be understood as naturally existing because of sex hormonal activity, brain lateralisation, sociobiology and chromosomal composition. The first and most influential perspective is that of sex hormonal activity (Dabbs, 1995; Nielsen, 1991; Semple, 1993). This perspective describes the development of masculine identity to be the result of the production of a wide range of hormones within the male body. The second perspective is that of brain lateralization (Bennett & Shaywitz, 1995; Kohn, 1995; Moir & Jessel, 1989). This perspective also exerts some influence. As one renowned writer in the area of boys’ education, notes, “There is no doubt that these brain differences exist between men and women today” (Biddulph, 1997, p. 54). Theories about brain lateralization claim that masculinity is determined by the particularities in the structure of the brain. Each hemisphere of male and female brains is specialised to perform particular functions. The third perspective, that of sociobiology (Barash, 1979; E. Wilson, 1978), is often located beside sex hormone and brain lateralisation arguments. It understands that masculine behaviour is governed by genetic instruction aimed to ensure the survival of the species. The social behaviour of men is primarily determined by biological factors that have developed from their past (Nielsen, 1991). This perspective draws upon Darwin’s theory of evolution but moves beyond a simple physical understanding of evolution to encompass behavioural evolution (Nielsen, 1991). A less compulsive argument is offered by advocates of the fourth perspective which states that masculinity is determined by the influence of chromosomes (Imperato-McGuinley, 1979; Nielsen, 1991; Shuard, cited in Stobart, Elwood, & Quinlan, 1992). Table 3.1 details each of these perspectives with particular regard to how each perspective explains masculinity. It also offers a criticism of each perspective.

Table 3.1. Summary of Biological Theories of Masculinity

THEORY	CAUSE OF GENDERED BEHAVIOUR	EXPLAINS	CRITICISM
Sex Hormones	<p>Masculine behaviour is determined: By hormonal activity (Marsh, 1992; Semple, 1993; Vines, 1993).</p> <p>At puberty by the increase in the male body of male androgens including testosterone (Marsh, 1992; Semple, 1993).</p>	<p>Explains male violence and domination.</p> <p>Explains male propensity to high activity, mechanistic behaviours and a propensity to quick tension release. (Biddulph, 1997; Gurian, 1999).</p> <p>Increase of male androgens at puberty explains adolescence behaviour. (Gurian, 1999; Nielsen, 1991).</p>	<p>Inconclusive and contradictory research (Fausto-Sterling, 1985; Haralambos, <i>et al.</i>, 1996).</p> <p>Dependence on animal studies to explain human behaviours (Bahr, 1976; Bleier, cited in Haralambos, <i>et al.</i>, 1996).</p> <p>Too little regard for the social context. (Nielsen, 1991; Santrock, 1993)</p> <p>Testosterone levels may change as a result rather than as a cause of aggressive behaviour (Nielsen, 1991).</p>
Brain Lateralisation	<p>Masculine behaviour is determined by brain differences. Men and women are 'hard wired' differently (Bennett & Shaywitz, 1995; Moir & Jessel, 1989).</p> <p>Male brain has less gray matter and a slower flow of blood and electrical activity (Gurian, 1999).</p> <p>Activity of the male brain more localised to the left hemisphere while female brain more diffuse (Bennett & Shaywitz, 1995).</p>	<p>Explains why men have distinctive aptitudes and abilities from women.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A heightened ability to engage in analytical induction e.g. maths and sciences - A lesser ability to engage in more creative and emotional material e.g. English and communication <p>(Bennett & Shaywitz, 1995; Moir & Jessel, 1989).</p>	<p>Inconclusive and contradictory research. Some studies have been conducted that claim there is no difference in brain structure (Bennett & Shaywitz, 1995; Haralambos, <i>et al.</i>, 1996).</p> <p>Too little regard for socialisation processes. Identifiable differences could easily lie not in brain lateralisation differences but in the socialisation processes (Haralambos, <i>et al.</i>, 1996).</p>
Chromosomes	<p>Masculine behaviour is determined by influence of chromosomes (Imperato-McGuinley, 1979; Nielsen, 1991)</p>	<p>Explains distinctive male and female behaviour.</p> <p>E.g. Juvenile delinquency (Imperato-McGuinley, 1979).</p>	<p>Inconclusive and contradictory research. Research conducted on children with chromosomal abnormalities fails to distinguish between what may be learned behaviour and what may be biologically determined behaviour. (Nielsen, 1991).</p>

Table 3.1. Summary of Biological Theories of Masculinity (cont...)

THEORY	CAUSE OF GENDERED BEHAVIOUR	EXPLAINS	CRITICISM
Socio-biology	<p>Masculine behaviour is determined by genetic programming.</p> <p>Males have traditionally been the hunters and protectors of women and families and this has evolved into a genetic predisposition towards aggression and dominance. (Barash, 1979; Nielsen, 1991; E. Wilson, 1978).</p>	Explains male violence and aggression and the need to dominate and control.	<p>No scientific research that links genetic inheritance to human behaviour. (Nielsen, 1991).</p> <p>Sociobiology claimed to be an attempt to provide a scientific explanation to what is purely an ideological position justifying the place of men and women in society (Haralambos, <i>et al.</i>, 1996).</p>

One additional theory is worth considering because it can sometimes be identified within the biological argument. It gives a functionalist account of masculinity (Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Parson & Bales, 1953; Murdock cited in Haralambos *et al.*, 1996). It was popular in the mid-20th century and built upon the basic premises of biological determinism. A functional account of gender claims that biology sets limits or provides a base upon which social interaction builds. It is used to explain the sexual division of labour.

Criticism has been levelled at biological theories in general. This criticism has claimed that biological arguments are “anti-intellectual” (Kenway, 1997, p. 58), “extremely simplistic and problematic” (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1997, p. 65) and have the capacity to generate universalist assumptions that produce a situation where adults and children need to live up to unrealistic expectations (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1997).

The greatest proponents of the biological argument of masculinity come from conservative and fundamentalist men’s groups. They believe that the position of men is being eroded and are concerned with protecting and restoring what men once had. They argue that men are innately aggressive and violent and seek for dominance and that the old traditional ways that society had established need to be restored for the sake of society and for the sake of men (Donovan, 1994; Lingard & Douglas, 1999).

3.2.2 Masculinity – Psychological Development

Masculinity is explored from a psychoanalytical perspective by investigating the mental structures of individuals in order to discover how they organize both their external and internal realities (Brannon, 1999). It is concerned with how masculinity is formed within the psyche. Psychoanalysts argue that it is in the events of childhood that the patterns and structures of the mind are established. It is the unconscious motives born within childhood experience that direct human behaviour. Psychoanalytical perspectives highlight the importance of relationships in creating an individual and masculine identity. This perspective was initially informed by Freud's work in developmental psychology (Fast, 1993; Haralambos, *et al.*, 1996; Santrock, 1993) but has been further developed with significant modifications or serious challenges to the basic Freudian hypothesis (Erikson, 1968; Fast, 1993; Marcia, 1980).

Of particular note in the development of the psychoanalytical theories about masculinity is the work of feminist psychoanalysts. These women have reinterpreted Freudian theories and offered a critique of male dominance and the devaluation of women that they perceive to be located in traditional psychological theories (Chodorow; 1978, 1989; Gilligan, 1982; Horney, 1939; Kaschak, 1992). Table 3.3 summarises this psychological perspective and offers a criticism of its explanations.

One movement that has developed to address the perceived difficulties men are facing, is known as masculinity therapy. Its association to the psychological development of the masculinity is loose even though it is voiced by psychologists or as they are more often referred to "pop psychologists" (Connell, 2000, p. 5). It does explore the psychological world of men even though its assumptions are more truly aligned to biological theories of masculinity (Bly, 1992; Keen, 1991). A simplified view of the problems of men is offered. Its view is that modern men are psychologically wounded and cut off from the true or deep masculinity that is their heritage (Connell, 2000). This response is best known for the mythopoetic men's movement (Flood, 1992; Bly, 1992; Keen, 1991) but also includes groups of men who engage in therapy, counselling, meditation and other spiritual exercises and new age activities.

Table 3.2. Summary of Psychoanalytical Theories of Masculinity

THEORY	CAUSE OF GENDERED BEHAVIOUR	EXPLAINS	CRITICISM
Freudian	Masculine behaviour is determined in childhood through social interaction within family life. This involves a process of identification with the same sex parent in order to overcome an Oedipal Complex (Freud cited in Nielsen, 1991).	Explains masculine formation as a response to awakening sexual identity. Explains gender deviations.	Androcentric (Brannon, 1999). No adequate objective research evidence (Brannon, 1999). Interpretations rely on particular psychological theories (Nielsen, 1991).
Neo Freudians E.g. Erikson	Psychological differences arise from anatomical differences (Erikson cited in Santrock, 1993).	Males are more intrusive and aggressive (Erikson cited in Santrock, 1993).	
Feminist psychoanalytical theories.	Gendered behaviour is determined in childhood by the events of childhood. "Penis envy" is balanced with "womb envy" (Horney, 1939). The role of the mother contributes to the reproduction in society of gender expressions (Chodorow, 1978, 1989).	Explains masculine formation as a response to awakening sexual identity with interpretations favourable to women (Chodorow, 1978, 1989; Fast, 1993; Gilligan, 1982).	No adequate objective research evidence (Brannon, 1999). Interpretations rely on particular psychological theories that explain unconscious mental processes (Nielsen, 1991).

Another perspective that has emerged largely out of the work of psychologists and that has been highly influential is sex role socialisation theory.

3.2.3 Masculinity - Sex Role Socialisation

Sex role socialisation theory seeks for a further explanation of the formation of masculine identity by looking at the influence of the cultural institutions of the family and society (Cole & Cole, 1996; Nielsen, 1991; Santrock, 1993). This theory held a particular place of importance in educational literature in the 1970s and 1980s (C. Skelton, 2001). In sex role theory there is a distinction between a person and his or her social position. Sets of actions or role behaviours are assigned to each social position that act like scripts. Men follow these scripts in order to fulfil their appropriate parts within society and thus act out their masculine role. A masculine gender role, sometimes referred to as a male sex role, can be described as the expected socially encouraged pattern of behaviour exhibited by individual men in specific situations (Cole & Cole, 1989; Nielsen, 1991; Santrock, 1993). Sex role theorists explore the sex role socialization

process and more specifically how individual men have come to internalize their masculine roles. This exploration has meant the development of further theories, for example social learning theory (Bandura, 1977; Mischel, 1968; Nielsen, 1991), cognitive development theory (Kohlberg, 1969; Wood, 1994) and gender schema theory (Levy & Fivush, 1993; C. H. Martin & Halverson, 1987). Table 3.4 presents a summary of sex role theory and its critique as a viable theory of masculine development.

Table 3.3. Summary of Sex Role Socialisation Theory of Masculinity

THEORY	CAUSE OF GENDERED BEHAVIOUR	EXPLAINS	CRITICISM
Sex role socialisation	Men live out gendered roles that are the socially accepted patterns of behaviour (Nielsen, 1991; Wood, 1994).	Explains men's behaviour as they engage in their social setting. Explains how masculine roles can be changed and widened in society. Explains deviant behaviour.	Relies upon biological sex differences to provide explanatory basis for a range of gender roles (Connell, 1987; Haralambos, <i>et al.</i> , 1996). Fails to account for historical development and to provide an analysis of power (Connell, 1987, 1996). A "back-door essentialism" (Haralambos, <i>et al.</i> , 1996, p.475)

Sex role theory can be identified as the basis of some of the arguments proposed by men's rights groups (Lingard & Douglas, 1999). This movement claims that it is not just women who are hurt by society's sex roles. Men too are alienated, impoverished and oppressed by the expectations that they have to face in society. There is a call within this movement to understand why men act as they do and to recognize the converse sexism that they can suffer. Men's right groups can be identified as both liberal and conservative. The latter groups have a strong anti-feminist agenda that rejects any notion of male power (Flood, 1992; Lingard & Douglas, 1999; United Kingdom Men's Movement, 2000).

The final section offers an explanation for the existence of masculinity from a social construction perspective.

3.2.4 Masculinity – Social Construct

A social construction approach to the origins of masculinity has emerged for the most part out of the work of sociologists and anthropologists (Lips, 1993). It has been significantly influenced by

Marxist and feminist theories. According to the social construction perspective, men and women do gender (Connell, 1996; Gill & Starr, 2000). Masculinity is a “situated doing” (C. West & Zimmerman, 1991, p. 15) inscribed in the body through constant performance (Butler, 1990). It is an “identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts” (Butler, 1990, p. 140). The social construction perspective therefore, looks not at how boys develop masculine identity or acquire masculine roles, which is one of the major preoccupations of sex role theorists, but at why the social arrangements define and support different masculine expressions. It offers an analysis of the power relationships that develop between men and women (Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1987; Radtke & Stam, 1994). Men’s dominance over women is naturalized and justified through an ideology of masculinism and set up and sustained in society through patriarchal structures (Brittan, 1989). Table 3.4 details the important components of a social construction perspective.

Table 3.4. Summary of Social Construction Theory of Masculinity

THEORY	CAUSE OF GENDERED BEHAVIOUR	EXPLAINS	CRITICISM
Social Construction	<p>Masculinity is a social construct. It is not a fixed pattern but rather “configurations of practice” (Connell, 1995). It is a “symbolic category” (Wood, 1994, p. 25).</p> <p>It is constituted within a particular set of power relations and reflects those relations (Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1987; Radtke & Stam, 1994). It is consolidated and reproduced as ideologies e.g. masculinism and these form the basis of society’s <i>status quo</i> (Davies, 1989; Scraton, 1999).</p> <p>Masculine expressions are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culturally bound and historically limited (Connell, 1995; Davies, 1989). - An emergent feature of social situations rather than the property of individuals (Connell, 1995). - Constructed together with a combination of class, ethnicity etc. (Epstein, 1997a; Ferree, Lorber & Hess, 1999; Wood 1994). 	<p>Explains differences between masculinity and femininity and the duality of the society’s discursive practices (Davies, 1989).</p> <p>Explains differences in power and status between men and women (Connell, 1987; Lips, 1993).</p> <p>Offers an analysis of masculinity as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - active & dynamic - individual & collective - multiple and hegemonic in expression - relational to all gendered expressions - multiple layered - embodied (Connell, 1993, 1995, 2000; Epstein, 1997a; Kenway, 1997). 	<p>Biological differences cannot be ignored. (Vines, 1993).</p> <p>Human behaviour needs to be understood to be the result of a multitude of factors (Kindlon & Thompson, 1999).</p> <p>We can challenge biological cause but cannot deny biological influence (Head, 1999).</p>

The section of the men's movement that is most aligned to the social construction of gender is pro-feminist. This perspective "rejects the essentializing of girls and boys" (Lingard & Douglas, 1999, p. 2) and the presumptive belief that gendered identity is innately different. It also rejects the notion coming from recuperative masculinity politics which attempts to constitute men as the new disadvantaged (Lingard, & Douglas, 1999). The pro-feminist men's movement acknowledges the power inequalities that exist in society between men and women.

3.2.5 *Summary*

This section has outlined four theories that are used to explain the existence of masculinity in society. These theories are drawn upon to help explain the behaviour of men and boys. The most influential and persistent theory within the literature is that masculinity is a biologically determined reality. Psychological and sex role theories draw upon these biological theories to a greater or lesser degree and add a social or psychological component. The strongest criticism of the biological theories arises out of the social construction theory of masculinity. This theory holds that masculinity is a multiple construct that is configured within the cultural and historical practices of the society.

These four ways of explaining the existence of gender are important because they inform the debate that is taking place about boys' education. The next section explores this debate and its connection to these theories of masculinity.

3.3 Boys Education Debate

The literature addressing what is happening for boys in education is extensive, diverse and often contradictory. In order to make sense of what is happening for boys it is necessary to analyse this literature according to its alignment to gender theories, its explanations about what is happening for boys and the responses recommended. Three separate discourses that address issues around boys' education can be identified. These are the essentialist discourse, the anti-feminist discourse and the social constructionist discourse. A fourth discourse, one that is presently gaining influence, is the pedagogical discourse. This discourse does not offer an explanation about what is happening for boys but it does offer a way of addressing the difficulties boys face. These four discourses are presented hereunder.

3.3.1 *Essentialist Discourse*

The essentialist discourse holds that masculinity (together with femininity) is a natural reality determined by both biological and psychological elements. This discourse is dependant upon biological theories of gender and maturational theories of development. It is a well accepted discourse in society in the present time. It holds that boys experience difficulty at school because of their biological makeup and developmental processes. The essentialist discourse lies at the heart of some books addressing the needs of boys (Biddulph, 1997; Kindon & Thompson, 1999), is well publicised by media (*Lack of role models*, 1999; Legge, 1995; O'Beirne, 1998) and drawn on at times by parents and teachers (Hawkes, 1999, 2001; Southern, 1978; P. West, 2001). This discourse marshalls an impressive list of difficulties and/or injustices boys face and attributes these to boys' biological makeup and development process. For example boys' levels of aggression, a result of the hormone testosterone, cause in boys a high need for physical activity (Biddulph, 1997; Pollack, 1998). This activity is not possible in the traditional learning environment and consequently boys' academic achievement is limited. Table 3.6 presents an overview of the essentialist discourse.

Essentialist responses advocated to address the problems boys are experiencing in school include a return to traditional educational practices which cater more for the needs of boys. These practices embrace competition in both sport and cultural pursuits (Kefford, 1998), strong discipline (Biddulph, 1997; Purves, 1997) and organised after school activities (Purves, 1997). It is claimed that boys need to be exposed to more masculine rather than feminine learning styles (Head, 1999; Matters, Pitman, & Gray, 1997). These would include educational activities that are arranged in short bursts of concentration and those that make possible the physical release of high energy (Biddulph, 1997). Responses also would include making available to boys, literature that contains themes of adventure and violence (Matters, Pitman, & Gray, 1997). All of these recommendations are built upon the premise that boys will overcome their problems if they have more exposure to identified masculine traits.

At times this essentialist discourse is aligned to the second discourse to be discussed, the anti-feminist discourse.

Table 3.5. Difficulties Boys Face: Summary of the Essentialist Discourse

CLAIM	REASON FOR BOYS UNDERACHIEVEMENT	SUPPORTING INFORMATION
Boys are academically disadvantaged (Bleach, 1998; Head, 1999; Teese, Davies, Charlton & Polesel, 1995)	Boys lack of academic achievement is a result of biological makeup and developmental processes. They fall behind girls in academic achievement because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They have a greater need for physical action and are unable to utilise the restrictive environment of the classroom (Biddulph, 1997; Southern, 1978); - They are mechanistic and therefore unable to find meaning in subjects like English (Logan, 2001; Hawkes, 2001); - They are 'hard wired' to be more interested in analytical subjects such as maths and science and less able in English based subjects (Biddulph, 1997; Gurian, 1999). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 35.43% of boys received an OP band between 1 and 10 compared with 39.29% of girls (Qld Association of Student Advisers, 1999). - Boys are falling behind girls in secondary school retention rates (Gurian, 1999) - Literacy performance of boys is a critical issue (Millard, 1997) - As many as 27% of boys were located in the lowest band of English performance in N.S.W. compared to only about 14% of girls (Teese <i>et al.</i>, 1995).
Boys health and well being is under threat	Boys biological make up makes them more aggressive and in need of physical activity. Consequently they are experiencing higher rates of: suicide, accidental death, juvenile delinquency and deaths due to drug dependency and cancer (Barash, 1979; Fletcher, 1995; Kindlon & Thompson, 1999; Mathers, 1995).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The leading cause of death among young men comes from motor vehicle accidents and suicide. The rate is 3.2 times and 4.2 times higher respectively for young men than young women (Mathers, 1995).
Boys are socially and emotionally disadvantaged.	Biological imperatives and developmental processes make boys less emotionally able to handle difficulties. Consequently they are over represented in: suspensions from schools, referrals to counsellors and emotional and behavioural difficulties (Biddulph, 1997; Gurian, 1999; Pollack, 1998)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 90% of adolescent discipline problems in USA schools are male (Gurian, 1998) - Male suicide rates more than doubled for males aged 16-24 between 1971 and 1992 (Head, 1999).

3.3.2 Anti-Feminist Discourse

The present condition of boys is also attributed to the phenomena of feminism (Gurian, 1999; Sommers, 2000; Weiner, Arnot & David, 1997). Educational interest, it has been claimed, has centred on the needs of girls for the past 20 years and in the process of improving the plight of girls the under-performance of boys has been neglected (Hawkes, 1999; Millard, 1997). This discourse would claim that in truth it is boys not girls that display signs of education and social disadvantage. This discourse has been emotionally expressed as “The War Against Boys” (Sommers, 2000). It assumes that boys and girls compete as groups at school, and that gains for one must come at the expense of the other (Education Queensland, 2002-2003). This discourse claims that it is now time to redress the imbalance and make up for the biases in the past gender

equity programmes (Yates, 1997). This would involve a rethinking of equity programmes and a redirection of money from girls' education into boys' education (Sommers, 2000).

Women are further targeted in the boys' education debate with an argument that claims that women have increasingly feminised boys (Foster, Kimmel & C. Skelton, 2001). This is attested to primarily by the fact that most primary school teachers are female (Delamont, 1990; Bleach, 1998; Kefford, 1998) but also is supported in this anti-feminist discourse by the reality of single parent families. Boys it is claimed suffer from the fact that fathers are too absent and mothers are too present (Biddulph, 1994; Bly, 1990; Blankenhorn, 1995). Society today fails boys because it has not ensured that boys are strongly linked to male energy. Consequently boys and men, out of touch with the natural imperatives of the past, have lost their way (Bly, 1992). The consequent recommendation of this discourse is that boys be provided with male role models (Bleach, 1998; Head; 1999; Purves, 1997). Boys, it is claimed, need strong male role models at home, at school and in their lives generally. They need these in order that they can be guided through the difficult patches in life (Biddulph, 1997). Being exposed to a wider set of male roles and being assisted in tapping into the male energy will ensure the development of the male self (Gurian, 1999). This discourse is summarised in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Difficulties Boys Face: Summary of the Anti-feminist Discourse

CLAIM	REASON FOR BOYS UNDERACHIEVEMENT	SUPPORTING INFORMATION
Boys are under-performing in school and experiencing social and emotional difficulties.	Resources directed towards girls' education has caused the under-performance of boys. Boys are suffering because of absent male roles and too present female roles (Kefford, 1998). Boys not linked to male energy (Biddulph, 1997; Hawley, 1991).	"The War Against Boys" (Sommers, 2000) Most primary school teachers are female (Biddulph, 1994; Bleach, 1998; Kefford, 1998) High percentage of single parent families who are parented by mothers (Biddulph, 1994; Bly, 1992; Blankenhorn, 1995)

This anti-feminist discourse is particularly challenged by a discourse that on the whole takes a feminist or pro-feminist perspective. This is the social construction discourse.

3.3.3 Social Construction Discourse

The social construction discourse for the most part arises out of the work of educational sociologists (Connell, 2000; Kenway, 1990a, 1997; Lingard & Douglas, 1999). It offers an

academically rigorous reflection on what is happening for boys and the responses that are required in order that the needs of both boys and girls are addressed adequately. It acknowledges that some young people are at risk “of not effecting a secure transition to adulthood” (Freeland cited in Kenway, Watkins & Tregenza, 1997, p. 11) because of a complex mixture of inter-related social divisions. These include gender divisions but also embrace divisions based on class, race, ethnicity and region. Some young people “are marginalised from the mainstream of employment, education and training.” (Kenway, Watkins *et al.*, 1997, p. 10). It also offers a serious critique of the essentialist and anti-feminist discourses (Kenway, Willis, *et al.*, 1997b; Kimmel & Kaufman, 1994; Lingard, 1998; Ryan, 1999).

This discourse holds that there are important issues that need to be addressed regarding the education of boys (Epstein, *et al.*, 1998; Rowan, Knobel, Bigum & Lankshear, 2002; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996) and particularly aboriginal and working class boys (Lingard & Mills, 1998; Mahoney, 1998; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003). They claim this to be an “historically important moment” (Jackson, 1998, p. 87) in which to do this in order that an opportunity can be taken “to clear away reductive and mechanical ways of looking at men/women boys/girls” (Jackson, 1998, p. 87). They note that thinking needs to move away from seeing boys as a homogenous group (Hatchell, 2001; Mills, 2001; C. Skelton, 2001). An exploration of boys’ educational issues must acknowledge factors that make boys different. These include a boy’s socio-economic position, class, religion, sexuality, race, ethnicity, geographical location and disability (Foster, *et al.*, 2001; Martino, 2000; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003).

The social construction discourse rests on a structural analysis of gender. One of the central questions for analysis is not why boys are underachieving but rather why boys’ underachievement is now an object of concern (Cohen, 1998; Foster, *et al.*, 2001). It argues that the underachievement of some boys is not a new problem (Alloway & Gilbert, 1997; Jackson, 1998; Lingard & Douglas, 1999). Evidence of girls’ outperformance of boys has long been documented (Cohen, 1998; Epstein *et al.*, 1998; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). Gendered constructs of the past which have largely been invisible in schools have been challenged by feminist discourses which demand equal opportunity for girls and women. The argument that the success of girls has produced an imbalance today for boys is not helpful because it places boys’ and girls’ needs in competition. The result is a ‘competing victims discourse’ (Cox, 1995) that has constructed boys as victims (Kenway, 1997; Lingard, 1998; Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1997) and set up

a competition between educational resources (Hey, Leonard, Daniels, & M. Smith, 1998; Rowan *et al.*, 2002).

The social construction discourse claims that the problems boys are experiencing in schooling and in life generally are linked closely to how a society constructs masculinity and how boys live out this construction (Epstein, 1998; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998, Mills, 2001). Their difficulties are embedded in traditional hegemonic notions of what it means to be male (Connell, 2000; Hay, 1997; Reichert, 2001). These notions are contained and expressed by individual men and boys but also exist in the collective (Connell, 1996; Scott, 1988; Mac an Ghail, 1994). They are constructed, defined and sustained by society's institutions for example the family, the workplace and the school (Acker, 1991). Boys make choices around the available constructs and it is these choices that are costing them limited educational achievement, social success, ill health and at times a shortened life span (Hay, 1997; Maynard, 2002). This can be referred to as "self handicapping" (Hay, 1997). Boys who choose to align themselves with dominant masculine expressions will "self-handicap" in order to secure their privileged position of power. They will engage in behaviours favourable to their material and social interests. The consequent and real 'cost' to them can be the academic and personal success of which they are capable. Societal understanding of what it means to be a boy seems to support not challenge these choices and the consequent 'costs'. As one author states, "no brainy geeks" (Galley, 2002, p. 6) are allowed in the classroom. The 'cost' to boys who choose to express themselves in ways other than dominant masculine expressions will be the pain of oppression that other boys deal them because their particular way of being male undermines the power position of all males. In the different 'costs' to boys are risk and reward, "alternatives sides of the same coin" (Kenway, Watkins, *et al.*, 1997, p. 9). The social construction discourse is summarised in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7. Difficulties Boys Face: Summary of the Social Construction Discourse

CLAIM	REASON FOR BOYS UNDERACHIEVEMENT	SUPPORTING INFORMATION
Boys self handicap	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited educational achievement • Social success • Ill health • Shortened life span <p>This is the voluntary price some boys pay in order to maintain position of privilege and power (Kenway, Watkins, <i>et al.</i>, 1997)</p>	Boys problems are linked to the way boys live out traditional constructs of masculinity (Connell, 2000; Hay, 1997; Mills, 1997b).

The primary focus for reform from the social construction perspective lies in the pursuit of gender justice (Connell, 1996; Kenway, 1990a; Lingard, 1998). Gender justice aims to ensure

that any societal construct of gender will allow both the male and the female full expression of what it means to be human. It is concerned with a gender fair culture where the interrelated issues of girls and boys are addressed (Jackson, 1998, p. 82). The principles of gender justice challenge the ways that limit and constrain the choices and options that are available for both boys and girls (Martino, 1997) and broaden what have previously been the goals of gender equity programmes (Lingard & Mills, 1998). Past gender equity programmes have been built upon the theoretical basis of sex role theory (Salisbury & Jackson, 1996) and although they did lead to some advancement in the position of girls they cannot bring about advantage for boys who are already placed within “the privileged gender order” (Connell, 2000, p. 132). A gender equity approach that can deal with the issues that are surfacing for boys must address the constraints of a ‘gender system’ that limits and constrains both boys and girls (Beckett, 2001; Connell, 1996). It must aim to ensure the pursuit of dignity and freedom for each person. The social construction theory of gender provides equity programmes with a different ideological and political understanding upon which to work for the interrelated needs of all young people (Hey, *et al.*, 1998; Mac an Ghail & Haywood, 1997).

Just as schools are sites for the making of masculinity so they too can be sites for the deconstruction and reconstruction of masculinities (Allard, Cooper, Hildebrand, & Wealands, 1995; Davies, 1997; Gipps, 1996). This will involve “identifying dominant narratives associated with gender and then working to introduce and validate counternarratives” (Rowan *et al.*, 2001, p. 55). Boys need to be helped to develop alternative ways of relating to themselves and to others which are not organised around having to prove that they are masculine (Mac an Ghail, 1994; Martino, 1997; Walker, 1988a) and that do not rely on the denigration of the feminine, on homophobic constructs or violent displays (Martino, 1997). To these ends a number of pro feminist programmes are presently being used in schools (Mills, 1998a). Such programmes, though limited, do provide opportunities for students to talk about masculinity. The experience can develop a better understanding of the pressures, fears and limitations that they and girls face (Martino, 1997). “It is important for schools to implement programs or strategies for assisting boys to interrogate and critically reflect on the ways in which masculinity impacts on their lives” (Hatchell, 2001, p. 13)

This discourse is unique in the critique it makes of society and the demand that is implicit to help boys to find alternative ways to express their masculinity.

3.3.4 Pedagogical Discourse

This fourth discourse seeks for responses to the difficulties boys are facing in classroom practice and teaching (P. Murphy, 1996). This discourse accepts the perception that over the past ten to fifteen years the academic achievement of boys has steadily declined (Cresswell, K. J. Rowe, & Withers, 2002; Hawkes, 2001; Lillico, 2001). Its rationale for responding to the issues of boys' education can be based on essentialist, anti-feminist or constructionist discourses but on the whole rests on a general acceptance that boys are underachieving.

In some ways it does not matter what the causes of boys' underachievement may be. Teachers and the education establishment in general have to work with the situation before them, and its source – obscure, confused and controversial – may be interesting but hardly useful. It is the practical strategies with which teachers are most concerned. (Noble & Bradford, 2000, p. 15)

The contribution of this discourse lies not in the analysis it offers for why boys are having difficulties but in the practical responses it suggests for teachers and school leaders. It rests on an understanding that gender considerations in education are not nearly as important as the “teacher effects” (K. J. Rowe, 2002). This discourse claims the importance of classroom pedagogy and in particular constructivist teaching and learning practices in order to improve the education of boys (K. J. Rowe, 1999; Vallance, 2002). A summary of this discourse is presented in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8. Difficulties Boys Face: Summary of the Pedagogical Discourse

CLAIM	RESPONSE TO BOYS' UNDERACHIEVEMENT	SUPPORTING INFORMATION
Boys are experiencing less success than girls in education	Boys underachievement needs a strong pedagogical response with teachers using constructivist learning processes in the classroom (Hawkes, 2001; Lillico, 2000, 2001, K. J. Rowe, 2002). Good pedagogy will help boys feel at home in the school environment (Education Review Office, 1999; Lillico, 2001). Single sex classes a recommendation (Lillico, 1999; Mixell, 1989).	Boys exhibit greater behaviour problems in classroom (Barkley, 1996; K.J. Rowe & Hill, 1998). Boys have less positive experiences of school (K. J. Rowe & K. S. Rowe, 1999). Boys record lower literary levels than girls (Cresswell, <i>et al.</i> , 2002).

Principles of teaching and learning based on constructivist learning theories are presently driving much of the pedagogical reform that is being undertaken in schools today (Fosnot, 1996; Lambert, *et al.*, 1996; Lord, 1998). Constructivist learning theory is built on Piaget's notion of the student as agent actively constructing his or her own meaning and knowledge (Brooks &

Brooks, 1993; P. Murphy, 1996; E. M. Wills & Tucker, 2001). It holds that through reflection and meaning making the student will build knowledge about self, school, everyday experience and society (Shor, 1992). Knowledge acquisition is the result of a person's own subjective cognitive processes. One of the primary goals of constructivist learning theory is to provide a democratic and critical learning experience for students where learning occurs through open inquiry rather than in unquestioning acceptance of prevailing knowledge. Teaching and learning in a constructivist framework hopefully "challenges teachers to create environments in which they and their students are encouraged to think and explore" (Brooks & Brooks, 1993).

Constructivist teaching and learning responses to the difficulties boys are facing are often advocated by educationalists in their writings (Hawkes, 2001; Lilloco, 2000; K. J. Rowe, 2002) and in teacher and parent inservice programmes (Lilloco, 2002a, 2002b; Shores, 2002). These educationalists suggest ways to engage boys in the teaching and learning process that will heighten boys' interest and their consequent performance. Some suggestions that have been offered include: the presentation at least once a fortnight of an excellent lesson (Lilloco, 2002a), the employment of more active learning strategies in the classroom especially those that involve interaction with classmates (P. West, 2002) and an awareness of the need to use the knowledge of different intelligences in the planning and presentation of lessons (Hawkes 2001). One proposition that is experiencing some favour at the present time is the separation of boys and girls into single gender learning environments in order that their particular needs may be met¹² (Lilloco, 1999; Mixell, 1989).

As acknowledged within the discourse itself, more effective pedagogy will improve the educational environment for all children, both boys and girls, and this is a desirable outcome. However this discourse fails to address the issues identified in the boys' education debate by the social construction discourse around the construction of masculinity. This is not surprising when it is noted that advocates of constructivism often do not make the move into social constructionism (Schwandt, 2000). Consequently they fail to acknowledge that there is an "inevitable historical and sociocultural dimension" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 197) to the construction of meaning.

¹² It has been argued that separation of students on the basis of gender is based on biological determinism, is structurally sexist and discriminatory (Matthews, 1998).

3.3.5 *Summary*

The essentialist, anti-feminist and social construction discourses offer unique perspectives on what is happening for boys and the responses that need to be implemented to address identifiable difficulties. Each discourse claims links with particular theories of gender. Each offers its own version of reality and its own direction for the future. The social construction discourse emerges out of the most academically rigorous research yet this discourse often is overlooked in favour of the essentialist discourse. Essentialist explanations of what is happening for boys and the responses that need to be taken are those that are the most publicly proclaimed and most readily adhered to. The anti-feminist discourse finds favour in some sectors of the community and has the potential to be a particularly powerful influence in determining the allocation of public money along gender divides. The final discourse, the pedagogical discourse can have a high appeal for educators searching for a classroom answer to the problems they face in teaching boys. This thesis claims that unless the social construction discourse enters into the consideration of what is happening for boys and the responses that are needed the challenge that is offered to educators about boys' education will not be met and the possibilities offered to boys will always be limited. Consequently this literature review moves into its third section, a social constructionist understanding of how collective masculinities are made within a school setting.

3.4 The School and Masculinity

This section of the literature review further develops the social constructionist understanding of masculinity as detailed in Section 3.2.3 & 3.3.3. It focuses on the making of collective masculinities in one particular site of masculinity making, the school. The social construction perspective holds that masculinities can be both individual and collective in their making (Connell, 2000; Epstein, 1997a; Kenway, 1997) and that each school helps create, define, sustain and regulate acceptable masculine expressions for that particular site (Connell, 2000; Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 1996; Epstein, 1997b; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). This section is divided into two parts. The first part offers a description of some of the identifying elements of a school's collective masculine expression. The second part deals with the way schools have organised these elements. These particular configurations of masculinity are known as a school's gender regime.

3.4.1 *School Masculinities*

Some of the distinctive elements of masculinity identified in Table 3.5 have particular relevance for this exploration of masculinity as a collective reality. Educational research both in Australia and overseas has revealed a multiplicity of masculinities that are active and dynamic in the nature of their making (Lesko, 2000; Mac an Ghaill, 1994). This research has particularly explored the relationship of masculinities one to another and the hegemonic expressions that claim the most power (Connell, 1996). It has also found that in the dynamic process of doing the masculine a boy's psyche and body become intimately entwined (Connell, 2000; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003).

The multiplicity of masculine expressions has been identified in schools by a number of typologies (Connell, 1993; Kessler, Ashenden, Connell, & Dowsett, 1985; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Walker, 1988a; Willis, 1997). These typologies include from Great Britain the 'macho lads', 'academic achievers', 'new enterprises' and 'real Englishmen' (Mac an Ghaill, 1994) and from Australia the 'cool guys', the 'swots' and the 'wimps' (Connell, 1993), and the 'footballers', the 'Greeks', the 'three friends' and the 'handballers' (Walker, 1988a). Each indicates a particular way of being male in a particular geographical setting. For example the 'macho lads', 'cool guys' and 'footballers' represent an expression of masculinity that is strong and hearty with an emphasis on physical achievement (Mac an Ghaill, 1994). The academic achievers and the 'swots' indicate a masculine expression that allows for present academic success and future access to higher education. The 'wimps' are categorized as such because they have neither intellectual power nor physical prowess (Connell, 1993).

Even though multiple masculinities are identified in the school site this does not mean that all masculinities are on an equal playing field. Some masculinities are more honoured than others. Hegemonic masculinity is that form of masculinity that is idealized and stamped with authority or dominance (Connell, 1996; Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Mills, 2001). Boys take their place in the gender order in relationship to this hegemony. They are not "passive victims but active negotiators and agents within complex systems of being oppressed and oppressive" (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1997, p. 5). Boys choose the masculine expressions that best suit their contexts. This is not a free market choice because boys on the whole are exposed to a narrow interpretation of what it means to be male (Blackmore, 2000b; Connell, 1993; Webb, 1997). Boys recognise the degree of social value in the gendered expressions they are offered and therefore position

themselves to their advantage both in the adult discourse and in their peer discourses (Davies, 1989). Many boys choose gendered expressions that are socially acceptable and establish them as successful males (Mills, 1997b). Boys frequently seem to survive in their education or social setting by choosing expressions that give them the appearance of being 'hard' and macho. This has been noted as being especially so in boys only schools (Askew & Ross, 1988; Epstein, 1997a).

Boys' choices of how they will express themselves as men are strongly structured by relationships of power (Connell, 1987, 1993; Epstein, 1998). If boys cannot find their masculine expression centred within the 'hard', macho hegemonic expression they will then take a complicitous, subordinate or marginal position (Connell, 1995; Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Walker, 1988b). Complicit expressions of masculinity support the hegemonic expression and share in the patriarchal system of power (Connell, 1997). Subordinated masculinities are at the bottom of the gender hierarchy among men, and include expressions that are effeminate or homosexual. Marginal masculinities are masculinities that have found an alternative expression to the hegemonic pattern such as those expressions displayed by some ethnic groups of boys (Connell, 1997). "Masculinity is relational in that it is constructed within a system of gender which places dominant masculinity in hostile opposition to alternatives" (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998, p. 222). Consequently, some boys then become oppressors to fellow classmates or teachers. Some, especially subordinate and marginalised groups such as gay boys, artistic boys or intellectual boys become the oppressed. Some boys are complicitous. They will support the dominant expression and thus share its rewards without actually fully taking on its expression. In fact even the boys who are oppressed by the dominant masculinity will share in the "long term privilege" (Connell, 1996) of being men.

One of the ways that a school's hegemonic masculine expression asserts or claims power for itself is through violence. The social, cultural and psychic construction of masculinity is related to violence (Blackmore, 1999; Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996) and "violence has become associated with 'normalized' forms of masculinity" (Mills, 2001, p. 20). Expressions of violence, such as bullying and harassment in schools, which make life difficult for some boys and girls (Mills, 2001; Milligan, Thomson, Ashenden & Associates, 1992; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003) help boys to draw boundaries around those expressions of masculinity that are acceptable (Mills, 2001; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003). A dynamic is built up which includes displays of power, conformity and exclusion (Connell, 1995; Foster, *et*

al., 2001; Kenway, Willis, *et al.*, 1997b). One of the strongest boundaries or grounds for exclusion is the boundary between heterosexuality and homosexuality (Beckett, 2001; Blackmore 1999; Epstein, 1997a). This boundary is constantly and thoroughly policed. Such activity rests on the assumption that the only ‘normal’ sexual expression is that form of heterosexuality that is dominant and ‘rugged’ (Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). At times the policing leads to violent behaviour between boys and at times to tragic ends. The gay bashing death of Matthew Shepard attests to this (Wypijewski, 1999) as well as the link that has been made between youth suicide and sexual orientation (Gilchrist, Howarth & Sullivan, 2002; Howard, Nicholas, Brown & Karaca, 2002; Remafedi, 1999).

Finally boys’ bodies are crucially connected with the learning of masculine expressions. In the construction of masculinities the body and society are linked through body-reflexive practices (Connell, 2000; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). Boys’ gendered identities are formed through the active participation of their bodies (Connell, 1995, 2000; Loeser, 2002). In the construction of dominant and heterosexual masculinities the size and strength of boys’ bodies become powerful indicators of masculinity attainment. Their “physicality, muscularity and bodily posturing are [were] implicated in the self-regulatory and policing practices of a normative masculinity” (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003, p. 17). This is most noted in boys’ participation in sport where boys can learn the imperative of physical strength and toughness. In sport they can also learn through bodily practice to take control, to tolerate pain and to show competitive aggression.

Physical education and sport are social practices and they are bodily practices, one’s involvement as a participant is through one’s physicality. Through such practices, young men learn some things about their bodies and what it is to be a male. (Tinning, 2000, p. 109)

Once learnt boys can take this learning about being men within them into their lives outside of sport. This means that boys may approach life with a need to dominate, a sense of physical power and a tolerance of pain. This can make a potent combination which at times can lead to systematic institutionalized bullying with bigger more powerful boys using their physicality against smaller or weaker boys and girls (Connell, 2000; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; Mills, 2001).

These elements of collective school masculinities will be found in individual schools in particular configurations. As such they will help determine how each school arranges itself according to gender.

3.4.2 Gender Regime

Expressions of masculinity (and femininity) help determine how a school organises itself (Kenway, 1997). Each school's particular configuration of the collective gendered expression is referred to as that school's gender regime (Connell, 1996; Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Millard, 1997). A gender regime is the institutional arrangement through which a school functions according to gender. It has been described as:

The pattern of practices that constructs various kinds of masculinity and femininity among staff and students, orders them in terms of prestige and power, and constructs a sexual division of labor within the institution. The gender regime is a state of play rather than a permanent condition. It can be changed deliberately or otherwise, but it is no less powerful in its effects on pupils for that. It confronts them as a social fact, which they have to come to terms with somehow. (Kessler, *et al.*, 1985, p. 42)

Four interrelated structures of relationships have been identified that create institutional definitions of gender. They are a school's power relations, its division of labour, its patterns of emotion and its symbolisation¹³ (Connell, 1996, 2000).

- Power relations refer to the relationships that are set up according to who has power within the school. They are concerned with the power relationships among teachers and among students. They pertain to the patterns of authority and dominance in a school. For example within the school's curriculum a power relationship would be set up when a greater share of the school budget is allocated to the traditional "boy's subjects" of maths and science or when school teaching practices conform to authoritarian discipline practices.
- Division of labour is concerned with the specialisation of work and interest that is evident within a school. For example within the sporting programme of a school a division of labour based on gender is set up when only men coach a school's sporting teams or when the ratio of women to men is higher in teaching the creative arts subjects.
- Patterns of emotion are concerned with more personal attributes and in particular the expression of emotion. It relates to the type of people that are considered to best suit particular roles in a school or the type of expression that is encouraged or tolerated within the school. For example a school may set up a system that has a tough deputy principal to be in charge of discipline or a sensitive music teacher as head of the creative arts department. Of particular note when exploring a school's patterns of emotion is the prohibition that a school may put on homosexuality in the service of its definition of masculinity.
- Symbolisation refers to the school's symbol system, for example its uniforms, codes

¹³ Joan Scott (1988) offers four levels of socially organized gender practices. These are; the level of divisions of labour and 'kinship' networks, the level of symbols, the level of normative concepts and the level of subjective identities. These four levels offer another useful way of inspecting a gender regime (Lesko, 2000).

of behaviour and use of language. This also includes the school's gendering of knowledge. Certain areas of a curriculum can be specified as supporting a particular gendered arrangement. For example this can be evident in a school's sporting programme when the school's football team claims the school's idealised form of masculinity.

These four relationships can be observed in both the informal culture of the school and in its more formal structures. However it is through three of the school's more formal structures that a school's gender regime becomes particularly observable. These formal structures are a school's curriculum, discipline practices and sporting programme (Connell, 1996, 2000). It is through an exploration of these three "vortices" (Connell, 2000, p. 157) that a school's particular gender arrangement can be revealed.

Curriculum

The school's curriculum is an institutionalised pattern of knowledge which is both gendered and hierarchical (Clark & Millard, 1998; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Mills, 2001). "Schools systems perpetuate and construct inter-gender dualities and intra-gender hierarchies" (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003, p. 24). These dualities and hierarchies are supported in society by a general understanding that there are masculine and feminine ways of knowing (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). Masculine ways of knowing supposedly value abstract reasoning and objectivity that is divorced from subjectivity of feelings and desires (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). They also stress the pragmatic and instrumental (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998).

Masculine ways of knowing supposedly mean that boys approach schooling with a direct desire to reach the end goal of education that is the obtaining of a career. They have a tendency to have a higher representation in subjects that are directly aligned to industry and employment. Such subjects make up what are traditionally known as "boy subjects" (Connell, 2000, p. 157). These are subjects associated with science, technology and the commercial world (Board of Studies, NSW, 1998; Connell, 2000). These subjects are stamped with a degree of social power. "Many boys enter these traditionally male subjects because of the myth of success that they promise, but boys whose inclinations and talents lie elsewhere can easily lose out by opting for these subjects" (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1989, p. 122). In contrast it is claimed that boys are distanced from English because of its focus on the expression of emotions, its irrelevance to men's work and its contrast with activities defined as properly masculine, for example sport (Martino, 1994;

Millard, 1997; Rowan, *et al.*, 2002). This also is the case for other English based subjects such as the subjects included in the field of Social Sciences.

The religious education programme is of particular significance within the curriculum of the religiously affiliated school. At times the study of religion becomes a compulsory component within the school curriculum both with regard to the study of religion as a subject and also with regard to the school's traditions and practices. For many boys the study and practice of religion is not associated with the masculine. "The idea of religion is not attractive to many boys who are trying to demonstrate to others and to themselves that they are man enough to cope. ... A particular problem for many boys is that religion can be associated with the feminine and the weak. For boys, the two are synonymous" (Hawkes, 2001, p. 259).

It is not just the official curriculum that is gendered. Many of the organisational structures within a school "are frequently made up of paternalistic leadership styles, competitive hierarchies, an over-emphasis on success, individualism, performance and getting ahead" (Salisbury & Jackson, 1996, p. 10). These processes include management and authority structures, pastoral organisation, student streaming procedures, assessment practices, teaching styles, school values, and so on. (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Mills, 2001; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). In addition the hidden curriculum, the "under the desk knowledge acted out along the corridor, behind the bike sheds, in the toilets, and all that is muttered and whispered in classrooms behind cupped hands" (Salisbury & Jackson, 1996, p. 11) is also gendered (Lesko, 2000; Mills, 1998b; 2001). This can have a far more powerful influence on boys than the official curriculum (Hawkes, 2001). At times the official and unofficial curriculum are not internally coherent. Many aspects create contradictory arrangements and meanings (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996).

Discipline

The discipline of a school is closely linked to the power relations within the school (Connell, 2000; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). Schools establish acceptable patterns of how teachers and students are to relate to one another. Strong authoritarian discipline practices that work from a hierarchical model of leadership exercise dominant authority over students. When such a pattern is established in a school it is often repeated by the boys themselves over other younger boys lower down in the hierarchy (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). It could also mean that within that school

other more democratic forms of discipline are given little creditability by students. This can create a situation where teachers feel a pressure to conform to this authoritarian teaching style (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998) because students can perceive the use of discipline styles not based on hegemonic power as weak and ineffective. It is also possible in a school where hegemony is lacking in discipline practices that students will set up a situation of defiance to the authority that is in place (Connell, 2000).

School institutions that favour a heavy handed discipline often express a fear of the feminine (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997). This can lead to teachers operating on a level of rationality that avoids the emotional. Such systems avoid treating their students and staff with empathy and compassion and thus fail to provide a nurturing environment for young people (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997).

Sport

Sport is the third area where observable expressions of masculinity can be identified. Sport is a central activity in the lives of many young people and many participate both in school and club sport. Consequently, sport constitutes an important social context outside education but forms significant links with educational practices. However, sporting practices and discourses largely go unanalysed (Fitzclarence & Hickey, 2000). Boys for example engage in football, cricket, basketball and swimming for fun, friendship, fitness, and to learn discipline commitment and fair play. Yet within these seemingly benign sporting practices and discourses can be found some “powerful ideologies” (Hodgens & Matthews, 2000, p. 41) that express or imply views of human nature and masculinity. Sport is infused with an ideology of hegemonic masculinity (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Mills, 1998a; A. Skelton, 1993; R. W. Smith, 1995).

Sport, and the cultures around it, have come to signify many of the most oppressive aspects of masculinity to women and particular groups of men – for instance, physical violence, alcohol abuse, homophobia, and the objectification of women as sexual objects. (Wright, 2000, p. 13)

This ideology can militate against boys participating in and enjoying sport in a positive and life enhancing way.

Of concern for educators of boys is the connection of sport with dominant and violent behaviour. The connection between the making of masculinities and the body-reflexive practices of sport has been previously noted. Sports with a high degree of body contact, for example

football, are important sites for the development of more dominant forms of masculinity (Mills, 1997a; Renold, 1997; Swain, 2000). These types of sports are competitive and combative. They have been linked to attitudes in males such as male entitlement, avoidance of responsibility, emotional neutrality and abusive behaviour (Fitzclarence & Hickey, 2000; Swain, 2000). When the primary discourse in sport is about winning, the discourses that provide integrity for the sport such as fun, fitness, discipline, fair play and so on are forgotten in order to facilitate winning types of behaviour (Fitzclarence & Hickey, 2000). These behaviours demand boys are dominant, tough, competitive and at times violent. As boys get older they increasingly come to see that the criteria for being a 'real man' involves this winning type of behaviour and other expressions of masculinity are relegated to an inferior status (Keddie, 2002).

Male sport is also the locus of a particular form of male bonding and femiphobia or the fear of the feminine (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003). This form of male bonding excludes women and anything associated with women (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Renold, 1997). It is identified through its language of put downs of women. This includes crude references to women and sex and to put downs of men who express themselves in alternative ways to the hegemony with titles such as 'wuss' or 'girl'. Masculinity is defined strongly as the antithesis of anything feminine and 'real men' are those boys who reject the softness and sensitivity of women. Accompanying this exclusion of woman is an endorsement of sexual harassment and homophobia (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Renold, 1997; C. Skelton, 1997, 2000). Expressions of power over women and other men together with playing sport and drinking alcohol act as signifiers of masculinity (Mills, 2001) and boys work hard and take risks to achieve the social status of manliness as through there is one true masculinity (Mills, 2001).

Students as well as teachers work at establishing a school's gender regime. In fact they participate in the process simply by attending the school and living in its structures. A dynamic process is consequently established which opens the way for change to occur in the school's power relations, its division of labour, its patterns of emotion and its symbolisation (Connell, 1996, 2000). Teachers and students negotiate the way they participate within any school's gender regime. They can adjust to its patterns, rebel against it or try to change it (Connell, 2000).

At times a battle may be experienced between the different masculine expressions. This battle is referred to as "a contest for hegemony" (Connell, 1993, p. 95). This contest for hegemony can occur between particular boys and the school and between different aspects of school life. It

illustrates that all is not in harmony within a school (Connell, 2000). For example the battle can be between boys who do not identify with academic success and the school. This expression of masculinity has been referred to as protest masculinity (Connell, 1993; Jackson, 1998; Martino, 1997). Boys actively participate in their own underachievement by ‘cutting’ a form of masculinity that sets itself up against a middle class culture of hard work and inflexible behaviour codes (Martino, 1997). An integral part of this masculinity is to view school learning as effeminised and wimpish. This contest for hegemony can also be set up between the school’s academic and sporting programme. Such a contests for hegemony can be sanctioned and even set up by the school’s authority structure while remaining ambivalent to the outcome (Connell, 2000). This is especially so for those schools who seek competitive sporting success as a source of prestige (Connell, 2000). In some cases the centrality of a school’s sporting programme “to a school’s ethos and status has more to do with the school itself than the desires and preferences of the boys” (C. Skelton, 2000, p. 16).

3.4.3 *Summary*

The social construction perspective of masculinity contains within it an analysis of the role of the school in creating, defining and sustaining collective masculine expressions. Of particular concern for this perspective are the relationships of power that can develop when hegemonic masculine expressions are encouraged and developed. These relationships become visible within any school by an examination of the school’s gender regime and in particular an examination of a school’s curriculum, discipline and sporting programme.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter, the second stage of my learning journey, has provided a solid basis of knowledge and research upon which to proceed with this study. It has done this by presenting the literature pertinent to an exploration and inspection of the social reality of masculinity and its relationship to the issue of boys’ education. The material has been presented in three sections. Firstly, current ways of understanding masculinity have been outlined. Secondly, the four discourses which have built upon these ways of understanding masculinity and that give voice to the present debate about what is happening to boys in education have been detailed. Lastly, this chapter has provided an outline of particular elements of the social constructionist’s understanding of

collective masculinity expressions within a school setting. This last section has paid particular regard to how a school can configure its particular gender regime.

This literature review firmly identifies that the issue of boys' education is connected with the social reality of masculinity. The problem that College education faces given the hidden nature of the gendered reality of this boys' school is clearly exposed and the research questions that need to be asked become apparent. The first question is "How do the students of the College understand masculinity?" This question aims to discover which of the theories the participants of the study draw from in order to understand their own masculinity and what that means in their lives. Responses to this question will highlight which theories participants have been exposed to in their school and wider environment. The second research question "What is the College's gender regime?" draws specifically upon a social construction understanding of masculinity. It aims to uncover from the students' perspective the important elements of the collective masculine expressions at the College and in particular this College's institutional arrangement of gender. The third research question is, "What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?" This question seeks to discover the benefits and difficulties experienced by the students because of the College's particular gender configuration. It particularly investigates issues that relate to gender justice within the sporting programme, curriculum and discipline practices of the College.

My learning journey continues with Chapter 4. This chapter presents the research design best able to respond to this study and its three research questions.

CHAPTER 4 DESIGN OF RESEARCH

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters it has been recognised that the issue of boys' education is connected with the social reality of masculinity. In Chapter 2 it was identified that the College has given little regard to this connection. Its cultural and historical traditions and the ways these have shaped masculine expressions at the College remain unexplored. This raises concerns about the type of education College students are receiving. In chapter 3 the literature that defines what is meant by masculinity and its association with the boys' education debate was explored. Specifically the social construction understanding of masculinity and its analysis of a school's gender regime received attention. Three research questions were formulated as a result of this exploration and it is these questions that establish the direction of this study. The research questions are:

1. How do the students of the College understand masculinity?
2. What is the College's gender regime?
3. What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

Having established the direction of this study it was considered appropriate to turn to methodological considerations and to justify the methodological choices made in the course of this study. At the outset I saw this study being situated within the research paradigm of constructivism. This choice of paradigm was informed by my experience in social psychology and by my knowledge of the social construction view of masculinity. In making this choice I was aware of the strong epistemological debate within the research community around the different forms of constructivism (Burbules, 2000; Latour, 1992; Phillips, 2000a). Rather than enter into this debate I was swayed by the argument advanced by Burbules (2000) and others, that we put aside unproductive epistemological debates and adopt a more pragmatic approach to constructivist research. Accordingly, with this recommendation in mind, this study is founded in a theoretical framework of constructivism with the research principles developed from symbolic interactionism guiding the data collection and analysis. Furthermore, this research takes a case study approach and employs a two-stage research design of exploration and inspection. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were employed. This chapter details each of these elements of this research design. The final sections

of this chapter outline the limitations of the study, issues of validity pertinent to this study and ethical considerations.

This chapter represents an important development in my learning journey. Its learning enabled me as researcher to step into the field with the direction and clarity of a strongly designed research plan.

4.2 The Study in Relation to Social Inquiry

Constructivism offers a distinctive research paradigm with its own ontological, epistemological and methodological claims (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). From an ontological perspective constructivism holds to a relativism that “assumes multiple, apprehendable, and somewhat conflicting social realities that are the products of human intellects, but that may change as their constructors become more informed and sophisticated” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111). From an epistemological perspective it accepts a “transactional/subjectivist assumption that sees knowledge as created in interaction among investigator and respondents” (p. 111). From a methodological perspective it relies on a hermeneutic/dialectical approach that aims at understanding and reconstructing previously held problematic constructions.

In accepting these ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions, constructivism has set itself apart from other research paradigms. Constructivism rejects positivism’s position of “naïve realism, assuming an objective reality upon which inquiry can converge” and its “dualistic, objectivist assumption that enables the investigator to determine ‘how things really are’ and ‘how things really work’” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.111). Constructivism also rejects “postpositivism’s critical realism, which still assumes an objective reality but grants that it can be apprehended only imperfectly and probabalistically” and its “modified dualist/objectivist assumption that it is possible to approximate (but never really know) reality” (p. 111). Constructivism is somewhat similar to but broader than “critical theory’s historical realism, which assumes an apprehendable reality consisting of historically situated structures” and “its transactional/objectivist assumption that knowledge is value mediated and hence value dependent” (p. 111).

In taking this position constructivism has been subject to strong anti-constructivist criticism. Constructivism by seeing knowledge as “individual reconstructions, coalescing around consensus” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 112) quite naturally draws criticism from the anti-constructivist’s camp. Anti-constructivists see “the world has an existence outside of human experience” that can “be approached only through the utilization of methods that prevent human contamination of its apprehension or comprehension” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 176). In particular, anti-constructivist criticism clusters around three issues: namely, the problem of quality or goodness criteria, the lack of critical purchase and the problem of authority (Schwandt, 1994). In short, critics point to the absence of conventional benchmarks of scientific rigour such as internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity. They also note constructivism’s propensity for description over critical prescription, for privileging the views of actors and for vesting authority and control in researcher as interpreter. Underlying these criticisms is the epistemological issue of whether “knowledge is shaped by external nature versus the view that knowledge, and perhaps ‘nature’ itself is shaped by human activity” (Bredo, 2000, p. 1136).

In addition to this anti-constructivist criticism, constructivism itself is in “blooming, buzzing confusion” (Phillips, 2000b, p. viii). Within the pro-constructivist position there are a number of polarised positions. Each of these positions offers a different view on the origin of human knowledge and reality. An initial point of difference in the constructivist camp occurs over whether knowledge and reality are constructed by individuals or by society. Then there are also different understandings of the constraints or influences affecting knowledge and reality construction. These understandings identify the principle influences on knowledge and reality as being ideal (e.g. cultural or linguistic norms) or realist (e.g. genetic determined brain structures or power structures).

Various scholars have attempted to categorize these polarised positions. For example, four positions have been identified by Bredo (2000); individual idealist constructivism, individual realist constructivism, social idealist constructivism and social realist constructivism (Bredo, 2000). Other scholars including Woolfolk (1998), Phillips (2000a) and Schwandt (2000) have identified similar categories. Woolfolk (1998, p. 279) has identified three types of constructivism: namely, “exogenous”, “endogenous” and “dialectical”. Likewise Phillips (2000a) distinguishes between “social constructivism or constructionism”, “psychological

constructivism”, and “radical constructivism”. These types are aligned to Bredo’s “social idealist constructivism”, “individual idealist constructivism”, and “social realist constructivism”. Similarly Schwandt (2000) divides social constructionism into two categories: namely, “weak” and “strong constructionism”. Again these categories equate to Bredo’s “social idealist constructivism” and his “social realist constructivism”.

Faced with anti-constructivist criticism as well as polarised positions within constructivism itself, scholars such as Schwandt (1994) and Burbules (2000) have advocated reframing the debate away from the ontological and epistemological issues as these tend to divide pro- and anti-constructivists alike. They advocate a move to a more pragmatic stance.

To be sure, the future of interpretivist and constructivist persuasions rests on the acceptance of the implications of dissolving long-standing dichotomies such as subject/object, knower and known, fact/value. It rests with individuals being comfortable with the blurring of lines between the science and the art of interpretation, the social scientific and literary account...

We can reject dichotomous thinking on pragmatic grounds: Such distinctions are simply not very useful anymore. (Schwandt, 1994, p. 132)

Extending this thought, Burbules (2000) advances a pragmatic approach designed to take constructivism “beyond the impasse” (p. 308). In particular he suggests a new pragmatic¹⁴ approach to constructivism that gives priority to ‘doing’ rather than ‘knowing’. He emphasises the need for social processes including social interactions, relations and intersubjective agreements that allow individual constructions to coalesce around a more informed and sophisticated consensus. This includes the need for communication practices that will help establish positive interpersonal relationships and thus maximise understanding and minimise misunderstanding. Social and political contingencies should be taken into account in our efforts to develop workable constructions. Pluralistic views are seen to benefit inquiry by providing opportunities for rigorous questioning and testing. Finally, there needs to be problem-based inquiry in order to understand the practices and procedures by which constructions come to be created, adjudicated and commonly shared.

¹⁴ Pragmatism is a label for a doctrine about meaning that was first made a philosophical term in 1878 by C.S. Peirce. This doctrine was further developed by William James who claimed that all metaphysical disputes could be either resolved or trivialized by examining the practical consequences of alternative answers. Ideas must have *cash-value* and be right or true if it has fruitful consequences (Flew, 1989). In a similar vein, John Dewey extended this thought by proposing that experience sets problems to be solved and people in their ability to modify nature need not be passive subjects.

Given the pragmatic nature of the research problem, it seemed sensible to accept Burbules' recommendation and move beyond the epistemological debates. Symbolic interactionism was chosen as a theoretical framework to guide methodological choices within the study.

4.2.1 Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism explores how people have made sense of their world in a dynamic process of social interaction and offers a pragmatic approach to social inquiry (McCarthy & Schwandt, 2000). From this perspective, people act together individually and collectively through a vast process of "definition" and "interpretation" (Blumer, 1969, p. 10). People define and continually make practical adjustments to their surrounding as they interact in the society. Social interaction is "of vital importance in its own right. This importance lies in the fact that social interaction is a process that forms human conduct instead of being merely a means or a setting for the expression or release of human conduct" (Blumer, 1969, p. 12). This ongoing process of interaction means that people fit their activities to the activities of others in the course of forming their own individual conduct. They act in accordance to the interpretations or meanings they have made of their world. Symbolic interactionists see meaning as variable and emergent (Charon, 1998; Hewitt, 1997). Meaning arises and is transformed as people define and act in social situations. Meaning is not just handed down by culture but is shaped by people and thus shapes culture. Meaning making depends on the ability humans have to interpret a society's symbols. These symbols are the shared meanings that people have come to associate with objects and activities of the world. Consequently people engage in symbolic interaction (Charon, 1998; Hewitt, 1997).

One important symbol that needs to be considered for the purposes of this research is that of gender. This concept together with other important social structures such as class and age enter into the system of meanings of individuals to the degree that these structures affect group formation and interactions (Stryker, 1980). Gender is particularly important because it is so pervasive in social life (Hewitt, 1997). A society creates its gender definitions through a process of shaping and maintaining a variety of social boundaries. These frequently arise out of a process of conflict and negotiation but come to be seen at least for a time as a natural feature of the environment (Hewitt, 1997).

Symbolic interactionism as a methodology for research can be identified by three major principles (Denzin, 1989a; Patton, 1990; Stryker, 1981).

- The first principle claims the centrality of meaning. Meanings are not inherent in reality but are social products formed through the activities of people interacting. The symbolic interactionist is interested in the meanings that have been attached to situations, to phenomena and to themselves.
- The second principle asserts that reality is social production. Meanings are not just situated with individuals. They are constructed and reconstructed in social interactions with others in a dynamic process. The symbolic interactionist is interested in how meanings are developed, established and changed in social processes over time.
- The third and last principle claims the importance of subjectivity. The experiences of individuals and their interaction with others are central to an understanding of the social world. Meanings are arrived at and modified through the interpretive process of the person dealing with the experience or object. The symbolic interactionist is interested in the subjective experience of the individual and especially as this individual interacts with others.

Drawing on these principles a series of six methodological considerations are proposed in order that the fundamental principles upon which symbolic interactionism is based are addressed (Denzin, 1989a). It follows that research methods informed by symbolic interactionism must:

1. combine symbols (language) with social interaction;
2. take the perspective of the participant;
3. enter the participant's world;
4. consider the human conduct in the study situation;
5. reflect the processes and stages that people go through; and,
6. acknowledge that the act of research is a process of symbolic interaction.

These considerations were used to guide the research design of this study as explored in the following section.

4.3 Methodology

Methodology, in the social sciences, refers to how research is conducted (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). It represents the ways researchers act on their environment, the data gathering strategies used, in order that research questions are answered and results are made public and reproducible by others (Denzin, 1989a). This research worked within the context of a case study in a two-stage research design of exploration and inspection. It employed both quantitative and

qualitative methods of analysis: namely, questionnaire, one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions.

4.3.1 *Case Study*

The case study is not so much a methodological choice but a choice of the object to be studied (Stake, 2000). It is research that investigates phenomena within a real-life context and this context is most marked by its limits or boundary. A case is a “bounded system” (L. M. Smith, 1978; Stake, 2000). It is noted by its particularity in choice of participants, place and time. A case is also singular in that it concentrates on one area of research. Yet even in its singularity it will be marked by sub-sections and the researcher will need to examine the complexities within the singularity (Stake, 1994).

In this research, the case is a particular group of students who attend a particular school: year 12 students of the College. This case can be distinguished from other groupings of possible participants both within and beyond the College. A case study approach was chosen for this research as it offered an effective way of building up an understanding of everyday life for the students of the College.

I believe it is reasonable to conclude that one of the most effective means of adding to understanding will be by approximating through the words and illustrations of our [case study] reports the natural experience attained in ordinary personal involvement. (Stake, cited in S. Wilson, 1979, p. 471)

The results of case studies are most marked by their uniqueness. The findings describe how it is for a particular population rather than for the whole. Consequently the results of case studies do not lead to broad generalisations. Rather they are small steps towards understanding a whole.

The case study approach is particularly valuable for this research for a number of reasons. Firstly, it provides the naturalistic setting in which to interact with participants according to symbolic interactionist principles. The researcher had an opportunity to become aware of the behaviour, language, definitions and attitudes of a bounded group of participants. Secondly, it provides an opportunity to explore the unique meanings that one group have given to masculinity in a way that will identify the constructed reality of that group. Such information in that it is location specific rather than general can provide a base for educational evaluation and change for the whole school. This is particularly so because of the case study population choice.

The year 12 boys have been at the school the longest and because of age have the maturity to reflect on their experiences.

A case study approach does not claim any particular methods for the collection or analysis of data (Merriam, 1998). Methods need to best respond to the particular context and purpose of the research. In this study a mixture of both quantitative and qualitative methods best fulfilled the needs of this research.

4.3.2 *Quantitative and Qualitative Methods*

Quantitative and qualitative research methods are often described in relationship to each other with their fundamental differences highlighted. For example, one fundamental difference between quantitative and qualitative research lies in the manner of data collection and analysis. Quantitative research relies upon mathematical and scientific instruments whereas qualitative research claims to seek for a truth that relies on descriptive representations of reality. Qualitative research asserts that knowledge differs depending on the particular perspective that is being studied and depending on the social location of each person involved in the research. It therefore seeks to explore topics or issues by using the researcher as the principal “instrument” for data collection (Lancy, 1993, p. 2). Yet both these forms of research share many similarities as well as differences and the dichotomies typically used to differentiate quantitative and qualitative approaches are overdrawn (Hammersley, 1992). For example, quantitative and qualitative methods can be used to produce certain kinds of data that are more often associated with the other form of research. Quantitative methods can produce descriptive, exploratory, and inductive data while qualitative data can produce explanatory, confirmatory and hypothesis-testing data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Neither quantitative or qualitative methods are superior in themselves nor is it necessary for a theoretical framework to determine method choice (Brewer & Hunter, 1989; Hammersley, 1992; Punch, 1998). Research purposes are best served when the methods of research are chosen with an analysis of their strengths and weaknesses in the light of the research tasks (Punch, 1998). The research context, which includes the purpose of the research and the practicalities of the research, must determine the most appropriate research methods. By choosing mixed methods for this research project I claim that it has provided me with the best opportunity “... to attack a research problem with an arsenal of

methods that have overlapping weaknesses in addition to their complementary strengths” (Brewer & Hunter, 1989, p. 17).

The particular quantitative and qualitative methods chosen for this study were determined by the research design.

4.3.3 Research Design

This research in accordance with the methodological perspective of symbolic interactionism is implemented with the two-stage research design of exploration and inspection (Blumer, 1969). The first stage of research, the stage of exploration, has a broad base. It aims to develop and sharpen the inquiry in order that the direction of the research, the collection of data and the analysis of data “remain grounded in the empirical life under study” (Blumer, 1969, p. 40). During this stage of the study the researcher’s preconceptions must always be open to change. A detailed description of what is happening and a development of further questions that need clarification are the end product of this stage (Charon, 1998). Stage two is the stage of inspection. This stage involved a direct examination of the lives of a few boys. It was an “intensive focused examination” (Blumer, 1969, p. 43). Questions identified at the completion of stage one directed the inspection. Within this stage important elements were isolated and the situation was described according to those elements. “The procedure of inspection must be flexible, imaginative, creative unrountinized” (Charon, 1998, p. 212). This inspection sought to uncover further meaning through a deeper inspection of fewer categories than in stage one from a limited number of students. These two stages of the research design are depicted in Table 4.1.

The first stage of research in this study was marked by the administration of a questionnaire instrument to the majority of year 12 students. This questionnaire sought to obtain a detailed description of what was happening at the College. A wealth of data was obtained and these data were analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. These data are displayed in Chapter 5. An analyses of the data obtained in this stage of exploration led to the identification of certain elements that warranted further inspection.

An inspection of the elements identified through the analysis of stage one data was the task of Stage two. It was important that the methods used at this stage were flexible enough to allow for a more imaginative and creative response from the participants. Consequently, the qualitative

methods of one-to-one interview and focus group discussion were employed. A display of the data obtained in this stage of the research is detailed in Chapter 6.

Table 4.1. Overview of Research Design

Research Stage	Activity	Data Collection Methods	Data Analysis Methods
Stage 1 Exploration	Obtaining data from an entire year 12 cohort that would address the 3 research questions.	Questionnaire <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ trial of questionnaire with 40 participants (Throughout 1999) ◆ completion of a questionnaire with 255 participants (February – March, 2000) 	Quantitative data analysis including, item analysis, factor analysis and multivariate analysis of the results of most questionnaire items (March – June, 2000) Qualitative data analysis through analytic induction of the responses to 5 questionnaire items (March – June, 2000)
Stage 2 Inspection	Obtaining in-depth data on aspects of the participants' experiences that were highlighted by an analysis of the questionnaire data.	One-to-one interviews with 14 participants (July – December, 2000) Focus group discussions with 3 focus groups. (July – December, 2000)	Analytic induction of interview scripts (July – December, 2000 and beyond) Analytic induction of focus group discussion scripts. (July – December, 2000 and beyond)

An exploration of each of the data gathering strategies used in this research, namely questionnaire, one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions are outlined in the next section. An overview of the questions used in the data gathering and their relationship to the research questions are presented in Figure 4.2.

4.3.4 Stage I - Stage of Exploration

The initial exploration of the social reality of masculinity and its relationship to the issues of boys' education in a Catholic secondary school was conducted through a questionnaire instrument. The questionnaire content emerged after a one-year period of observation and interaction with the students of the College. During this time a questionnaire instrument was trialed with approximately 60 year 12 students of 1999. An analysis of this questionnaire and

	EXPLORATORY STAGE OF RESEARCH		INSPECTION STAGE OF RESEARCH	
Research Questions	Questionnaire Items ¹⁵		Guiding Questions for One-to-One Interview	Guiding Question for Focus Group Discussion
	Quantitative Analysis	Qualitative Analysis	Qualitative Analysis	Qualitative Analysis
Research Question 1: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?	3. Desirable Masculine Qualities 4. Undesirable Masculine Qualities	2. Understanding of Masculinity	1. What do participants consider are the qualities that identify idealised masculine expressions? 2. How do participants understand moral goodness as a masculine quality?	
Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?	7. College's Masculine Qualities 10. Men of the College 12. Taught to be a Man of the College 13. Events 14. Heroes of the College 15. Spirit of the College 16. College Life		1. What are the College's idealised masculine expressions? 2. What do the <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curriculum; • Discipline practices; and, • Sporting programme, reveal about the College's gender regime?	3. What do the vocational education, day boy students and Asian students reveal about the College's gender regime?
Research Question 3: What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?	11. Importance of being a Man of the College 18. Approval of the College 19. Engaging in School Activities 20. Succeeding Academically 21. Valuing of Students 23. Prevalence of Insults 24. Appropriateness of Activities	18. Comment on Approval of the College 19. Comment on Engaging in School Activities 20. Comment on Succeeding Academically 22. Comment on Student Treatment	1. What are the implications for students of the College's emphasis on sport?	2. What are the implications of the College's gender regime on vocational education, day boy and Asian students?

Figure 4.1. Overview of questions used in the exploratory and inspection stages of research and their relationship to the research questions

¹⁵ Questionnaire items 9, 17 and 24 revealed little valuable information and were discarded from analysis. Questionnaire items 5, 6, 8 were analysed but judged to have little value in answering the study's three research questions. These analyses are displayed in Appendix F.

further discussion with participants led to the development of the final questionnaire (See Appendix D). The questionnaire as a method for a symbolic interactionist perspective on research is noted as not always being appropriate to the perspective. “Users of the survey seldom combine symbols with interaction and they seldom take the role or attitude of the subject” (Denzin, 1989a, p. 27). Surveys which are built around open-ended questions are noted as the exception (Denzin, 1989a). Appreciating this point participants were asked to respond to a series of 10 open ended questions (Questionnaire Items 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15 & 17). Another series of questions asked boys to respond on a Likert scale. These involved questionnaire items 5, 6, 8, 11, 16, 21, 23 & 24. These questions were also appropriate to a symbolic interactionist perspective because in their very design they combined the participants’ symbols and entered the world of the participants. The content of the questions and in some cases the very words of the participants were used in designing the Likert scales. Question 23 illustrates this strongly. It gives participants a list of 11 insults with the possibility of a 12th on a 6 point Likert scale. All these insults had been gathered from boys in the 12-month observation period before the questionnaire was administered. It was obvious that the boys related to the language and content of this question because in every class in which the questionnaire was administered the boys had a laugh or a comment to the researcher when they reached that question. Another set of questions (Questionnaire Items 9, 18, 19, 20 & 22) provided an opportunity for an open-ended response by asking participants to add their comment to their previous responses. The overview of the questionnaire (Appendix E) provides details of its format and content.

The questionnaire was completed by students in class groupings. The researcher visited each class group to introduce the idea of being involved in the completion of the questionnaire. Some boys chose not to participate. Those boys who agreed to participate were given the appropriate information and permission forms. Boys were given approximately 2 weeks in which to return these forms. Another time was arranged with the students, teachers and school administration in which the questionnaires could be completed. During this time a number of boys who had previously agreed to complete the questionnaire were absent from class. The questionnaire needed to be completed in a 50 minute period. This time limit was managed well by most participants with the majority taking from 20 minutes to 50 minutes to complete the questionnaire. A small number of boys would have benefited from additional time. Participants responded to 25 questions. Many of these questions contained sub-items and consequently a total of 119 data elements were generated for each respondent. A total of 255 completed

questionnaires out of a group of 301 students were collected. This represented 85% of the total population. The next task involved an analysis of all these data.

Data Analysis

Data analysis began in the very first act of data collection as data collection and analysis is a simultaneous and iterative activity (Creswell, 2002; Merriam, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1984). In this research, analysis commenced in the drafting of the trial questionnaire and continued until the final interview. It was intensified, however, after I had finished collecting the data. This intensification is linked to three processes, data reduction, data display and the drawing of conclusions (Huberman & Miles, 1994).

Data reduction had already been potentially limited by the design elements of the research, for example the theoretical framework, research questions, case study approach and data collection instruments (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Patton, 1990). Nevertheless the quantity of data obtained through the questionnaire's 119 data elements was large. Data reduction involved the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Some of the items of the questionnaire had been specifically designed for quantitative analysis. Other items it was judged would be most effectively treated through quantitative analysis. Five items (Question 2, the explanation sections of Questions 18, 19 & 20 and Question 22) were analysed through qualitative methods. Three items (Questions 9, 17 & 24) revealed little valuable information and were discarded from analysis. This section outlines the distinctive data reduction and data display processes that were used for both the quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis. Both these sets of data were considered in the final process of drawing conclusions that would give direction for the stage of inspection.

Quantitative methods of data reduction and display.

Questionnaire item one obtained descriptive information on the year 12 College students. This included information such as age, curriculum pathway, student enrolment type, residential regions, years at the College and involvement in College life. The frequency of participants' responses to the 34 items in this question was calculated. They are displayed in Tables 5.1, 5.5 and 5.6. The structure of boys' sporting involvement was further explored employing Ward's

method with no predefined number of clusters. A dendrogram of distances at which sport and clusters merged is displayed Figure 5.3. Frequency of responses was also calculated for Questions 18, 19 and 20. The first part of these questions asked boys to respond with a Yes or No response. These data are displayed in section 5.2.3.

Questionnaire items 5, 6, 8, 11, 16, 21, 23 and 25 had been specifically designed for quantitative analysis. These items were presented on the questionnaire as Likert scales. The categories presented had been explored and refined through interaction with students and through trialing the questionnaire. The results were subjected to univariate analysis. For each question, mean scores were calculated for each of the named categories. These scores are displayed in graph form in Figures 5.4 (Question 6), Figure 5.5 (Question 11), Figure 5.6 (Question 21) Figure 5.7 (Question 23) Figure 5.2 (Question 25) and in Appendix F¹⁶ (Questions 5, 8 & 16). The results of Questions 5, 6, 16, 21, 23 and 25 were also subjected to factor analyses. In each case an exploratory principal component analyses was specified by setting a minimum eigenvalue of 1. The principal component solution was subjected to a varimax rotation in order to achieve a simple structure in the factor loadings. These factor solutions are displayed in Table, 5.9 (Question 16), Table 5.18 (Question 21), Table 5.10 (Question 25) and Appendix F (Questions 5, 6 & 23).

A similar process of factor analyses was also undertaken on Questions 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 15. These questions were presented to the participants as open ended questions. The data needed to be summarised and clustered before the statistical factor analysis could be produced. Each participant's response to each separate question was recorded. Similar responses were clustered together by the researcher. This process generated a number of binary scales for each item. Factor analyses were then performed on the groups of items obtained from the 8 questions. These processes of factor analysis reduced a total of 144 separate items to 51 factors. These factor solutions are displayed in Table 5.2 (Questions 3 & 4), Table 5.3 (Question 7), Table 5.4 (Question 10), Table 5.7 (Question 12), Table 5.8 (Question 15), Table 5.11 (Question 14). Several variations of factor analyses failed to yield acceptable solutions for Question 13. These data were explored using cluster analysis and are displayed in Figure 5.3

¹⁶ Appendix F presents a display of data from the questionnaire that is not displayed in Chapter 5.

Elements of the students' characteristics were also explored using t-tests and one way ANOVAs. Significant differences, where .05 has been adopted for claiming this statistical difference, were noted. These are displayed in Tables 5.12–5.17 and in Appendix F. ANOVAs that were carried out for the number of years students were at the College indicated that there were no significant global F tests. However, since the independent variable represented different lengths of time (1 to 5+ years) at the College, tests for linear and quadratic trends were undertaken to supplement the global F tests. The results of these tests are displayed in Appendix F.

An intercorrelation analysis was also carried out between the 51 factor scores. Correlations exceeding .3 are accepted as sufficiently substantial to report as findings since a correlation of .3 indicates a 10% sharing of variance. The correlations as displayed in Appendix F are noted as substantial. Correlations between factors are constrained to zero by the varimax rotation procedure that was selected.

This process of data reduction and display enabled a full data display to be accessible and ready for interrogation.

Qualitative methods of data reduction and display.

The data reduction and display of the material obtained from questionnaire items 2, 18, 19, 20 and 22 employed qualitative methods of analysis. This involved an interactive process of summarising, identifying themes, patterns and clusters and discovering relationships (Huberman & Miles, 1994). Responses to each of the questions were identified and collected in separate texts. Each text was then scanned for any patterns of association in the material and reflected upon in relationship to the research question. Themes were identified and summaries made of each participant's response to these themes. Finally these themes were recorded in an organised and compressed assembly of information (Huberman & Miles, 1994). This process enabled a full data display to be accessible and ready for interrogation. Chapter 5.3 presents a full display of these data.

Drawing conclusions.

The next stage of analysis involved drawing conclusions. At this stage I worked with both the quantitative and qualitative displays of data to complete the first stage of this research, the stage of exploration. The questionnaire presented a large amount of data. I became immersed in these data and engaged in a process of noting what stood out, what needed further clarification, what presented itself in a contradictory light. I aimed firstly to gather an overall description of what was happening at the College and secondly to isolate important elements that warranted further inspection (Charon, 1998). These conclusions, drawn tentatively and displayed in 5.4, provided the base for the second stage of this research, the stage of inspection.

4.3.5 Stage II – Stage of Inspection

Stage two of the exploration of the social reality of masculinity and its relationship to the issues of boys' education in a Catholic secondary school employed the methods of one-to-one interview and focus group discussion. These methods are outlined hereunder together with the processes used to collect, reduce and display the data obtained.

One-to-One Interviews

Interviews are especially suited to symbolic interactionist research as they have the possibility of fulfilling in a crucial way the methodological requirements of this perspective of research. An interview is in itself an instance of social interaction. It can explore the perspective of the participant and provide the researcher with an opportunity to enter the participant's world. Finally it can provide an opportunity to consider human behaviour and the processes and stages of the participant's meaning making (Denzin, 1989a).

The interview is a face-to-face interaction between participant and researcher. It aims to find out what is in the other's mind. It is the "favored digging tool" (Denzin, 1989b, p. 102) of social researchers because of its flexibility and dynamic nature. In this method the interviewer becomes a tool of research. The role requires not merely obtaining answers but of designing questions and the manner of delivery of those questions (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). This research employed a focused, "nonschedule standardized interview" (Denzin, 1989b, p. 105) or "general interview

guide approach” (Patton, 1990, p. 280) to interviewing. This form of interview begins with an interview guide. This guide incorporates a list of the general areas that need to be covered with each participant. In the interview situation the researcher decides how best to place and phrase the questions. Such a method acknowledges that individuals have their own way of understanding and making meaning of their world and that researchers must approach the participant from that perspective. It also means that the aims of the interview do not have to detract from the interaction between the researcher and the participant. A spontaneous conversational style can be established. This method also increases the chance that a comprehensive slice of information will be obtained from each participant. Gaps in the conversation can be easily identified and closed (Patton, 1990). The quality of the information obtained from participants involved in a guided interview depends for the most part upon the interviewer’s skill. This skill demands that the researcher build rapport and enter into the world of the other while avoiding getting involved in a *real* conversation where the ideas, attitudes and beliefs of the researcher influence the information that is obtained (Fontana & Frey, 2000). The researcher also needs to attempt to minimise status differences such as gender, education, age, power, wealth etc. that exist between the researcher and the participants (Fontana & Frey, 2000). It is also noted that the interview guide is particularly useful when the researcher has already learned something about informants through some other research method (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

In this research I had already discovered a wealth of information about participants through the questionnaire. An analysis of this questionnaire was able to limit, clarify and direct the information needed from the interview process. The interview guide for this research was the series of questions that were generated in summarising and analysing the data obtained from the questionnaire. These questions are displayed in Figure 4.1. The one-to-one interviews ensured that the perspective of students were obtained in a way that offered a full rich description capable of adding depth to understanding. I acknowledge that my status of woman and adult may at times have meant that participants were circumspect in the information they gave me and guarded in their matter of giving this information. However my skill as interviewer built readily on my skill as Counsellor. I had already built good rapport with many students and established a basis of trust, especially in my career counselling work with the year 12s. Participants it would seem to me spoke relatively freely. This freedom was assisted by the promise of confidentiality - a promise that was familiar to them in a counselling setting.

A total of twelve participants took part in the complete interview process. Two other participants took part in a limited interview. These latter two interviews were concerned with collecting data from only one area of College life – its sporting programme. The two students who engaged in these interviews were two of the College’s elite sportsmen. One was a gymnast who had competed in his sport at international level (Participant 13) and the other was the Captain of the school’s 1st XV rugby team (Participant 14). The decision to include these two interviewees in the process was made during the research process because no elite sportsmen of the College were included in the twelve participants. The researcher judged that the importance of the sporting programme warranted their inclusion. Within the interview these participants only discussed issues relevant to sport. A description of all participants and their particular research involvement is presented in Table 4.2. During the one-to-one interviews I attempted through the use of open-ended questions to exact as full and as faithful account as possible of each participant’s experience. Participants were encouraged to explore their responses in depth and I observed and explored any accompanying emotional response.

Table 4.2. Characteristics of Participants in Inspection Stage of Research.

Participant	Interview or Focus Group	Enrolment Type	Curriculum Pathway	Residential Region
1	Interview	Full Boarder	OP Student	Country Queensland
2	Interview	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
3	Interview	Full Boarder	OP Student	Country Queensland
4	Interview	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
5	Interview	Metro Boarder	OP Student	Sunshine Coast
6	Interview	Metro Boarder	OP Student	Gold Coast
7	Interview	Full Boarder	OP Student	Brisbane Area
8	Interview	Full Boarder	OP Student	Gold Coast
9	Interview	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
10	Interview	Metro Boarder	OP Student	Brisbane
11	Interview	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
12	Interview	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
13	Interview - sport	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
14	Interview - sport	Full Boarder	OP Student	Country Queensland
15	Focus Group	Day Boy	Vocational Education	Brisbane Area
16	Focus Group	Day Boy	Vocational Education	Brisbane Area
17	Focus Group	Day Boy	Vocational Education	Brisbane Area
18	Focus Group	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
19	Focus Group	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
20	Focus Group	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
21	Focus Group	Day Boy	OP Student	Brisbane Area
22	Focus Group	Boarder	OP Student	Asia
23	Focus Group	Boarder	OP Student	Asia
24	Focus Group	Day Boy	OP Student	Asia

Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions offer a quick way to access a large and rich amount of data. They are also a particularly valuable tool for obtaining data from children (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). They offer the opportunity for the building of a dynamic character in the gathering of data. Within such a group individuals will be able to react to the researcher's offered stimulus and to build upon and interact with the responses of other group members. "This synergistic effect of the group setting may result in the production of data or ideas that might not have been uncovered in individual interviews" (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990, p. 16). Focus groups also enable participants to have a greater control of the interactive process than is possible in the one-to-one interview (Morgan, 1988). This is an important consideration for young people given the power relationship that can exist between adult and student. Focus group discussions have the potential to cultivate greater spontaneity and honesty and also enable the group to support members when socially unpopular ideas need to be expressed (Basch, 1987; Krueger, 1994). They have a particular value in that they enable a number of different perspectives to be brought into contact. This adds a valuable dimension to the data collected. However one of the disadvantages of focus groups is that responses obtained from participants are not individual responses and individual students can dominate the interview process. Individual behaviour can be open to group influence (Morgan, 1988, p. 21). The combination of focus group discussion and one-to-one interviews helped address any imbalance that one method would have introduced into this research design.

Three focus groups were formed. Membership in these 3 groups was determined by the three identified sub-group classifications, namely Vocation Education students, day boys and Asian students. There were a total of 10 participants.

One-to-One Interview and Focus Group Discussion Processes

During the completion of the questionnaire participants were invited to take part in a one-to-one interview or a focus group discussion. A number of participants volunteered and names were recorded. After the questionnaire data had been analysed these participants were approached by the researcher and asked again if they would like to contribute. A number of participants who fitted the characteristic of one of the three focus groups were prepared to take part in a group

discussion process. Participants self selected. A number preferred to be part of the one-to-one interviewing process. The appropriate permission slips and letters of information were distributed to all prospective participants and interview and focus group discussion times were arranged. It was possible to arrange a time with each participant that suited his academic programme. The one-to-one interview and the focus group discussion took approximately 1 hour. The interviews and discussions were taped (with participants' permission) and transcribed. All tapes have been named, dated and retained in a secure setting.

The transcriptions of the taped interviews and discussions formed the raw data of analysis. As was the case for the questionnaire, research analysis is linked to three processes: namely, data reduction, data display and the drawing of conclusions (Huberman & Miles, 1994).

Data reduction and display.

The first step in reducing the data was to become familiar with the texts of the interviews and discussions. This was achieved firstly by listening to the tapes and transcribing. This was a time consuming process but was advantageous in that it gave me the opportunity to reflect on and become familiar with the participants' responses. The second step was to read and reflect on the full texts in relationship to the research questions. This step involved me in a process of making sense of what participants had said, looking for patterns or themes and connecting what had been said by them and others in order that a whole picture could emerge. This involved a cross-interview analysis (Patton, 1990) where ideas from one interview or discussion were compared with the ideas from another interview or discussion. When similar ideas emerged they were coded in the margin of the transcript. Then began the third step, that of describing the data. The responses of all 24 participants were grouped around each of the guiding interview questions. It is noted that not all the relevant data was found in the same place in each interview or discussion. In the fourth step themes were identified and summaries made of each participant's responses to these themes (See Appendices G-L). Finally these themes were recorded in an "organised and compressed assembly of information" (Huberman & Miles, 1994, p. 429) with the best illustrations being selected from the summary of responses. This process enabled a full data display to be accessible and ready for interrogation. The data are displayed in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Drawing of conclusions.

The drawing of research conclusions for qualitative research involves the researcher in an interactive set of tactics intended to draw meaning from all the displayed data in response to the research questions. This is a cyclical practice of examination and interpretation built on inductive analysis (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Janesick, 2000). Processes involve the summarising and making sense of data, the observation of themes, patterns and clusters, the discovery of relationships and the development of explanations (Huberman & Miles, 1994). This examination and interpretation is supported by confirmatory strategies such as contrasting, comparing, triangulation, looking for negative cases and following up surprises (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Stake, 2000). Finally this interpretation is presented in narrative form where “the researcher must find the most effective way to tell the story and to convince the audience of the meaning of the study” (Janesick, 2000, p. 389). It is this final activity that has been referred to as a form of “radical democratic practice” (Denzin, 2000, p. 898). Here the researcher provides material for readers to learn what he or she has discovered and to open up possibilities for further learning (Stake, 2000).

Findings of the Study

The findings of this study as recorded in Chapter 7 of this thesis employed a cyclical process. Data have been summarised, themes named and patterns examined. These data were placed beside the information obtained through the examination of both the context and the literature of this study. In this process relationships have been discovered and explanations offered that address this research’s three research questions. Confirmatory strategies such as contrasting, triangulation, looking for negative cases were employed in order that the relationships first identified could be confidently explained. Triangulation was achieved in two ways that is through data triangulation and methodological triangulation. Data triangulation was achieved in the exploratory stage of the research by gathering information from 255 of the 301 year 12 cohort and in the inspection stages by involving a total of 24 participants. This ensured a variety of voices was obtained. Methodological triangulation was achieved by using multiple methods to study a single problem, namely questionnaire, one-to-one interview and focus group discussion.

Any conclusions that this study has drawn must be bounded by the limitations of the study and must be authenticated by successfully addressing reliability and validity issues. These issues are discussed hereunder.

4.4 Limitations of the Study

In accordance with the principles of symbolic interactionism this research acknowledges that the understanding that arises through this research is limited. In any social setting, what is happening can be explored in levels. Greater participation can be rewarded by greater understanding. However, regardless of the level of participation there will be some elements of that society that will remain hidden.

The person who participates in it (observation of group life) will have a greater knowledge of it, although if he is a naive and unobservant participant his knowledge may be very restricted and inaccurate. The participant who is observant will have fuller and more accurate knowledge. But there are levels of happening that are hidden to all participants. (Blumer, 1976, p. 15)

The two phase process of this research has ensured that this research can claim a fuller and more accurate knowledge (Blumer, 1976) but it cannot claim a complete knowledge.

The stage of exploration involving the questionnaire produced an overwhelming amount of data. The restraints of this project did not make it possible to explore in depth all interesting or contradictory results. Many of the results from this questionnaire open themselves for further inspection. In addition the matters that were of interest to the researcher represent her own bias. Other matters that were not followed up by the researcher could be of equal or more significance in understanding masculinity at the College.

With the second stage of research, the stage of inspection, the major issue which detracted from the research was limitations of time. This research needed to be completed in a single school year. This limitation proved particularly difficult for the one-to-one and focus group discussions. These interviews and discussions took time. Year 12 students were only available for a small number of periods per week. Absence from most classes would have caused a serious interruption to their academic studies. Most prospective participants were not available after school hours because of sporting and other commitments. This meant that the number of one-to-one interviews was limited to 14. Perhaps a larger number of interviews would have provided a

more reliable information base. Time and availability constraints also limited the focus group membership with numbers being limited to one group of 4 and two groups of 3. A focus group of 3 or 4 is noted as being a particularly small group with most writers recommending a membership of 6 – 8 (Patton, 1990). It is acknowledged that some voices may have been missed because of these small numbers.

4.5 Issues of Validity

All research must attend to issues of the validity of the research in order to establish its “truth value” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290). The issue of validity asks the question as to whether the findings are sufficiently authentic that is, are they “isomorphic to some reality, trustworthy, related to the way others construct their social world” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). There are no absolute criteria for judging validity (Bradley & Schaefer, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). In fact validity criteria are widely debated (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). In view of this lack of absolute criteria and the present debate the validity constructs presented by Lincoln and Guba (2000) for constructivist research have been accepted as the measure by which to evaluate this study’s rigour.

The first issue in ensuring validity rests in a conflation between method and interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). A form of rigour is demanded in the relationship between both. The credibility of this research can be ascertained by examining the research design, the methods outlined in this chapter and the interpretation processes used. Within this research both the method and interpretation are governed by the methodological perspective of symbolic interactionism. This perspective takes its place within an interpretive paradigm. The implications from this choice of methodology and interpretation encompass all aspects of the study but are particularly relevant to the kind of claims that can be made about research findings. Research undertaken within a positivistic framework claims that it can provide objective data and generalisable results. An interpretive framework such as symbolic interactionism makes no such claims.

The four customary means – adhering to scientific protocol, engaging in replication, testing hypotheses and using operational procedure – do not provide the empirical validation that genuine empirical social science requires. They give no assurance that premises, problems, data, relations concepts, and interpretations are empirically valid. Very simply put, the only way to get this assurance is to go directly to the empirical social world – to see through meticulous examination of

it whether one's premises or root images of it, one's questions and problems posed for it, the data one chooses out of it, the concepts through which one sees and analyses it, and the interpretations one applies to it are actually borne out. (Blumer, 1969, p. 33)

Research within the perspective of symbolic interactionism aims to develop an understanding of the individual within the social setting. It makes no claim to find any universal law or generalised principle. It rests on the claim that within any social phenomenon there are a multiple of interacting factors, some tangible, others intangible, and that it is best to study the whole rather than independent variables.

The second issue in ensuring validity is embedded within the question of how reliable would it be to act on the research findings. "How do we know when we have specific social inquiries that are faithful enough to some human construction that we may feel safe in acting on them, or, more important, that member of the community in which the research is conducted may act of them?" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 180). Three areas of discussion have been proposed as being useful in addressing this issue. These are "validity as authenticity," "validity as transgression" and "validity as ethical relationship" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, pp. 180-182).

Validity as authenticity seeks for "fairness and ontological, educative, catalytic and tactical authenticity" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 180). Fairness in research are the attempts to prevent marginalisation and to ensure that all voices in the inquiry are represented and treated with balance (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). In this research the full voice of the year 12 cohort was sought through the questionnaire in the first stage of the research. Voices that needed fuller or clearer expression were sought out in the second stage of the research. It was the intention of this research to respect and represent fairly all voices.

Ontological and educative authenticity refers to the raising of awareness both of the individual research participants (ontological) and of those who they come into some social or organisational contact (educative) (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). These criteria demand some engagement in moral critique and are reflective of what has also been referred to as "critical intelligence" Schwandt (1996, p. 62). Throughout this research the researcher engaged in frank discussion as to its processes and purposes. All participants involved in the study and all observers of the process were involved in a raising of awareness around masculinity especially

as this masculinity was expressed within the school. Catalytic and tactical authenticities refer to the capacity research has of creating positive social change.

Catalytic and tactical authenticities refer to the ability of a given inquiry to prompt, first, action on the part of research participants, and second, the involvement of the researcher/evaluator in training participants in specific forms of social and political action if participants desire such training. (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 181)

With regard to catalytic authenticity it is noted that a number of participants of this study were motivated to action. This action was first observed by those participants who chose after completing the questionnaire to engage in the one-to-one interview or focus group discussion. These participants wanted their voice heard in order that they could affect the educational process for future students. Secondly it was observed during the interviews and discussions. It quickly became apparent that engaging with participants was more than a data collection strategy. Participants were involved in a process that was changing their perceptions. The final words of Participant 4 bears testimony to this reality.

I haven't seen myself as an achiever. I've done it. I haven't seen it as that good. I think that being at the College has affected my vision a bit. I have always wanted to be involved in politics and that sort of stuff and I think maybe I can't do that. And that's the College again. It hasn't really given me all the opportunities to see how high I can get. Maybe I can start changing the way I see myself. (Participant 4)

The tactical authenticity of this research is ongoing. It began with interested year 12 participants but continues with those staff at the College who are interested in gender reform. It is hoped that this research is a catalyst for strategic change.

Validity as transgression refers to research that uncovers "hidden assumptions and life-denying repressions of sociology" (Richardson, 1997, p. 167). This is a process of "reseeing and retelling" (p. 167) in order that the status quo will be disrupted. This study may particularly claim it fulfills the criteria of validity as transgression. In exploring the issue of masculinity in this all boys' school it names a reality that has remained largely invisible, gender. In doing this it opens up for inspection assumptions that have been hidden about the College's particular ways of educating boys. The challenging of life denying perceptions and practices becomes a possibility.

The final area of discussion, validity as ethical relationship, “brings together ethics and epistemology” (Lather, 1993, p. 686). Here the research must be concerned with not just what is known but with the relationship between researcher and research participants (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). In this study the role of counsellor, bounded by its non judgmental and confidential nature, provided me with a unique opportunity to work in partnership with participants. It is especially noted that in the interviews and focus group discussions, I was particularly able to ensure for participants a non hierarchical experience that respected each individual participant’s person and ideas. Validity as ethical relationship also demands that the research as a whole follows a strict code of ethics.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Researchers hold a moral obligation (Schwandt, 1993; Stake, 2000) to ensure they follow a strict code of ethics. This research was conducted with the standard ethical considerations of education research (Babbie, 1992; Schumacher & McMillan, 1993) and the policies of the Australian Catholic University Research Projects Ethics Committee. Ethical Approval was granted by this committee for all contact with participants. Approval was also obtained for this research from the Christian Brothers, St Xavier Province, Queensland and from the College prior to the research being conducted (See Appendix G for copies of Ethics Approval, Letters to the Participants and Consent Forms).

A strict code of ethics is of particular importance in a case study as the researcher shares in an intense way the personal and private world of a limited group of people. These participants may “risk exposure and embarrassment, as well as loss of standing, employment, self-esteem” (Stake, 2000, p. 447). Four principles have traditionally directed the ethical conduct of researchers (Christians, 2000). These are:

1. Informed consent: This principle necessitates that researchers obtain participants’ voluntary participation. It also requires that participants are fully informed about the nature and consequences of the activities they engage in. (Babbie, 1992; Schumacher & McMillan, 1993)
2. Openness: This principle demands that the research is free of active deception. (Christians, 2000)
3. Privacy and confidentiality: This principle insists that the researchers set up safeguards to protect participants’ identities and research locations. It

demands the securing of all data and the procuring of anonymity. (Babbie, 1992; Christians, 2000)

4. Accuracy: This principle obliges the researcher to ensure that data are accurate without fabrication, fraudulent materials and omissions. (Christians, 2000)

This research was committed to following a strict code of ethics based on these four principles.

In the first instance the voluntary and informed consent of all participants was sought for all aspects of the research design. Initially written consent was obtained from the Principal of the College. Arrangement was then made to speak to all year 12 students in class groups. At this time students were invited to participate. It was stressed that participation was voluntary. Those who were interested were invited to take a letter of information and a form of consent. As most participants were minors, that is under 18 years of age, this consent required the involvement of the participants' parents or legal guardians. An arrangement was made with those students who were boarders to post letters and forms of consent to parents and/or guardians. The voluntary nature of this research was attested to during the completion of the questionnaire with a number of year 12 students abstaining from the activity. Students who volunteered to engage in the one-to-one interview or focus group discussion also engaged in a process of giving their own consent and obtaining the consent of parents and/or guardians. Participants were also informed that at any time during the research process they could withdraw without any detriment to them. In accordance with the second principle this research was free from any deliberate deception. Participants were informed of the purpose of the research and all processes of research were straightforward. Any questions that participants had in the course of the research were answered in an upfront and open manner.

The third principle demanded that I enter into a mutual agreement with each participant that guaranteed the right to privacy and confidentiality. All data, which includes completed questionnaires, taped interviews and discussions and typed scripts of interviews and discussions, have been stored in a safe location. When participants' words are used in the thesis the participant is referred to only by a number. Also in an effort to protect privacy and confidentiality the name of the school has been replaced with a pseudonym, namely the "College". It is noted however that watertight confidentiality has proved to be impossible (Christians, 2000). What can appear neutral on paper can often be recognised by an insider. I made judgments during the analysis of data to withhold data that I judged could be both

identifiable and detrimental to any individual participant. This is one way in which I responded to each participant as a human being and not a “catalogued faceless respondent” (Fontana & Frey, 1994, p.373). Finally the data in this research is accurate without any fabrication or fraudulent materials. There are no calculated omissions aimed to protect the institution or to portray a biased view of reality. I attempted to see the multiple realities that emerged in the data and deliberately sought for negative instances during analysis that would disconfirm first interpretations.

In conclusion, it is noted that case study researchers, in order to avoid ethical problems, must continually draw input “from conscience, from stakeholders, and from the research community” (Stake, 2000, p. 448). Throughout this research I sought this threefold input. I engaged in a continual process of critical self-reflection and set up conversation opportunities about this research with teachers, students and parents of the College, as well as with other researchers. Ethical issues always remained centrally important to myself as researcher.

4.7 Conclusion

The purpose of the study is to describe and analyse the experiences of College students in order that the problems associated with boys’ education can be analysed. This chapter has provided a description of the methodological choice that best responds to this research problem. It has outlined the social constructionist epistemology upon which the research is built and given details of the theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism. It has given detail of the two stage research design employed which involves the research methods of questionnaire, one-to-one interview and focus group discussion. It has addressed issues that relate to the study’s limitation, its reliability and validity and its ethical base. My learning journey continued with the implementation of this research design. The following two chapters present a display of data arising from this research.

CHAPTER 5
DATA DISPLAY
STAGE I - EXPLORATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter displays the data obtained from the year 12 students of the College in the first or exploratory stage of this research. Data were obtained through a questionnaire completed by 255 participants which was designed to elicit a full range of responses to the three research questions.

1. How do the students of the College understand masculinity?
2. What is the College's gender regime?
3. What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the data obtained through the questionnaire and to identify the issues that will need to be further inspected in the second stage of the research.

This chapter is presented in two main sections. These sections attest to the fact that the questionnaire data were analysed through both quantitative and qualitative methods. Section 5.2 presents the results of those elements of the questionnaire that were treated with quantitative methods of analysis. It includes univariate results, data reduction results using factor analysis and cluster analysis, and t-tests and ANOVAs that explore the relationships between characteristics of the sample. The data have been organised in relationship to the three research questions. Section 5.3 presents a display of the results of the data obtained from five open-ended items of the questionnaire (Items 2, 18, 19, 20 and 22). The responses to these items were analysed through qualitative methods and offer valuable data to address research questions one and three. Section 5.4 presents a summary of the data displayed in this chapter. This summary reveals questions that need to be explored in the inspection or second stage of the research. Figure 5.1 presents an overview of the questions used in the questionnaire and their relationship to the Research Questions.

	EXPLORATORY STAGE OF RESEARCH	
Research Questions	Questionnaire Items	
	Quantitative Analysis	Qualitative Analysis
Research Question 1: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?	3: Desirable Masculine Qualities 4: Undesirable Masculine Qualities	2: Masculinity
Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?	7: College's Masculine Qualities 10: Men of the College 12: Taught to be Man of the College 13: Events 14: Heroes of the College 15: Spirit of the College 16: College Life	
Research Question 3: What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?	11: Importance of being a Man of the College 18: Approval of the College 19: Engaging in School Activities 20: Succeeding Academically 21: Valuing of Students 23: Prevalence of Insults 25: Appropriateness of Activities	18: Comment on Approval of the College 19: Comment on Engaging in School Activities 20: Comment on Succeeding Academically 22: Comments on Student Treatment

Figure 5.1. Overview of questions used in the exploratory stage of the research and their relationship to the research questions.

5.2 Display of Quantitative Results of Questionnaire

The majority of the elements of the questionnaire used to gather data in this exploratory stage of the research was analysed through quantitative methods. As stated this resulted in univariate results and data reduction results using factor analysis and cluster analysis. In addition t-tests and ANOVAs to test significance differences among identified student characteristics were performed.

The characteristics of the 255 students who completed the questionnaire were obtained from questionnaire item one and included curriculum pathway (Vocational Education or OP student), enrolment type (day boy, metro boarder, full boarder) residential regions, age and years at the College. Table 5.1 presents a summary of these student characteristics with student numbers.

Table 5.1. Participants' Characteristics with Student Numbers

Student Characteristics	Sub Categories	No of Participants
Curriculum Pathway	Vocational Education	44
	OP Students	211
Enrolment Type	Day boy	150
	Metro Boarder	35
	Full boarder	70
Residential Regions	Brisbane Area	160
	Gold/Sunshine Coast	15
	Other Australia	22
	Papua New Guinea	15
	Asia	13
	Other World	5
	Unknown	25
Age of Students	16 years	91
	17 years	34
	18-19 years	30
Years in Attendance	1 year	16
	2 years	42
	3 years	28
	4 years	46
	5 years	110
	5 +years	7
	Unknown	4

5.2.1 Research Question One

How do the students of the College understand masculinity?

Data to address the first research question were obtained from a factor analysis¹⁷ of participants' responses to "Q3 and Q4: Desirable and Undesirable Masculine Qualities". Analysis of the 34 items from Q3 and Q4 yielded 13 factors. These accounted for 61.74% of the variance in scores. The 13 factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table 5.2. This solution as with all the solutions displayed in this thesis is presented in a simplified form. The items have been sorted to reflect the factor solution, the loadings have been sorted from high to low within the factors and the small loadings (below .30) have been omitted.

¹⁷ Factor analyses were performed on the groups of items obtained from 12 of the questions from the questionnaire. In each case an exploratory principal component analyses was specified by setting a minimum eigenvalue of one. The principal component solution was subjected to a varimax rotation in order to achieve a simple structure in the factor loadings. This process reduced a total of 144 separate items to 51 factors. Factor analyses serve a two-fold purpose. Firstly they enable responses to several separate items to be identified and named. Secondly they facilitate the analysis of these named aspects of the life of the College with student characteristics.

- Factor 1 named “Masculine Quality: Caring and Intelligent” included the desirable qualities of being Helpful, Intelligent and Honest and the undesirable qualities of Uncaring and Showing-Off. It also recorded secondary loadings on Confident (desirable) and Aggressive (undesirable).
- Factor 2 “Masculine Quality: Emotional Strength” included the item Emotional Strength as desirable and Emotional Weakness as undesirable. A secondary loading was recorded on being Tough/In Control as a desirable quality.
- Strength and Dominance as desirable and Physical Weakness as undesirable. A secondary loading was recorded on Soft/No Courage as undesirable.
- Factor 4 named “Masculine Quality: Sporty Participant” included the items of Sporty and Emotionally Expressive as desirable and the items of Non Participant and Dishonest as undesirable. A secondary loading on Intelligent (desirable) was also recorded.
- Factor 5 named “Masculine Quality: Loyalty” included the item Loyalty as desirable and the items Dishonest and Soft/No Courage as undesirable. A secondary loading was recorded on Honest (desirable).
- Factor 6 named “Masculine Quality: Motivated” included the items Motivated as a desirable quality and Lazy and Good-Timer as undesirable.
- Factor 7 named “Masculine Quality: Maturity” included the item Maturity as a desirable quality and Immaturity and Ignorance as undesirable qualities. A secondary loading was recorded on Intelligent (desirable).
- Factor 8 named “Masculine Quality: Aggression” included the items Aggressive and Emotionally Restricted as undesirable qualities. A secondary loading was recorded on Emotionally Expressive as a desirable quality.
- Factor 9 named “Masculine Quality: Confident” included the items Confident as desirable and Dependant as undesirable. Secondary loadings were recorded on Non Participant and Soft/No Courage as undesirable.
- Factor 10 named “Masculine Quality: Tough Leader” included the items Leadership and Tough/In Control as desirable with Participant (desirable) recording a negative loading.
- Factor 11 named “Masculine Quality: Good Timer” included the item Good Timer as desirable and Homosexuality as undesirable.
- Factor 12 named “Masculine Quality: Not Good Timer” included the item Not Good Timer as undesirable. A secondary loading was recorded on Participant and Sporty as desirable qualities.
- Factor 13 named “Masculine Quality: Heterosexual” included the item Heterosexuality as desirable. A secondary loading was recorded on Physically Weak as undesirable.

Table 5.2. Factor Loadings of 34 Desirable and Undesirable Masculine qualities on 13 Factors (Q3 & 4)

	Caring & Intelligent	Emotional Strength	Physical Strength	Sporty Participant	Loyalty	Motivated	Maturity	Aggression	Confident	Tough Leader	Good-Timer	Not Good Timer	Hetrosexual
Show Off* ¹⁸	.67												
Helpful	.66												
Uncaring*	.57							.32					
Intelligent	.46			.35			.36						
Honest	.45				.38								
Emot. Strength		.87											
Emot. Weak*		.82											
Phys. Strong			.76										
Phys. Weak*			.68										.32
Dominant			.51										
Uncoordinate*				.80									
Sporty				.56									
Non Participant*				.54					.33			.44	
Emot. Expressive				.45				.38					
Dishonest*					.74								
Loyal					.70								
Soft/No Courage*			.31		.35				.31				
Lazy*						.77							
Motivated						.75							
Good Timer*						.46							
Immaturity*							.75						
Maturity							.73						
Ignorance*							.37						
Aggressive*	.30							.72					
Emot. Restricted*								.70					
Dependant*									.73				
Confident	.31								.57				
Leadership										.74			
Participant										-.50		.39	
Tough/In Control		.41								.42			
Good Timer											.80		
Homosexuality*											.76		
Not Good Timer*												.76	
Hetrosexuality													.82

This analysis indicates that the participants have a relatively broad and somewhat complex understanding of the qualities that they associate with masculinity. It is of interest to compare this result to the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire, “The 16 P.F. Test” (Cattell, 1962).¹⁹ There is some similarity in the breadth of qualities named, for example, dull/ bright, emotional/

¹⁸ Qualities marked with* represent the qualities that were identified as negative by participants.

¹⁹ The Sixteen Personality Factor Test describes sixteen independent dimensions of personality. As is the case in the factor solution presented in Table 5.1, each personality factor is independent. The “location” of a person on one factor (e.g. “dull” to “bright” does not predict the person’s position on any other factor. Other factors included in this test are: aloof/warm, shy/adventurous, trustful/suspecting, conventional/bohemian, simple/polished, conservative/experimenting, lax/controlled & composed/excitable.

calm, submissive/dominant, casual/conscientious, tough/sensitive, silent/enthusiastic, confident/insecure and dependent/self-sufficient.

5.2.2 Research Question Two

What is the College's gender regime?

The display of data that answers the second research question is presented in four sections. The first section “The College’s Masculine Qualities” describes those qualities of the masculine that are important to the College. The second and third sections identify two of the school’s curriculum structures around which the College’s gender regime becomes particularly observable. These are the College’s sporting programme and the College’s religious education programme. Data for these first three sections were obtained from responses to eight questions (Questions 1, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18 and 25). The final section “College Sub Groups” displays data from an analysis of the elements of the students’ characteristics through t-tests and one way ANOVAs. These characteristics include the curriculum pathway (OP students or vocational education student), the enrolment type (day boy, metro boarder²⁰ and full boarder), and the residential regions from which students were drawn²¹. These analyses point to the reality that the students of the College are not a homogenous group. There are significant differences in the way vocational education students, day boy students and Asian students understand the College’s gender regime.

The College’s Masculine Qualities

The College’s masculine qualities are exemplified through the data obtained from the responses to the questionnaire items 7, 10 and the mean score analysis of item 25. The masculine qualities that participants recognise are important to the College were obtained from “Q7: College’s Masculine Qualities”.

²⁰ A metro (metropolitan) boarder is a boarder who lives close enough to the College to make it possible for him to live at home during weekends. A number of these metro boarders actually live in the Brisbane region but choose to board with the College in order that they can fully partake in College activities especially sporting activities.

²¹ Analyses using one way ANOVAs were also performed for student age and years at the College. These analyses are displayed in Appendix F.

- Factor 5 named “College Quality: Spirit Filled Participant” included the items Spirit Filled Person and Participant.
- Factor 6 named “College Quality: Respectful Person” included the item Respectful Person. This factor included secondary loadings on Popular Person and Honest Person and a negative secondary loading on Independent Person.
- Factor 7 named “College Quality: Dependant Worker” included the item Worker and a negative loading for Independent Person. It also included a secondary loading on All Rounder.
- Factor 8 named “College Quality: Mature Man” included the item Mature Person and a negative loading for Gentleman. The word “Gentleman” is at times used by teachers when they are calling for a more mature response from students. In this factor the word is associated with being immature.

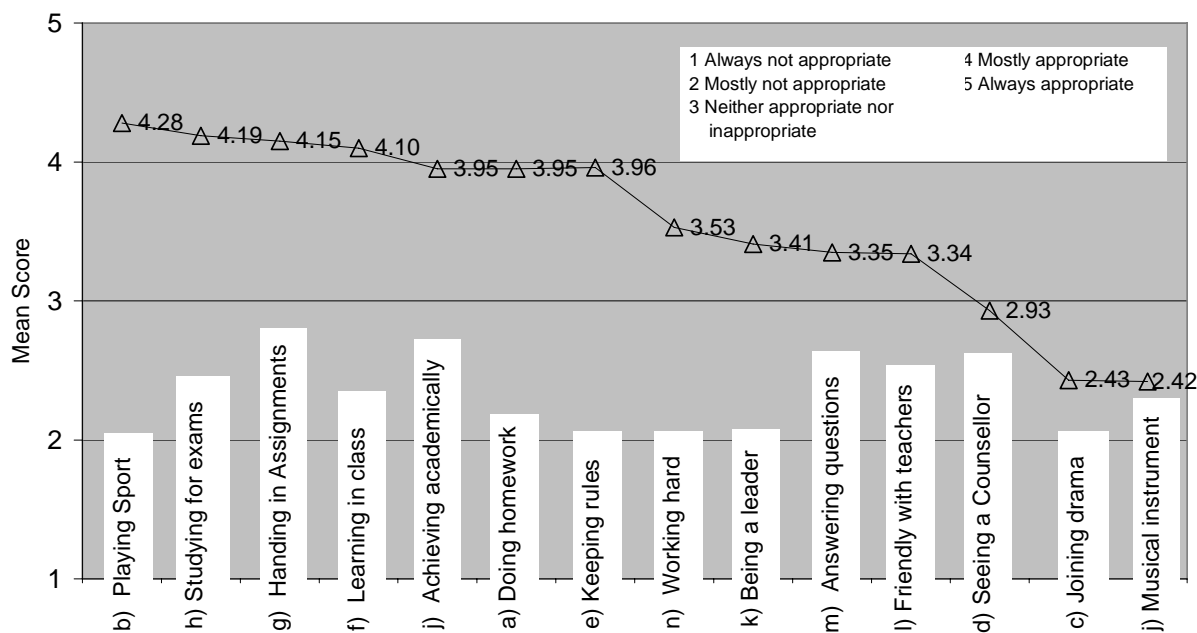


Figure 5.2. Mean scores for how appropriate it is to engage in thirteen activities (Q25: Appropriateness of Activities)

When Tables 5.2 and 5.3 are compared it can be recognised that the College’s understanding of masculinity is more limited than the participants’ personal understanding. It is noted that one activity “playing sport” is recognised as being the most appropriate activity to engage in at the College. “Playing sport” recorded a mean score of 4.28. This data is displayed in Figure 5.2 This figure also displays the relative importance of other activities at the College. The low appropriateness of playing a musical instrument (Mean score of 2.42) is noted.

Factor solution for “Question 10: Men of the College”.

The important masculine qualities are further explored in the factor analyses of “Question 10: Men of the College”. This question asked participants to explain the meaning of the phrase “Men of the College”. Analysis of the seven items from Question 10 yielded four factors. This accounted for 65.72% of the total variance in scores. The four factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table 5.4.

- Factor 1 named “College Men: Mature & Responsible” included two items Responsible and Mature.
- Factor 2 named “College Men: Belonging to a Family” included the item Family and a negative loading on Had No Meaning.
- Factor 3 named “College Men: Tough Men” included the item Tough Men and the item Discipline Ploy. This factor also recorded a negative loading on the item Has No Meaning.
- Factor 4 named “College Men: Men Not Boys” included the item Men Not Boys. This factor implies that these students have reached manhood and are no longer boys. They are no longer concerned about childish pursuits.

Table 5.4. Factor Loadings of Seven Meanings of the Words “Men of the College” on four Factors (Q10: Men of the College)

College Men	Mature & Responsible	Belonging to a Family	Tough Men	Men not Boys
	F1	F2	F3	F4
Responsible	.77			
Mature	.73			
Family		.83		
Has No Meaning		-.66	-.38	
Tough Men			.69	-.33
Discipline Ploy			.67	
Men Not Boys				.89

These data indicate that participants perceive College men to be tough men who have moved out of childhood. They are mature and responsible and belong to the College family.

College Sporting Programme

The questionnaire indicated the importance of sport to the College. This is illustrated by drawing on the responses to questionnaire items 1, 12, 13, 15, 16, and 25. Firstly the importance of sport is attested to by the participants' involvement in the life of the College. These data were obtained through an analysis of participants' responses to the first question of the questionnaire. Part of this question asked participants to record how they were involved in the life of the College. Totals were taken of each of the five categories of involvement. Table 5.5 illustrates these totals. It is noted that 93% of participants indicated that they were involved in the College sporting programme. This is a substantial proportion of participants. Other categories ranged from 30% downwards.

Table 5.5. Student Involvement in 29 Aspects of College Life Grouped into five Categories

Type of Involvement	Total No. of Responses ²²	No. of Students	Student Percentage
College Leadership	73	63	25%
Total Social Justice/Spiritual	33	27	11%
Total Academic Awards	78	72	28%
Total Cultural Activities	117	77	30%
Total Sporting Activities	708	236	93%
No Involvement in any Activity	N/A	10	4%

The higher percentage (60%) of boys involved in one particular sport, Rugby Union, is also noted (Table 5.6). This sport is the College's predominant sport.

Secondly, the importance of sport is illustrated in the five factor solutions to Question 12, 15, 16 and 25. These are displayed in Tables 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10. In each of these factor solutions some aspect of sport has been identified as an independent and discrete item.

²² A student may report more than one involvement in any category.

Table 5.6. Percentage of Participants Involved in Different Sporting Activities (n=255)

Sporting Activity ²³	% of Boys
Rugby Union	60
Cricket	30
Basketball	15
Water Polo	14
Track & Field	11
Cross Country	11
Volleyball	10
Swimming	7
Tennis	7
Soccer	6
Gymnastics	2

Factor solution for “Q12: Taught to be Man of the College”.

Analysis of the five items from “Q12: Taught to be a Man of the College” yielded two factors. This accounted for 50.57% of the total variance in scores. The two factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table 5.7.

- Factor 1 named “Taught Through: Participation & Sport” included three primary items Participation, Playing Sport and Cheering Sports. A negative loading was recorded on the remaining primary item, School Has Not Taught.
- Factor 2 named “Taught Through: Taking Responsibility” included the item Being Responsible and two negative secondary items, School Has Not Taught and Cheering Sports.

Table 5.7. Factor Loadings of five ways the College teaches boys to be “Men of the College” on two factors (Q12:Taught to be a Man of the College)

Taught Through:	Participation & Sport	Being Responsible
	F1	F2
Participation	.66	
Playing Sport	.65	
School Has Not Taught	-.65	-.32
Cheering Sports	.43	-.32
Being Responsible		.88

²³ Again a student may report more than one involvement in any category

It is noted that participants perceive that boys are taught to be men of the College in two distinct ways. They are taught through “Participation and Sport” and through “Being Responsible”.

Factor solution for “Q15: Spirit of the College”.

Analysis of the nine items from “Q15: Spirit of the College” yielded five factors. This accounted for 61.57% of the total variance in scores. The five factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table 5.8. It is noted that “There is No Spirit” recorded a negative secondary loading on all factors except “Achievement”. It would appear that this item is related to everything except “Achievement”.

- Factor 1 named “Spirit of the College: Helping Involvement” included two items, Helping Others and Involvement in College Life.
- Factor 2 named “Spirit of the College: Rugby & Supporting” included two items, Playing Rugby and Cheering Together.
- Factor 3 named “Spirit of the College: Pride in Traditions” included two items, Pride in the College and History of the College.
- Factor 4 named “Spirit of the College: Being Together” included one item, Being Together. A negative secondary loading was included for the item Involvement in College Life.
- Factor 5 named “Spirit of the College: Achievement” included the item Achievement and a secondary loading on Involvement in College Life.

Table 5.8. Factor Loadings of nine understandings of the Spirit of the College on five factors (Q15: Spirit of the College)

Spirit of the College	Helping Involvement F1	Rugby & supporting F2	Pride in Traditions F3	Being Together F4	Achievement F5
Helping Others	.79				
Involvement in College Life	.64			-.31	.40
Playing Rugby		.71			
Cheering Together		.71			
Pride in the College			.77		
History of the College			.68		
Being Together				.89	
There is No Spirit	-.41	-.43	-.36	-.43	
Achievement					.90

“Rugby and Supporting” is one of five ways that students understand the spirit of the College.

Factor solution for “Q16: College Life”.

Analysis of the 10 items from “Q16: College Life” yielded two factors. These accounted for 59.957% of the total variance in scores. The two factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table 5.9.

- Factor 1 named “College Life: Pride & Involvement” included the following statements:
 - It is your responsibility to carry on the spirit of the College;
 - There is no better feeling than cheering in the College Grandstand;
 - You get the most out of College by participating;
 - The spirit of the College is being proud of your school;
 - The College Man has the College spirit;
 - GPS events build up the College Spirit;
 - The College is the school with the strongest spirit; and,
 - The spirit of the College is about more than sporting events.

Table 5.9. Factor Loadings of 10 Essential Elements of College Life on two Factors (Q16: College Life)

College Life:	Pride & Involvement F1	Sport esp. Rugby F2
It is your responsibility to carry on the spirit of College.	.83	
There is no better feeling than cheering in the College Grandstand.	.70	.35
You get the most out of the College by participating	.70	
The spirit of the College is being proud of your school.	.68	
A College Man has the College spirit	.68	.39
GPS events build up the College spirit	.65	.36
The College is the school with the strongest spirit	.65	.45
Sport is the important spirit builder at the College		.72
Rugby is the sport with the most spirit.		.71
The spirit of the College is about more than sporting events.	.60	-.60

- Factor 2 named “College Life: Sport especially Rugby” included the following statements.
 - Sport is the important spirit builder at the College; and,
 - Rugby is the sport with the most spirit;
 Secondary loadings were recorded for:
 - There is no better feeling than cheering in the College Grandstand;

A College Man has the College Spirit;
 GPS events build up the College Spirit; and,
 The College is the school with the strongest spirit.
 A negative loading equal to the positive loading of factor one was also recorded for:
 The spirit of the College is about more than sporting events.

It is noted that the life of the College is understood in two distinct ways. College life is about pride and involvement in the school and it is about participation in and support of sporting activities.

Factor solution for “Q25: Appropriateness of Activities”.

Analysis of the 14 items for “Q25: Appropriateness of Activities” yielded a three factor solution. These accounted for 61.59% of the total variance in scores. The three factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table 5.10.

- Factor 1 named “Appropriateness: Academic Success” included eleven primary items. These are:
 Doing regular homework;
 Studying for exams;
 Learning in the classroom;
 Doing regular homework
 Being seen to work hard;
 Achieving academically;
 Being friendly with teachers;
 Keeping school rules;
 Answering questions in class;
 Seeing a counselor; and,
 Joining the Drama production.
 A secondary loading was recorded for:
 Playing a musical instrument.
- Factor 2 named “Appropriateness: Leadership & Sport” included the two items Playing Sport and Being a School Leader. There was a negative secondary loading for the two items, “Seeing a Counsellor” and “Playing a musical Instrument”.
- Factor 3 named “Appropriateness: Performing Arts” included the item “Playing a musical instrument” and positive secondary loadings on “Joining the drama production”, “Being a school leader” and “Achieving academically. Negative secondary loadings were recorded for “Studying for exams” and “Learning in class”.

In this factor solution engaging in “Leadership & Sport” is one of the appropriate ways to engage in College life. The association between leadership and sport is noted.

Table 5.10. Factor Loadings of 14 Appropriateness of Engaging in Activities at the College on three factors (Q25: Appropriateness of Activities)

Appropriateness:	Academic Success	Leadership & Sport	Performing Arts
	F1	F2	F3
Doing Assignments	.82		
Studying for Exams	.79		-.33
Learning in class	.77		-.35
Doing Homework	.74		
Being Seen to Work	.73		
Achieving Academically	.70		.33
Friendly with Teachers	.66		
Keeping School Rules	.65		
Answering Questions	.64		
Seeing a Counsellor	.62	-.30	
Joining the Drama Production	.61		.58
Playing Sport		.81	
Being a School Leader		.66	.46
Playing a Musical Instrument	.47	-.36	.51

The five factor analyses presented in Tables 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10 highlight very clearly the importance of sport in College life. Again the sport that is highlighted as particularly important is Rugby Union.

Thirdly the importance of sport is identified in the results of the cluster analysis²⁴ of “Q13: Events”. These are the events nominated by participants that made them feel “a Man of the College”. This analysis is presented in Figure 5.3. Inspection of Figure 5.3 suggests that there are four identifiable clusters of events. It is noted that Cluster A forms at a distance of 2.5 and joins with Cluster B at a distance of four. Cluster B forms at a distance of six and joins with Cluster C at 11. Cluster D forms at a distance of seven but remains separate from all other Clusters until the distance 25.

- Cluster A, named “Personal Involvement”, formed in three steps. My Sports, School Camps, and Eucharistic Liturgies join with Speech Night and then amalgamate quickly with School Functions and School Socials. The College/Terrace Rugby Game is then incorporated. School Functions include events such as the fashion parade and the arts and crafts weekend. This Cluster is noted to contain items where the direct personal involvement of students is required. The items Eucharist liturgy, Speech Night and School Functions are public formal events where the personal contribution of students is a key to their impact.

²⁴ The responses to this question were initially subjected to several variations of factor analysis. These however failed to yield interpretable solutions and the responses were then subjected to a cluster analysis. Ward’s method was employed with no predefined number of clusters to produce a dendrogram of distances at which key events merged.

- Cluster B, named “Rituals”, includes important rituals such as Ash Wednesday, Founders Day and Anzac Day rituals, year 12 Investiture and the fortnightly whole school Assemblies. It is interesting to note that the sport, Cross-Country is included in this grouping. The Cross-Country item referred directly to the winning of this championship in the students’ previous enrolment year, year 11. This championship, named after a great old boy sportsman, had not ever been won by the College. The acceptance of the trophy and its placement amongst other trophies on the College campus was accompanied by ritualistic activity and language.

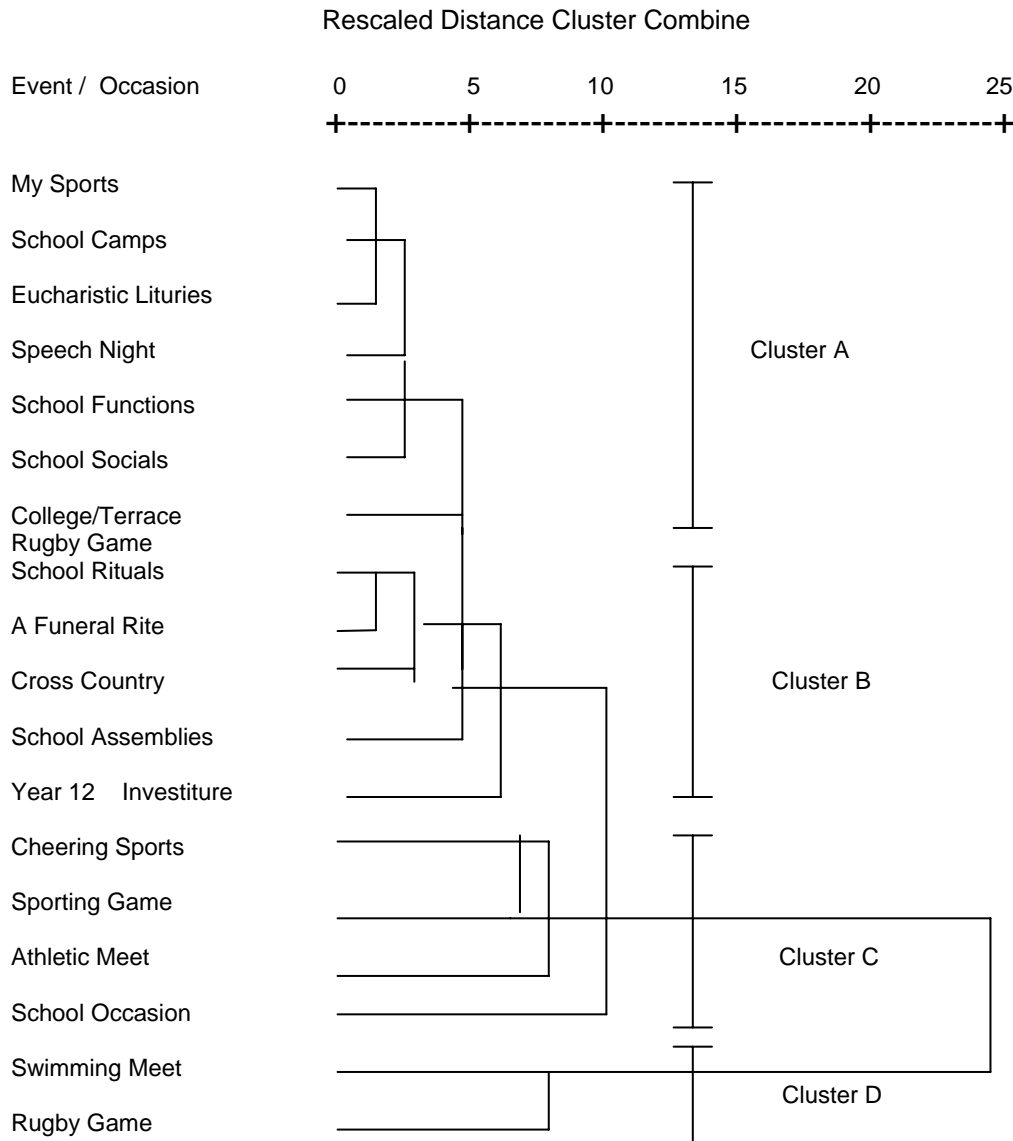


Figure 5.3. Cluster Analyses of 18 College events that contribute to feeling “a Man of the College” (Q13: College Events)

- Cluster C, named “Pride and Achievement”, includes sporting events (excluding swimming and rugby) and the cheering of sporting events. This grouping includes the item particular occasions. Particular occasions represent a collection of times named by the boys when they felt a pride in their school and their achievement. For example they include receiving the honour blazer pocket, wearing the College uniform in public, being elected as vice-captain of the school, being involved in the community assistance programme. This cluster is concerned with the pride of belonging to the College. This pride can be experienced at an individual personal level or a collective College level.
- The final grouping Cluster D named “Winning” includes two sports, swimming and rugby. The school has a history of achieving well in both these sports. This cluster is concerned with the College’s status as a top sporting school.

The importance sport holds to the College is illustrated in two ways in this cluster analysis. Firstly it is noted that some aspect of sporting involvement and/or achievement figures in each of the four clusters. Sport pervades the whole of College life. Secondly Cluster D “Winning” distinguishes two sports that help identify the College as an elite sporting school. Perhaps it is in maintaining the elite status of the College that sport claims its importance.

The College’s Religious Education Programme

The College is a Catholic secondary school within the tradition of the founder of the Christian Brothers, Edmund Rice. Consequently it is relevant that this research displays data that illustrate the impact of the College’s religious education programmes on the students’ development. Four displays of data are relevant.

The first display is an univariate analysis that reported influences on students’ masculine development (“Q6: Influences”). These data indicate that all categories but one have a high influence on boys’ masculine development. The item “Religious and/or moral beliefs” shows a substantial drop. It records a mean score of 3.77 where four is categorized as neutral influence. The participants are indicating that religious and/or moral beliefs have a weak influence on their masculine development. Refer to Figure 5.4.

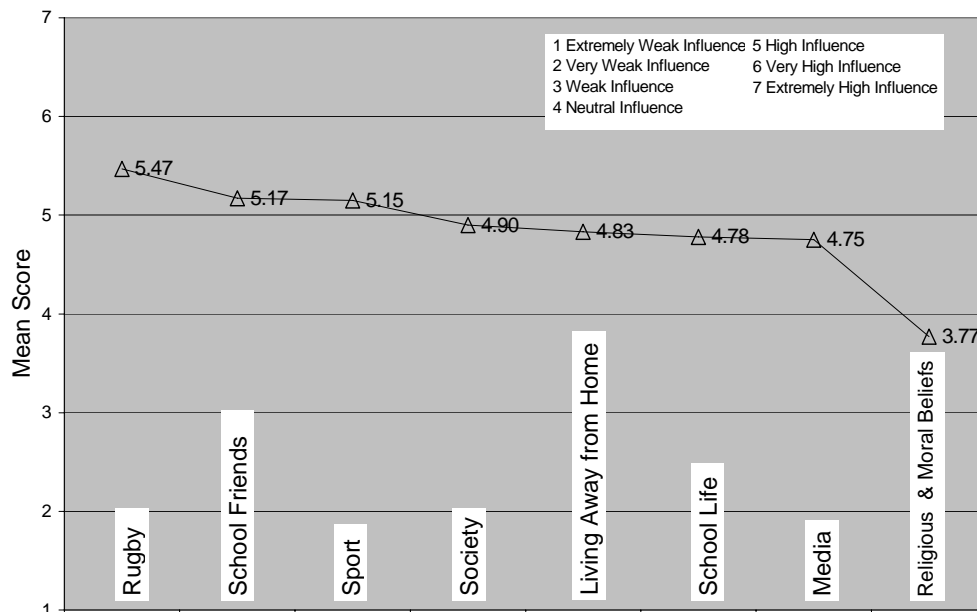


Figure 5.4. Mean score for societal influence on masculine development (Q6: Societal Influences)

The second display is the factor analysis solution for “Q7: College’s Masculine Qualities”. Refer to Table 5.3. In this display one factor, “Successful & Religious” is noted. To be religious is associated for participants with being an academic achiever, a popular person and an all rounder. It is a masculine quality in this configuration that the College approves of. It stands apart from the other seven masculine qualities, “Sportsman”, “Macho Man”, “Honest Leader”, “Spirit Filled Participant”, “Respectful Person”, “Dependant Worker” and “Mature Man”. This factor solution has been displayed in Table 5.3.

The third display is the cluster analysis solution presented in Figure 5.3. This cluster analysis identified a number of religious or spiritual occasions. Clusters A “Personal Involvement” and B “Rituals” are particularly noted. Cluster A contained the item “Eucharistic Liturgies” and Cluster B included the religious rituals of Ash Wednesday, Founder’s Day and Anzac Day. It is noted that in this cluster analysis participants have attributed some importance to the College’s religious ritual expressions.

Lastly in the factor analysis solution for “Q14: Heroes of the College” presented in Table 5.11 one item is noted. This item Edmund Rice is associated with the First XV players in the factor

solution named “Greatness”. The following analysis illustrates this factor solution. It is also noted that four of the five factors include some aspect of sport.

Analysis of the 11 items from “Q14: Heroes of the College” yielded five factors. This accounted for 57.62% of the total variance in scores. This five factor solution was accepted and the factors named.

- Factor 1 named “Heroes: Significant Adults” included two items, Teachers and Old Boys Sportsmen. A secondary negative loading was recorded on There Are No Heroes.
- Factor 2 named “Heroes: Year 12 Students” included the items Rugby Players, College Leaders and Seniors. A secondary loading was recorded on Firsts.
- Factor 3 named “Heroes: Boys Who Achieve” included the items Sporting Boys and Achievers. A secondary negative loading was recorded on There Are No Heroes.
- Factor 4 named “Heroes: The Greatest?” included two items, Edmund Rice and the Firsts.
- Factor 5 named “Heroes: Nobody” includes a negative loading on the primary item Everyone and a secondary positive loading on There Are No Heroes.

Table 5.11. Factor Loadings of 11 heroes of the College on five factors (Q14: Heroes of the College)

Heroes:	Significant Adults F1	Year 12 Students F2	Boys Who Achieve F3	Greatness? F4	Nobody F5
Teachers	.77				
Old Boys Sportsmen	.77				
Rugby Players		.63			
College Leaders		.61			
Seniors		.67			
Sporting Boys			.64		
Achievers			.59		
There Are No Heroes	-.34		-.59		.48
Edmund Rice				.78	
Firsts		.47		.53	
Everyone					-.89

It is noted in Factor three that the greatest religious figure for the College Edmund Rice, the founder of the Christian Brothers, is associated with the College's elite sportsmen, the 1st XV. It would appear that participants' understanding of what it means to be truly great is deeply influenced by high success in competing in the sport of Rugby Union.

College Sub Groups

Data from the analysis of responses to the questionnaire pointed to the finding that students of the College were not a homogenous group. This was illustrated by the various factor analysis that have been explored throughout this chapter but became even more evident when the elements of the students' characteristics of curriculum pathway (OP Student or Vocational Education Student), enrolment type (day boy, metro boarder, full border) and residential regions were analysed. These characteristics of the participants were analysed in relation to the five Total Involvement Scores, the Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 Factors. These analyses used t-tests for the binary (Yes, No) characteristic "vocational education" and one way

ANOVAs for "age", "attendance type", "residential regions" and "years" at the College. Significant differences are displayed in this section for vocational education students, for day boy students and for Asian students.

The t-tests of significant differences carried out between the vocational education students (n = 44) and the OP Students (n = 211) and the students' five Total Involvement Scores, the Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 Factors identified 20 significant differences²⁵. Table 5.12 illustrates these significant differences. In every case the difference is negative indicating a lower score has been achieved by the vocational education students.

It is noted that the difference exists on:

- 8 of the 13 factors describing Masculine Qualities;
- 3 of the 4 factors that make meaning of the words "Men of the College";
- 1 of the 2 factors describing how boys are taught to be "College Men";
- 4 of the 5 factors describing the College Spirit;
- 2 of the 5 factors describing College Heroes;
- 1 of the 2 factors describing College Life; and,
- 1 of the 3 factors noting Appropriateness: Academic Success.

²⁵ An alpha level of .05 has been adopted for claiming statistical significance.

Table 5.12 20 Significant Differences between Vocational Education Students (n=44) and OP Students (n=211) from Analysis of 57 Scores (five Total Involvement scores, the Overall Total Involvement score and 51 factor scores).

Dependant Variable	Form of t-test a, b ²⁶	t	df	p	Difference in means
Masculine Quality: Caring & Intelligent	b	-6.53	248.37	<.0005	-0.545
Masculine Quality: Emotionally Strength	b	-4.95	246.60	<.0005	-0.392
Masculine Quality: Sporty Participant	b	-2.09	86.74	.040	-0.270
Masculine Quality: Loyalty	b	-2.12	251.97	.035	-0.177
Masculine Quality: Aggression	b	-4.50	238.64	<.0005	-0.389
Masculine Quality: Confident	b	-4.55	248.80	<.0005	-0.383
Masculine Quality: Tough Leader	b	-4.58	228.29	<.0005	-0.404
Masculine Quality: Not Good Timer	b	-2.84	172.42	.005	-0.278
The College's Qualities: Successful & Religious	b	-3.03	223.46	.003	-0.271
Nudge's Qualities: Spirit-Filled Participant	b	-2.84	202.77	.005	-0.264
The College's Qualities: Dependent Worker	b	-2.34	233.47	.020	-0.182
Taught Through: Participation & Sport	b	-3.08	78.56	.003	-0.419
Heroes of the College: Year 12 Students	b	-5.84	224.32	<.0005	-0.515
Heroes of the College: Boys who Achieve	b	-2.59	72.14	.012	-0.375
College Spirit: Helping Involvement	b	-3.38	111.58	.001	-0.385
College Spirit: Pride in Traditions	b	-3.60	189.84	<.0005	-0.341
College Spirit: Being Together	a	-2.33	252.00	.021	-0.383
College Spirit: Achievement	b	-3.05	248.03	.003	-0.259
College Life is about: Pride and Involvement	a	-3.05	232.00	.003	-0.532
Appropriateness: Academic Success	b	-2.66	48.46	.011	-0.476

The vocational education students of the College understand what is happening for them in a very different way than the students who enrolled in the OP curriculum pathway. This fact warrants a deeper inspection.

²⁶ Based on Levenes' test for the equality of variances, the analysis used either a t-test assuming equality of variances (form a) or a form of the t-test that does not operate on this assumption (form b).

The significance of differences among the three types of student enrolment (Day Boy, Metro Boarder and Full Boarder) was tested using one-way ANOVAs. Significant differences were noted on five of the 57 scaled scores (five Total Involvement Scores, the Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 Factors). All of these are recorded for day boys. Table 5.13 illustrates these five differences. Group Means and Standard Deviations are provided in Table 5.14.

Table 5.13. Five Significant Differences among Enrolment Status of Students (Day Boy = 150), (Metro Boarder = 35) and (Full Boarder = 69) from 57 Scores (five Total Involvement scores, the Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 factor scores.)

Dependant Variable	df	F	p
Total Sporting Involvements	2,251	4.318	.014
College Quality: Successful & Religious	2, 251	3.112	.046
College Heroes: Achievers	2, 251	4.113	.017
College Life: Pride and Involvement	2, 230	7.184	.001
The College Values the Whole Person	2, 231	4.458	.013

Table 5.14. Mean Factor Scores (standard deviations are in parenthesis) for five Measures.

Student Enrolment	n ²⁷	Total Sporting Involvement	College Life: Pride & Involvement	The College Values the Whole Person	College Quality: Successful & Religious	College Heroes: Achievers
Day Boy	150	2.50 (1.75)	-0.17 (0.96)	-0.15 (0.96)	-0.12 (0.65)	-0.14 (0.94)
Metro Boarder	35	3.20 (1.37)	0.49 (0.93)	0.30 (1.00)	0.05 (0.76)	0.004 (1.02)
Full Boarder	69	3.13 (1.83)	0.16 (0.98)	0.19 (1.01)	0.24 (1.56)	0.28 (1,07)

Day boys recorded the lowest mean scores in all five measures. In the measures, “Total Sporting Involvement”, “College Life: Pride and Involvement” and “The College Values the Whole Person”, metro boarders scored the highest mean scores. In the measures “College Quality: Successful & Religious” and “College Heroes: Achievers” measures, full boarders recorded the

²⁷ For the factor “College Life: Pride & Involvement”, n's are slightly lower at 137, 32, 64 respectively.

highest mean scores. Table 5.14 illustrates these data. Day Boys make up 58.80% of the year 12 cohort who took part in the study. This is a significant proportion of the population and the differences they record compared with Metro Boarders and Full Boarders warrants further inspection

ANOVAs testing the significance of differences were carried out for the seven Residential Regions of the students. Significant differences for Asian students were noted on six of the 57 scaled scores (Five Total Involvement Scores, the Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 Factors). Table 5.15 illustrates these seven differences. Group means and Standard Deviations are provided in Tables 5.16 and 5.17.

Table 5.15. Six Significant Differences among Residential Regions²⁸. from 57 scores (five Total Involvement scores, the Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 factor scores)

Dependant Variable	df	F	p
Total Sporting Involvement	6, 236	3.520	.002
College Quality: Mature Man	6, 242	2.316	.034
College Heroes: Academic Achievers	6, 242	2.148	.049
College Life is about: Pride and Involvement	6, 222	4.504	<.0005
College Values Particular Students	6, 217	2.121	.040
Prevalence of insults: Inherited Attributes	6, 218	2.343	.033
Appropriateness: Leadership & Sport	6, 217	2.348	.025

Low mean scores have been recorded by Asian students for six of the seven measures. In the remaining measure “Prevalence of Insults: Inherited Attributes” Asian students recorded the highest mean score. It is also noted that low mean scores were recorded by Other World students five of the seven measures and by Papua New Guinea students on two of the seven measures. These data are illustrated in Table 5.16 and Table 5.17 with Standard Deviations being shown in parenthesis.

²⁸ The number of participants in each of the residential regions was: Brisbane Area, 147, Gold/Sunshine Coasts, 15, Other Queensland, 22, Other Australia, 13, Asia, 13, Papua New Guinea, 14 and Other World, 5.

Table 5.16. Mean factor scores (standard deviations in parenthesis) on three Measures (Appropriateness: Leadership & Sport”, “College Life: Pride & Involvement” & Prevalence of Insults: Inherited Attributes”)

Student Residence	n	Appropriateness Leadership & Sport	College Life: Pride & Involvement	n	Prevalence of Insults: Inherited Attributes
Brisbane Area	147	-0.02 (1.01)	-0.07 (1.01)	146	0.06 (0.99)
Gold/Sunshine Coast	15	0.13 (0.83)	0.49 (0.73)	13	-0.15 (0.89)
Other Queensland	20	0.59 (1.02)	0.57 (0.69)	21	0.40 (0.61)
Other Australia	13	0.25 (0.66)	0.19 (0.94)	13	0.13 (0.92)
Asia	11	-0.41 (0.81)	-0.30 (0.76)	9	-0.75 (1.24)
Papua New Guinea	14	-0.11 (0.98)	0.53 (0.65)	12	-0.47 (1.08)
Other World	4	-0.99 (0.92)	-1.46 (1.07)	5	-0.46 (0.99)

Table 5.17. Mean factor scores (standard deviation in parenthesis) on four Measures (“College Heroes: Academic Achievers” and “College Quality: Mature Man”, Total Sporting Involvement & “College Values Particular Students”)

Student Residence	n	College Heroes: Academic Achievers	n	College Quality: Mature Man	Total Sporting Involvement	College Values Particular Students
Brisbane Area	49	-0.09 (0.98)	160	0.02 (0.93)	2.62 (1.75)	-0.04 (0.95)
Gold/Sunshine Coast	6	-0.12 (0.80)	15	-0.56 (1.53)	3.74 (2.22)	0.23 (0.84)
Other Queensland	6	0.30 (1.23)	22	-0.02 (0.51)	3.00 (1.63)	-0.27 (1.07)
Other Australia	2	0.71 (0.91)	13	0.59 (0.72)	3.69 (1.44)	-0.51 (0.99)
Asia	2	-0.01 (0.58)	13	-0.47 (1.74)	1.31 (1.18)	0.42 (1.15)
Papua New Guinea	8	0.25 (1.33)	15	0.27 (1.11)	3.33 (1.50)	0.62 (1.01)
Other World	1	-0.60 (0.81)	5	0.37 (0.68)	3.00 (2.00)	-0.04 (0.89)

In spite of the fact that there are seven discrete residential regions recorded for students, the group of Asian students stand out as different with the recording of seven significant differences. This also warrants further inspection.

What is happening for these three subgroups of students namely vocational education, day boy and Asian students warrants further inspection. In particular it would seem that the curriculum pathway (Vocation education & OP students) and the attendance type (boarders, metro boarders & day boys) could play their part in establishing and supporting the gender regime.

5.2.3 Research Question Three

What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

Research Questions Three was addressed through data obtained by quantitative analysis of six Questions (Questions 11, 19, 20, 21, 23 and 25). “Q11: Importance of Being a Man of the College” asked participants how important it was for them to be one of the men of the College. The 249 responses illustrated in Figure 5.5 were widely spread. It is noted that the distribution appears to be bimodal. One group indicated that it was important for them to be “One of the Men of the College”. The mode of this group is at eight, “Extremely Important”. The second, larger, group for whom this is of lesser importance records its mode at three (Somewhat Important) and two (Very Unimportant).

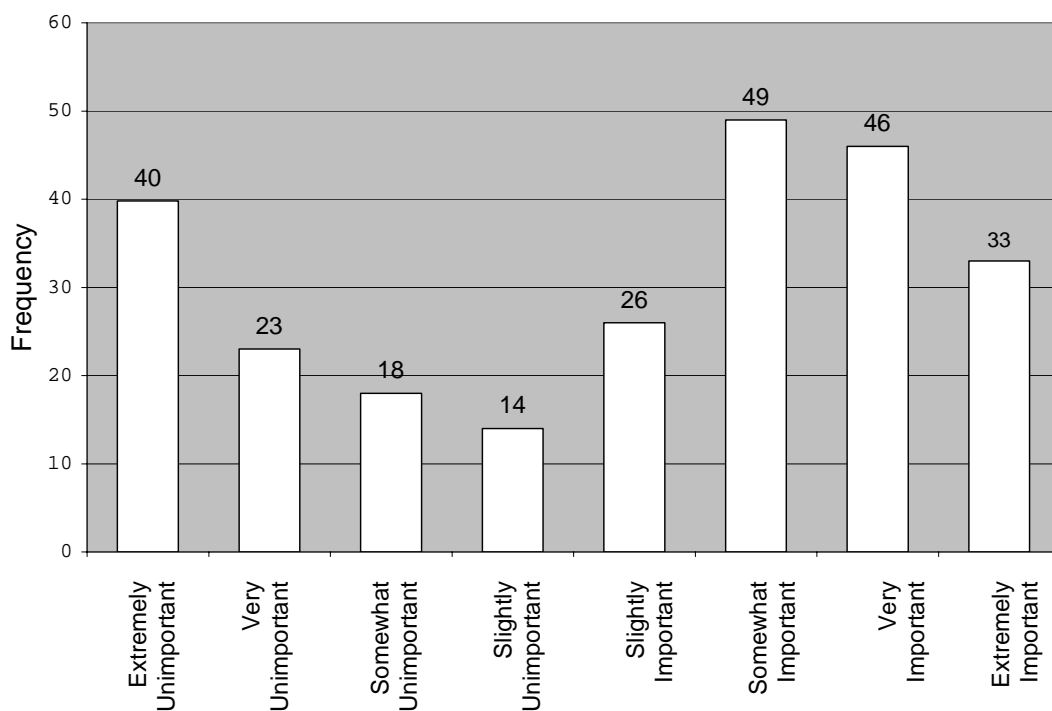


Figure 5.5. Frequency responses (n = 249) to eight levels of importance of being “One of the Men of the College” (Question 11: Importance of Being a Man of the College)

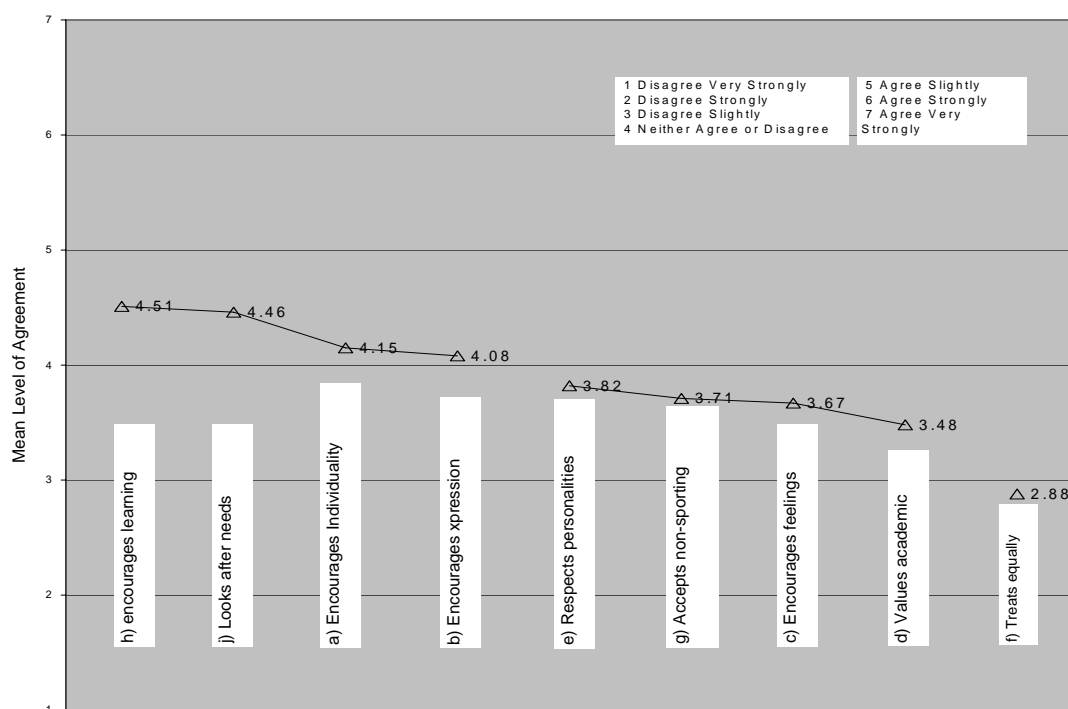
This bimodal distribution indicates that participants are not united in their understanding of the importance of belonging to the College. Further difference in perception amongst the participants was identified around three areas of College life:

- Inequitable valuing and treatment of students;
- Lack of acceptance of some masculine expressions; and,
- Academic achievement of students.

Data to support this suggestion are displayed under these three headings.

Inequitable Valuing and Treatment of Students

Data obtained from an univariate analysis of “Q21: Valuing of Students” illustrate that participants did not believe that all students were valued or treated equally. This question contained nine statements that sought to discover how the boys at the College thought they were valued. The highest mean score (4.51) for the College “encourages learning” is above “neither agree or disagree” but below “agree slightly”. The students on average do not even “agree slightly” with any one of these statement. The lowest mean score 2.88, was recorded for “The College Treats all students equally and fairly”. Figure 5.6 illustrates these results.



Valuing of Students)

Figure 5.6. Mean scores for how the College values its students (Q21: Valuing of Students)

When the nine items from this question were subjected to a factor analysis a two factor solution was accepted. This accounted for 64.67% of the total variance in scores. The two factor solution

that emerged within this set of data that reported low mean scores on all items illustrated two meanings. Participants claimed that the College does value the whole person but that there is some differentiation experienced by some students within the school. The College values particular groups of boys. There is an indication that differential valuing may occur for students around sporting involvement and academic achievement. The solution is shown in Table 5.18.

- Factor 1 named “The College Values the Whole Person” included the following statements:
 - The College has encouraged me to express by own thoughts and ideas.
 - The College has encouraged me to express my feelings freely.
 - The College has encouraged me to be proud of my individuality.
 - The College respects the personalities of its students.
 - The College is very good at looking after the needs of boys and young men.
 - The College has valued my academic success above my sporting success.
 A secondary loading was included for the statement:
 - The College creates an environment that encourages learning.

- Factor 2 named “The College Values Particular Students” included the following statements:
 - The College is accepting of students who are not interested in sport.
 - The College treats all students equally and fairly.
 - The College creates an environment that encourages learning.
 A secondary loading was included for the statements:
 - The College respects the personalities of its students.
 - The College is very good at looking after the needs of boys and young men.
 - The College has valued my academic success above my sporting success.

Table 5.18. Factor Loadings of nine responses to how the College values its students on two factors (Q21: Valuing of Students)

The College's Valuing of Students	Values the Whole Person F1	Values Particular Students F2
Encourages Expression of Thought	.88	
Encourages Expression of Feeling	.87	
Encourages Individuality	.86	
Respects Personalities	.66	.48
Looks after Needs of Boys	.56	.43
Values Academic Achievement	.46	.44
Values Non sporting Boys		.84
Treats Students Equally		.74
Encourages Learning	.44	.60

These data from “Q21: Valuing of Students” illustrate in two separate ways that the students of the College believe that there is an inequitable valuing and treatment of students.

Lack of Acceptance of Some Masculine Expressions

The lack of acceptance of some masculine expressions at the College was indicated by data obtained from Questions 18, 19, 23, 25. Data from “Q18: Approval of the College” show that of the 199 participants who responded to this question 27% indicated that there were ways of being a boy or a man that were not approved of by the College. Data from “Q19: Engaging in School Activities” produced a similar response. In this question 32% of participants indicated that their way of being a boy or a man made it more difficult for them to engage in some of the school’s activities.

In addition students indicated in their mean scores for “Q23: Prevalence of Insults” that differences existed as to the frequency of use of the 11 different categories of insults. Five items recorded a mean score between four and five which represents the categories “Often Used” to “Very Often Used”. These are insults against “Sexual Identity”, “Physical Manhood”, “Family”, “Spirit” and “Appearance”. Figure 5.7 illustrates these mean scores. The lowest mean frequency score (2.95) was recorded for insults against Belonging to the College.

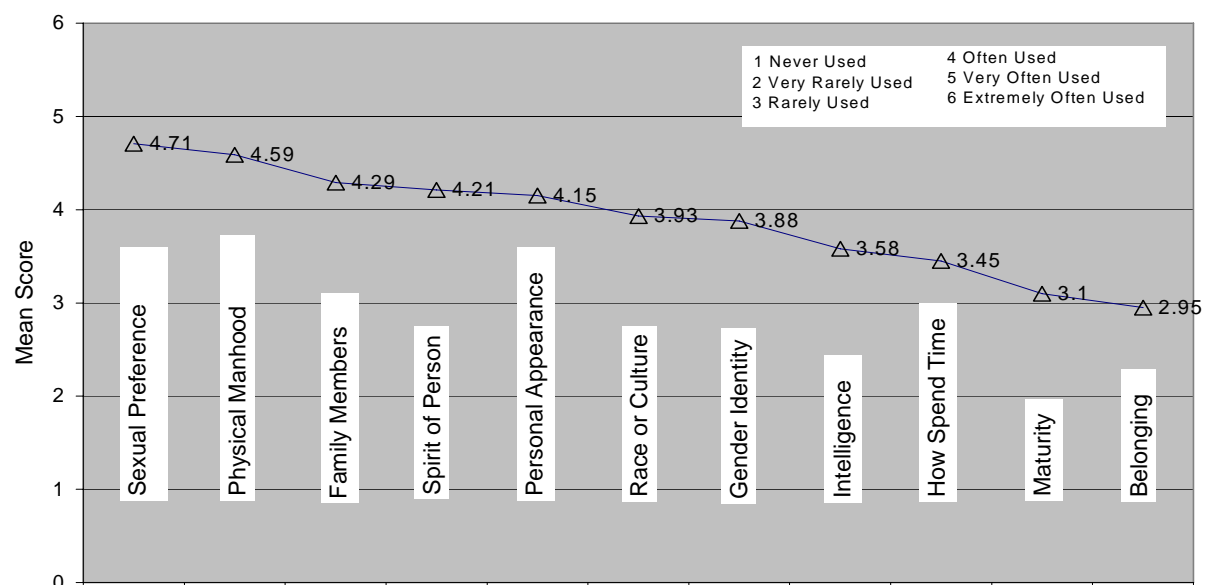


Figure 5.7. Mean scores for how often different insults are used at the College (Q23: Prevalence of Insults)

Some detail is given to the masculine expressions that are least acceptable with the univariate analysis of “Q25: Appropriateness of Activities”. This analysis illustrated in Figure 5.7 showed low mean scores for the appropriateness of “Joining the Drama Production” (2.43) and for “Playing a Musical Instrument (2.42) where two is categorized as “Mostly not appropriate”. It is noted that “Playing Sport” has recorded the highest mean score of 4.28 where four is categorized as “Mostly appropriate”.

The factor analysis of “Q25: Appropriateness of Activities” (Table 5.10) also points to inappropriate activities at least for some sectors of the College. The factor Leadership and Sport is negatively associated with two activities, seeing a Counsellor and playing a musical instrument.

These data illustrate that there are masculine expressions that lack acceptance at the College. These expressions have been identified to be concerned with a student’s sexual orientation, his physical appearance and his involvement in activities such as drama and playing a musical instrument. Confirmation and clarity around the masculine expressions that were unacceptable were obtained through qualitative analysis of data of the second half of Questions 18 and 19. This is displayed in 5.3.2 of this chapter.

Academic Achievement of Students

The academic achievement of participants warrants particular attention as illustrated by the results of “Q20: Succeeding Academically”. Of the 183 respondents to this question 82% indicated that their way of being a boy meant that they had not succeeded academically as well as they could have at the College. Further data about the participants’ academic achievement were obtained in the qualitative analysis of the second part of “Q20: Succeeding Academically”.

This completes the display of quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire that has been chosen to address the three research questions.

5.3 Display of Qualitative Results of Questionnaire

Of the 25 questionnaire items five are treated qualitatively. These are “Q2: Masculinity”, “Q22: Comments on Student Treatment” and the comments section from “Q18: Approval of the

College”, “Q19: Engaging in School Activities” and “Q20: Succeeding Academically.” The format and content of each of these questions is presented with the rest of the questionnaire items in Appendix E These data help make sense of both the first and third research questions. Responses to “Q2: Masculinity” help develop the picture of how students understand masculinity, that is they help answer Research Question One. The remaining responses address Research Question Three, “What are the implications for students of the College’s gender regime?” These data will be presented in two sections.

5.3.1

5.3.1 Research Question One

How do the students of the College understand masculinity?

The responses to “Q2: Masculinity” directly address the first research question “How do the students of the College understand masculinity?” Participants were asked to describe their understanding of masculinity. Some participants found this a difficult question to answer. It was the only item on the questionnaire, that during completion, boys repeatedly asked what the question meant. Twenty percent of participants chose not to respond. The responses that emerged were suited to qualitative analysis.

Data reveal that participants do not perceive masculinity as a concept. Rather they associate it with a number of attributes, traits and behaviours. These can be presented in four themes. To be masculine means that a person:

- Possesses certain biological attributes;
- Exhibits certain personality traits;
- Performs certain activities and roles; and,
- Possesses moral goodness.

The first three of these themes are strongly interconnected in the boys’ responses. The fourth theme stands on its own with little support from the 255 year 12 students who completed the questionnaire. Each of these themes is now explored with accompanying data.

Possesses Certain Biological Attributes

Masculinity for 66% of the participants who did answer “Q2: Masculinity” is understood to be determined by the fact that men possess certain biological attributes. Some (35 participants) associate masculinity simply with being male as opposed to being female. Some note that it is the male biological characteristics such as the male sexual organs and the hormone testosterone

that make the masculine (Questionnaires 11, 17, 39, 49, 50, 88, 121, 122, 125, 127, 135, 136, 143, 148, 161, 166, 168, 193, 194, 198, 225, 244, 225, & 251). Participants' comments include; "Masculinity is being a man through having male sexuality" (Questionnaire 125) and "Masculinity is having a testosterone level in males" (Questionnaire 143). It would seem that there is no difference in the minds of these participants between sex and gender. For many of these participants masculinity is equivalent to male sexuality. Others (70 participants) understand that to be masculine it is necessary to be large, physically fit and strong. For example, "Masculinity means the size and strength of a person" (Questionnaire 112) and "Someone who works out a lot to improve their physical looks and strength is masculine" (Questionnaire 115). Participants' understanding of masculinity as a biological factor is supported by a perception that to become masculine involves a developmental process. Some participants (Questionnaires 7, 11, 15, 26, 46, 54, 55, 78, 81, 90, 94, 105, 131, 159, 195, 197, 215, & 236) indicate that they understand masculinity as a process of growing into or becoming a man. "Masculinity is growing up and understanding the changes" (Questionnaire 78), and "Masculinity is the steps towards becoming a man" (Questionnaire 105).

Exhibits Certain Personality Traits

In this second theme 13% of participants indicate that it is personality traits that identify the masculine. The traits named are concerned with dominance, strength, the exercise of power and taking responsibility. "Masculinity involves thinking in a more 'hard-core' way to express or show others their dominance" (Questionnaire 185). "My understanding of masculinity relates to a person's power within society" (Questionnaire 221). There is a close association in the minds of many boys with the physical size of a man and his ability to be strong and dominant.

Performs Certain Activities and Roles

The third theme reveals that some participants (13%) clearly understand that masculinity is concerned with behaviour. They note that there are certain activities that men engage in and certain roles that men take on that define what is masculine. For example, "Masculinity is about the ways and processes of how boys/men behave and act and what we do that makes us men" (Questionnaire 95). "Masculinity is the qualities /attributes of a man – i.e. dress, speech, hobbies etc" (Questionnaire 169). The detail provided by participants on what behaviour is appropriate for the masculine is confined for the most part to a traditional view of men in society. Men

work, lead, play sport, attract women and so on. Three participants (Questionnaires 12, 129 & 163) refer to the restrictive nature of some of the behaviour that is demanded in expressing the masculine. “Masculinity is the stereotype in which males are forced to act upon through pressure from society” (Questionnaire 129). In addition two participants note that behaviour relating to the expression of emotion has changed. “To be masculine means that now you are able to express our feelings without feeling out of place” (Questionnaire 246). “What is considered to be a *man* a while ago is not what it is today. These days, of the new *Modern age Man*, men are supposed to have feelings and be able to express themselves. Not only just being masculine” (Questionnaire 101). For these participants there is some understanding that masculine roles can be changed and widened.

At times physical, psychological and behavioural characteristics are grouped together by participants. Participants for the most part understand that masculinity is about men being large, muscular, dominant, powerful and engaging in *manly* activities. Here participants indicate that they understand masculinity as being one half of a natural gender duality with femininity and its associated small, weak, subservient and powerless qualities belonging to women. The qualities of the feminine are of less value than those of the masculine. One participant sums this up well. “Masculinity is being a true powerful man. One who has a great physical appearance, charm and popularity and to do what the majority of other men do. It is the opposite to being a woman. It is of more value in society” (Questionnaire 233).

Possesses Moral Goodness

One other identifiable theme emerged. This theme is only reflected in the written words of a small number of participants (Questionnaires 41, 42, 45, 51, 55, 72, 74, 85, 107, 118, 145, & 199). For this small group, masculinity is about possessing the qualities of a morally good human. The qualities named include being faithful, trustworthy, kind and just. “Masculinity is being a good man who is faithful, trustworthy and kind” (Questionnaire 145) and “Masculinity is the ability to act like a true, honest, just and wise man” (Questionnaire 74). One participant records a connection between being human and being masculine. “Masculinity is an illusion that has been instilled in us by a patriarchal society. If you mean what is my understanding of what it is to be human, then it is to have free will and free choice over your own self. To be independent and to have knowledge” (Questionnaire 82). This theme of possessing moral goodness stands on its own with no relationship to the previous three themes.

Central to all four ways of understanding masculinity are two concepts. Firstly, masculinity has limited *true*, *real* or *ideal* expressions and secondly these expressions can only be attained through hard work. For example: “Masculinity is if you are a real man or not” (Questionnaire 103). “Masculinity is being a true man” (Questionnaire 233). It is “the conquest of becoming a man” (Questionnaire 46). “You have to work at becoming masculine” (Questionnaire 125). It would seem that generally participants understand that they have to work to become masculine and that they may either succeed or fail in its *ideal* attainment. Success will depend on having enough of the defined characteristics. One participant makes the claim that he has “enough” of what it takes to claim he is masculine. “Appearance is everything. I don’t care what anyone says in response to that. I believe I am masculine enough, as I am not payed out or ridiculed for my appearance” (Questionnaire 100). There would appear to be a contradiction within some participants’ understanding of masculinity. Masculinity for many is understood as a biologically determined reality brought about through a natural developmental process yet to attain it requires constant effort.

5.3.2 *Research Question Three*

What are the Implications for Students of the College’s gender regime?

Data that address Research Question 3 were provided by the four questionnaire items, “Q18: Approval of the College”, “Q19: Engaging in School Activities”, “Q20: Succeeding Academically” and “Q22: Comments on Student Treatment”²⁹. An analysis of data from participants’ responses to these questions reflects that participants express dissatisfaction with the same three areas of College life that are registered in 5.3.4. Participants are dissatisfied with the:

- Inequitable valuing and treatment of students;
- Lack of acceptance of some masculine expressions; and,
- Academic achievement of students.

The Inequitable Valuing and Treatment of Students

Some participants clearly consider that the College shows preferential treatment to certain students. They note that the College has a system of “underground privileges” (Questionnaire 48) and “double standards” (Questionnaire 131). Participants identify that the College values

²⁹ It is noted that a substantial number of participants chose not to add a written comment to Questions 18 (39%).

students who conform to the expectations of the College (Questionnaires 16, 24, 33, 52, 55, 67, 82, 84, 87, 98, 105, 115, 114, 122, 129, 143, 144, 147, 152, 159, 160, 176, 179, 184, 200, 213, 222, 250, 252 & 253). They note that preferential treatment can be given to those who conform to academic expectations (Questionnaire 121), take leadership positions (Questionnaires 45, 48, & 165), are wealthy (Questionnaires 48 & 165), wear the correct uniform (Questionnaires 56 & 144), are obedient, polite and respectful (Questionnaires 78, 105, 144 & 204) and follow Christian religious belief and practice (Questionnaire 115). However participants name that it is the students that conform to the school norm of participation, especially participation in sport, who are particularly valued (Questionnaires 5, 8, 50, 61, 91, 99, 108, 136, 150, 176, 185, 200, 214, 215, 216, 242, 243, 244 & 253). “The College puts sport high on the agenda, as do I. If you want to fit in you have to play sport” (Questionnaire 200). The group of students most identified as receiving preferential treatment are the College’s sporting elite (Questionnaires 24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 51, 91, 93, 100, 105, 110, 121, 136, 157, 165, 167, 136, 202, 207, 249, 162, 163, & 193). “We are not treated the same. Anyone with sporting ability is favoured. Anyone who doesn’t is discriminated against” (Questionnaire 32). Amongst the sporting elite it is the 1st XV football players that stand above the rest (Questionnaire 114, 136, 164, 165 & 249). “I feel that the College only looks after the football players and all other sportoes and jocks. It does not look after me or my mates’ interests” (Questionnaire 249).

There is a perception amongst some students that the College does not favour students who think and act differently from the norm or who have an independent spirit. “Individuality, freedom of thought and emotion are definitely discouraged. Most people, both teachers and students can’t comprehend the fact that someone might choose to be different to what they are. These students “get a hard time” (Questionnaire 87). Participants both approve (Questionnaire 16, 56, 73, 189 & 198) and disapprove (Questionnaires 19, 52, 82, 99, 110, 114, 134, 184 & 253) of the College’s demand for conformity. “The College does not really encourage individuality which is good. You work better as a team” (Questionnaire 16). “They let too many non-participants into the College” (Questionnaire 8). “The idea of group unity disturbs me. That we should all be working with the same goals in mind. It’s like the Catholic religious references to us being sheep” (Questionnaire 82). “The College doesn’t approve of you not playing a sport. If you don’t play sport there must be something wrong with you. I come to school (and pay) to get educated, not to be heckled into playing a sport which the College wants me to play” (Questionnaire 134).

It is also noted that five students identify that they perceive that Asian students are given preferential treatment (Questionnaire 56, 125, 229, 229 & 255). It would seem that these participants perceive that Asians do not have to follow the College's norms and rules. Participants wrote of Asian boys getting away with colouring or cutting their hair in extreme styles, smoking and noninvolvement in school events.

Although some of my answers may seem contradictory the College does overall look after young men well and encourage learning. However Asian students tend to detract from overall involvement, do not have to conform with the same rules as us and it seems they have virtually free rein to do as they please in and around the school and dorms. They are strongly disliked not because of race but because of the unfair and unequal manner they are treated in comparison to us e.g. dress, haircuts, smoking, presentation, attendance at College events, College spirit, school involvement. (Questionnaire 255)

Asian boys are noted for not playing sport and not being tough. "People who don't play sport are not tough. Me footy "ugga bungga!" We don't like Asians because they don't play sport and think they get away with anything and they do. Footy – me tough!" (Questionnaire 229).

Lack of Acceptance of Some Masculine Expressions

A rich description of the ways boys express themselves that lack College acceptance is revealed by participants. Masculine expressions that are not acceptable include fun or rebellious behaviour, physical aggression and expressions that are judged to be soft, small, feminine or homosexual. An underlying theme of harassment is identified against students who express themselves in ways that are judged to be soft, small, feminine or homosexual.

Some participants claim that the College does not allow for rebellious or fun behaviour (Questionnaires 1, 107, 110, 143, 178, 204 & 234). These participants understand that the College is blocking their movement from boyhood to manhood by disapproving of and disciplining certain behaviours. The behaviours noted include underage drinking, smoking, sex and taking drugs (Questionnaires 11, 35, 54, 69, 70, 81, 88, 90, 93, 95, 93, 106, 110, 122, 126, 152, 153, 166, 174, 190, 196, 204, 209, 229 & 234). "You could be considered a man by doing all the things adults do such as drinking, smoking, sex. But the school is against all of these" (Questionnaire 88). Here participants are claiming that the discipline practices of the College are too restrictive. This is also the case in the next masculine expression that is not approved by the College.

The second masculine expression not approved of by the College is the venting of physical aggression (Questionnaire 1, 10, 20, 36, 41, 74, 78, 79, 93, 96, 123, 137, 154, 161, 173, 191, 200, 208, 225, 226, 131, 132 & 238).

When I was in year 8 new boys were taught how to be men of the College through the seniors. But now you can't do it, as it would probably be considered as bullying. The school's not as good now because of all this bullshit about bullying. Kids get smart and don't respond to you and you can't do anything now. (Questionnaire 1)

Participants know clearly that physical fighting and bullying are not tolerated at the College and some seem to indicate that this stifles their movement into manhood. "Some students see getting into fights as a way of achieving manhood by standing up for what they believe. The College doesn't approve" (Questionnaire 93).

A third masculine expression that is not accepted at the College is identified in a cluster. These are masculine expressions that are judged to be soft, small, feminine and homosexual. College boys are not to be "soft" (Questionnaire 142), "childish" (Questionnaires 39, 86, 115 & 117), "weak" (42 & 189), "small" (Questionnaires 25, 161, 162, 169, 215, 222, & 233), "feminine" (Questionnaire 169, 194 & 233), "emotional" (Questionnaires 119, 156 & 234) or "shy" (169). Students must be "huge jocks" (Questionnaire 119), "a man's man" (Questionnaire 92), and "big and tough" (Questionnaires 162, 215 & 234).

Everything at the College has to be done tough or not at all. You have to be in typical stereotype or you are not good to us. (Questionnaire 25)

The College supports the same type of qualities as society in general – to be tough and emotion free. (Questionnaire 234)

I'm a smaller boy than others and I find that difficult. It's very competitive. (Questionnaire 161)

Activities that are judged to be soft, small, feminine or homosexual include the creative arts (Questionnaires 1, 12, 57, 76, 100, 172, 205 & 220), religious expression (Questionnaires 48, 111, & 121) and academic pursuits (Questionnaire 50, 67, 77, 92, 95, 100, 106, 124, 126, 127, 153, 169, 214, & 218). This means that activities such as music, drama, debating, public speaking, chess, computer club, religious worship and academic study are known by the boys as unacceptable masculine expressions. The following words from participants illustrate this.

A lot of the community of students, 'College Men', believe that being a 'muso' makes you weaker than everybody else. They don't realize the benefits that music or any other activity besides 'footy' can have on a person's life. (Questionnaire 205)

The College does not approve of religious beliefs and other qualities that are considered to be 'gay'. (Questionnaire 121)

The College as a whole would definitely recognize a 1st XV rugby player but they wouldn't pay much attention to a debater or chess player. (Questionnaire 220)

The College does not approve of studying hard and not going to sporting events and participating in school activities. (Questionnaire 50)

One sport, soccer is included in this group of soft, feminine or homosexual masculine expressions (Questionnaires 20, 26, 40, 194 & 209). It would seem that boys who choose to play soccer face particular difficulties in fitting into College life.

It's difficult for me to engage in College life. I play soccer. This holds a major grudge and is dealt with harshly by others. The College doesn't treat all students equally and fairly. I'm not accepted due to the fact that 'soccer sux'. (Questionnaire 26)

Some participants clearly state that homosexual boys are not tolerated within the school (Questionnaires 14, 16, 121, 169, 171, 179 & 233). "The College doesn't like poofs. This is bad. No one wants or should be a poof" (Questionnaire 16).

Data suggest that the College demands that boys involve themselves in a limited range of activities. The link between the importance of sport and the lack of acceptance of many other activities is noted by some participants (Questionnaires 19, 25, 51, 52, 58, 61, 91, 119, 127, 134, 154, 156, 169, 172, 176, 240, 242 & 249). "The College is sport, sport, sport. If you don't play you are not cool and not welcome. It's crap" (Questionnaire 219). "It's hard for me to be interested in rugby. There is too much anger, violence and aggression at this school in this sport" (Questionnaire 127). Some participants who are interested in sport know that it is this interest that maintains them comfortably at the College (Questionnaire 23, 103, 131, 167, 179, 216 & 227). For example, "I love sport therefore I fit in. If you don't play rugby I would imagine that it would be very hard. You could get payed out" (Questionnaire 23). "I don't have any difficulty. I am involved in rugby, swimming, cricket, athletics etc. and I still support other mates. I love this school" (Questionnaire 216). Other participants name the cost to them of a lack of interest in sport and involvement in masculine expressions that are named as soft, small, feminine or homosexual. These participants refer to "pay outs", (Questionnaires 25, 195 & 249), "bullying" (Questionnaire 154), "a hard time," (Questionnaire 51 & 173), "constant insults" (Questionnaire 43), "discrimination" (Questionnaire 52) and lack of "acceptance" (Questionnaire 162). An underlying theme of harassment can be identified. In addition there is a perception amongst some participants that the College's discipline practices fail to address the harassment of

students and are too lenient on poorly behaved students (Questionnaire 12, 43, 103, 110, 155, 163, & 175). One participant asserts that, “The College approves too much. It allows students to get away with such things as stealing and bullying and not just the first time. If some student steals again and again they will still do nothing” (Questionnaire 102). “The College tends to produce a mentality which encourages poor behaviour and bullying” (Questionnaire 43).

Success of Students

Participants claim that they are both satisfied and dissatisfied with their academic success. Those that were satisfied note that they give priority to study and work hard (Questionnaires 28, 51, 35, 91, 110, 119, 169, 172, 205, 245 & 255). “Yes I will achieve well academically because this is what I’ve concentrated on” (Questionnaire 106). A number (Questionnaires 51, 91, 119, 205, 245 & 255) state that they are achieving in spite of the fact that the College put pressure on them to move away from this “first priority” (Questionnaire 245). They wrote about the College’s demand on them to be “College Men” (Questionnaire 91) who put “inordinate amounts of time into playing sport” (Questionnaire 119). “I have always achieved very well academically and that is because I haven’t allowed myself to be caught up in this “big dick contest” (sorry) of trying to prove how much more of a man you are than the person beside you” (Questionnaire 51). This last comment indicates that to be truly masculine at the College does not involve academic achievement.

Another group of participants claim satisfaction with their academic success because they recognise that school life is about more than academic success (Questionnaires 23, 74, 093, 122, 200, 216 & 244). “There is more to being at the College than being academic” (Questionnaire 204). “If I only focused on study I would have done better but I would have missed out on so much” (Questionnaire 23). These participants introduce the concept of a balanced life that incorporates academic study together with other important aspects such as sport, a social life and other commitments. “It’s all a part of a healthy and full lifestyle. In the long run we will remember the good times we had and the effort we gave” (Questionnaire 122). Some participants were happy to wear the cost of limited academic achievement because of the value of the whole education package that the College offered. “I won’t achieve really well academically but with everything else I’m happy. If you don’t get involved you won’t know what it is like to be a part of such a powerful community” (Questionnaire 244).

However by far the majority of participants recorded dissatisfaction with their academic achievement. They had a range of reasons to offer to explain their poor performance. These included their need to socialise and have fun, the expectations put on them by other students, the College and society, the commitments they had including sport, the school's poor disciplinary practices and their own lack of effort. Details of all these themes with accompanying data follow.

Many participants indicate that they like having "a good time" (Questionnaires 36 & 166) with their mates and that this social interaction limits their academic achievement (Questionnaires 79, 135, 143, 154, 166, 219). "I don't succeed well because I spend more time with friends instead of studying" (Questionnaire 89). Some claim that there is an expectation on them from both their peers and from society in general not to achieve academically (Questionnaires 61, 99, 124, 127, 132, 134, 193, 212, 214, 222 & 240). "I'm not going to do well because boys are paid out for studying" (Questionnaire 124). The part the College plays in their non academic achievement is acknowledged by a few (Questionnaires 61, 134, 178, 192, 193, 214, 222, 240, 242, 243 & 246).

At the College you have to be a big tough man and act cool when all your parents want you to do is get a good OP. I don't do very well academically because I must fit in and be cool and not spend too much time doing study. (Questionnaire 214)

I think too much that being a boy is to be cool, have a six pack and be huge. I have spent so much time in the gym. (Questionnaire 222)

I won't achieve as well as I could academically because that is a way of showing College spirit, working at things we may not enjoy. (Questionnaire 246)

For some this demand for involvement is excessive (Questionnaires 61, 134, 193 & 212).

I will not succeed well academically because being a boy means participating in sport at the College. Training twice a day on the track for the whole year does have adverse effects on study and schoolwork (Questionnaire 193).

A few students perceived that the College fails to employ satisfactory teaching and/or disciplinary practices in order to provide them with a satisfactory academic education (Questionnaires 99, 155, 176 & 242). These boys claim that this is the reason that they have not succeeded academically.

In the classroom there are a few who disrupt my learning and hence make it more difficult to concentrate. When I hear of other schools with impressive academic results I sometimes wonder if I could have benefited from attending BGS (Brisbane Grammar School) or BBC (Brisbane Boys College). (Questionnaire 155)

These comments support participants' previous claim (p.118) that the College fails to employ satisfactory discipline practices. Finally a small number of participants claim that it is through their own lack of effort that they have not done as well academically as they could have. They talked about being "lazy" (Questionnaire 31), "not concentrating" (Questionnaire 67) and not being able "to find self motivation" (Questionnaire 115). "I have not done as well as I should because I can't force myself to do things that I don't want to do e.g. study, training" (Questionnaire 115). The fact that these three boys take responsibility for their own poor academic performance stands in strong contrast to the many who understand that in some way the College has failed to provide them with an environment where their academic excellence could thrive.

This completes the display of qualitative data obtained from the questionnaire.

5.4 Conclusion and Stage II Direction

This chapter has presented the results of the first stage of research, the stage of exploration. The data displayed were obtained from an analysis by both quantitative and qualitative methods of the information obtained through a questionnaire to 255 of the year 12 cohort. The data presented offer a broad base and a detailed exploration of the College in relation to the three research questions. This exploration in accordance with the design of this study gives direction to the second stage of the research. Consequently this section, as well as summarising data that answer each of the research questions, also identifies issues that need further inspection in the second stage of this study.

Research Question One: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?

The data displayed from this study's exploration reveal how participants understand masculinity. Participants do not have a conceptual understanding of masculinity. Rather they perceive it as associated with a number of desirable and undesirable qualities. The 13 factor solution (Table 5.2) that details these qualities indicates that participants have a relatively broad and somewhat complex understanding of what qualities make for masculinity. These qualities identified through qualitative analysis (Section 5.3.1) assemble under four themes, the possession of certain biological attributes, the exhibiting of certain personality traits, the performance of certain activities, and roles and the possession of moral goodness. The strongest understanding

held by participants was that masculinity was determined by biological factors. Participants understand that biological imperatives determine the physical characteristics of a man and hence make for masculinity. These biological imperatives also are understood to be responsible for certain masculine personality characteristics. These characteristics are identified as being concerned on the whole with dominance and strength. Participants also understand that masculinity is concerned with behavioural expressions. Males take on roles or activities that are defined by society as masculine. Participants indicate that these masculine characteristics can have idealised expressions that can be attained through effort. Finally participants understand masculinity as being about the possession of moral goodness. This theme stands on its own with only the support of a small number of participants.

This exploration of how participants understand masculinity identifies that two questions need further exploration. It is these questions that direct the second stage of the research. Given that participants indicate that they hold to idealised forms of masculinity, the first question seeks to uncover what qualities typify these idealised expressions of masculinity. The second question responds to data that identify *moral goodness* as a masculine quality. It seeks for clarity about how participants understand this masculine quality. In summary the questions that direct the inspection stage of the study in this first research question are:

1. What do participants consider are the qualities that identify idealised expressions of masculinity?
2. How do participants understand moral goodness as a masculine quality?

Research Question Two: What is the College's gender regime?

Data that addresses this second research question were presented in four sections. The first section described what participants understood to be important College masculine qualities. Participants' perceptions of how the College understands masculinity is relatively less complex than the participants' personal understandings of masculinity. This was illustrated with a comparison of the eight factor solution that described the masculine qualities that the College held to be important (Table 5.3) with the 13 factor solution that described how participants personally understood masculinity (Table 5.2). The second and third sections described two of the school's formal structures around which the College's gender regime becomes particularly observable. These are the College's sporting programme and one aspect of its curriculum, namely its religious education programme. The College's sporting programme and particularly the sport of Rugby Union is noted as important by participants. The College's religious

education programme is identified by them as notably less important. The fourth section displayed data that indicate that the student groups identified as vocational education students, day boy students and Asian students held significant differences. Vocational education students recorded 20 significant differences (Table 5.12) between themselves and the OP students. Day boy students (Table 5.13) recorded five differences between themselves and boarding students and Asian students (Table 5.15) recorded seven significant differences between themselves and all other students. Finally, one structure that may also support the College's gender regime was highlighted in section 5.3.2 when exploring the implications for participants. This structure was the College's discipline practices. Contradictory perceptions about the effectiveness of these practices was recorded from participants. Some participants claim the disciplinary practices are too lenient and fail to satisfactorily keep students' behaviour in check while other participants claim the practices are too restrictive.

Data that address this second research question, identify the need for further inspection in three areas. Firstly this study needs to further inspect the masculine qualities that participants understand to be important at the College. Secondly the structures or "vortices" (Connell, 2000, p. 157) that have been identified in the exploration stage of the study as playing some part in establishing and supporting the College's gender regime need inspection. These are the curriculum, discipline practices and sporting programme. Thirdly the identification of three sub-groups within the participants, namely vocational education, day boy and Asian students directs this study to consider what each of these groups can reveal about the College's gender regime. Consequently the questions that direct the second stage of the study in order to address research question two, "What is the College's gender regime?" are:

1. What are the College's idealised masculine expressions?
2. What do the structures of the curriculum, the discipline practices and the sporting programme reveal about the College's gender regime?
3. What do the vocational education, day boy and Asian students reveal about the College's gender regime?

Research Question 3: What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

In analysing data to respond to this third research question it was uncovered through both quantitative and qualitative methods that participants perceive there are three areas of dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction is felt in the inequitable treatment of and value placed in all students, in the lack of acceptance of some masculine expressions and in the academic

achievement of students. The playing of sport, especially the sport of Rugby Union, emerges as a factor to be considered in all three areas of student dissatisfaction.

Data that address this third research question highlight the need for further inspection in two areas. This inspection is particularly warranted with regard to the implications on College students of the College's emphasis on sport. In addition the identification of the three subgroups at the College, namely vocational education, day boy and Asian students, directs the second stage of the study to inspect what these groups understand are the implications on them of the College's gender regime. In summary the questions that directs the second stage of the research for research question three are:

1. What are the implications for students of the College's emphasis on sport?
2. What are the implications of the College's gender regime on vocational education, day boy and Asian students?

This completes the display of data that was analysed from the questionnaire. This thesis now moves to the display of data that was obtained during stage two, the inspection stage of this research.

CHAPTER 6
DATA DISPLAY
STAGE 2 -INSPECTION

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter displayed data uncovered in the first stage of research, the stage of exploration. It presented themes that answered the study's three research questions:

1. How do the students of the College understand masculinity?
2. What is the College's gender regime?
3. What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

The final section of the chapter identified questions to guide the second stage of research, the stage of inspection. These questions and their relationship to the research questions are presented in Figure 6.1. This chapter displays data uncovered in this stage of inspection. During this stage 24 participants involved themselves in either a one-to-one interview or a focus group discussion.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Each section presents themes that emerged in relation to each of the three research questions. Section one describes how participants personally understand masculinity. Section two identifies the College's gender regime. This section describes, the College's ideal masculine expressions and three structures or "vortices" (Connell, 2000, p. 157) that reveal the College's particular gender arrangement. These vortices are the College curriculum, its discipline practices and its sporting programme. Section three notes four implications for students of the College's gender regime. These are: a great pride in College sporting achievements, the inequitable valuing and treatment of students, the lack of acceptance of some masculine expressions and the perceived limited academic achievement of many students.

	INSPECTION STAGE OF RESEARCH	
Research Questions	Guiding Questions for One-to-One Interview	Guiding Question for Focus Group Discussion
	Qualitative Analysis	Qualitative Analysis
Research Question 1: How do the students of the College understand masculinity?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do participants consider are the qualities that identify idealised masculine expressions? 2. How do participants understand moral goodness as a masculine quality? 	
Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the College's idealised masculine expressions? 2. What do the <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curriculum; • Discipline practices; and, • Sporting programme, reveal about the College's gender regime? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. What do the vocational education, day boy students and Asian students reveal about the College's gender regime?
Research Question 3: What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the implications for students of the College's emphasis on sport? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. What are the implications of the College's gender regime on vocational education, day boy and Asian students?

Figure 6.1. Overview of guiding questions used in the inspection stage of research and their relationship to the research questions

6.2 Research Question One

How do the students of the College understand masculinity?

Participants in the exploration stage of this study identify that they hold an understanding of masculinity that is *true*, *real* or *ideal*. This finding is confirmed in the inspection stage of the research. The responses given by participants are numerous and echo the four themes identified in the exploration stage of the research (Section 5.3.1). Ideal masculinity is concerned with:

- Possession of certain biological attributes, for example:
Strength (Participants 4 & 14);
Good looks (Participant 4); and,
Large physical size (Participants 6 & 13).
- Exhibiting of certain personality traits, for example:
Being outgoing (Participant 1);
Showing power (Participant 1);
Having maturity and independence (Participants 1, 5, 14, 15 & 16); and,
Taking responsibility (Participants 1, 16, 17 & 24).

- Performance of certain activities and roles, for example:
Being an athlete (Participant 2), a sportsman (Participant 7) and in particular a rugby player (Participant 10);
Being in a leadership position (Participant 2);
Being able to enjoy yourself (Participant 17); and,
Being with women and drinking (Participant 1).
- Possession of moral goodness, for example:
Being “a good mate” (Participant 10);
Being helpful (Participant 11);
Acting ethically (Participant 2), including being “honest” (Participant 6);
Having “Christian values” (Participant 4);
Being a “good person” (Participants 4, 9 & 10);
Respect for self and others (Participants 12 & 24); and,
Being a good example (Participant 24).

Other qualities that did not directly fit under these headings included:

Being personable (Participant 1);
Friendliness (Participant 2);
Trying “their best” (Participants 9 & 11);
Intelligence and education (Participants 2 & 4); and,
Being “an all-rounder” (Participant 8);

The breadth of these responses echoes the breadth of the responses offered in the 13 factor solution illustrated in Table 5.2 of the previous display of data. The qualities of the ideal man from the perspective of the participants of this study are diverse. Also in confirmation of the exploration stage of the research it is noted that masculinity is again perceived in association with a number of desirable qualities and that some of these qualities are based on an understanding of masculinity being one half of a natural gender duality. For example, if masculine means to be strong, large, exercising power and being in a leadership position, the associated opposite qualities encompassing being weak, small, powerless and being in a subservient position, belong to the feminine. There is an indication that participants consider the masculine has more value than the feminine.

It is noted that these responses require that boys involve themselves in the process of becoming masculine. All involve interaction with others and action in their environment. This confirms the finding noted in the first stage of the research that masculinity is attained by boys through some behavioral effort. One participant spoke of the regret he felt in putting his efforts into academic excellence rather than into attaining ideal masculinity

I guess I'd like to be a rugby player, strong, good looking. It's a bit hypocritical and contradictory because I know that I would never be able to achieve that model and a lot of people wouldn't be able to achieve that model. I put my effort into achieving academically. Maybe I need to put a bit more emphasis on social

stuff and sporting stuff. I think the whole thing is really that I would like to be popular, although I may have a little bit of popularity. I would like to be seen as the most popular. (Participant 4)

There is a deep recognition in this participant of his inadequacies as a man when he compares himself to his peers who have attained popularity. In spite of his own outstanding qualities he still yearns for what he calls “the traditional” qualities of a man. Participant 11 acknowledges that ideal masculine expressions are rarely attained despite the effort exerted. “I think it is important to make a distinction between what is ideal and what is realistic. The majority of College students do not really attain the ideal masculinity despite the fact that they try to” (Participant 11). The contradiction noted in Chapter 5 (p. 113) is again evident. In spite of the fact that many participants perceive masculinity to be a biologically determined reality they perceive that they must put effort into its attainment. To this end, some participants (1, 2, 4, 11 & 12) are engaging in an ongoing process of evaluation and comparison of their masculinity. These participants indicate that they are continually evaluating through comparison with one another their success in measuring up to masculinity ideals. It has been noted that Participant four did not achieve what he understood to be an ideal masculine expression. Participant two on the other hand claims success. “I don’t mean to big note myself but I think I rate pretty close to ideal masculinity. I get involved. I’m an athlete. I’m friendly” (Participant 2).

It is noted some of the participants (2-4, 6, 9-12 & 24) included the quality of moral goodness in their understanding of ideal masculinity. This theme was also identified in the exploration stage of the research as a quality perceived to belong to the masculine by some participants. The characteristics of moral goodness included being, “ethical” (Participant 2 & 11), “Christian” (Participant 4), “honest” (Participant 6), “good” (Participant 3, 9 10, 11 & 12) and being a “good example” (Participant 24). During the interviews four participants (2, 4, 7 & 9) identified a tension for them between being human and being male. Three participants (2, 9 & 11) state that for them being a “good man” has little to do with being masculine. For these participants qualities that they associate with masculinity for example “toughness, never backing down from a challenge, and strength” (Participant 9) are not the qualities of moral goodness. Another participant noted that there could be a tension between being human and being masculine if masculinity was defined as being “a big macho and competitive man” (Participant 12). He personally did not accept this description as the ideal form of masculinity but understood many of his peers did. Participant four spoke directly about the contradiction he saw between being an ideal man and a good human. He understands a “good human” as being “caring, loving, friendly, reliable, being open, honest and truthful”. This he states “would contradict with the dominance,

aggression and emotional restriction of the ideal man” (Participant 4). He further states that the qualities of the ideal human best fit the ideal woman not the ideal man.

I would say that being an ideal woman would be an ideal human. They sort of link together but the man is out by himself in a way. I’m not sure how that works. Maybe it is the mothering qualities of a woman that gives them that attribute. ... I just thought about war. The human thing is war is bad. But for a man war means I could be a hero. That is the truly masculine picture that I get and you never really see women carrying guns. The whole idea of killing really contradicts the human image and the woman image but with the male image you think oh yes it’s possible. (Participant 4)

Here some participants indicate that they are ready to go beyond a traditional understanding of masculinity and are beginning to explore a fuller expression.

Some participants (1, 2, 4, 10, 11, 12 & 17) indicate that their understanding of ideal expressions of masculinity has been strongly influenced by what they perceive to be approved ways of being masculine at the College. One participant’s words reflect this clearly.

The ideal College man would be someone who plays sport, is a fairly good academic, gets things done, gets involved. He doesn’t cause any trouble, is friendly, helping the younger guys and stuff ... That’s my ideal of the ideal man. Well it’s the first steps. It [the College] is teaching you the first steps... It is what I think you need when you get out of school looking for jobs and such. (Participant 1)

This participant accepts as his ideal what he understands to be the College’s ideal expression of masculinity. Six participants (2, 4, 6, 9, 11 & 12) perceive that the College’s understanding of the ideal man is deficient. These participants claim that ideal College men lack moral goodness. It would seem that its very absence as an ideal quality of College masculinity highlighted for some of these participants the need for its inclusion in their personal understanding of ideal masculinity. The words of one participant highlight this fact.

I think ethical action is important in a man. The ideal College man you would look at him a bit differently if you knew them better and you know that they are not at all an ideal man. For me the ideal man is of good character and can operate with ethical action. I think this is portrayed and the image created (in the ideal College man) but it doesn’t have the foundation. It’s an illusion if you like. (Participant 2)

In summary, participants’ understanding of what makes for ideal masculinity is diverse. However, for the most part, they draw on traditional constructs around physical and emotional strength and masculine roles. They do understand that they are required to put effort into achieving the diverse elements of ideal masculine expressions since masculinity making is a process. This process involves ongoing evaluation as to the success or lack of success in the

attainment of the ideal. Some participants particularly claimed the quality of “moral goodness” as a necessary quality of masculinity. There seems to be some tension between what is ideally masculine and what is ideally human. It also seems that the College’s approved ways of being masculine have directly influenced participants’ ways of understanding masculinity. Some subscribe to these approved ways for themselves but others note what is missing in the College ideal particularly moral goodness. A matrix of responses (Appendix H) records participants’ strength of agreement around the themes displayed in this section.

6.3 Research Question Two

What is the College’s gender regime?

This section is divided into two parts. The first part describes how participants understand the College’s ideal masculine expression. Five themes are presented. The second part inspects the structures or “vortices” (Connell, 2000, p. 79) that visibly identify the College’s gender regime. This part illumines structures such as the College’s curriculum, particularly its vocational education and religious education programme, the College’s discipline practices and its sporting programme.

6.3.1 *The Ideal Man of the College*

These data detail what participants understand to be the College’s dominant or most approved ways of being masculine. The data collected reveal five approved ways of being masculine. The ideal man of the College is:

- A sporty athlete;
- An academic achiever;
- An involved participant;
- A personable leader; and,
- A compliant rule keeper.

A matrix of responses (Appendix I) records participants’ strength of agreement around these five themes.

A Sporty Athlete

Most participants identify athleticism and sporting prowess as being the most important characteristic of the ideal College man (Participants, 1-10, 12, 16-19 & 21-23). Responses highlight the sporting skill, keenness and fitness of the athletic boy (Participants 1, 2, 5, 7-9 &

12). “A College man is someone who is very athletic. Who is good at sports” (Participant 9). Rugby Union players are particularly signaled out as the sporting people who most epitomize the ideal College man (Participants 3, 4, 6 & 8-10). “A rugby player is the ideal man of the College, strong and good looking” (Participant 3). The qualities that are most identified as being desirable in the athlete and particularly the rugby player are concerned with the size and strength of a boy’s body (Participants 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 18, 19 & 21). A boy who is large and strong is perceived to be a good looking boy. “The ideal man at the College traditionally is a rugby player, strong and good looking” (Participant 4).

Some participants (3, 6, 9 & 10) also indicate that it is these large, strong and good looking rugby players that are the most successful boys of the College. One criteria that is used to judge this success is concerned with being attractive to women. “Rugby players are the ideal men of the College. They are the big chick magnets and the drinkers” (Participant 9). Participant six notes that he does not subscribe personally to the College ideal that men need to be a strong athlete but he agrees that at the College these qualities are highly valued. “The College’s ideal man is a rugby head who pulls the chicks and drinks a lot. I try to distance myself from it I guess and I guess I don’t associate with those guys if I don’t have to (Participant 6).

An Academic Achiever

Some participants (1, 3-5, 8-10, 12, 21 & 23) name academic success as one attribute of the ideal man of the College. “The ideal College man is something like a Rhodes Scholar. Brainy. Always strives to do their best academically” (Participant 9). However, participants (2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 21 & 23) qualify the attribute of being academically able as an identifying characteristic of the ideal College man by stating that academic success is only of secondary importance to being involved and successful in sport. “I think people also respect people who are academically good but it comes second to sport” (Participant 11). Participant nine wholly rejects that the College values the academic achiever. In his eyes academic success could lead to being discriminated against within the College. “The College doesn’t like all the people who are boring because they are just up and down studying, no sense of life, no personality. They might get discriminated against” (Participant 9).

An Involved Participant

College men are expected to become involved in College life (Participants 1-3, 9, 18 & 21-24). This involvement encompasses all aspects of their school life and often demands that boys put school activities before any other demands of their life. “The College’s ideal man gets involved in a whole lot of different areas” (Participant 2). Expectation of involvement is heightened by the College around the joining of sporting teams, especially Rugby Union teams and around the support of the rugby first fifteen games.

I do think that they [students] should go for that one and a half-hour game every Saturday. Like we go to Church for that one-hour every weekend. It is just something that we should do. It is something that we should want to do. It’s about support. It’s about being part of the school. I don’t believe you should be at the school, you should be at the College if you don’t want to be a part of rugby games. (Participant 1)

It is of interest to note that this boy compares attendance at the first XV Rugby Union games to compulsory Church attendance.

*A Personable Leader*³⁰

A few participants (1, 2, 7, 9 & 10) identify that ideal College men are friendly and helpful. This requires an outgoing nature and an interest in other students.

College men need to be able to talk to people. Not being shy or anything. Just being really outgoing. Yes personable. The ideal College man doesn’t cause any trouble in the way that they are friendly, helping the younger guys and stuff. (Participant 1)

Other participants state that ideal College men are leaders both in name and behaviour (Participants 2, 9 & 10). Boys exercising leadership have a confident authority that creates an attractive image for the College man. “The College’s ideal man is someone in a leadership position, a prefect or something along those lines (Participants 2).

³⁰ It is noted that the College has a recognised student leadership role that combines the qualities of “Involved Participant” and “Personable Leader”. This is the role of Spirit Leader. Spirit Leaders ensure by their friendly and personable manner that the students of the College participate well in school activities, especially Saturday sporting activities.

A Compliant Rule Keeper

Some participants (1, 3, 10, 15, 16 & 17) claim that the ideal College man needs to be obedient, mannered, neat and religious. They need to be boys who are able to live by the official rules of the College. This quality is described more as imposed on students by teachers than a quality embraced by the student body. Compliant and rule abiding behaviour is demanded of students by the academic staff of the College. “Well, from the teachers’ point of view they want you basically to behave. Go along with what the school activities are. Basically, be courteous. For some teachers that would involve being religious” (Participant 10).

In summary, the College’s most approved expression of masculinity is the sporty athlete and more particularly, the Rugby Union football player. The academic achiever, the involved participant, the compliant rule keeper and the personable leader although approved as expressions of masculinity do not have the legitimacy of the sporty athlete. The academic achiever is actually named as coming second to the sporty athlete and that the compliant rule keeper is a masculine expression participants understand to be imposed upon by teachers rather than embraced by students. It is of interest to note that section 6.2 identified that six participants (2, 4, 6, 9, 11 & 12) named moral goodness as a missing component of College approved masculine expressions.

6.3.2 Structures and the College’s Gender Regime

This section inspects the structures or “vortices” (Connell, 2000, p. 157) that visibly identify the College’s gender regime. These structures are the College’s curriculum, particularly its vocational education and religious education programmes, the College’s discipline practices and its sporting programme. Matrices of responses that record participants’ strength of agreement are displayed in Appendices J, K and L.

Curriculum

There is a perception amongst many Participants (1-3, 7- 10 & 12) that the College is not noted for the excellence of its academic curriculum. “We are not renowned for our academic programme” (Participant 3). Two participants (8 & 12) perceive that other GPS schools such as

Brisbane Grammar, Brisbane Boys' College or State High have a much higher standard of academic achievement.

I think the College is about not doing any work. Just be lazy and be a smart aleck basically. Obviously it is allowed because it happens but I don't think there is a lot you can really do about it. The College has a different sort of mentality as opposed to the guys at Grammar. From what I gather if you don't do your best at that school, not just sport but also at academic, then people look down on you a bit there. (Participant 8)

This quote introduces an important element in this inspection of the curriculum, namely, its relationship to the sporting programme. The previous section has already noted that one of the College's idealised masculine expressions, academic achiever is perceived by some participants as coming second to the sporting achiever. Participants further describe the relationship that they perceive exists between the academic curriculum and the sporting programme. A number of participants (4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16 & 19-23) introduce the idea that these two elements of College life are in competition. One participant describes the competition between the academic achievers and the sporting achievers as a competition between herbivores and carnivores.

Some boys ostracize others. It's really like animals. I don't know if it's just me. I see it. It's like animals. I suppose you could say they are the carnivores and the herbivores in that it is a small group having a lot of influence over a larger group. If you say that the ostracizing is like attacking them and it is. Generally it is not so far as bullying but it's basically verbal harassment or payouts or whatever. (Participant 2)

Another participant (13) perceives the competition as embracing students and teachers.

In my time I've seen teachers start behaving ugly to a lot of the guys in my team. The guys that play rugby think that the guys that do well at the academic have no respect for their achievements and that sort of has a negative effect in the team. It's vice versa too with those guys and teachers having the same opinion about us that we have about them. I think it is too bad that there is a whole big difference in personality between the two groups. This means that they don't get along well all the time. (Participant 14)

It is noted that the curriculum is devalued in comparison to the sporting programme. As one participant states:

The College needs to do something about its academic programme. Because of the sport, because people are encouraged to play sport and a lot of them forget they are here to actually do study. Something needs to be done to make it known that we are actually here to study. They cut back the money for the Heads of Departments. They just hushed that up but we know that it should be going into the academic region so that we can benefit from it. Instead it goes into sport. (Participant 10)

Participants perceive that it is not acceptable to be seen to put any effort into academic study (Participants 2, 4, 8, 11, 19 & 20). Any study, homework or assignment writing needs to be undertaken without publicly declaring or showing the effort. "I wouldn't tell other students I'd finished an assignment or something. The thing at school is you don't really do the work until the last minute but I don't really like that method. I like to be planned" (Participant 4).

Although there is a general undervaluing of the academic curriculum within the College two programmes within the curriculum structure are identified by participants as being particularly devalued. These are the vocational education and the religious education programmes.

The College offers students a curriculum pathway choice. Students can undertake to study five to seven Authority Subjects and be eligible to obtain an OP from the Queensland Education Department or enrol in five to seven Authority Registered Subjects. The Authority Registered Subjects constitute a vocational education curriculum designed for students who are more practically oriented and less academically gifted. The three vocational education students (Participants 15, 16 & 17) who took part in the second stage of this research express a great pride in their teachers, their programme and themselves. They claim that their programme develops the qualities of responsibility, openness, knowledge, independence, respect, tolerance and hard work in students.

However, the vocational education students note that they are not valued or respected either by other students or by teachers at the College. "The TAFE boys are not valued by the OP boys. Not even [by] the Principal" (Participant 17). They state that they are referred to as "Taffy bums" (Participant 15) by mainstream students and as "trouble" (Participant 17) by mainstream teachers. It is of interest to note that they have obtained information from their own teachers about how their vocational education programme is undervalued and how it does not share equally in the school's resources. This fact is illustrated in the following dialogue.

Like up here they have got brand new computers. They spent \$16 000 on gardens up here. (Participant 16)

And we asked for a toilet block. Because we reckon it is too far away. They told us that we had to build it ourselves. So the construction and engineering boys are building it. (Participant 17)

And Miss X is saying if Workplace Health and Safety find out about it they are going to spit. And they say, "We don't care, build it yourself". (Participant 16)

Miss X pretty much tries to keep us informed. (Participant 17)

All our teachers try to tell you what is really going on. They come down with all these ideas that they have heard through staff. (Participant 16)

The OP students seem to hold similar views. Participant 11, an OP student, notes that it was automatic for him and other OP students to think of the vocational education students as “stupid”. Participant 12 confirms this by stating that he did not think that vocational education students even understood the meaning of the word assignment or the concept of academic study. Both these participants note there is a division between vocational education students and OP students.

There is a division between us. They are always constantly assessing who is better. Like there would be one dude who says, “Oh, I’m going to start working next year and you are going to have to go to Uni for four years. I’m going to be earning all this money.” And you say, “Yes but I’m going to be earning a lot more at the end of it compared to you.” And there is a big struggle between us. (Participant 11)

The physical layout of the school and the subsequent way of describing the vocation education programme also support the perception that this programme and its students have less value. The vocational education facilities are described as “down there” (Participant 17) in comparison with the OP facilities that sit on top of the hill, “up there”. This hierarchy is recognised by one participant. “Actually up here with the OPs is a very hierarchical system. You have got the Principal then the students at the bottom and they don’t really mean anything and then the Taffies right at the bottom. I really hate it” (Participant 17).

The devalued position of the vocational education programme is shared by the religious education programme. This is so in spite of the fact that as a Catholic school religious education is a compulsory part of all students’ curriculum. Many of the participants (1-10, 15 17 & 22-24) could not see that the religious education programme held value for them. Some stated that it taught them nothing and in particular it taught them nothing about being masculine.

For all the years that I have been at school I haven’t been taught anything about life skills or about being a man from going to R. E. [Religious Education]. More about like morals and ethics and other issues that are in our society like aborigines and Jewish people. For me it just broadens my knowledge I guess – the different cultures that are out there in the world. (Participant 1)

Six of these participants (3, 5-7, 9 & 10) who responded with “nothing” recognized that the programme was attempting to portray something positive but failed because the students were not willing to partake in this particular classroom learning. Participant six, when asked what the

religious education programme had taught him responded, “Not a lot truthfully. I think it tries to portray positive morals in society but it doesn’t teach a lot because it falls on deaf ears” (Participant 6). Participants 22 and 24, two Asian participants, expressed a frustration with the College’s religious education programme. These students come from a non-Christian background and express dissatisfaction with their lack of introduction to the Catholic faith. “It would seem to me that people like me from overseas fail to get educated about what the College’s religion is about. The school should try to tell what’s good about it” (Participant 22).

Those participants who valued the programme noted that the College’s religious education programme developed boys as ethical people and developed religious beliefs. Some participants (2, 3, 6, 7, 9 & 10) stated that the religious education programme helped in the ethical and moral development of boys. They could see that this programme had given them skills that could help in future ethical decisions. The value of this particular characteristic of the religious education programme for one participant is illustrated.

At the moment I’m doing a course on ethics and right choices. I think that’s very relevant because I think a lot of people wouldn’t know how to approach certain problems and this is an important part of being a man. I think there is a lot that is relevant but that is what particularly stands out to me as an individual as being relevant. (Participant 2)

Five participants (5, 10-12 & 22) mentioned that the religious education programme helped develop religious beliefs in boys. These participants claim they hold personal religious beliefs and hence value the College’s religious education curriculum. One spoke of the school motto “*Signum fidei*” [A sign of faith] as a personal call to Christian values (Participant 11). Another spoke about the importance for him of the College being a “religious community” (Participant 12). The third boy states that in some way this programme touches into his emotional life and into his hopes and beliefs. “Religious Education sort of plays a part with aspects of emotions. It helps you to believe in something, hope in something. It teaches you how to hope. All that sort of stuff” (Participant 5). These boys expressed the positive contribution of the religious education programme in their lives and in their growth to manhood. Participant 23, an Asian Catholic boy, who takes seriously his commitment to the Catholic faith notes dissatisfaction with the College’s practice of religion. He states that he has to go outside of the school for his “Christian fellowship” because the school does not provide this for him. He claims that if he were to share his interest in his religion he would “fear being rejected”. He offers poignant comment on the school’s motto, “*Signum fidei*” (A sign of faith) and the College’s sporting programme.

I am always confused by what this motto actually means. I always ask myself this question on Thursday lunch. They can get 1400 in the Ross oval grandstand, cheering for sport and stuff but they can't even get 14 students in the Thursday chapel. What does this faith mean? Is it getting a premiership? This sign of faith what does it do? How do they match this and how do they display it? I can't see this faith visibly. My idea of this school begins as a Catholic environment where Christ's values should be reflected and unconditional love is also being reflected. I think it is sad to say that this is not so here. (Participant 23)

It would seem that religious expression is not a practice embraced by the majority of the student population. Three participants (2, 7 & 9) offered their analysis of why this was so. They claimed that the religious education programme was not seen as containing material that would help a boy in his masculine development. It was "too feminine" (Participant 9) for most College students.

There are parts of the R.E. programme that are actually opposite to what the College wants a man to be. What they [R.E. teachers] see as being a proper person or man the College would maybe see as being too feminine or something for their standards. At the College you've got to be big men and all that kind of stuff. What comes across in religion they would see as coming on the more feminine side, especially around showing love and all that kind of stuff. (Participant 7)

It is noted that this participant sees the Religious Education programme as standing in opposition to College demands. Participant five clarified this point. He claimed that the religious and personal development programme at the College helped boys to develop as independent persons. In his thinking religious education, stands in direct contrast, to the sporting programme as the former teaches boys to be independent and the latter teaches boys to conform.

I guess it [Religious Education programme] is teaching you to believe what you want. Do your own thing and believe in your own god and follow your own instincts. Express yourself and all that sort of stuff. I reckon that soccer or sport doesn't really emphasis that aspect as much. Soccer or sport teaches you more to conform to play in a team to be one of a group. (Participant 5)

A matrix of responses (Appendix J) records the strength of agreement around curriculum themes.

Discipline Practices

In the exploration stage of this study, participants offered contradictory perceptions with regard to the discipline practices of the College. Here some participants claim that the disciplinary practices are too restrictive, while others claim that they are too lenient and fail to satisfactorily keep student behaviour in check. This ambivalence was again evident in this second stage of the

research with participants claiming that discipline practices are both too harsh (Participants 1, 3 & 14-17) and too lenient (Participants 2, 6-8, 10 & 18-21). (Appendix K displays participants' agreement around these themes.) The words of two participants illustrate this.

With bullying when you get into the senior years you cop a bit from the seniors when you are in year eight and it moves on. You get into year 12 and you pick on year eights. It happens a fair bit. There are guys who don't like that the school is against this, very much against it. I reckon they are too hard on us over this. (Participant 3)

There are no standards at the College. Because there is no scholarship exam or nothing. There are a group of guys who take away from everyone. They basically do stupid things. The College lacks in the department of trying to keep people in line. (Participant 10)

This ambivalence around discipline practices is particularly confirmed in comparing two of the focus group discussions. On the one hand, the vocational education students (Participants 15, 16, & 17) claim the discipline practices are too restrictive. They claim that the College wants to produce a particular type of student. "The College wants to put you in a bit of a mould. They are trying to bring everyone out the same" (Participant 15). These students perceive that the College tries to control the behaviour of students and produce "the College man" (Participant 16). This they claim fails to foster in students independence in thought and action. They note that the demands stretch beyond their Monday to Friday school involvement. They are expected to behave like "Men of the College" (Participant 15) in their own weekend activities. As participant 17 noted:

You can get done for being a part of the College even though it is in your spare time. It doesn't matter what you do during the year. I know a couple of blokes who got into a bit of trouble. They got into a fight on the weekend. This was a couple of weekends ago. They actually smacked some other guy from another school. The reason why they found out was that these two guys were from the College. They rang up. Their parents rang up and said, "Listen two of your students were involved." They got expelled even though it was not in school time. It's like we are not after that sort of behaviour, that sort of stuff. (Participant 17)

These participants do not believe the College has the right to discipline them for any weekend behaviour.

On the other hand, the day boy students (Participants 18-21) perceive that the discipline practices are too lenient and implemented unfairly. Participants describe a discipline regime which ignores the poor behaviour of approved students, while dealing harshly with other students. This is supported in this recorded dialogue.

I remember two years ago. One of the 1st players was caught stealing. He just got a week off school to think about what he had done. Then about two weeks later another guy got caught stealing. He was dismissed. Sent on his way. (Participant 19)

It is not just all the time the rugby guys. Some guys just shouldn't be at the College. They just go from offence to offence and they are still here. (Participant 21)

They [approved students] are the friends of rugby players. (Participant 18)

If you are the friend of rugby players you get dealt a special hand as well. (Participant 19)

If you are connected to them [rugby boys] in any way you are laughing [have an easy time]. (Participant 20)

These day boy students make a link between the College's discipline practices and the sporting programme. This link is also made by Participant 14.

They are trying to be tougher about us going to class and doing our studies and they are saying too much time and money go into rugby. And I just think they are ruining the tradition and all the good things that go with rugby. They are tearing it down by bitching about it. I hear teachers say it. And it annoys me because sometimes we train more than we would study. (Participant 14)

This participant is claiming that a tightening of the discipline processes around academic study will ruin the Rugby Union sporting tradition. It would seem that the ambivalence evident in the College's discipline practices does support College sport and the behaviour of sporting boys.

Sporting Programme

Given that the sporty athlete is the most approved expression of masculinity at the College, it is important to inspect the College sporting programme in order to understand the institution's gender arrangement. This programme can be recognised through four distinctive and powerful discourses. The College's sporting programme is concerned with:

- Shaping school identity;
- Making men;
- Expressing power and authority; and,
- Experiencing the *good* life.

A matrix of responses (Appendix L) records the strength of agreement around these four themes.

Shaping school identity.

Participants (2-4, 6, 11, 21, 22 & 24) identify that the central identifying feature of the College is its sporting programme. Participants, in this study, claimed that the College was, “renowned for being a great sporting school” (Participant 3) and a “great rugby school” (Participants 6-10, 11, 13 & 14). “The College puts around that it is the ‘Cradle of Australian Rugby Union’” (Participant 10). For the most part, College sport and College rugby can be identified as one and the same phenomenon. At times, the boys interviewed spoke of sport when in fact they were specifically referring to rugby. This is illustrated in one participant’s account of his introduction to the school when he was in year seven. He initially referred to the College as a great sporting school but then proceeded to describe his introduction to only one sport, Rugby Union.

The College is renowned for being a great sporting school. They try to put more of an emphasis on academic these days but we will always be renowned for sports. My first impression of the College was pretty much born in year seven when I was told I was accepted. I remember back to a Rugby Union coaching clinic. They talked about everything. They started talking about scrums and they talked about the College. That was the first real thing I heard about it. I was reading a prospectus about it and they really talked about rugby. They focused upon the spiritual aspects, the academic, the cultural and the sporting but the big emphasis was placed on rugby. It’s just what the College is renowned for. (Participant 3)

Rugby Union’s place as the identifying characteristic of the College is supported by the use of rugby symbols throughout many aspects of school life. For example, a sticker on a boy’s bag proclaimed Waterpolo as “Rugby on Water” (Participant 20) and another participant referred to his debating involvement as “an intellectual scrum” (Participant 11). One participant, an elite non-rugby athlete further illustrates the importance of Rugby Union as the College’s identifying characteristic. He complained about the way his Speech Night award was announced. His international success in gymnastics was, he stated, described in terms of schoolboy Rugby Union success.

They downgraded my award at Speech Night. They basically said I was a Queensland schoolboy representative when really I haven’t been competing as a schoolboy for years. I have been competing elite junior which is under 18 since I was in grade 8 at the age of 13. Now I’m competing in seniors in international teams. This is equivalent I guess you could say or is higher than playing in the Wallabies. Gymnastics is a high profile sport around the world. Every country in the world participates. They just talked about me being a schoolboy Queensland representative and Australian representative. They made it sound like I was just a schoolboy. “Oh yeah, and by the way, he was our first ever Olympic representative.” (Participant 13)

The College expects each of its boys to personally relate to this sporting identity by playing sport (Participants 1, 4, 5 & 8-12). Boys are encouraged to engage in two to three sports a year (Participants 5 & 10). Boys are also expected to support students who play in the top sporting teams (Participants 1, 8, 9 & 10). This is done through the tradition of cheering. “For us we are expected to go and watch them [sporting games] on Saturday” (Participant 10). Some participants acknowledged that for boys to be personally successful at the College they needed to be involved in the school’s rugby programme (Participants 1, 4, 7, 8 & 10). Non rugby involvement appears to hold great significance for the boys of the College. A participant in the study illustrates this in the following words.

Rugby is sort of forced on people but it also, I guess, is a reflection of what people want to do. To not play rugby is sort of to not be part of the school tradition. I am sure there are people who are playing rugby who would rather play soccer and they are doing that to conform to the idea of the College man. (Participant 8)

For this boy non-rugby players are removed from “school tradition” not just from participation in a particular sport. One boy (Participant 4) acknowledged that he did play rugby as a means of searching for acceptance within the school. It would appear that boys who involve themselves in Rugby Union have a higher possibility of attaining personal success, while those who remove themselves from this sport could have a hard time at school. The following comment illustrates both realities. “Either you play footy or you don’t. If you play footy you’re cool if you don’t then unless you are high up then they don’t want to know you. I play footy so I’m all right” (Participant 10).

The sporting identity of the College is embraced by its boarding population (Participants 1, 5-7, 10, 18, 19 & 21). One participant’s words enthusiastically support the strong connection between boarding and sport.

I wouldn’t give up being involved for anything. Especially being a boarder. I’ve had heaps of offers to become a day boy, relatives and things like that who live nearby. “Do you want to become a day boy?” No. I wouldn’t give up boarding. I’m definitely not going to become a day boy. I feel sorry for them the day boys in a way. They are missing out on a heap. They miss out on all the spirit that goes with that, playing sport and cheering for the firsts. (Participant 1)

This connection is also demonstrated by the local students who have chosen to become metro boarders in order that they may take full advantage of the College’s sporting programme (Participant 5, 6 & 10). “I could be a day boy but I have training most afternoons. That way I can use the weights whenever I want to too” (Participant 6). Some participants equate “College

spirit” with the amount of effort that is given to supporting sporting events (Participant 7-9, 14, 15 & 17). One participant voiced his frustration in this reality. “The College spirit is basically just for rugby and for the boarders. Yeah we’ve got College spirit on rugby days and everything else sucks” (Participant 15). Again it is the boarders who are named as being most associated with the development of this spirit (Participants, 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 & 14-21).

It is the boarders who develop the spirit and culture of the College. It is in their blood. We probably don’t have as much. We don’t take the cheering practices and things like that seriously. We think there is a certain line and the spirit goes too far. (Participant 19. He was supported with head nodding and ‘yes’ statements by Participants 18, 20 & 21)

Sport and especially Rugby Union helps define for the participants of this study the very identity of the College. The sporting tradition demands that students participate either directly by playing support or indirectly by supporting sporting events. However College sport is not just about shaping the College’s identity, it is also about the making of men.

Making men.

Many participants identify personally with the College’s sporting programme, particularly its Rugby Union programme and its contribution to their growth into adult men (1-3, 4, 6-10, 12 & 14). There is a strong perception amongst participants that playing sport and particularly Rugby Union expresses manhood and is an education into manhood. Some participants identify that men are good looking when they are physically large and strong (Participants 3, 5, 6, 8, 9 & 11) and successful when they are psychologically “tough” and “dominant” (Participants 1 & 10). Rugby Union is identify as helping to teach “boys how to be dominant men” (Participant 7). This reality is described by Participant one in his outline of his coaching experience.

Manhood is really stressed when they are coaching. It is like; “You are not going to win today boys if you are not going to be a man about things. You can’t play soft. You can’t diddle daddle around you know. You have to be straight, hard and tough. You’ve got to be there and show who is boss. If you are going to play with the big boys you are going to get hurt. Show the other team that”. Yes they always stress that especially with a big game against Churchie or Terrace or someone we know who is going to really take it to us. Its like, “Get out there and really put some big hits on. Show who the men are. Give them a bit of a fright. Give them a bit of a run for their money”. That is really stressed that part about being a man. And so it should be. That is what it is all about. You can’t go out there and expect to play ordinary rugby. You have to go one hundred percent. (Participant 1)

Here a strong dominant masculinity is directly linked to playing Rugby Union. As one participant states, “A rugby player is the ideal man of the College, strong and good looking” (Participant 4).

Participants highlight other qualities that are taught through their sporting involvement and that are important for their development, particularly for their growth into adult men. These qualities include commitment, discipline, confidence, sacrifice, hard work and responsibility (Participants 1-4, 6, 8, 9, 12 & 14). One participant expresses this by saying, “Going to rugby training you have to sacrifice other things to go in and do the training. That requires commitment and hard work that we see as good in men and rugby requires those” (Participant 2). One worrying feature about the level of commitment and hard work that is demanded of the College’s top athletes is the idea reported by three participants (8, 9 & 10) that boys need to train so hard that they vomit. “Training until you spew. That shows that you are a man in sport because you train so hard and you train every morning. Throwing up is a sign that you are keen to get fit and keen to succeed in your sport” (Participant 9).

Some participants identify that playing sport for them is a fun activity and a time to enjoy being together with their friends (1, 2, 4-6, 8-10, 14 & 22). There is an acknowledgment that this aspect of sport is not obvious in the big competitive displays of the first teams but in the interaction of their own team play. “Seriously it’s about having fun and being there for your mates” (Participant 1). Being with friends in the sporting arena also helps build and test mateship between friends. Some participants note that during the playing of Rugby Union they experience the intimacy and the solid loyalty of mates together. “I think maybe rugby is intimate. It’s about men with men” (Participant 4).

Sport is about playing as a team and looking after one another. And that is exactly what we did. Last weekend we had our last game and we had a big fight. It started off with one of our players and our whole team came in. Which wasn’t a big macho man thing to do we just did it to help our mates. The next week we were going to be suspended. We all stood beside each other and we didn’t point the finger at any one. (Participant 1)

Participants understand that sport and especially playing Rugby Union help support their development into manhood. This development is especially concerned with an idealised masculine expression based on a boy’s strength, size and dominance. This idealized masculine expression can express itself through displays of power and authority.

Expressing power and authority.

Participants acknowledge the highly competitive nature of sport within the College (Participants 2, 3, 6-8, 10-13, 17 & 22). This competition is all encompassing. It surrounds the sporting endeavours between schools, between year 12 cohorts, between teams and between boys. The

following quotes illustrate how one boy understands the competition between schools and how another boy understands the competition between year 12 classes.

It's like I guess if the GPS schools were countries. It would be nationalism. People have a hatred for other people because they go to a different school. It's a big competition. Every year 12 is compared with premierships from the year before to see if you are a better grade 12 class, to see if you've got more. It is a big competition. (Participant 6)

Year 12 are compared. If you win more premierships you are a better year. (Participant 12)

Winning is important and is produced by players who are tough (Participants 2, 3, 9 & 17). The desire to win and physical and psychological toughness combine at times in displays of power and violence especially in games of Rugby Union (Participants 1, 3-9, 12, 14, 16, 18 & 21). Participants illustrate a high level of agreement as to the aggressive nature of Rugby Union and its importance in establishing boys as strong, fearless and determined men. A group of boys, the *rugby heads*, is identified by some participants because of their association with displays of power and aggression.

You get to be a big man in rugby. You get to go out there and smash people and all that sort of thing and make a name for yourself. Being a good rugby player that comes into the masculine side. Those who put on the biggest hits they will be talked about the most rather than someone who ran 100 metres and scored a try for the team. You always find that if anyone starts talking about the game during the weekend it will be "Did you see that hit?" It's all the fights they will talk about before they talk about anything else. If they lose well they are not going to really mind as long as they got something back by smacking someone. (Participant 7)

A particular Rugby Union team is identified for its outbreaks of violence (Participants 1, 6, 7 & 9). This team is the 5th open team. It is made up of a number of boys who are disqualified from playing in the G.P.S. (Greater Public Schools) competition because they are older than the open competition permitted. However, this team did take part in the G.P.S. competition. They competed against teams from other schools where the disparity in size, strength and ability was most marked. One boy recorded that the school put these boys in this team because "the level of competition was too low to matter" (Participant 6). By the end of the season some boys from this team were threatened with legal action by another school. Participant nine gives an account of this team's last game.

This team, this 5th XV team, compared to the B.B.C. (Brisbane Boys College) team, it was like the firsts playing the eighths. They were running all over them and stuff like that. Anyway they all got in a group and I think they were talking about having a fight right. They started a fight with four or five B.B.C. guys and then the whole group of people were just laying into these guys for no reason.

And then one guy came along and king hits this little B.B.C. fellow. I don't know what happened but he got taken off in this stretcher. It was ridiculous and I just thought how pathetic. And when they got back to the dorm they were just bragging about it and I just thought, "you idiots". (Participant 9)

Sporting boys especially Rugby Union players associate strongly with a heterosexual masculinity (Participants 5, 7, 9, 11, 18 & 19). In fact, it would seem that involvement in Rugby Union assures boys that they are not homosexual. Rugby's physical toughness and need for aggression help define for boys at the College what is masculine. Anything less seems to carry an idea of softness and femininity and, by association, homosexuality.

Rugby Union provides boys with an opportunity to express and experience a high level of emotional release (Participants 4, 5, 7, 15 & 16). It would seem from the participants' comments that the emotions that they refer to for the most part centre on the expression of dominance and power. College men feel like winners when they participate in some way in the winning displays of their Rugby Union teams. This is as true for the boys playing in the teams as it is for the boys cheering in the grandstand.

Swimming perhaps it is not as exciting. You don't get to show your dominance as much besides winning races. You can't show any feeling. There is no expression in the sport I suppose. Whereas in rugby you get to see a whole lot out in the field, the expression of emotion and that sort of stuff. It's got more feeling to it I suppose. And then you get the whole grandstand packed up with cheering and that sort of stuff. (Participant 7)

The dominance that comes from playing sport especially Rugby Union is transferred to the social area and enhances the social life of students. This is illustrated in the final discourse about the College's sporting programme.

Experiencing the good life.

Participants indicate that sporting boys, again especially the Rugby Union players, are the socially attractive boys (Participants 1, 7, 9, 12, 14 & 19). They get on well with other boys and men. They are the boys who attract the girls. "If you want to be liked you have to be number one. In the firsts or whatever. Everyone knows the firsts" (Participant 7). Even participants who did not agree with this stance supported the idea that this was what sporting boys believed about themselves. "Rugby boys think they are the big chick magnets and the drinkers" (Participants 9). Participants also indicate that sporting boys know how to enjoy themselves (Participants 1, 3, 6-10, 14, 17, 20 & 21). They are the "party animals" (Participant 12). "Basically they say if you

don't play sport you don't have fun" (Participant 14). This experience of the *Good Life* stretches beyond the rugby field into a celebration of Saturday night life. Participant one indicates that there is a certain ritual flowing from the Saturday rugby games into Saturday night partying.

Drink together and party together and stuff like that. No one really likes the guys who stay in on Saturday night and play their computer. That's what it is all about. We all come back together all the seniors. We come back together. We wait for the 1sts to come back on their own little private bus and we get ready and spruced up and we all go off together as one. It's out for the weekend but we all go to the party, the parties, that night together. We all talk to one another and we say, "Yeah boys, we are all going to meet at this time, at this place, at this address." And that is what happens. We all meet up that night. (Participant 1)

The boys who combine their sport with heavy partying are noted as having the best time.

Some participants distance themselves from a masculine expression associated with heavy drinking, violence towards women and general trouble causing behaviour. Participant 6 gave a graphic account of his experiences of the sexual activity of students at the College.

I remember walking into the toilets during a dance and there is this guy. There is this chick's legs hanging out from the toilet so that she was kneeling. You can imagine what she was doing. It was pretty bad for me walking into the toilets of a dance. And then he just walked out and left her there. Another time this year this girl came up to the dorm. She sleeps with one boy in another boys' room in the boarding house. She goes down to the mats on the athletics oval and sleeps with two different boys again. So that is three. While she had her rags and they had blood all over them. Sick sick sick. (Participant 6)

It is noted that this participant added that these kinds of incidents were not unusual in his experience. He openly talked about boys of the College raping girls and claiming pride in this activity. Participant three gives evidence of underage drinking at one of the popular Brisbane hotels. Participant seven refers to the fights that break out at parties. It would appear from his account that these fun parties enter into the realm of illegal activities. Participant seven also says that the College provides an environment, especially in the boarding school, where boys can get away with this unhealthy and illegal behaviour. Participant 14 qualifies to some degree those boys who partied to excess.

A lot of guys after rugby – it's sort of the culture to go out – they get really drunk. But in my experience the girls really hang off the higher profile people – the guys in the 1st XV. They want to talk with you. You are like the stars of the party. I think maybe the guys who get drunk are not having as much fun because they are not the stars of the party. (Participant 14)

He further states that the elite athletes are more moderate in their drinking because they were the stars. It is the “guys who are not having as much fun, who are more likely to get really drunk and abuse girls” (Participant 14).

In summary, this third section of Chapter 6 has been divided into two parts. Firstly the College’s ideal masculine expressions were described under the five themes of sporty athlete, academic achiever, involved participant, personable leader and compliant rule keeper. Secondly three of the structures that most visibly identify the College’s gender regime were inspected. These structures were the curriculum, discipline practices and the sporting programme. The sporting programme is noted for its place of first importance at the College. The College sporting programme has a distinctive and powerful discourse. Sport and especially Rugby Union is understood by participants to be the College’s identifying feature, an expression and education into a manhood that is powerful and authoritative and a way of experiencing social acceptability and a good time. The sporting programme is particularly supported by the boarders of the College. It would also appear that ambivalence around appropriate discipline practices also supports the sporting programme and sporting boys. The College curriculum is noted as taking a place of importance behind sport with two of its elements, vocational education and the religious education, being particularly undervalued.

6.4 Research Question Three

What are the implications for students of the College’s gender regime?

Data that addresses this third research question were gathered from all participants who took part in this second stage of research. An analysis of data from the interviews and focus group discussions reveals that there are four implications for students of the College’s gender regime.

These are:

- Great pride in College sporting achievement;
- Inequitable valuing and treatment of students;
- Lack of acceptance of some masculine expressions; and,
- Limited academic achievement of students.

Three of these four implications confirm the findings of the exploration stage of the research. A matrix of responses displayed in Appendix M records the strength of responses around the implications for students of the College’s gender regime.

6.4.1 *Great Pride in College Sporting Achievement*

Participants express pride in belonging to a College with its long record of high sporting achievement (1-3, 4, 6, 8-15 & 23). “We are renowned for being a great sporting school” (Participant 3). For Participant 14 this pride was the essential ingredient to the success and happiness of the student body. He believed that if students were happy with their involvement in rugby then they would be happy with the school.

Teachers are bagging the sport. Like some teachers tell me that in the staff room they have a real big cry about how much money gets spent on rugby. There is so much that goes with rugby that they don't realize. It's not just the sport. It's what goes with it. Mr. Y. is really pro-rugby and people get annoyed with him. But he helps develop rugby culture in the school and with that the guys have a lot more respect for the school. Just since I've been here things have gone down. There has been so much more graffiti and things like that. The guys just have a lot less respect for the school when it's like that. So if they're in a classroom or whatever and you are happy with the school and you are happy because what they have done for you and you are happy with your rugby team. It is just better. (Participant 14)

One participant, a top academic achiever of his year, while recognizing the personal cost of the College's overemphasis on sport, still identified with the sporting success.

There is so much more emphasis put on sport and exceeding at sport. Exceeding at other places is not really the same standard. I'm proud that they [the College] are the GPS [Greater Public Schools] rugby premiers even though I'm not in the team and I'm proud we're the top school and I'm proud that we are an all boys' boarding school. But I don't really see myself as an achiever. I've done it. It's not that good. I think that has affected my vision a bit. I would really like to be involved in politics and that sort of stuff and I think maybe I can't do that. That's the College. It hasn't really given me all the opportunities to see how high I can get academically. (Participant 4)

The participants' pride in belonging to a school with high sporting success extends to a high regard for the school's top athletes. These athletes are renowned for the sacrifice and commitment that they give to their sport (Participants 2, 9, 12 & 13).

They [sportsmen] are pushed to the limit. That is why I do have respect for them because I know they do work them very hard. They would tell you stories like the 1st XV players would come in and say that this morning was freezing cold and they had to get up at like 5.30 and I'd say, “Oh you could get frozen,” and stuff like that. (Participant 12)

This was especially so for members of the first XV Rugby Union team. These boys are particularly acclaimed for their successes. It is these sportsmen who are seen to bring glory to the College. This reality is noted by one of the College's gymnasts. “A rugby player is

everything at the College. I'm just a gymnast that's all. I didn't get a scholarship or anything like that" (Participant 13).

Two school practices are identified as instilling pride in school sporting achievements. These are school assemblies and school cheering practices. Participants spoke of lengthy school assemblies where the upcoming sporting events are given a prominent emphasis (Participants 3, 11 & 12) and where boys are encouraged or "pressured" (Participant 11) to attend. Other participants spoke of the routine of "cheering practice" (Participants 1, 6 & 7). This is described as a compulsory element of school life that demands that boys give up 15 minutes of their lunch time and teachers give up another 15 minutes of teaching time. These practices evoke mixed responses in participants.

I looked forward every Friday for the College Grandstand cheering practice. I always skipped lunch to run down and get my spot in the grandstand. And I still love it. I certainly do. It only goes for half an hour but being in grade 10 you are looking out there and you see these guys like these five guys. I come from a small mining town of four thousand people in the Northern Territory and you come down and you see these fully grown men with their beards and whatever and they are standing out the front and they are screaming. There is nothing like it. Nothing like it at all. And now I get to do it. Now I get to stand out the front and cheer. (Participant 1)

You get the whole grandstand packed up with cheering and that sort of stuff. Me I don't enjoy it. I actually think that there are a growing number of people who are just fed up with that kind of thing. I'm starting to lose that kind of spirit which I used to have when I was back in year eight. (Participant 7)

Taking pride in College sporting achievement and the honouring of sport and sporting heroes leads to an inequitable valuing and treatment of students.

6.4.2 Inequitable Valuing and Treatment of Students

Not all students of the College are valued or treated equally. There is a perception amongst some participants (2, 4, 6-7, 8, 19, 11, 14, 18 & 19) that the top sporting boys "get dealt a special hand" (Participant 19). For example, "The first XV boys get more honour" (Participant 6). Some of the day boy participants name the College as exhibiting "double standards" (Participants 18 & 19). By this they mean the unfairness in treatment by the staff at the College towards different students. This is especially evident for them in the treatment of the top Rugby Union players or friends of top rugby players by teachers. The following dialogue from day boy students refers to the unfair practices of one teacher.

The top rugby players can get away with anything they want and nothing will happen to them. But at the moment if we do just the littlest thing wrong. (Participant 19)

Yeah, they will be on you like... It's especially bad in PE [Physical Education]. (Participant 18)

I found it so bad. The unfairness is just so evident when you are there. I remember in grade nine I was getting taught by the first XV coach and I had to leave the class because I was getting treated really unfairly, marks wise and in the classroom wise as well. It got so bad that even my dad had to come to the school and have a talk to Mr. Z. (Participant 19)

I had the same teacher in PE. as well. I think it was last year and I found we would be sitting in class and he would say, "Who's done their homework? Who hasn't done their homework?" A few guys would put up their hands. I remember one time he made me do it twice and there were a few other guys who were in the first rugby and he goes, "Oh don't worry about it. Do it next time." And I'm just sitting there going, "That's not what we are on about." (Participant 18)

These day boy participants claim that because of the unfairness it is hard for them to be really comfortable with those students who do play sport and are interested in rugby. They would perceive that a barrier separates students with one group using its privileged status and exercising power over other students.

Some guys they overpower most people in the school. That's why they are looked at differently because they have the power. Even teachers kind of idolize these students. They are scared of them. (Participant 18)

These day boy students further state that one group is always in danger of being "knocked down" (Participant 19). There is a cry amongst these students for a level playing field.

I would try and put everyone on an equal law and just sort of instill something in all the students that everyone should be respected for what they do or what they don't do. There should be a level playing field. That sort of thing. (Participant 19)

It is interesting to note that this participant also acknowledged the effort of some teachers, especially female teachers, who try to address some of the imbalance.

Other participants of the study support the day boys' perception that sporting boys get special treatment (Participants 2, 4, 6-8, 10, 11 & 14). For example Participant six states that, "The first XV boys get more honour". Participants (1, 4, 7, 8 & 10) also claim that for boys to be personally successful at the College they need to be involved in the school's Rugby Union programme. "To really get on here you need to play rugby. You can do other things if you want to but playing rugby is like the most important thing for a student to do" (Participant 7).

The Asian students spoke of their difficulty fitting into College life. There is some reference to racial taunts (Participants 7 & 23) but for the most part their difficulties emanate more from a cultural clash with the College's sporting programme. A dialogue amongst three Asian students illustrates their reality.

Sometimes it is hard to be at the College because it is a school that's very good at rugby and not forcing but very encouraging people to play sport and whether we come from other countries and we don't play as much of sport as they do. It doesn't matter to the College. It is very hard for us. At certain stages it is very hard. (Participant 23)

Yes it can be hard. The school stresses school spirit and one of the things that they see visible is students going for cheering practice. Supporting the school means supporting the sport. You are asked to train with them [sporting teams] and encourage them to go on. Most of the time we have been forced to go for cheering practice and to forego our leave on Saturday and Sunday for boarders to be able to cheer for the first team. (Participant 22)

It's a bit different for me because I stay in home stay so I don't go to Saturday sport. I'm big too for an Asian and the College likes students to be big and tough. (Participant 24)

Yes. I'm small and soccer is better for me. Sometimes they say soccer is a poof game and because most people at the College play rugby and they think they are tough and that stuff. (Participant 23)

Very few people play rugby at home. I did not even know this was a sport before I came to Australia. Many friends talk to me and they pay so much money to come to the College. The only reason is because of their education. They don't really sort of care about sport. (Participant 22)

It becomes very obvious in the Asian students' dialogue that sport plays a very different role in their society than it does in the Australian society.

The College's gender regime creates a situation where students receive inequitable valuing and treatment. In doing so it also ensures that activities and interests that are not related to sport are also undervalued.

6.4.3 Lack of Acceptance of Some Masculine Expressions

Participants note that there is an expectation put on them to be involved in the College sporting programme. Day boy participants in this study voiced particular objection to this expectation because it does not meet their needs.

They want you to show up to every bloody football game religiously and follow it like a religion. It's like every cheering practice. Every cheering practice it's like, "If you had the spirit you'd do this. If you had the spirit you'd come to the game". It gets a bit annoying after being here since year eight and still hearing the boarders who love so much the College spirit and everything. Sure it's good to have spirit and such and support your school. It's good if everyone gets out and does that but they don't need to force feed it down our throats telling us to do it every day. (Participant 17)

Some participants demand the right to hold their own interest outside of the College. Two of the participants stated that they had their own sporting interests (Participants 18 & 19). Both played club sport on a Saturday, one soccer (Participant 18) and one cricket (Participant 19). Participants (16, 20 & 21) held down part time jobs which required them to work on a Saturday.

Some (Participants 6, 7, 11, 18-22, 24) especially claimed the right to have their own time on weekends away from the school environment.

In the summer I play cricket for a club as well as for school. I find it is a bit annoying for me because I travel a long way to get there. I'm up at 6am and I don't get home till 5. So it's pretty important for me to have a weekend away from the school. Because you get pretty sick of it really. (Participant 19)

Participants name implications for themselves if they don't conform to the College's expectation for sporting involvement.

It's not accepted at the College if you don't support Saturday sport. If you don't go to the rugby game then you are frowned upon because when they read your name out at the game and your name's not there then you are gone. (Participant 21)

This participant is referring to the practice of roll calling at rugby home games. Four participants (1, 8, 10 & 12) also identify this practice. Year 12 boys organise themselves with staff support to carry out a roll call of students. "We read the roll out on Saturday sometimes if we only get half the grandstand full" (Participant 1). Participant 1 describes the calling out of names and bestowing of prizes. Boys who fail to attend are noted and attention is drawn to them with the intention it would seem of shaming them. "There is no punishment. We can't put a punishment on them but it is just degrading to yourself I suppose" (Participant 1). In addition, Participant 18 told the story of his brother's experience around a GPS swimming competition. "I know with my brother he brought a ticket to swimming but we weren't allowed to go. He got bagged on by a couple of year 12s because he didn't have the right spirit. He was getting hassled a bit with threats to bash him up" (Participant 18). It would seem that students who fail to attend sporting events get bullied and harassed for their non involvement and lack of interest.

It is also evident that participants perceive that they can get bullied and harassed for involvement or interest in a host of activities or interests. Participants claim that it is out of bounds to talk about domestic, personal or emotional issues. For example, Participants (4, 6-9, 19 & 20) expressed hesitancy in talking about family or home matters at the College. “I guess I wouldn’t talk a lot about my family. Even though I’m not ashamed of my family or anything I feel as though this is something not appropriate to talk about at school. I enjoy time with my family” (Participant 4). Another participant (Participant 6) claims it is inappropriate to talk about personal matters with other College students.

I guess you can’t express emotional things here at the College. If you told all your mates, “Oh, I am fully in love with this chick”, or something like that. There are just things you wouldn’t do. I also wouldn’t tell them that I’m working with a counsellor trying to repair my relationship with my mother. (Participant 6)

It would also seem that it is not acceptable to be involved in any type of cultural activity (Participants 4, 5, 6 & 11). Participants spoke about hiding their involvement in debating, public speaking, chess playing, reading, playing a musical instrument and ballet. Participant five noted his silence around taking his girl friend to the ballet.

I like ballet actually. I don’t do it but my girl friend from Gladstone is a good ballet dancer. I’d tell some of my close mates that I’m taking her to the ballet because they know that she does ballet and they accept that. But if I said I like the ballet then they would think I’m a weirdo. (Participant 5)

There is agreement amongst some of the participants (2, 5, 9, 10 & 11) that there are implications for boys who pursue interests outside sport. These boys often had to listen to the verbal harassment or *pay outs* that come from other students.

There are always groups that you wouldn’t want to know things that you’ve done or said. Stupid things that you wouldn’t want to let on about because you wouldn’t hear the end of it. There is a mentality at the College just to pay people out. It is just the way it is and you learn to live with it whether it is right or wrong. Basically it’s just little niggles, “Oh you are a faggot”, or “Oh you are a fat mess”. It’s just sort of ... It’s as if people just haven’t got anything else to say. (Participant 10)

Participants (18-21) told their stories of harassment within a focus group setting. Between them they have been harassed for: playing soccer (Participants 18 & 20), being in a low rugby team, the sevenths (Participants 20 & 21), being of a particular race (Participant 21 has an Italian heritage) and having a certain physical appearance (“short and fat” Participant 20 & “tall and skinny” Participant 21). The effect of such harassment stands out in the following dialogue.

The school. I know nothing is going to change at the College but I don’t feel the spirit because I play soccer. I get harassed because I play soccer, because I play soccer. (Participant 18)

That's what I did well. I played soccer in grade 8 & 9 basically. These guys, when we were in grade eight and nine, used to pay us out because we played soccer. Then I gave it up. (Participant 19)

Some participants identify that harassment is often accompanied by being named as gay with the title "poofter" (Participants 3, 5, 10, 12 & 18-21). Participants spoke about being called homosexual because they involve themselves in a variety of activities, e.g. hanging around girls (Participant 6), playing a musical instrument (Participant 7), playing the piano and debating (Participant 12), playing soccer (Participants 18 & 19), running (Participant 21), studying (Participants 20 & 21). Participants also spoke of a threat of violence within the school towards boys who are perceived to be homosexual. The following dialogue illustrates this threat.

If people found out, especially in the dorms that you were gay. If someone found out... (Participant 19)

Yeah I wouldn't want to be staying here. There would be bullying and that. It would be bash, bash him up. Get him out of the school. So he doesn't do anything to other people sort of thing. (Participant 18)

It's not as though they actually set out to get them out of the school but it's the niggly bullies. Someone walks over there and he's niggled again. Another place in the one day and he is niggled again. He just gets nervous. (Participant 21)

Participant 10 & 21 acknowledge that gay boys would not identify themselves at the College. "I know there is a big possibility that there are homosexual boys in our year but it just isn't done. You wouldn't tell anyone" (Participant 10).

Students, who particularly "go pushing people around" (Participant 18), are referred to as the "tree people", "jocks", "meat heads" or the "footy heads" (Participants 16-18). These were the boys "like the first players" (Participant 20) who "lived for rugby" (Participant 18). Some participants saw that these students were mainly concerned with being "big, strong and fit" (Participant 17) and with acting in a "macho way" (Participant 17). "You get these people walking around. 'Yeah man, I'm tough and I play sevenths rugby.' Yeah, like huge" (Participant 16). This masculine expression ties in closely with the expression entitled "Macho Man" in Table 5.3.

The importance of sport and sporting boys to the College is best exemplified when participants compared the school's sporting and academic programme.

6.4.4 *Limited Academic Achievement of Students*

Participants perceive that the consequence of not being able to be interested and involved in academic work is that most students do not achieve well academically. A number of participants (1-3 & 5-10) acknowledge they would get an academic result at the end of their year 12 that would be lower than their ability. Poor academic achievement is identified particularly for two groups of students, sportsmen and boarders. Participants (10, 12 & 14) spoke of the devotion of “Sportoes”. These students sacrificed their free time, social life and academic achievement” (Participant 12). The training schedules, team meetings and games, especially for the boys who make up the first XV team leave a minimum of study time available to them. This is clearly illustrated by Participant 14.

As far as the training goes it’s a little too much. The kids that are doing all the training like the guys in my team (1st XV) don’t do very well academically. Well as well as they probably could. Like for myself in English I was on a VHA. I got three VHAs and then I got a SA in the rugby season. So I got a HA. The SA just brought it back down to a middle HA type of thing. We had a whole lot of rugby and I got sick. So I had to take time off and I had to train in the afternoon. There was an in-class essay the next day and I just wasn’t ready for it. When you are finished training you are just really tired and I just want to sleep. (Participant 14)

It is noted that boarders (Participants 8, 9 and 10) find that it is particularly difficult to be serious about academic study within the boarding environment. It would seem that some boarders spend a good proportion of their time hanging around together.

Boarding doesn’t help. You look at the comparison of day boys and boarders in their OPs and you will find that the day boys get more OP ones. The boarding environment although it is good for you and teaches you many things, study wise it’s just not good. Because you have always got the guy next door or the guy down the road that you can always go and see. (Participant 10)

Those participants (4, 11 & 12), who were satisfied with their academic results, spoke of how much their achievement had cost them in a culture that did not value academic achievement. For example, “I’m a high achiever. I like to do well. That’s not appreciated much here at the College. I regret that” (Participant 11).

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the qualitative data obtained through the one-to-one interviews and the focus group discussions. Data from the one-to-one interviews were used to address in turn the three research questions. Data from the focus group discussions were used to confirm that

three sub-groups within the school, namely vocational education, day boys and Asian students, experienced the College in a way that was different from other boys. These data together with data that were presented in Chapter 5 will be discussed and analysed in the next chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

The focus of this particular study is the social reality of masculinity and its relationship to the issues of boys' education in a Catholic Secondary school. The purpose of the study is to understand boys' perceptions of their masculine experience within one school site. It aims to obtain a more informed and sophisticated construction of what is happening for boys at the College. This chapter represents a significant point in my learning journey as it presents an analysis and discussion of the results of the research in the light of the major themes that emerged from the context of the study and from the literature review. This discussion will be presented in a way that will answer the study's three research questions:

1. How do the students of the College understand masculinity?
2. What is the College's gender regime?
3. What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

The three main sections of this chapter address in turn each of these research questions. The first section outlines how participants understand masculinity. The second section describes the College's gender regime. The third section notes five implications for students of the College's gender regime. The final section offers a summary of the findings.

7.2 Findings - Research Question One

“How do the students of the College understand masculinity?”

This research question sought to discover participants' understanding of masculinity. This question acknowledges that boys' learning about what it means to be masculine has taken place in a wider social context than the school. Boys learn about masculinity in the context of their family, friends, schools, sporting teams, churches as well as through their contact with such phenomena as the media, shopping centres, and entertainment venues. The findings of research question one describe how participants, for the most part, understand masculinity in a traditional way. However, there is also evidence within the data that some students are not limited by a traditional understanding of masculinity and instead choose a fuller expression of what it means to be a man.

7.2.1 Masculinity – Traditional Understanding

For the most part, participants in this study associate masculinity with a broad spectrum of qualities. These qualities are described in Table 7.1. Here the 34 desirable and undesirable masculine qualities named by participants in the exploration stage of the study (Table 5.2) are reduced to a 13 factor solution.

Table 7.1. Participants' Understanding of Masculinity Described in a 13 Factor Solution.

Masculine Qualities
Caring and Intelligent
Emotional Strength
Physical Strength
Sporty Participant
Loyalty
Motivated
Maturity
Aggression
Confident
Tough Leader
Good Timer
Not Good Timer
Heterosexual

However the study identifies that within this broad spectrum of qualities some are given legitimacy. These are the qualities that are associated with a traditional understanding of masculinity. The exploration stage identifies that most participants perceive that masculinity is made up of a set of biological attributes, personality traits and behaviours. The biological attributes are those concerned with the size and strength of a man (pp. 110-111), the personality traits are those associated with dominance, strength and the exercise of power in a man (p. 111) and the behaviours are those associated with the traditional role of a man (pp. 111-112) Participants are particularly familiar with the existence of male hormones, especially testosterone. These hormones, they claim, make the masculine by producing the large strong body of the male and the desire for psychological strength and dominance in the male (p. 111). The inspection stage of the research confirms the finding that some masculine qualities are given legitimacy. Participants name strength and a large size as the biological attributes of masculinity and power, maturity, independence and responsibility as the personality traits of masculinity (p. 125). The behaviours that men engage in include playing sport, being in a leadership position,

being with women and drinking (p. 126). The participants perceive that these attributes, traits and behaviours are associated with men who have position and power.

This traditional understanding of masculinity is found within two theories of gender, biological and sex role socialisation theories. (These theories are explored in Sections 3.2.1. and 3.2.3 of this study.) Biological theories of masculinity hold that masculinity is a natural occurring reality brought about through biological factors such as sex hormones (Marsh, 1992; Semple, 1993; Vines, 1993), brain lateralisation (Bennett & Shaywitz, 1995; Kohn, 1995; Moir & Jessel, 1989) and chromosomal composition (Imperato-McGuinley, 1979; Nielsen, 1991; Shuard, cited in Stobart, *et al.*, 1992). Sex role socialisation theories hold that society assigns certain sets of actions or roles as appropriate to the masculine (Nielsen, 1991; Santrock, 1993; Wood, 1994). These sex role socialisation theories rely upon biological sex differences to provide the explanatory basis for a range of gender roles (Connell, 1987; Haralambos, *et al.*, 1996). Biological and sex role socialisation theories perceive masculinity as a natural duality where masculinity is opposite to femininity and where masculinity and femininity rely on one another for their interpretation (Davies, 1989). The literature also notes that within this duality the characteristics and behaviours associated with the masculine are more highly valued in most societies than the characteristics and behaviours most associated with the feminine. This dynamic maintains and reflects the power relationships between men and women and between men and men in society (Connell, 1987; Davies, 1989; Scraton, 1990).

In line with biological and sex role socialisation theory literature participants indicate that they hold to tightly restrictive masculine gender roles (p. 112). There is a close association in the responses of most participants between the biological characteristics of masculinity and the sets of actions or roles that are appropriate to the masculine expression (p. 112). A few participants did note that there have been some change and widening of the gender roles (p. 112). In addition participants in their traditional understanding of masculinity perceive the male sex and the masculine gender as one and the same phenomenon, and as being different from the female sex and the feminine gender. The majority of participants have an understanding of masculinity as being equivalent to male sexuality (p. 111). This is one half of a natural duality (pp. 112, 126) with the other half of this natural duality resting in the feminine (pp. 112, 126). If the masculine is characterised by being large, muscular, dominant, powerful and engaging in *manly* activities then the feminine is associated with being small, soft, weak and engaging in other *feminine* activities. Participants demonstrate that on the whole they hold to the assumption that to be

masculine is of more value than to be feminine (pp. 112, 126). Characteristics that they associate with the opposite half of the gender duality they name as undesirable masculine qualities. These include emotional and physical weakness, softness and dependence (Table 5.2). It is also noted that for many participants, homosexuality is an undesirable masculine quality and consequently associated more with the feminine half of the natural duality (Table 5.2).

In addition participants identify in both the exploration and inspection stages of the research that those qualities of the masculine that are given legitimacy can only be obtained through hard work (pp. 113, 126-127). Boys can fall short of *true*, *real* or *ideal* forms of masculine expression (pp. 113 & 127). Participants demonstrate that they actively engaged in a dynamic of judging their own and others' masculinity attainment. They perceive themselves and one another as being successful or not successful at being masculine. For some participants this leads to favourable judgments while for others less than favourable results are recorded (pp. 113, 127). The judging of one another's masculine attainment sets up and maintains the power relationships within the peer group (p. 127). The dynamic of working hard towards an ideal masculine expression suggests a contradiction in thinking that exists in many participants' understanding of masculinity. Although many participants hold that masculinity is biologically determined they indicate that they spend a great deal of effort in attaining it (pp. 113, 127).

The literature that outlines biological and sex role socialisation theories of masculinity does not help to make sense of this contradiction in thinking about masculinity. Literature from a social construction theory of masculinity must be drawn upon (Section 3.2.4). This literature claims that boys and men do masculinity in an active and dynamic process (Butler, 1990; Connell, 1996; C. West & Zimmerman, 1991). It also claims that expressions of masculinity are multiple and form in relationship to all gendered expressions with some masculine forms claiming hegemony (Connell, 2000; Epstein, 1997a; Kenway, 1997). It would appear that a social construction analysis of masculinity can help to explain some of the participants' observations about masculinity making. A sample of these observations together with a social construction analysis of masculinity making are offered in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2. Participants' Observations on Masculinity together with a Social Construction Analysis of these Observations

Participants' observation about masculinity	Participant meaning making	Social Construction analysis
"You have to work at becoming masculine" (p. 113).	Boys put a lot of effort into being masculine.	Men and boys <i>do</i> masculinity (Connell, 1995). A lot of people are working very hard in an active and dynamic process in order to produce what they believe to be appropriate masculinities (Connell, 1996).
"I guess I'd like to be a Rugby player, strong, good looking. I put my effort into achieving academically. Maybe I need to put a bit more emphasis on social stuff and sporting stuff. I think the whole thing is really that I would like to be popular." (pp. 126-127).	Some forms of masculine expression, for example playing football are more honoured masculine expressions than others.	There are multiple expressions of masculinity yet some expressions are generally regarded as being more honoured. These forms of masculinity are referred to as hegemonic (Connell, 1995). They are the expressions that have the highest status and exercise the greatest influence in a society (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997).
"The College is sport, sport, sport. If you don't play you are not cool and not welcome. It's crap." (p. 117).	Boys who do not engage in the honoured forms of masculine expression are socially inferior to those who do.	Masculinities exist side by side in direct relationship with one another. This relationship is a structured hierarchy with each expression taking a complicitous, subordinate or marginal position in relationship to the dominant form (Connell, 1995).
"I wouldn't tell my mates that I'm working with a counsellor trying to repair my relationship with my mother" (p. 153).	Less acceptable masculine expressions are hidden under more acceptable expressions.	Hegemonic masculinity is the standard by which many men and boys live. Yet there are contradictory desires and logics within men and boys and consequently expressions of masculinity are layered with more dominant expressions uppermost (Connell, 1996).

7.2.2 Masculinity – Fuller Expression

While data, in this study, suggest that students hold a traditional understanding of masculinity, the responses from some students did suggest the possibility of a fuller expression. These participants name, in both the exploratory and inspection stages of the research, a set of characteristics that go beyond being large, muscular, dominant, powerful and engaging in *manly* activities. In the exploratory stage of the research the thirteen factor solution (Table 5.2) names characteristics such as being helpful and loyal and in the four theme analysis of how participants understand masculinity the fourth theme claims that masculinity is about possessing moral goodness (p. 112). This theme includes qualities such as faithfulness, trustworthiness, kindness and justice (p. 112). The inspection stage of the research confirms this finding by echoing the need for an expression in the masculine of moral goodness (pp. 126, 127-128). Participants

include in this category, ethical action, Christian values, honesty and respect for people (p. 127).

Participants who acknowledge that the masculine could embody qualities such as helpfulness, loyalty, faithfulness, trustworthiness, kindness and justice, reject that these are found naturally in the masculine. They uphold that these are the qualities that belong to the human person (pp. 112, 127-128). There is evidence of a dichotomy in classification between masculinity and humanity for them. Amongst these participants one made sense of this dichotomy by claiming that the feminine was more closely related to the human than was the masculine (p. 128). Participants with this broader perception of masculinity move outside of the majority view of the traditional understanding of masculinity in order to allow for a fuller masculine expression. It would appear that although they are moving beyond the limitations placed on the masculine by dualistic thinking they still remain restricted conceptually. If it is not *natural* for the masculine to express themselves as helpful, loyal, faithful, trustworthy, kind and just, then in students' perception they remove themselves from the masculine at least in order to express these identifiable *human* qualities. This removal from the masculine in a society that actively engages in the dynamic of judging masculinity attainment would mean that these young men could never personally claim real and lasting success as males. It would seem that these participants have not been exposed to any theory of masculinity that would allow them to make sense of a fuller expression of masculinity. As the literature suggests, a social construction theory of masculinity could prove helpful in conceptualising masculinity more fully. For as noted previously, this theory holds that there is not just one way of being male (Connell, 2000; Epstein, 1997a; Kenway, 1997). Men and boys can be kind and loyal to their friends, be trustworthy and just in their relationships with others and be leaders of important enterprises, play sport and be strong and fit.

In summary, participants for the most part hold a traditional understanding of masculinity. This understanding describes masculinity as a set of biological attributes, personality traits and behaviours. This understanding is found in biological and sex role socialisation theories. These theories support a traditional understanding of masculinity and femininity as a natural duality. These theories are proving to be inadequate in helping participants to understand masculinity. Firstly, they prove inadequate in explaining some of the processes that they engage in whilst they are occupied in achieving ideal masculine expressions. Secondly, they do not help participants move to a fuller and perhaps more human expression of masculinity. Participants of

this study have not been offered an opportunity to explore what it can mean to express themselves in a multiple of masculine ways.

7.3 Findings - Research Question Two

“What is the College’s gender regime?”

The second research question seeks to discover from the participants’ perspective how the College constructs its gender regime or the particular configuration of collective masculinities that are the unique social product of the cultural and historical context of the College. This section is presented in two parts. The first part describes the College’s gender regime according to the interrelationship of power, emotion and symbolisation that are evident in the College’s curriculum, discipline practices and sporting programme. It is these interrelated structures that have been identified in the literature as creating institutional definitions of gender (Connell, 1996, 2000). The second part presents the multiplicity of masculinities that participants in this study identify as emerging out of this gender regime. The data suggest that these perceptions of masculinity arrange themselves in a hierarchical gender order.

7.3.1 College Gender Regime

The literature notes that a gender regime is the institutional arrangement through which a school functions according to gender (Connell, 1996; Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Millard, 1997). A school’s gender regime is created through the interrelationship of the structures of power relations, division of labour, patterns of emotion, and symbolisation (Connell, 1996, 2000). Here power relations are concerned with the patterns of authority and dominance within a school. Division of labour is concerned with the gender balance of the work and interests in a school. The patterns of emotion are concerned with the more personal attributes of people and in particular emotional expression and symbolisation refers to the school’s symbol system. These interrelated structures can be observed in the informal and formal structures of a school but are most visible in the three “vortices” (Connell, 2000) of the curriculum, the discipline practices and the sporting programme. In tune with the literature, the following analysis of the College’s gender regime focuses on the interrelationship of the structures of power relations, patterns of emotion and symbolisation³¹ as explored and inspected in this study in the College’s curriculum, discipline practices and sporting programme.

³¹ Participants reveal little information about a fourth structure of relationship, division of labour.

Data collected in both the exploration and inspection stages of this study suggest that the sporting programme is the most important formal structure within the College. In the exploration stage of the study, the sporting programme was highlighted in five ways. It was identified as teaching students to be men of the College, as being an element of the spirit of the College, as expressing College life and as being an appropriate activity to engage in at the College. These data are displayed in Tables 5.3, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 & 5.10. No other structure of the College is identified so strongly as contributing to the identity of the College. In the inspection stage of the study, the theme “Shaping school identity” (pp. 140-142) also identifies the sporting programme as having prime importance to the College. The inspection stage of the research also highlights that the sporting programme is particularly important to the College’s boarding population (pp. 141-142).

This sporting programme is associated with masculine pride, success and dominance. This finding is confirmed in the exploratory stage of the study by the factor solution to the questionnaire item “What is meant by the words “Men of the College”. Three factors “Mature & Responsible”, “Tough Men” and “Men not Boys” highlight that participants of this study perceive that College men are not concerned with childish things (Table 5.4). Instead they are fully involved in the process of becoming strong men. The final factor “Belonging to a Family” places them in solidarity with one another and the 111year College tradition. This is a proud tradition of men standing on repeated sporting success. This finding is also confirmed by three of the factors describing the meaning of the spirit of the College. These are “Rugby & Supporting”, “Pride in Traditions” and “Being Together” (Table 5.8). College students can be united as one standing on the traditions of the College in their sporting involvement and success. Themes of success and dominance are also identified in the inspection stage of the study. This is particularly seen in three of the four themes that help describe the sporting programme. College sport is concerned with making men, with expressing power and authority and with experiencing the *good* life (pp. 142-147).

At times, the College’s experience of success and dominance breaks into displays of power. Participants note that boys who express themselves in ways that are different to the dominant expression, especially homosexual boys, will experience bullying and harassment (pp. 117, 154). In addition, boys from other schools who compete against College sporting teams may be on the receiving end of aggressive displays of sporting violence. This movement to violence is

particularly evident in this study in the incident of the “king hit” of a small B.B.C. boy by a member of the College’s 5th open team (pp. 144-145). College sport is the symbol of College identity, success and dominance in the education field and the College sportsman, particularly the fifteen members of the 1st Rugby Union team, claim the College’s idealised form of masculinity (p. 130).

The College’s sporting programme not only expresses power and dominance in itself but also is established in a power relationship with other school structures and exercises authority and dominance over them. This is most obvious in the relationship between the College’s sporting programme and its curriculum. This is suggested in the exploration stage in participants’ acknowledgment of their dissatisfaction with their academic achievement (pp. 119-120) but is confirmed in the inspection stage. Participants clearly claim that the College is not noted for its academic curriculum (pp. 132-133), that it comes second to the sporting programme (pp. 130, 133), that the curriculum and the sporting programme are in competition with one another and that the sporting programme has clearly won the competition. The behaviour students have developed to hide their academic success and effort dramatically illustrates the existing power imbalance (p. 133-134).

Two elements of the curriculum namely vocational education (pp. 134-135) and religious education (pp. 135-137) are particularly devalued within the overall curriculum. This devaluing is suggested in the exploration stage of the study with vocational education students identifying 20 significant differences between them and the OP³² students (Table 5.12). It is confirmed in the inspection stage of the study. Data reveal that participants perceive that the vocational education programme and its students lack the respect of some students and teachers (pp. 134-135) and do not share equally in the College budget (p. 134). Here is an example of an area of knowledge that has failed to be stamped with a degree of social power. It would seem that the College holds that success lies in the traditional academic pathway rather than in vocational education training.

The religious education programme has been named in both the exploration and inspection stages of the research as having little relevance to student development (pp. 97-100, 135-137). In the inspection stage it has directly been referred to as being “too feminine” (Participant 9, p.

³² The Queensland Studies Authority issues an Overall Position (OP) for those students who complete 20 semesters of approved year 11 and 12 subjects. Vocational education students engage in Authority Registered subjects and are not eligible for an OP.

137). There seems to be a rejection of those patterns of emotion that are associated with religion. Those participants who see some value in the religious education programme highlight that among other things it has taught them about ethical action (p. 136). An association is made here between ethical action and the quality of moral goodness named as necessary for a fuller more human expression of masculinity identified in section 7.2.3. A number of participants particularly note that moral goodness is one quality that is not in evidence at the College (p. 128). Here is a particular mismatch between the pattern of emotion that has been set up by the hegemony of playing sport and the thrust of College, Catholic and Christian Brothers' education, to live by Gospel values. It would seem that one of the College's religious symbols is being threatened by the other. "There are two religions at the College, Catholicism and Rugby. They celebrate the rites of one on Saturday and of the other on Sunday" (*The battle of the colours*, 1991, p. 40).

Power relationships are also evident between the sporting programme and the discipline practices. Participants presented contrary evidence in this study with relation to the College's discipline practices. In the exploration stage, some participants note that the College demands unacceptable conformity to school rules and school norms (pp. 115-116) and that it disapproved of behaviour that helped in their adult development, for example fighting, drinking and sex (p. 115). Other participants claim that the College "approves too much" (Questionnaire 102) of behaviours such as stealing, bullying and classroom misconduct (pp. 117-118). Similarly, in the inspection stage, discipline is described as being both too harsh and too weak (pp. 137-139). Participants have made a connection between the discipline practices and the sporting programme (pp. 117, 139). On the whole, participants of this study consider that students who involve themselves in the sporting culture are more likely to name the College's discipline practices as harsh while other students are more likely to name it as too soft on sporting boys. It would appear that at least at some level the sporting programme has established its dominance over the discipline practices and uses these practices to support its aims and to exert power and authority over students who don't support the sporting programme.

These findings in respect to the sporting programme, curriculum and discipline practices highlight a possible deeper issue with respect to "internal coherence" (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996) between the rhetoric and reality of the College. The dominance of the sporting regime illustrates that the school is failing to translate its educational vision into the practical detail of its structural organisation (Starratt, 2003). The College claims

in its *Mission Statement* to provide “a balanced education” that addresses the “academic, spiritual, social, personal, cultural and sporting aspects of life” (The College, 199Xb, p. 3). It particularly claims that it provides its large boarding population with “diversity in activities [that] nurture development” (The College, 199Xc, p. 7). It identifies itself as an institution based “on a century of Catholic faith” that “struggle[s] to uphold, communicate and nurture the values of the Gospel” (The College, 199Xb, p. 3). It proclaims in its *Policy on Bullying* that it is a caring community that values everyone and treats everyone with respect (The College, 199Xd). It refers with pride to the breadth of its academic curriculum, to its history of academic success and to the strength of its extra curricula activities (The College, 199Xc). Yet an analysis of the gender regime in this study reveals that the curriculum is undervalued. The vocational education and the religious education programmes are consigned to a place of less importance and the discipline practices have been co-opted in order that they service the needs of the sporting programme. It would seem that at a number of levels there is a critical gap between the school’s stated purpose and the reality it produces.

A further analysis of how the participants of this study perceive this gender regime is lived out at the College in masculine expressions is warranted.

7.3.2 *Participants’ Perceptions of College Masculinities*

Participants perceive that there are multiple ways to express masculinity at the College. They describe eight important ways of being masculine in the exploratory stage of the research (Table 5.3) and five approved ways of being masculine at the College in the inspection stage of the research (Section 6.3.1). College students can be academically successful, religious, sportsmen, macho men, honest, personable, leaders, participants, respectful, workers, mature men, compliant and rule keepers. The five expressions identified in the inspection stage approximate, to some degree, to five of the eight expressions identified in the exploratory stage. Perhaps the smaller number of participants contributing to the inspection data (24 participants) as compared to the exploratory data (255 participants) explains the less obvious diversity found in the inspection data. Table 7.3 displays the list of important and approved College masculine attributes, traits and behaviours.

Participants note that amongst these multiple ways of being masculine there is one masculine expression, namely, playing sport, that draws more approval and is more honoured than any other expression within the College’s gender regime. This reality is in harmony with the

previous section's finding that one College structure, namely the sporting programme, is associated with masculine pride, success and dominance. The College has constructed playing sport as the masculine expression most stamped with authority and dominance. This expression is identified in the factors "Sportsman" and "Sporty Athlete" as illustrated in Table 7.3. Its dominance is confirmed in the exploration stage of the research by data that record that 93% of participants play sport (p. 90) and by the mean scores that record what participants perceive are the most appropriate activities to engage in at the College (Figure 5.2). Playing sport records the highest mean score of 4.28. Its dominance is further confirmed in the inspection stage by being named the most important identifying characteristic of the ideal College man (pp. 129-130).

Table 7.3. Participants' Understanding of Important and Approved Ways of being Masculine.

Exploratory Stage	Inspection Stage
Eight masculine qualities that the College holds to be important	Five approved ways of being masculine at the College
Successful & Religious	Academic Achiever
Sportsman	Sporty Athlete
Spirit Filled Participant	Involved Participant
Macho Man	
Honest Leader	Personable Leader
Respectful Person	
Dependant Worker	Compliant Rule Keeper
Mature Man	

The sportsman who is given the most authority is the Rugby Union player. This is confirmed in the exploration stage of the research with 60% of participants recorded as playing this sport (Table 5.6). In the inspection stage of the research, rugby players were particularly singled out as the sporting people who most epitomise the ideal College man (p. 130). The College's hegemonic expression of masculinity is body-focused. Ideal College boys are *sportoes*, big physically and well developed muscularly. These are the criteria for good looks. Accompanying this physicality is an ability to be forceful and dominant in their relationships with others. In accordance with the College's most recognised sport the ideal College man has the physique and mentality of a 1st XV rugby player. This finding is confirmed in the exploration stage of the study in the factor solution to the meaning of the words "Men of the College" (Table 5.4). This table shows that College students are tough and mature men who have moved out of childhood. It is also confirmed in the inspection stage of the research where participants describe the most

desirable masculine qualities of the athlete. These qualities are concerned with the physical size and strength of a boy's body (p. 130).

The literature refers to the expression of masculinity that is stamped with authority and dominance as an hegemonic expression (Connell, 2000; Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997). Expressions of masculinity are strongly structured by relationships of power (Connell, 1987, 1993; Epstein, 1998). This expression is often formed through the active participation of boys' bodies in sport where boys learn the imperative of physical strength and toughness (Connell, 1995, 2000; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; Tinning, 2000). Those boys who cannot find their masculine expression centred within the hegemonic expression will take up other expressions in relationship to the hegemonic expression. These expressions can be complicit in their support of the dominant expression, subordinate to it and consequently at the bottom of the gender hierarchy or marginal, forming an alternative expression to the hegemony (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Walker, 1988b). These expressions often form in hostile relationships of power to the hegemonic expression (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). At times, power relations between different masculine expressions can be expressed as a battle. Such a battle illustrates that all is not in harmony within a school (Connell, 2000).

Within the exploration and inspection stages two masculine expressions can be identified that support or are complicitous with the College's dominant masculine expression. The first expression entitled "Spirit Leader" is a recognised year 12 leadership position. This position combines characteristics that are found in the qualities named by participants. In the exploration stage these are "Honest Leader" and "Spirit Filled Participant" (Table 5.3), and in the inspection stage they are "Personable Leader" and "Involved Participant" (p. 131). "Spirit Leaders" encourage the student population to involve themselves in College activities and in particular sporting activities. The second masculine expression that supports or is complicitous with the College's dominant masculine expression is that identified in the exploration stage of the study as "Macho Man" (Table 5.3). In the inspection stage, this expression is referred to by participants as "footy heads" or "jocks", "tree people" (this refers to where they gather together in the playground), and "meat heads" (p. 154). Participants note that the "Macho Men" involve themselves in the sporting culture by attending sporting games and after game parties. They are named as the boys who harass other students (p. 154). Of great concern is their expressed wish to police other boys' behaviour by violent means in order that they can express their masculinity (p. 116). The "Macho Man" masculine expression shares the tough dominant characteristics of

the hegemonic expression to an inordinate degree. Both “Spirit Leader” and “Macho Man” take their part in supporting the dominant expression and in establishing a power dynamic over all other forms of masculinity.

According to participants in this study, the academic achiever is relegated to a subordinate position in the masculinity order. The data from the exploratory stage record four factors that have some reference to academic achievement. They are ‘Successful & Religious’ (Table 5.3), “Achievement” (Table 5.8), “Academic Success” (Table 5.10) and “Boys who Achieve” (Table 5.11). Only one of these factors defines success as academic. The word successful and achievement in the other factors can also refer to any favorable school endeavour, including sporting victory. In the inspection stage, academic achievement is named quite clearly as coming second to sport (p. 130). Four of the masculine qualities noted in the important and approved list of masculine qualities (Table 7.3) give definition to what it means to be an academic achiever and reveal what the hegemonic expression finds unacceptable about academic achievers. These qualities are, “Respectful Person”, “Compliant Rule Keeper”, “Dependant Worker”, and “Mature Man”. Students with these qualities are respectful to teachers, dutifully keep the rules of the school and engage obediently in academic study. By engaging in this type of behaviour they reveal to advocates of the hegemonic expression their lack of independence and immaturity and as a consequence their behaviour is associated with femininity (pp. 116-117). There are yet other expressions at the College that are subordinate to the hegemonic expression of playing sport. They too form at the bottom of the College’s gender hierarchy. They include expressions that are judged to be soft, small, feminine or homosexual (p. 116), and involve the domestic, personal, emotional and artistic arenas of life (pp. 116-117, 153). Also, the playing of one sport, soccer, has been relegated to a subordinate position (pp. 117, 153-154).

It would also appear that there are two expressions that can be identified as marginal masculine expressions forming as alternative expressions to the hegemony. These expressions can be identified within some vocational education students and Asian students. Both groups of students identified as having significant differences in the exploration stage of the research (Table 5.12, Tables 5.15, 5.16, 5.17). Also in the exploration stage a small number of participants noted that Asian students did not follow College norms (p. 115) and in particular the norm of playing sport. In the inspection stage the vocational education students expressed a pride in their particular education programme and in the qualities they perceived this programme had developed in them (p. 134). Also in the inspection stage, Asian students clearly claimed

their own cultural way of life especially their lack of interest in sport (p. 151) and their own religious traditions (pp. 136-137). In both the vocational education and Asian students there is evidence of an expression of opposition to the hegemonic expression. Vocational education boys referred to the “division” between them and other mainstream students and the constant “assessing of who is better” (Participant 11, p. 135) while the Asian boys referred to being “forced” (Participant 22, p. 151) to support the hegemony of playing sport.

Participants reveal that students who do not subscribe to the College’s hegemonic masculine expression are often badgered with insults such as soft, small, feminine and threatened with physical violence (pp. 115, 152-154). Of particular concern is the threat of violence that hovers over those students who may be homosexual (p. 154). Many students are actively engaging in drawing boundaries around what are acceptable College masculine expressions. It would seem that anything less than the rugby toughness is unacceptable at the College. Yet some students have chosen subordinate and marginalised masculine expressions because they best suit their needs, their interests and their talents. These students maintain these masculine expressions in spite of the fact that they can lead to exclusion from group life with resultant bullying and harassment. The literature confirms that boys are able to take their place in the gender order as active negotiators of their masculine expression. They do this in spite of the fact that their particular expression has a limited degree of social value in their school setting (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1997). The literature also notes that those masculine expressions that claim the most power can assert themselves through violence (Blackmore, 1999; Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). Boys then become oppressors to fellow classmates or teachers (Connell, 1987, 1993; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Epstein, 1998; Mills, 2001). The connection between sports that have a high degree of body contact and dominant and violent forms of masculinity (Mills, 1998b) is also noted in the literature. Dominant and violent forms of masculinity are particularly evident in boys only schools (Askew & Ross, 1988; Epstein, 1997a).

In summary, it is noted that College masculinities take their place in a strongly hierarchical relationship one with the other. The hegemonic expression, of playing sport, is associated with physical strength and psychological dominance. This hegemony is supported by the masculine expressions “Spirit Leader” and “Macho Man”. Academic achievement, together with expressions such as playing soccer, emotional expression, family commitment, religious interest and involvement in the arts are confined to a subordinate position of power. Some vocational education and Asian students choose a marginal masculine expression formed in opposition to

the hegemonic expression. Students who support the dominant masculine expression engage in drawing boundaries around what are acceptable expressions through bullying behaviour.

The College's gender regime with its dominant and powerful sporting programme and its hierarchical ordering of masculine expressions, has implications for the students of the College.

7.4 Findings – Research Question Three

“What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?”

The third research question provides an analysis of the effect on students of the College's gender regime. Five implications are noteworthy. Participants identify that the College's particular gender regime produces a narrow understanding of masculinity, policed conformity of masculine expressions, lack of equal opportunity, limited academic achievement for many students and heightened status for all students. These implications raise concerns for the College given the difficulties noted in the literature that boys are experiencing in their schooling. They are also of concern given the Catholic Church's stated purpose for Catholic education, the Christian Brothers' vision of Edmund Rice Education and the College's stated education mission.

7.4.1 Narrow Definition of Masculinity

This study has found that the College's expression of masculinity is based on a much narrower definition of what is masculine than is the individual boy's personal definition. This reality is starkly identified in the exploration stage of this study with a comparison of the broad spectrum of qualities that participants understand belong to the masculine (Table 5.2) and the narrow range that they perceive has been given legitimacy at the College (Table 5.3). Table 7.4 in its comparative display of the 13 factor (Table 5.2) and eight factor (Table 5.3) solutions illustrates this reality. The finding is confirmed in the inspection stage. Participants identify a large number of qualities that are presented under the headings biological attributes, personality traits, activities and roles, moral goodness and other qualities in section 6.2 (pp. 125-129). This diversity stands in strong contrast to the College's five approved ways of being masculine, that is academic achiever, sporty athlete, involved participant, personable leader and compliant rule keeper (pp. 129-132).

Table 7.4. Participants' Understanding of Masculinity Displayed beside the Masculine Qualities that the College Holds to be Important

13 factors describing participants' understanding of masculinity (Table 5.2)	Eight factors describing the masculine qualities that the College holds to be important (Table 5.3)
	Successful & Religious
Sporty ³³	Sportsman
Participant	Spirit Filled Participant
Aggression	Macho Man
Tough Leader	Honest Leader
	Respectful Person
	Dependant Worker
Maturity	Mature Man
Caring & Intelligent	
Emotional Strength	
Physical Strength	
Loyalty	
Motivated	
Confidence	
Good Timer	
Not Good Timer	
Heterosexual	

This implication raises concern for the College. Firstly, the literature claims that the problems boys are experiencing in schooling and in life generally are linked closely to the fact that boys hold to traditional hegemonic constructs of masculinity (Connell, 2000; Hay, 1997; Reichert, 2001). In choosing to live by these narrow constructs, boys “self handicap” (Hay, 1997). The cost to them is limited educational achievement, social success, ill health and at times a shortened life span. Secondly, the College’s narrow understanding of masculinity places in jeopardy the vision of Catholic education to promote “the human person” (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997, para. 9). The promotion of “the human person” calls for a full expression of humanity as lived out by Jesus and recorded for future generations in the Gospels. It is in this theology not in the narrow masculinity definitions that the fullness of truth concerning humanity is to be found (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997, para. 9).

7.4.2 Policed Conformity in Masculine Expression

It would seem that the College values conformity to approved ways of being masculine. Section 7.3.1 illustrates that playing sport is the most approved way of being masculine and participants

³³ Sporty Participant’ has been divided to cater for its two separate components.

indicate that there is pressure put on them to involve themselves in sporting activities. This finding is indicated in the exploration stage of the study with the identification of significant differences between day boy and boarding students and between Asian and non Asian students. Five significant differences are identified between day boy students and boarding students (Tables 5.13, 5.14). These differences are noted on mean factor scores on the measures “Total Sporting Involvement”, “College Pride and Involvement”, “The College Values the Whole Person”, “College Quality: Successful and Religious” and “College Heroes: Achievers”. Seven significant differences are noted for Asian students (Tables 5.15, 5.16, 5.17). These differences are noted between Asian and non Asian students on the mean factor scores on the measures “Appropriateness: Leadership & Sport”, “College Life: Pride and Involvement”, “Prevalence of Insults: Inherited Attributes”, “College Heroes: Academic Achievers”, “College Quality: Mature Man”, “Total Involvement” and “College Values Particular Students”.

The inspection stage of the study identified that day boy and Asian students have particular difficulty with the College’s demand for sporting participation. Day boy students note that pressure is put on them to support College sport. This pressure is dramatically illustrated by the roll calls they experience for the Rugby Union home games (p. 152). In protest of College demand they identify their need to follow their own interests which include part time work, outside sporting commitments, family commitments and so on (p. 152). Asian students note the College’s demand for sporting interest and involvement and the low priority that is given to sport in their culture (p. 151). These Asian students also note that even if they are interested in sporting participation they fail to find acceptance with sporting boys. This is because they are unfamiliar with Rugby Union as a sport and are generally of small stature (p. 151). Their small stature means that they do not naturally fit the ideal expression of the College’s Rugby Union sportsman.

In addition, Asian students note that they clash with a second aspect of College culture, its Catholic identity. Many Asian students come from a Buddhist or Taoist tradition and do not understand Catholic practices (p. 136). The one Catholic Asian boy who took part in an interview expresses shock at the lack of faithful living and practice of the Catholic faith (pp. 136-137). In his high interest and regular practice of Catholicism, he removes himself from College approval. It is noted that Asian boys for the most part are placed outside of the College’s “two religions” (*The battle of the colours: The College centenary Rugby programme*, 1991, p. 40), sport and Catholicism.

Participants identify that there is a constant policing of boys who express their masculinity in ways other than playing sport and participating in the sporting culture. Those masculine expressions that are subordinate or marginalised and attract harassment, bullying and threats of violence are identified in Section 7.3.1. These include soft, small or feminine expressions (p. 116), domestic, personal or emotional expression (p. 153), artistic expression (p. 153) and homosexuality (pp. 115-117, 154). Participants who express themselves in these ways open themselves up to some form of College disapproval. As one participant said:

The thing I love doing most is music and very few people have respect for that INCLUDING teachers. I don't care what others think. I do mainly music which is what I enjoy. I ignore the constant insults from jocks (Questionnaire 176).

To a large extent it is those participants who choose masculine expressions beyond those traditional expressions approved of by the College who identify that the College does not provide equal opportunity for all.

The hegemony that the sporting programme and sporting boys exercise over all other aspects of College life means that it is not possible to pursue the principles of gender justice (Connell, 1996; Kenway, 1990; Lingard, 1998). Within a gender just system the interrelated issues of all boys are addressed (Jackson, 1998). Consequently the College fails to “create an environment where every person is respected” (The College, 199Xd, p. 1) and where students are able to develop their “whole person” (The College, 199Xb, p. 3). It also fails to live up to the Christian Brothers’ vision of schools “nurture[ing of] right relationships” and committing to justice (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997).

7.4.3 Lack of Equal Opportunity

The data suggest that some participants believe that they are not as valued as other students and consequently are not provided with equal opportunity. Data that support this claim are firstly drawn from the exploratory stage of the research. A low mean score is recorded for “The College treats all students equally and fairly” (Figure 5.6) and a two factor solution illustrated in Table 5.18 points to the reality that the College values particular students. There is an indication here that differential valuing occurs for those students involved in sport (pp. 114, 149-150). The inspection stage of the study supports the finding that there is differential valuing experienced by some students. The vocational education students refer to a lack of respect from students and

teachers for their academic programme (pp. 134-135). The day boy students claim that they live within a regime of “double standards” (Participant 18 & 19) where the top rugby players and their friends find favour (pp. 149-151). These students call for an equal playing field.

Data from the inspection stage of the study indicate the College is particularly good at meeting the needs of many of its boarding students. It provides activity in after school hours and develops in these students a sense of belonging to the College (p. 141). Some day boy students also relate to these two needs and become heavily involved in the College’s sporting programme. Some enrol as metro boarders. Given that 41% of the participant group in this study were made up of full boarders and metro boarders it would seem that the College caters well for about half of its population. This finding is supported by Figure 5.5 which shows that just over half of the participants who took part in the questionnaire indicated that it was important for them to be “One of the Men of the College”. However, for those boarders who are not interested in sport and for those day boy students who have their physical and emotional needs met outside of school, the College’s demand for sporting participation is an unfair requirement.

These findings again suggest that the College fails to deliver gender justice to all its students. It also suggests that the College fails to deliver the holistic curriculum advocated in *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997) or respond “to the diverse need of students” referred to in the document *Edmund Rice Education* (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997). Consequently, it cannot provide students with the encouragement proclaimed as its mission to strive in all areas of school life “the academic, spiritual, social, personal, cultural and sporting” (The College, 199Xb, p. 3).

7.4.4 *Limited Academic Achievement*

These are strong indicators that for many participants the College’s sporting culture is detrimental to a student’s academic success. Many participants of the study consider that they were not achieving as well as they could academically. This finding is supported by both the exploration and inspection data. The exploration stage of the research reveals that 82% of respondents consider that their way of being a boy meant that they have not succeeded academically (p. 109). The exploration stage also notes that the majority of participants are not satisfied with their academic achievement (pp. 119-120). The inspection stage confirms the finding that most participants are not satisfied with their academic success (p. 155) The

participants identify that the institution and their mates have put demands on them that they have conceded to. For some it has meant that they have put more effort into the approved way of being a man at the College than into their academic study. That is they put effort into playing sport, getting fit, being with mates and having fun. These participants as one boy expressed it were “too busy trying to do the College man stuff” (Questionnaire 242) to achieve academically.

The fact that it is not acceptable at the College to be seen to be involved in academic interests is supported also by those participants who were satisfied with their achievement (p. 118). These participants referred to the sacrifice they had made and the pressure they had to withstand from other students in order to achieve. One participant identified the link between academic success and masculine expressions by referring to the dynamic within the College as a “big dick contest” (Questionnaire 51). Another participant spoke with regret that in achieving academically he had not met the real standard of being a man at the College because he had not put enough time into being involved in the sporting life of the College (Participant 4).

These data are supported by the literature that notes there is a connection between how boys live out their masculine constructs and their academic achievement (Epstein, 1998; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). Boys who chose to align themselves with dominant masculine expressions “self handicap” (Hay, 1997) in an effort to secure their position of privilege and power. They bear the pain of limited academic achievement in order that they may live up to dominant masculine expressions (Kenway, *et al.*, 1997). Those boys who do achieve academically know the pain of oppression that other students deal them because their particular way of being male threatens the masculine hegemony (Connell, 2000). It would appear that at an institutional level the College not only supports the choices students make to limit their academic achievement but actually demands it of its students.

7.4.5 *Heightened Status*

In spite of limitations evident in the four implications displayed, participants, in this study, perceive that the College’s gender regime produces a heightened status for all involved in this educational institution. This is evident in this study in a number of ways. It is evident in the privilege awarded to those boys who best exhibit the hegemonic masculine expression, the elite athletes (pp. 114, 148-149). These boys have the honour of knowing that they are recognised as the College’s ideal men. It is also evident for those students who involve themselves in playing

and supporting sport. These supporters of the hegemony take pride in their association with the College's great sporting tradition. This is evident in the exploratory stage. The two factors, "Pride and Involvement" and "Sport especially Rugby" describe the essential elements of College life (Table 5.9). These factors show the commitment many students have to the spirit of the sporting tradition and all that is associated with this tradition. The pride that supporters of the hegemony have is also evident in the inspection stage. Participants expressed great pride in their association with the College's sporting tradition (pp. 148-149). They know that they are winners because they are a part of a tradition of winners.

The conferring of heightened status is not so obvious for those students of the College who experience their masculine expression as subordinate or marginalised in relation to the hegemonic expression, that is those boys who strive for academic achievement, express their religion, play soccer, are interested in music or the arts, are in the vocational education programme or are Asian. On a day-to-day basis College education confronts them with their lack of influence and their inferior position. Yet many of these boys also claim pride in the College's sporting tradition. One academic achiever stated:

I'm proud that we are the GPS rugby premiers even though I'm not much good at rugby. I'm proud we're the top school and I'm proud that we are an all boys' boarding school. I feel good about that. I feel good that I belong to a winning team. (Participant 4)

The heightened status for this student and others like him is brought about because of this College's membership in the elite GPS schools of South East Queensland and their dominance of this association's sporting competition especially in Rugby Union and swimming. (p. 9). These students do take pride in being associated with the success of the College. They are prepared for their own position to remain diminished so they can share in the collective glory. The literature review refers to boys' alliance to dominant masculine expressions because of their association with positions of power (Connell, 1996; Hay, 1997). This alliance can mean pain for boys. Boys who choose to express themselves through subordinate expressions of masculinity know the pain of oppression but are prepared to accept this in order that they might share in the association of what it means to be a successful male (Mills, 1997a).

The College's gender regime in maintaining the College's status as an elite school raises an institutional challenge. *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997) challenges schools that in any regard can be perceived as *private* (McLaughlin, 2001). The Catholic school of the new millennium

“configured in the perspectives of the Catholic faith”, must serve those young people “who are the weakest” (para. 15), be open to all who appreciate and share its education perspective and thus be “a school for all” (para. 15). The college’s elite status removes it for the greater part from serving those young people who are the weakest³⁴ and hence being a school for all. In reality, section 7.4.4 illustrates it best serves those who are the strongest. Perhaps the College when it promotes its elite status as one of the greatest private schools in Brisbane is in danger of not being able to claim it is a school for all. The College’s elite status also raises questions about how it can fulfill the Christian Brothers’ charter for their schools to have “a clear commitment to the poor and marginalised” (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997). Processes that support the heightening of status of one group over another can hardly be supporting the weakest or serving the poorest.

This section has outlined five implications of the College’s gender regime. These implications help identify the dissonance that exist between the College’s stated purpose and the reality it produces. It would seem that there are critical gaps between the College’s vision for an education for boys based on Christian values, justice, holistic development, respect for the dignity of the individual, human striving and so on and the policies, programmes, organisation and operations of College life (Starratt, 2003).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the results of the study by placing the findings of the study in the context of the research and by drawing on literature on masculinity and boys’ education. In particular, it has presented findings that address the three research questions. Initially it described how the participants of the study understand masculinity. Firstly, it is shown that most participants hold a traditional understanding that is based on the idea of a gender duality. The few participants who envisaged a fuller expression of masculinity have difficulty in moving beyond the thinking that masculine qualities needed to be *natural* or based in biology. Secondly, it describes the College’s gender regime. This regime is visible through the formal structures of the curriculum, discipline practices and sporting programme. In tune with the College’s gender regime boys have identified that playing sport is the most approved way of being masculine. All other masculine expressions take their position in relation to this hegemony. Thirdly, the chapter

³⁴ The College supports an equity programme where a limited number of fully paid tuition places are offered to those boys from a low socio-economic background. For some students this also extends to full boarding scholarships.

has described the implications for participants of its masculine construction. Five implications are noted. Participants consider that the College gender regime produces a narrowing of masculinity definition, policed conformity of expression, lack of equal opportunity, limited academic achievement for some students and heightened status for all students. These implications identify that a critical gap has been created between the College's stated purpose and the reality of education it provides.

The final chapter of this thesis presents a review and synthesis of the entire study and concludes by offering six recommendations for consideration by the College community.

CHAPTER 8

REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS

8.1 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study is to understand boys' perceptions of their masculine experience within one school site in order that a more informed and sophisticated construction of what is happening in the education of College boys could be achieved. Such a construction could help pave the way for possible change at the College that could contribute to enabling and improving the education for future College students. The study focuses on the relationship between boys' experiences of schooling and the social reality of masculinity. It aims to make sense of what is behind some boys' lack of motivation for learning, their resistance to independent thinking and their opposition to authority and the resulting diminished academic performance and troublesome classroom behaviour. The study is situated in a Catholic secondary school owned and directed by the Christian Brothers. This study contributes to the present educational interest in what is happening for boys. This interest has produced both academic and general literature that links boys' academic achievement, health and general welfare to constructs of masculinity. This study adds its own particular value to the discussion on masculinity and its relationship to the issues of boys' education by answering the study's three research questions. These were:

1. How do the students of the College understand masculinity?
2. What is the College's gender regime?
3. What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

This chapter represents the final stage of my learning journey by presenting a review and synthesis of the whole research project. Firstly, this chapter outlines a chapter by chapter overview of the study. This account is followed by a display of a summary of the answers to the study's research questions. This summary leads into the conclusions and recommendations of the study and implications for further research. Finally the thesis is completed with some concluding remarks.

8.2 Overview of Study

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the study. This chapter frames boys' education and the general welfare of boys as problematic and situates this problem historically as one part of a wider movement that identifies gender as an educational issue. The concept of masculinity is

said to be central to an understanding of what is happening for boys at the present time. This chapter then outlines the purpose of the study, the research problem, the research questions that govern the study and the research design. I then introduce myself as researcher and note the experiences that had led me to this learning journey. I also acknowledge my bias towards the theoretical perspective of social psychology. This is followed by a broad description of the research site. This chapter then proceeds to detail the significance that this research could claim and to give an explanation of the terminology that is imperative to understanding the study. The final section provides a chapter by chapter outline of the whole thesis.

Chapter 2 clarifies the research problem. This chapter describes how a document analysis was used to present a rich picture of the cultural and historical context of the College. Key documents within Catholic, Christian Brothers' and College education are analysed in order to provide insight into the vision and structural organisation of College education. The chapter reveals a possible critical gap between the vision the College proclaims for its education of boys and the social reality of boys' educational experience. This gap is particularly evident in the College's commitment to boys' education within a social justice framework. There is an apparent lack of involvement in addressing gender issues and working by the principles of gender justice. The gap is also evident in the failure of the College to translate, for its own purposes, the vision proclaimed for Catholic and Christian Brothers' education for the new millennium (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997; Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997).

Chapter 3 engages a review of the literature in order to further clarify the research problem and identify the research questions that direct this study. The literature is presented in three sections. Firstly, this review offers literature that describes the differing ways of understanding the existence of masculinity. Biological, psychological, sex role and social constructionist theories are presented. Secondly, this review addresses the current debate about what is happening for boys in education. This section describes four discourses, the essentialist, the anti-feminist, the social constructionist and the pedagogical discourse. Each of these discourses offers its particular understanding of what is happening in the education of boys and its particular set of recommendations to address perceived issues. Thirdly, this literature review explores a social construction perspective with regard to its analysis of masculinity as a collective expression within the school. Finally, this literature review firmly links the issue of

boys' education with the social reality of masculinity. Following this literature review the following research questions are identified:

1. How do the students of the College understand masculinity?
2. What is the College's gender regime?
3. What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

Chapter 4 details the research design that is considered appropriate to the research questions. This chapter provides a rationale for founding this study in a constructivist epistemology and employing research principles associated with the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism. It outlines a two stage research design involving an exploration of the research questions using a questionnaire and an inspection of specific issues arising from the exploration through one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions. Chapter 4 also outlines the processes of analysis that would be used to reduce and display data, draw conclusions and produce findings for this study. Finally, this chapter details the limitations of the study and addresses issues of validity and ethical considerations.

Chapter 5 presents the research obtained in the exploration stage of the study. These data were obtained through quantitative and qualitative analysis of a questionnaire completed by 255 participants of a year 12 cohort. These data are presented in themes that directly relate to the three research questions. The final section of this chapter identifies issues that needed further inspection. These issues were framed as questions and direct the second stage of research for this study.

Chapter 6 presents a display of data that were obtained in the second stage of the research, the inspection stage. These data were obtained through two processes one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions. These data are presented in themes that directly relate to the three research questions.

Chapter 7 provides an interpretation of the research data presented in Chapters 5 and 6. The analysis offered in this chapter interprets the research findings in a way that answers the study's three research questions. It presents an interpretation of the participants' understanding of masculinity, their perception of the College's gender regime and the implications that arise for them because of this gender regime. An analysis is also made of these findings in relation to relevant aspects of the historical and cultural context of the study and the literature that

addresses masculinity and boys' education.

8.3 Research Questions Answered

This section presents a summary of the findings of the three research questions.

8.3.1 *First Research Question*

The first research question seeks to discover participants' personal understanding and experience of their gendered reality. It acknowledges that boys learn about being masculine in their wider social context. The question asks:

How do the students of the College understand masculinity?

Participants reveal that they associate masculinity with a broad spectrum of qualities but within this broad spectrum some qualities are given legitimacy. These qualities are those associated with a traditional understanding of masculinity. Participants understand masculinity to be a set of biological attributes, personality traits and behaviours that belonged to an adult male. Masculinity shows itself in a large muscular frame, a dominant and powerful personality and engagement in *manly* activities. Participants' understanding is of a lived reality rather than a theoretical concept. Their thinking is based on biological and sex role theories of gender. These theories help to support an understanding of masculinity as being equivalent to male sexuality and as being one half of a natural duality. Where men are large, muscular, dominant, powerful and engage in *manly* activities, women are small, soft, weak and engage in other *feminine* activities. Participants indicate that they hold that the masculine is more valuable than the feminine. They also indicate that they work hard to attain the masculine qualities that are given legitimacy and engage in a continual process of judging the success or failure of their own and others' masculinity. This process helps set up and maintain power relationships amongst one another. The research indicates a contradiction in participants' thinking. Although they hold strongly to an understanding of masculinity being biologically determined they spend a great deal of effort in trying to attain it, maintain it and demand it of others.

Contrary to the majority view, a few participants claim qualities for the masculine outside of the traditional understanding. For these students, masculinity could also be about being morally good and includes qualities such as kindness, loyalty, honesty, respect for people and

ethical action. However they noted that these qualities are not found naturally in the masculine. They are more the qualities of the human person. It would appear these students see a dichotomy in classification between masculinity and humanity. Here it is evident that the biological and sex role theories of masculinity are not supporting participants in developing a fuller understanding of masculinity. Exposure to the social construction theory of masculinity with its concept of multiple masculinities would help these participants make sense of their developing ideas on masculinity.

8.3.2 *Second Research Question*

The second question sought to discover participants' perspective on the College's gender regime. This question based on a social construction theory holds to the existence of multiple masculinities constructed within particular cultural and historical contexts. The second question asked:

What is the College's gender regime?

Data in this study suggest that the College's gender regime is dominated by its sporting programme. This programme produces power relations, patterns of emotion and symbolisation that are associated with masculine pride, success and dominance. The sporting programme is supported by the College's boarding population. At times the College's experience of pride, success and domination breaks into displays of power and violence. The sporting programme not only expresses power and dominance in itself but also exercises power and domination over other aspects of College life. This is particularly visible with the College's academic curriculum. The curriculum takes its position second to the sporting programme and two aspects of the curriculum namely the vocational education and religious education programme are particularly undervalued. Power relationships are also evident between the College's sporting programme and its discipline practices. The sporting programme has co-opted the discipline practices in order that they may serve sporting needs. It would seem that these organisational structures are resistance to the vision the College has proclaimed for the education of its boys and thus create a critical gap between the stated purpose of education and the reality produced.

The College's gender regime and the hegemony of the sporting programme produces a variety of masculine expressions. The dominant expression of *Sportoes* gives approval to students who

are large, strong, fit, dominant, successful with women and know how to drink heavily. Masculine expressions such as “Spirit Leader” and “Macho Man” support or are complicitous with this dominant form. The expression “Spirit Leader” supports students’ participation in sport and involvement in sporting activities. The other “Macho Man” supports the physical strength and psychological dominance that are required by sportsmen. The academic achiever is relegated to a subordinate position in the masculinity order of the College. This expression is associated with being respectful to teachers, working hard, keeping school rules, being reliable and mature and is not approved of by holders of the hegemony. Other subordinate expressions of masculinity that have been dismissed by the hegemony of playing sport are expressions of emotion, religious interest or observance, being homosexual, showing interest in the arts especially music and playing soccer. College students who involve themselves in these subordinate masculine expressions can expect some degree of harassment or bullying. There is a particular threat of violence directed towards those boys that are perceived to be homosexual. Some vocational education and Asian students choose their own marginalised masculine expression. These form in opposition to the hegemony of playing sport.

The gender regime described has serious implications for the students of the College.

8.3.3 *Third Research Question*

The third research question seeks to discover the effect on students of the College’s gender regime. The question asked:

What are the implications for students of the College’s gender regime?

The research details five implications. These implications help identify the critical gaps that exist between the College’s stated purpose and the reality it produces.

Firstly, by comparing participants’ understanding of masculinity with their understanding of College masculinity it is identified that the College’s expressions of masculinity is based on a much narrower definition of what is masculine. This is of concern given that the problems boys are facing in this present time are linked to the limitations evident in traditional hegemonic constructs of masculinity (Connell, 2000; Hay, 1997; Reichert, 2001). It is also of concern given the vision of Catholic education to promote “the human person” (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997, para. 9). By holding to a narrow definition of masculinity the College limits what it means to be fully human.

Secondly, participants perceive that the College demands conformity to its hegemonic masculine expression, playing sport, and that this conformity is policed by supporters of the hegemony. This policed conformity of expression means that the College fails to deliver gender justice to its students. In so doing it also fails to live up to its responsibility to fulfil the Christian Brothers' educational commitment to justice (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1997).

Thirdly, participants understand that the College's gender regime results in a lack of equal opportunity for some of its students. Students who do not support the school's hegemonic masculine expression of playing sport are not as valued as those students who do. Again this implication indicates that the College fails to ensure gender justice. This implication also indicates that the College is in danger of failing to deliver a holistic curriculum (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997), of responding "to the diverse need of students" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1997) and of encouraging all students to strive in "the academic, spiritual, social, personal, cultural and sporting aspects of life" (The College, 199Xb, p. 3).

Fourthly, many participants of this study reveal that they are not achieving as well as they could academically. This is the result of the dominance of sport and of the subordinate position taken by the curriculum. In addition those participants who chose to give priority to their academic achievement are reproached by others as not having met the standard of being a *real* man of the College. This is of particular concern to the College given the literature's claim that there is a connection between how boys live out their masculine constructs and their academic performance (Epstein, 1998; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998)

Lastly, by assigning hegemony to the masculine expression of playing sport, the College continues to ensure a heightened status to all who attend the College. Those students who play sport at the elite level are recognised as the College's ideal men. Those students who associate themselves with the practices of sport attach themselves to a tradition of sporting success and in turn become winners. The College is an elite school in the GPS tradition. It dominates this tradition with its sporting prowess especially in rugby and swimming. Hence even those students who choose a subordinate masculine expression share in the status of belonging to a school that is associated with so much success. As the literature notes these students are prepared for the short-term cost of diminished influence in order that they can claim the long

term privilege of being students of the College (Connell, 1996; Hay, 1997; Mills, 1997a). This implication raises an institutional challenge for the College. It is questionable whether a school configured around its dominance in sport can be faithful to the Christian Brothers' charter to have "a clear commitment to the poor and marginalised" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1997). Rather than support the weakest or serve the poorest the College best serves those who are the strongest.

This completes the findings of this study. These findings lead to the drawing of a number of conclusions about the study.

8.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

This section presents the conclusions of this study and the recommendations that proceed from these conclusions. These conclusions and recommendations provide direction for the change that needs to be implemented at the College.

Firstly, this study concludes that participants in this study for the most part hold to a traditional definition of masculinity with understanding being built on biological and sex role theories of gender. These theories are inadequate for participants in explaining masculinity making processes and can create a dichotomy of thinking in boys' minds between masculinity and humanity. Boys judge themselves and others as less than masculine when they express themselves in *good* human ways, for example by acting justly, with kindness or with respect. The College is one of the institutions that is supporting students' traditional understanding of masculinity. It has not provided participants with the tools necessary to understand what is happening in the construction of masculinity. Given the dichotomy of thinking between masculinity and humanity there is a mismatch between the education the College is offering and the College's proclaimed mission to develop "the whole person" (The College, 199Xb, p. 3). This mission is supported by *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997) in its directive that Catholic education must be wholly involved with and at the service of society in its promotion of "the human person" (para. 9). This conclusion elicits this study's first recommendation.

Recommendation 1:

The College should develop and implement a gender education programme as a vital part of the College's student formation programme. This programme needs to address the needs of all students across all grade levels and provide a comprehensive exploration into the meaning of gender and in particular the meaning of masculinity.

- a) Within the gender education programme students need to be taught the fundamentals of all gender theories. Here they need to analyse the limitations of each theory and to reflect upon how they are living out the masculine constructs in their own lives and in the life of the College. They also need to be challenged in their perception that there is a dichotomy between that which is human and that which is masculine.
- b) The College needs to explore programmes and processes that would assist in the introduction of gender education into the curriculum. This process of exploration must critically analyse available programmes in order that the gender theories upon which the programme is based can be revealed. Programmes suitable for a comprehensive education into gender need to be purchased and used as a resource to develop the College's gender education curriculum.
- c) The College needs to provide education and training opportunities for teachers who will be responsible for the teaching of the gender education programme.

Secondly, this study concludes that the College's gender regime is dominated by the hegemonic masculine expression of playing sport. Playing sport is the most approved way of being masculine at the school. This expression is supported by the boarding school structure. It is also supported by the masculine expressions "Spirit Leader" and "Macho Man". "Macho Man" is a particularly aggressive form of masculinity. The alliance of "Macho Man" with the dominant masculine expression creates a dangerous ambivalence for the College's discipline structure. There is dissonance between what the boys perceive to be happening at the College and the mission of the College to provide "a balanced education" where "each student is encouraged to strive in the academic, spiritual, social, personal, cultural and sporting aspects of life" (The College, 199Xb, p. 3). The College needs to heed the warning delivered in 1900 that cautioned against the dangers of placing "too high a value on Athletics" (The College, 1900, p. 31). This conclusion elicits this study's second recommendation.

Recommendation 2:

The College should review the gender regime that supports playing sport as the dominant masculine expression. In particular it needs to examine:

- a) Sporting practices especially those concerned with the playing of Rugby Union. Those practices that encourage attitudes of power over others, winning at all cost, a dominant manhood and the subservience of women should be discontinued and replaced by practices that highlight the benign discourses that have traditionally been associated with playing sport, fun, friendship, fitness and the learning of discipline, commitment and fair play
- b) The Boarding school's arrangement of keeping students occupied through a whole school sporting programme. With 30% of the College's enrolment consisting of boarders the College can no longer define itself primarily as a boarding school. The particular needs of all day boy students and boarding students must be determined separately. Sporting practices that address the needs of some boarding students can no longer be thrust on all students.
- c) The College's discipline practices. The existing ambivalence in discipline practices that support the College's hegemonic expression and its complicit expression "Macho Man" needs to be challenged. Boys at the College need to be protected from the bullying that emerges because some boys are not interested or involved in the school's sporting programme.

Thirdly, this study concludes that the academic programme at the College comes second to sport. The College's pride in its academic programme is inconsistent with the way participants have perceived this component of College life. There is tension here for the College in its mission to encourage every student to strive in his academic achievement (The College, 199Xb). This conclusion elicits the study's third recommendation.

Recommendation 3

The College needs to pay more attention to its academic programme.

- a) Masculine expressions that do not encourage the academic achievement of students need to be challenged in order that the importance of academic excellence is appreciated by all at the College.
- b) Recognition needs to be given to academic achievers.

- c) The school budget needs to reflect the importance of the curriculum as too do the curriculum resources and buildings.

Fourthly, this study concludes that many expressions of masculinity at the College take a subordinate or marginalised position in a power relationship to the hegemonic expression of playing sport. Participants in this study perceive that the College does not approve of taking an interest in religion, the arts (particularly music) and soccer. In addition, students enrolled in the College's vocational education programme and Asian students are marginalised by the College's structures and programmes. There is a serious mismatch here between what participants of the study have experienced and the rhetoric of the College. It would seem that the College has not created an environment "where every person is respected" or where the spiritual, cultural and sporting needs of all students are encouraged (The College, 1999Xb, p. 3). This conclusion elicits this study's fourth recommendation.

Recommendation 4:

It is recommended that those expressions of masculinity that have become subordinated or marginalised at the College be provided with opportunities for approval and acceptance. This will mean the development of activities that heighten the awareness of all students to the value of vocational education, Asian culture, music, soccer and so on. This must be done sensitively and in association with other changes. If the current hegemonic expression retains its power, students may simply be exposed to more shaming experiences and more harassment. In particular the College needs to:

- a) Revitalize its religious education programme. This programme needs to occupy a vital place within the College curriculum. The association of religious expression and belief with a soft and feminine masculinity must be challenged.
- b) Address the particular needs of vocational education students. The education facilities available to these students needs to be upgraded and the attitudes that exist towards these students needs to be challenged.
- c) Provide for the needs of Asian students. Many Asian students come from a non-Christian cultural background. They for the most part do not have a high interest in sport.

Fifthly, this study concludes that there is a mismatch between what participants have seen as important to the College and the College's obligation to be configured "in the perspectives of the Catholic faith" (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997, para. 16). The subordination of religious expression and religious education would indicate that the traditional "two religions" (The battle of the colours, 1991, p. 40) of the College, Catholicism and Rugby Union, are no longer in equal balance. The College is now more configured in the perspective of sport and Rugby Union than it is in the Catholic faith. According to the participants' perception, the College is in danger of moving its education beyond the realms of what it means to be a Catholic school. This conclusion elicits this study's fifth recommendation.

Recommendation 5:

The College needs to explore ways that it may be truly configured in the Catholic faith. It must inspect its practices to ensure they give witness to Gospel values. In particular, the College needs to:

- a) Find ways to pastorally respond with care and love to those of its community "who are the weakest" (Congregation of Catholic Education, 1997, para. 15). This is a direct challenge to serve those of the community who are most disenfranchised by the masculine hegemony of the sporting programme.

Sixthly, this study concludes that there is an issue in respect to gender justice. There is dissonance between what the College proclaims is happening and what the participants perceive to be happening. This is particularly evident in the College's commitment to "Act justly and with compassion, especially towards those most in need" (The College, 199Xb, p. 3). Rather than acting in response to the needs of all boys the College seems to create a disempowered group of students that it treats less than justly. Such a reality fails to uphold, communicate and nurture the "values of the Gospel" (The College, 199Xb, p. 3) and provide a "balanced education for the development of the whole person" (The College, 199Xb, p. 3). The College falters in its efforts to bring about a gender fair culture where the issues of all boys are addressed (Jackson, 1998, p. 82). This is a social justice issue which has been expressed in the literature as "gender justice" (Connell, 1996; Kenway, 1990a; Lingard, 1998). There is further dissonance between what the participants perceive is happening at the College and the vision of Catholic education that has emanated from *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997) and the document *Edmund*

Rice Education (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997). The vision for Catholic education demands that the Catholic school, “Be a school for all” (Congregation for Catholic Education, 1997, para. 15) fulfilling a public role without any perception of being private and that it respond to those young people “who are the weakest” (para. 15). The document *Edmund Rice Education* (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997) calls for Christian Brothers’ schools to have a regard for the dignity of each person, be nurturing of right relationships, have a clear commitment of the poor and marginalised and implement a curriculum that responds to the diverse needs of students. This conclusion elicits this study’s sixth recommendation.

Recommendation 6

It is recommended that the College become a “learning community[ies] ... open to continual review of its [their] performance” (Congregation of the Christian Brothers, 1997).

- a) The College particularly needs to open itself to a review of its gender regime within the next two to three year period in order that movement in the above five implications of the College’s gender regime can be monitored.
- b) The College needs to become familiar with the concept of gender justice and to evaluate its operations according to its principles. It needs to begin the process of ensuring that it has a gender fair culture. This will mean, that the pursuit of dignity and freedom for each student, in a way that will allow all the full expression of what it means to be human, will be achieved.
- c) The College needs to work within constructivist principles in order that meanings that have been constructed over time have the opportunity to be deconstructed and reconstructed.

Finally, this study concludes that there is recognisable dissonance at the core of the College’s identity. Within the official rhetoric of the College there is a consistent claim to Christian values, social justice, holistic development, respect for the dignity of the individual, human striving and so on. Yet it would seem that there is an unacknowledged myth at the core of College identity that holds that the existence of the school is dependant upon its sporting success, particularly its success in Rugby Union. This myth is attested to by the power and dominance that the sporting programme exercises over all other aspects of school life. It is further verified by the world class sporting facilities supported by the College, by the

identification of the College as being “synonymous” (*The battle of the colours: The College centenary Rugby programme*, 1991, p.18) with Rugby Union and by the lack of recognition given to so many other areas of College life. It is this myth, that the very survival of the College is dependant on successful sporting participation, which is institutionalised in the policies, programmes, organisation and operations of College life. Consequently there exists a critical gap between the College’s stated purpose and the reality it produces. The College has failed “to confront its [their] organisational structures’ resistance to the vision” (Starratt, 2003, p. 20) because its life is driven by a vision that remains unacknowledged. This conclusion elicits this study’s seventh recommendation.

Recommendation 7:

It is recommended that the vision of the College for the education of boys and the structural organisation it employs, be open to scrutiny and exploration. This will help ensure that the College intentionally pursues what it holds to be most important. This scrutiny and exploration will need to involve two processes:

- a) Firstly the myths, beliefs and assumptions at the core of College identity need to be explored in relation to the goals and purposes of the College. This will ensure that the vision of the College in its education of boys will be fully articulated and owned.
- b) Secondly the vision of the College must be institutionalised in the structural organisation of the College. In this way the College will be able to live its vision. Starratt (2003) claims that this task calls forth the complementary skills of both leadership and management, “the former to insist on bringing the vision forward into the practical functioning of the school and the latter insisting on bringing some kind of structure, predictability, and form to the vision” (Starratt, 2003, p. 20).

8.5 Implications for Further Research

This study presents a picture of what is happening for boys at one school from the boys’ own perspective. It would be valuable to place the findings of this study beside research that inspects the College’s gender regime from the perspective of the leaders and the staff of the College. The research questions that would have relevance in this exploration are:

1. How do the leaders and staff of the College understand masculinity?

2. What do they see is the College's gender regime?
3. What do they understand are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?

Little research around issues of gender has been conducted in Christian Brother or Catholic schools in Australia or overseas (Angus, 1987, 1993; Lee, 2000, 2001; Martino, 1998; Vallance, 2002). This study has revealed that the gender arrangement of a school offers a valuable way to inspect the dissonance between the stated vision and purpose of a school and the created reality. In addition, this research has shown that gender arrangements can create dynamics that actually work in opposition to the values and perspectives proclaimed by Edmund Rice and Catholic education. Consequently, it could be particularly helpful for Christian Brothers' and Catholic schools wishing to evaluate their educational provision to engage in research that would uncover their particular gender arrangement.

Replication of this study would be particularly valuable in other all boys' schools. Previous research has revealed that in boys only schools, the schools frequently seem to choose masculine expressions that are 'hard' and macho (Askew & Ross, 1988; Epstein, 1997a). It would be useful to inspect how different cultural and historical contexts construct variance in gender regimes and the implications of these arrangements on students and the whole school community.

It would also be valuable to inspect the masculine expressions that are formed and the gender regimes that are created in co-educational schools. Such research would add a unique dimension to the gender studies that have been conducted within the co-educational context (Cavanagh, Mollon, & Dellar, 2001; Brutsaert & Van Houtte, 2002; A. Martin, 2003).

8.6 Concluding Remarks

The impetus for this study is a pragmatic concern for the education and general welfare of boys. It is motivated by my interest in what was happening for the boys that I have daily contact with. Its purpose is to understand boys' perceptions of their masculine experience within one school site. This site is a Catholic secondary school for boys owned and directed by the Christian Brothers. From the outset it was assumed that gender would provide a way of understanding and explaining the research problem because of the link that has been made in

the literature between the schooling difficulties boys experience and the social construction of masculinity. The study describes and analyses the masculine experiences of a year 12 cohort of the College. It aims to produce a more informed and sophisticated construction of what is happening for boys at the College in order that positive educational change in the school may be initiated.

The College began a new era in its educational endeavours with the appointment of a new principal in 2001. Consequently in the course of this study the education offered boys has opened up and changed. This study has already been of influence in this change process; however its completion heightens its potential to influence the future direction of the College's education provision. Its conclusions and recommendations provide a platform for College leadership and staff to engage in purposeful change that will benefit future students of the College. In particular the study's utilisation of a gender lens offers a particularly useful way in which to critique the stated mission of the College and especially its mission to social justice. This process of critiquing educational vision through a gender lens is recommended to other school communities.

The writer acknowledges that the perspective described in this study is that of one group of students. Consequently much of College life remains unexplored. Yet the study does point the way forward for an on-going journey of discovery for the College. It also invites other schools to make such a journey. To borrow Peshkin's words, this theory of practice is offered on the understanding that:

When I disclose what I have seen, my results [will] invite other researchers to look where I did and to see what I saw. My ideas are candidates for others to entertain, not necessarily as truth, let alone the truth, but as positions about the nature and the meaning of a phenomenon that may fit their sensibilities and shape their thinking about their own inquiries. (Peshkin, 1985, p. 280)

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APPENDIX A

COLLEGE MISSION STATEMENT

We are members of the College Family, founded by the Christian Brothers to provide a balanced education for the development of the whole person.

Faithful to the dream of Edmund Rice, we hold a special concern to act justly and with compassion especially towards those most in need.

Our College Family is based on a century of Catholic faith, residential care, the service of others, loyalty and friendship.

In Jesus our brother, we are determined in our struggle to uphold, Communicate and nurture the values of the Gospel.

We work together to create an environment where every person is respected and each student is encouraged to strive in the academic, spiritual, social, personal, cultural, and sporting aspects of life.

Our goal is that each member of our family will become for the world, a Sign of Faith: Signum Fidei.

APPENDIX B

Extract from
POLICY ON BULLING
STATEMENT OF BELIEF

All members of the school community should be able to enjoy a safe and supportive environment, free from fear or harassment. Bullying in any form is totally unacceptable. Research shows that bullying occurs in all schools, but that it can be reduced with a whole school approach, including an active anti-bullying policy.

The College Mission Statement states:

“We work together to create an environment where every person is respected”

The Leadership Team once again wishes to restate and interpret the Gospel Values that distinguish us as a Catholic College so that they are clearly understood and we will also spell out the consequences so that there is no doubt about our rejection of this destructive behaviour.

Bullying in any of its ugly forms, whether verbal or physical, will not be tolerated at the College.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Rights

To be safe and free from harassment and for your property to be safe.
 To be treated with courtesy and respect.

Responsibilities

To respect others, their rights and their property.
 To protect yourself and others.

The College aims to:

- create and ensure an atmosphere of mutual respect for all members of the school community
- encourage positive relationships between students, staff, parents and other members of the school community
- take appropriate action, including the development of a prevention program to deter bullying within the school community
- record and monitor bullying incidents.

APPENDIX C

EDMUND RICE EDUCATION

Edmund Rice Education challenges all “to act justly, to love tenderly and to walk humbly with their God” according to Edmund’s story and dream. The goals of Edmund Rice Education are to break the cycle of poverty and to enable people to be transformational in their society. The worth and liberation of the individual enhanced by personal formation in the light of Gospel and Christian values are essential in Edmund Rice Education. These are exemplified in the presence, availability and love of a mentor.

Intrinsic to action emanating from Edmund’s story and dream are at least the following:

The Dignity of the Person

Self-esteem is developed and the individual is empowered to make appropriate choice with regard to life and calling based on a personal spirituality.

The Nurturing of Right Relationships

The learning community is based on Gospel values expressed through a sense of belonging, forgiveness and tolerance. Through a responsibility to the wider community, members are called to a critical stance on issues of social justice.

A Clear Commitment to the Poor and Marginalised

Sharing according to need, enrolment and employment policies based on the principle of justice, sharing of corporate resources on a needs basis and practical care of the earth’s resources are expressions of this commitment.

Excellence in Teaching and Learning

These are characterised by a continuing evaluation of curriculum and methodology, by a preparedness to be adaptive and responsive to students’ needs, by an openness to change and by collaborative leadership.

Curriculum

Learning activities respond to the diverse needs of students by creating an accepting community in which they can celebrate their present achievements. These activities provide lifelong skills for future development.

Partnership with Families

Partnership enables all members of the learning community to accept their rights and responsibilities and develop commitment which is lifelong and mutually beneficial.

Conclusion

Learning communities need to be open to continual review of their performance.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for participating in this educational research.

The questionnaire relates to your life at the College and consequently you will find the questions simple to answer. Completion of the questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes of your time.

In completing the questionnaire you will helping the researcher complete her doctoral study as well as giving the researcher information that could improve life at the College.

This questionnaire gives you an opportunity to have your say about certain aspects of College life.

All information will be kept completely confidential. You do not have to identify yourself in any way in completing the questionnaire. Any report written from the information obtained in these questionnaires will not identify any participant in any way.

**Are you interested in following up this questionnaire with an interview?
Or would you be interested in forming a group of year 12 students to talk about issues raised in this questionnaire?**

Please contact Greer if either of the above options appeal to you.

Q 1.

Your age

Current attendance **Day boy** **Metro boarder** **Full Boarder**
 (Please tick appropriate box)

Where is home for you? Name the city, town or region and the country if it is not Australia.

.....

How long have you been at the College?

What has been your involvement in the College for Years 11 and 12? (Tick each that applies)

LEADERSHIP

- College Leadership Captain, Vice-Captain, Prefect
- Community Leadership
-
 (Other please name)

SPIRITUAL/SOCIAL JUSTICE

- Social Action Committee
- Amnesty International
-
 (Other please name)

ACADEMIC

- Academic achievement
- Dux of a Year
-
 (Other please name)

CULTURAL

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Oratory <input type="checkbox"/> - Band <input type="checkbox"/> - Drama Production <input type="checkbox"/> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Choir <input type="checkbox"/> - Musical <input type="checkbox"/> - <input type="checkbox"/>
 (Other please name) |
|--|---|

GPS SPORT AND ACTIVITIES

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Debating <input type="checkbox"/> - Chess <input type="checkbox"/> - Swimming <input type="checkbox"/> - Track & Field <input type="checkbox"/> - Cross Country <input type="checkbox"/> - Gymnastics <input type="checkbox"/> - Volleyball <input type="checkbox"/> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cricket <input type="checkbox"/> - Rugby <input type="checkbox"/> - Soccer <input type="checkbox"/> - Tennis <input type="checkbox"/> - Basketball <input type="checkbox"/> - Waterpolo <input type="checkbox"/> - <input type="checkbox"/>
 (Other please name) |
|--|--|

OTHER SPORT AND ACTIVITIES

.....

.....

 (Please give details)

Q 2. What is your understanding of masculinity?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 3. What are **desirable** masculine qualities for you to take on as a boy or a man?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 4. What are **undesirable** masculine qualities for you to avoid as a boy or a man?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 5. How influential have the following people been in your masculine development. Mark the appropriate box.

	Extremely Weak Influence	Very Weak Influence	Weak Influence	Neutral Influence	High Influence	Very High Influence	Extremely High Influence
Father							
Mother							
Brother/s							
Sister/s							
Relatives							
Friends							
Peers							
Teachers							
Coaches							
..... Other please name							

Q 6. What is the strength of other influences upon your masculine development?

	Extremely Weak Influence	Very Weak Influence	Weak influence	Neutral Influence or Not Relevant	High Influence	Very High Influence	Extremely High Influence
Your society or Culture							
Media – TV, film, magazines, etc							
Religious and/or moral beliefs							
School life							
Sporting interests							
Living away from home (e.g. Boarding)							
..... Other Please Name							
..... Other Please Name							

Q 7. What masculine qualities does the College hold as being particularly important?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 8. The masculine qualities that the College holds to be important are they similar to or different from the masculine qualities that other influences in your life hold to be important? Mark the box that best represents the degree of similarity or difference.

	Extremely different	Very different	Somewhat different	Neutral	Somewhat similar	Very similar	Extremely similar
Masculine qualities the College holds to be important compared with your family's.							
Masculine qualities the College holds to be important compared with your culture or society's.							
Masculine qualities the College holds to be important compared with your friends'.							
Masculine qualities the College holds to be important compared with TV, films, magazines etc							

Q 9. Comment on any similarities or difference that appear significant to you.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 10. You are often referred to as one of the “men of the College”. What is meant by these words?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 11. How important is it for you to be one of the “men of the College”. Tick the appropriate box.

Extremely unimportant	Very unimportant	Somewhat unimportant	Slightly unimportant	Slightly important	Somewhat important	Very important	Extremely important

Q 12. How has the school taught you to be a “man of the College”?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 13. List five events (such as sporting events, functions, assemblies, rituals etc) that you have attended when you have felt strongly that you were a man of the College?

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Q 14. Who are the heroes of the College?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 15. What do you understand as the Spirit of the College?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 16. How strongly do you agree with the following statements? Mark the appropriate boxes.

	Disagree Very Strongly	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Slightly	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree Slightly	Agree Strongly	Agree Very Strongly
You get the most out of the College by participating in as much as you can.							
The College is the school with the strongest spirit.							
Sport is the most important spirit builder at the College.							
There's no better feeling than cheering in the College Grandstand.							
Rugby is the sport with the most spirit.							
It is your responsibility to carry on the spirit of the College.							
To be a College man you must have the College Spirit.							
There is more to the spirit of the College than the sporting events.							
The spirit of the College is about being proud of your school.							
The GPS events are a must to attend to build up the College spirit.							

Q 17. The year 12 motto this year is “Together we are bound”.
What does this mean for you?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q 18. Are there ways of being a boy or a man that the College does not approve of?

Yes **No**

Explain

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q 19. Does your way of being a boy or a man hamper or make it more difficult for you to engage in any School activities?

Yes **No**

Explain which activities and why this is so.

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q 20. Does your way of being a boy mean that you have not succeeded academically as well as you could have at the College? **Yes** **No**

Explain how this is so.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q 21. How strongly do you agree with the following statements? Mark the appropriate boxes.

	Disagree Very Strongly	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Slightly	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree Slightly	Agree Strongly	Agree Very Strongly
The College has encouraged me to be proud of my individuality.							
The College has encouraged me to express by own thoughts and ideas.							
The College has encouraged me to express my feelings freely.							
The College has valued my academic success above my sporting success.							
The College respects the personalities of its students.							
The College treats all students equally and fairly.							
The College is accepting of students who are not interested in sport.							
The College creates an environment that encourages learning.							
The College's idea of what makes a man and my idea are the same.							
The College is very good at looking after the needs of boys and young men.							

Q 22. Any comments on the above statements?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 23. What are the most common insults that students call other students at the College? Mark the appropriate boxes.

INSULTS	Never used	Very rarely used	Rarely used	Often Used	Very often Used	Always Used
Insult against how you spend your time, e.g. CBM (chick before mates), etc.						
Insult against your sexuality, e.g. calling someone a faggot, poofter, gay, etc.						
Insult against your mother or your sister e.g. calling one a slut, suggesting incest, etc.						
Insult against your race or culture e.g. your colour, your cultural ways, etc.						
Insult about your appearance, e.g. your size, your nose, your hair etc.						
Insult against your physical manhood ,e.g. pin dick, soft cock, etc.						
Insult against your spirit, e.g. calling someone a wimp, nerd, etc.						
Insult against women, e.g. naming someone girl or a feminine characteristic, etc.						
Insult against your intelligence. e.g. naming someone a loser, or a non-achiever etc.						
Insult against maturity, e.g. calling someone a boy, baby etc.						
Insult against your belonging at the College. e.g. go to another school, etc.						
..... (Other please name)						

Q 24. Which of the above insults in your opinion are the most seriously damaging to boys or men?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 25. How appropriate is it for a boy at the College to engage in the following activities at school. Mark the appropriate box.

ACTIVITY	Always not appropriate	Mostly not appropriate	Neither appropriate nor inappropriate	Mostly appropriate	Always appropriate
1. Doing regular homework					
2. Playing sport					
3. Joining the drama production					
4. Seeing a counsellor					
5. Keeping school rules					
6. Learning in the classroom					
7. Handing in assignments on time					
8. Studying for exams					
9. Achieving academically					
10. Playing a musical instrument					
11. Being a school leader					
12. Being friendly with teachers					
13. Answering questions in class					

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME
TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX E

Overview of Questionnaire

This overview of the questionnaire provides detail about the format and content of the questionnaire and its relationship to the 3 research questions. It also provides details as to how the items of this research were analysed. This includes how categories were derived from the open-ended items.

The questionnaire contained 25 items. Many of these questions contained sub-items and consequently a total of 119 data elements were generated for each respondent. These questions are presented in four main areas:

- Demographic and Involvement items
- Students' Understanding of Masculinity
- The College' Masculine Construction
- Implications for Students

The questionnaire generated a large amount of data. Only those items that best address the research questions have been chosen for display in the main body of the thesis. The majority of the items within the questionnaire were treated quantitatively. Those questions that are treated qualitative are also noted in this section.

Demographic and Involvement Items

The first page of the questionnaire obtained characteristics of the Year 12 students. It asked students to indicate their age, their enrolment status (day boy, metro boarder or full boarder), their home city, town, region or country and the length of time they had been at the College. Because the questionnaires were completed in class groups, students could also be identified as those undertaking a programme of Vocational Education Training and those undertaking a Queensland Authority Subject programme which made them eligible for an Overall Position (OP students). This information is detailed in Table 5.1.

Students were also asked to indicate the extent of their College involvement. A number of categories with sub-headings was listed, a total of 29 items in all. The categories and sub-headings were:

- "Leadership"
 - a) "College Leadership: Captain, Vice-Captain, Prefect"
 - b) "Community Leadership"
 - c) "Other Please Name"
- "Spiritual/Social Justice"
 - a) "Social Action Committee"
 - b) "Amnesty International"
 - c) "Other Please Name"

- “Academic”
 - a) “Academic Achievement”
 - b) “Dux of Year 11”
 - c) “Other Please Name”

- “Cultural”
 - a) “Oratory” b) “Band” c) “Drama Production”
 - d) “Musical” e) “Debating” f) “Chess”
 - f) “Other Please Name”

- “Sporting Activities”
 - a) “Swimming” b) “Track & Field” c) “Cross Country”
 - d) “Gymnastics” e) “Volleyball” f) “Cricket”
 - g) “Rugby” h) “Soccer”, i) “Tennis”
 - j) “Basketball” k) “Waterpolo” l) “Other Please Name”

Each student was asked to indicate each activity in which he took part during his year 11 and Year 12 enrolment period. This information was analyzed as 29 binary items. Totals were computed for each of the five categories and for each sub-category (5 Total Involvement Scores). An overall total out of 29 of all school involvement was also computed (Overall Total Involvement Score). Information from this analysis is presented in Table 5.5 and Table 5.6

Students’ Understanding of Masculinity

This section of the questionnaire sought to get responses that would shed light on the first research question:

How do the students of the College understand masculinity?

It involved 6 items, Qs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9. (Q7 is dealt with in the next section.) It sought to ascertain the students’ understanding of masculinity and the influences that have played a part in their masculine development.

The first item, “Q2: Masculinity” presented an open ended question asking the boys to write statements that described their understanding of masculinity. The responses to this item are treated qualitatively and are presented in section 5.3.1.

The boys were then presented with two open ended questions and asked to list desirable (Q3: Desirable Masculine Qualities) and undesirable (Q4: Undesirable Masculine Qualities) masculine qualities. The responses to these questions generated 17 binary scales for desirable masculine qualities and 17 binary scales for undesirable masculine qualities. These 34 items were treated as a single set of categories describing masculine qualities. The responses to these items are presented in Table 5.2.

Each of the desirable or undesirable items represented a group of related student responses. In most cases the items sought to identify what boys understood as opposite qualities. For example the desirable “Confident” included responses such as, “self acceptance”, “pride in self”, “high self esteem” and “confidence” and the undesirable category “Dependant” included responses such as “follower”, “lacks confidence” and “depends on others”. The categories “Good Timer” and “Not Good Timer” refer to a student’s involvement or lack of involvement with dating girls,

drinking alcohol and attending parties. Two pairs of categories were identified that were concerned with a boy's emotional expressions. These were, "Desirable – Emotionally Strong" and "Undesirable – Emotionally Weak" and "Desirable – Emotionally Expressive," and "Undesirable – Emotionally Restricted."

Boys responded in "Q5: People Influences" to the extent that 10 categories of people had influenced their masculine development. The categories ranged from specific family members such as "Father" and "Brother/s" through to groups of people such as "Teachers" and "Coaches". The categories were presented on a 7 point Likert scale which covered a range from "Extremely Weak Influence" to "Extremely High Influence". No useable specific category of influential person emerged from the open tenth item "Other please name". This item is displayed in Appendix F. (Items from the questionnaire that were analysed and not displayed within the main body of the thesis are displayed in Appendix F.).

Boys responded in "Q6: Societal Influences" to the extent that other influences had shaped their masculine development. There were 8 items presented on a 7 point Likert scale. The scale covered a range from "Extremely Weak Influence" to Extremely High Influence. The items included general influences such as "Culture", "Media", "Religious and/or Moral Beliefs" and "Living away from Home" and four open ended items. Two of the open ended items related to the influence of "School Life" and "Sporting Interests". The responses from these two items were analyzed as four items, "School Friends Influence", "School Influence", "Rugby Union Influence" and "Sporting Influence". No useable specific categories of other influences emerged from the open seventh and eighth items "Other please name". This item is displayed in Figure 5.4.

"Q8: Similarities & Differences" sought to discover the extent of correspondence between the masculine qualities that the College held to be important and the masculine qualities that the boys' family, society or the mass media held to be important. It presented the boys with 4 categories on a 7 point Likert scale. The scale covered a range from "Extremely Different" to Extremely Similar". This item is displayed in Appendix F.

"Q9: Comment on Similarities or Differences" was an open-ended question asking boys to comment on any similarities or differences that they could note about "Q 8: Similarities and Differences". This question did not generate any useable information as most boys chose not to answer the question.

The College's Masculine Construction

This section of the questionnaire sought to discover from the Year 12 student's perspective how the College understood and expressed masculinity. This section directly addressed the second research question:

What is the College's gender regime?

It contained 10 items which are presented in 3 sub-sections, the College's Masculine Qualities (Q7), Men of the College (Qs 10, 12 and 13) and Life & Spirit of the College (Qs 14, 15, 16 and 17). "Q 11: Importance of Being a Man of the College" will be dealt with under the third research question. The items that were chosen to best address this research question are displayed in section 5.2.2.

The College's Masculine Qualities

The boys were presented with an open-ended question (Q7: The College's Masculine Qualities) asking them to identify what they considered were the masculine qualities that the College held as being particularly important. The responses to this question generated 17 binary scales.

Some categories represent one single response, for example the category "Rugby Player". Some categories represented a group of related responses: for example "Worker" included responses such as "hard working", "dedication", "perseverance" and "discipline." The category "All Rounder" refers to responses that indicate students have abilities and/or achievements in academic, cultural and sporting activities. These data are displayed in Table 5.3.

Men of the College.

The boys at this College are often referred to as "College Men" or "Men of the College". The meaning of these words was explored in a number of ways.

In "Q10: Men of the College" the boys were presented with an open ended question asking them to identify what they considered to be the meaning of the words "Men of the College". The responses to this question generated 7 binary scales. Meanings included, being "Responsible", being "Tough Men" and belonging to a "Family". The items "Has No Meaning" and "Discipline Ploy" reflected those boys' responses who claimed that these words held no meaning or that the words were simply used to exercise some control over students' behaviour. These data are displayed in Table 5.4.

Another open-ended question was asked in order to discover how the school had taught the students to be a "Man of the College" (Q12: Taught to be Man of the College). The responses to this question generated 5 binary scales. Students claimed that the school had taught them through, "Participation", "Playing Sport", "Cheering Sports" and "Being Responsible". The final item "School Has Not Taught" incorporates the idea expressed by some students that The College had failed to teach them to be "Men of the College". These data are displayed in Table 5.4.

"Q13: Events" asked each boy to list five events that he had attended (e.g. sporting events, functions, assemblies, rituals etc.) during which he had felt strongly that he was a man of The College. Responses to this question generated 18 binary scales. The meaning of a number of categories that were devised needs clarification. "My Sport" referred to the student's personal involvement in a particular sport. The item "A Funeral Rite" referred to a one off event in which the Year 12s attended the funeral of a Christian Brother earlier in the year. The two items "School Functions" and "School Occasions" both referred to a variety of events. "School Functions" included public events such as the school fashion parade and the arts and crafts weekend. "School Occasions" referred to private experiences of pride, for example receiving the honour blazer pocket, wearing the College uniform in public, being elected as vice captain of the school and being involved in the community assistance programme. These data are displayed in Figure 5.3.

Life and Spirit of the College.

This section of the questionnaire sought to discover elements of the life and spirit of the College. It included "Q 14: Heroes of the College", "Q15: Spirit of the College", "Q16: College Life" and "Q17: Motto". These items are displayed in Section 5.2.2 except for the item "Q17: Motto". This item asked boys to explain the meaning of the motto for the Year 12s of the year 2000.

Student response indicated that this motto, “To dare to break paths unexplored, to scale heights yet unconquered”, had been created by a very small group of the College leaders. Some indicated that it held little meaning for them. Many provided no response. This item was judged to lack any meaningful material and was not analysed.

“Q14: Heroes of the College” consisted of an open ended question that asked students to name the heroes of the College. The responses to this question generated 11 binary (yes or no) scales. In the items “Teachers” and “Old Boys Sportsmen” specific men were mentioned. “Teachers” named one member of the College’s leadership team, some classroom teachers, one teacher who had left the school some months earlier and some teachers who coached boys’ sporting teams. The “Old Boys Sportsmen” named men who had been successful in their sporting participation particularly in Rugby Union either at the College or at representative level. This group of men included a mixture of recent and not so recent sporting successes. There were names of men who had played in a 1st fifteen Rugby team during the current Year 12’s enrolment at the College as well as names of mature aged men who had represented Australia in Rugby and athletics. The item “Rugby Players” particularly referred to players in the 1st fifteen but did extend beyond this team to include any rugby players in the school. Edmund Rice was the founder of the Christian Brothers. The item “Achievers” referred to boys who achieved at the school in any endeavour. This included sporting, academic and cultural achievements. These data are displayed in Table 5.11.

Responses to what the boys understood as the spirit of the College (Q15: Spirit of the College) generated 9 categories which were treated as 9 binary scales. These categories included items such as, “Involvement in College Life”, “Playing Rugby”, “Pride in the College” and “Achievement”. The item “There is No Spirit” represented the responses of some boys who denied that the College had an identifiable school spirit. These data are displayed in Table 5.8.

“Q16: College Life” presented the boys with 10 statements on a 7 point Likert scale. The scale covered a range from “Disagree Very Strongly” to “Agree Very Strongly”. All the statements tested the boys’ response to some key elements of the life of the College. These elements had been discovered in the responses given by the boys in the trial questionnaire. They included statements such as “You get the most out of the College by participating”, “The College is the school with the strongest spirit” and “The spirit of the College is about more than sporting events”. These data are displayed in Table 5.9.

Implications for Students

This section directly addresses the third research question:

What are the implications for students of the College’s gender regime?

It aims to highlight some of the personal, social and academic implications for the students. It contains 8 items which are presented in 2 sections, Valuing and Treatment of Students (Qs 21, 22, 23 and 24) and Involvement and Success of Students (Qs 19, 20 and 25). The final item “Q11: Importance of Being a Man of the College” aims to give an overall picture of how important or unimportant it is for participants to be one of the men of the College. The scale covered a range from “Extremely Unimportant” through to “Extremely Important”. These data are displayed in Figure 5.5. The items that were chosen to best address this research question are displayed in section 5.2.3

Valuing and Treatment of Students

This section of the questionnaire sought to discover how the students considered they were valued and treated by the College. It included “Q21: Valuing of Students”, “Q22: Comments on Student Treatment”, “Q23: Prevalence of Insults” and “Q24: Seriousness of Insults”.

The first item (Q21: Valuing of Students) presented the boys with 10 statements on a 7 point Likert scale. The scale covered a range from “Disagree Very Strongly” to “Agree Very Strongly”. Nine of the ten statements tested the boys’ response to how they considered the College valued its students and in particular how the College balanced an encouragement of academic learning and involvement in sport. A tenth item, “The College’s idea of what makes a man and my idea are the same” is misplaced in this item and has not been analysed. These data are displayed in Figure 5.6 and Table 5.18.

The responses to “Q22: Comments on Student Treatment” are treated qualitatively and are presented in section 5.3.

“Q 23: Prevalence of Insults” sought to discover how often boys used particular insults. The boys were presented with 11 categories of insults that had been devised after collecting various insults in the trial questionnaire. These insults were presented on a 6 point Likert scale and covered a range from “Never Used” to “Extremely Often Used”. No useable specific category of insults emerged from the open twelfth item “Other Please Name”. These data are displayed in Figure 5.7.

The same 11 categories were treated as 11 binary scales for “Q24: Seriousness of Insults” was omitted from analysis as it offered no valuable data.

Involvement and Success of Students

The final elements of the questionnaire sought to discover if the students saw a link between masculinity and college involvement and success. This section involved 4 items, “Q18: Approval of the College”, “Q19: Engaging in School Activities”, “Q20: Succeeding Academically” and “Q25: Appropriateness of Activities”. The parts of these items that are dealt with through quantitative analysis are display in Section 5.2.2. The remaining elements are displayed in section 5.3.2.

“Q18: Approval of the College”, “Q19: Engaging in School Activities” and “Q20: Succeeding Academically” were single, personal and co-curricular fields. The boys were presented with 14 items on a 5 questions requiring a simple binary yes or no response. These data are displayed in section 5.2.4. All three questions offered an opportunity for participants to explain their responses.

The final element of the questionnaire, “Q25: Appropriateness of Activities” sought to discover how appropriate it was for a boy at the College to engage in a selection of school based activities. These activities ranged across many aspects of College life and included academic, sporting and cultural activities. They were presented on a 5 point Likert scale. The scale covered a range from “Always Not Appropriate” to “Always Appropriate”. These data are displayed in Figure 5.2 and Table 5.10.

This completes the explanation of each of the elements that was within the questionnaire.

APPENDIX F

Presentation of Data from the Questionnaire (Not displayed in main body of thesis)

The data that is presented in this appendix includes those items of the questionnaire that have not been directly displayed in the main body of the thesis. This presentation includes univariate results, data reduction results using factor analysis, ANOVAS that explore the relationships between characteristics of the sample and intercorrelation results between factors.

Univariate Results for Individual Key Items

An indication of the extent of the influence of people on the masculine development of boys was obtained in “Q5: People Influences” of the questionnaire. Figure A1 demonstrates the mean scores for the 9 categories of persons. The items “Father”, “Friends”, “Mother” “Peers” and “Brother/s” all indicate a high influence. “Teachers” and “Sister/s” recorded mean scores of 3.92 and 3.89 respectively where 4 is categorized as a neutral influence.

Mean scores for “Q8: Similarities & Differences” showed little variation. They ranged from 4.23 (Difference between what the College holds to be important masculine qualities compared with what their friends hold.) to 3.62 (Difference between what the College holds to be important masculine qualities compared with what their family holds.) Figure A2 demonstrates these mean scores. It is noted that 4 is categorized as neutral. A somewhat similar level of agreement is noted on the 10th item of “Q21: Valuing of Students.” In this question a mean score of 3.71 on a 7 point scale is recorded as the level of agreement to the statement, “The College’s idea of what makes a man and my idea are the same.”

“Q16: College Life” presented the respondents with 10 statements that described important aspects of College life. Figure A3 shows the mean scores for agreement or disagreement with these statements. These scores indicate a reasonably high level of acceptance to these aspects of College life. The lowest mean score at 4.23 was recorded for the statement that claimed that, “there’s no better feeling than cheering in the College Grandstand.”

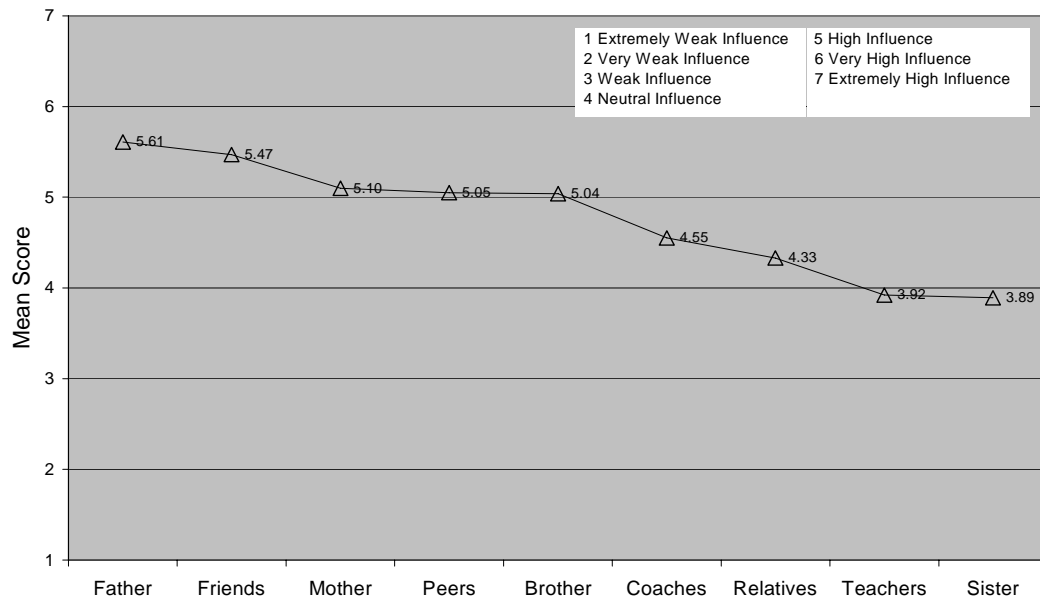


Figure A1 Mean Scores for People Influence on Masculine Development (Q5: People Influences)

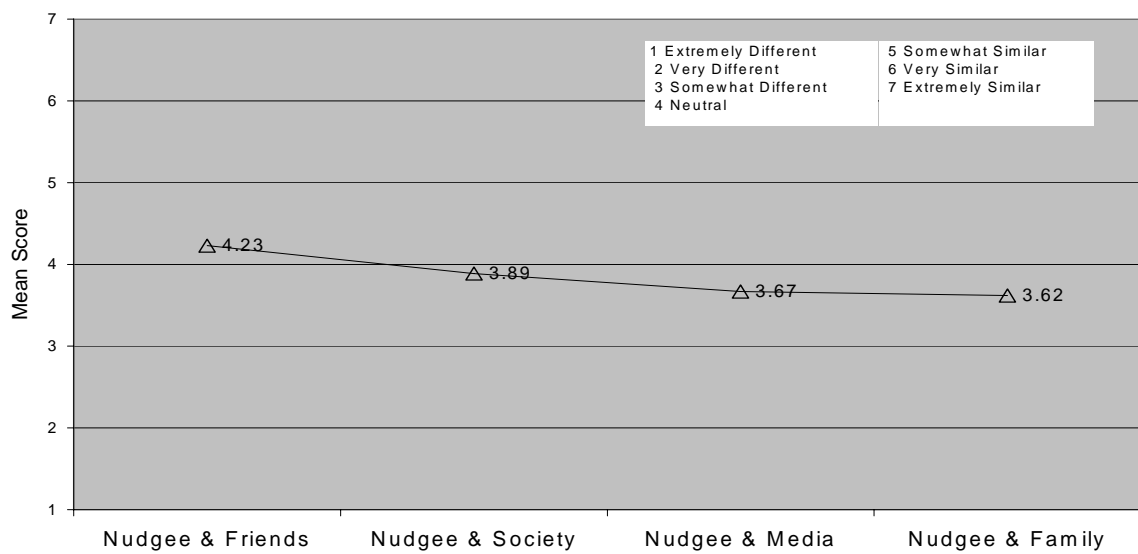


Figure A2 Mean Scores for Differences between what College holds to be important masculine qualities compared with 4 other influences (Q8: Similarities & differences)

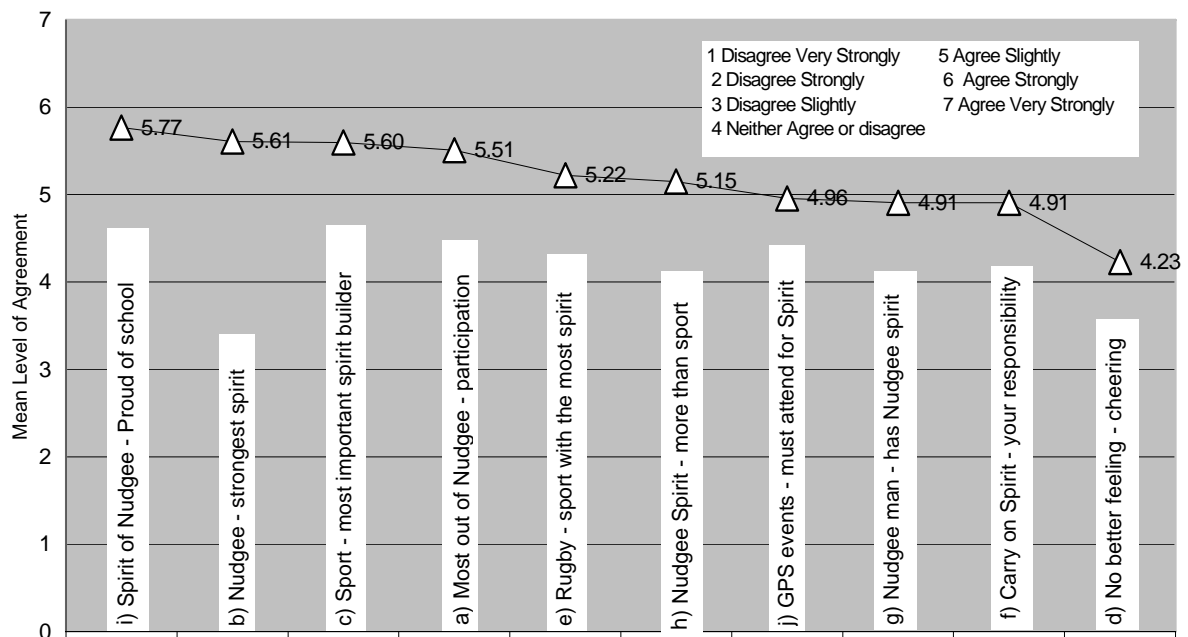


Figure A3 Mean scores for students' agreement or disagreement with 10 statements that describe the life of the College (Q16: College Life)

Data Reduction

Factor analyzes were performed on the groups of items obtained from 12 of the questions from the questionnaire. Three of these have not been displayed in the main body of the thesis.

Q5: People Influences.

Analysis of the 9 items from "Q5: People Influences" yielded three factors. This accounted for 64.99% of the total variance. The 3 factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table A1.

- Factor 1 named "Insider Influence" included the influence on students of Peers, Friends, Coaches and Brother. A secondary positive loading was given to Fathers and Teachers and a secondary negative loading was recorded on Mothers. It is noted that this factor incorporates a strong male influence.
- Factor 2 named "Family Influence" included the influence on students of Sisters, Mothers and Fathers. A secondary loading is again recorded on Teachers.
- Factor 3 named "Outsider Influence" included the influence on students of Relatives and Teachers. This factor had a secondary negative loading recorded on Brothers.

Table A1 Factor Loadings of 9 People Influences in a Boys' Masculine Development on 3 Factors (Q5: People Influences).

	Insider Influence F1	Family Influence F2	Outsider Influence F3
Peers	.83		
Friends	.77		
Coaches	.72		
Brother	.68		-.31
Sister		.80	
Mother	-.31	.77	
Father	.38	.58	
Relatives			.83
Teachers	.46	.32	.55

Q6: Societal Influences.

Analysis of the 8 items from “Q6: Societal Influences” yielded 2 factors. This accounted for 77.61% of the total variance in scores. The 2 factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table A2.

- Factor 1 named “Influence: Immediate World” included the influence on students of School Friends, School, Sport, Rugby Union and Living Away from Home. Religion was included in this factor with a negative loading as too was the secondary item of Society.
- Factor 2 named “Influence: Wider Society” included the influence on students of Media and Society. The secondary items of Sport, Rugby Union and Living Away from Home were included in this factor but all with a negative loading.

Table A2 Factor Loadings of 8 Societal Influences on a Boys' Masculine Development on 2 factors (Q6: Societal Influences).

Influence	Immediate World F1	Wider Society F2
School Friends	.96	
School	.96	
Sport	.82	-.41
Rugby	.82	-.41
Religious/Moral	-.68	
Living Away from Home	.62	-.41
Media		.95
Society	-.34	.80

Q23: Prevalence of Insults.

Analysis of the 11 items from “Q23: Prevalence of Insults” yielded two factor. This accounted for 61.24% of the total variance in scores. The 2 factor solution was accepted and the factors named. The solution is shown in Table A3.

- Factor 1 named “Prevalence of Insults: Inherited Attributes” included insults against a boy’s Manhood or size of genitalia, Sexual Preference, Family, Spirit, Race, Gender Identify and Appearance. A secondary loading was recorded for insults against a boy’s Intelligence.
- Factor 2 named “Prevalence of Insults: Personal Attributes” included insults against a boy’s Maturity, Intelligence, to his Belonging to the College and to the Way he Spends his Time. Secondary loadings were recorded for insults against a boy’s Spirit, Gender and Appearance.

Table A3 Factor Loadings of 11Prevalence of Insults Used at the College on 2 factors (Q23: Prevalence of Insults)

Prevalence of Insults Against:	Inherited Attributes	Personal Attributes
	F1	F2
Manhood	.81	
Sexual Preference	.78	
Family	.73	
Spirit	.67	.36
Race	.63	
Gender Identity	.59	.51
Appearance	.53	.47
Maturity		.77
Intelligence	.36	.72
Belonging to the College		.68
Way Spends Time		.58

Analysis of Student Characteristics

Elements of the students’ characteristics including age, enrolment status, residential regions and number of years at the College were analyzed in relation to the student’s 5 Total Involvement Scores, the Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 Factors. These analyses used t-tests and one way ANOVAS. Analysis that has not been displayed in the main body of the thesis is displayed hereunder.

ANOVAS of significant differences were carried out for the Age of Students and the students' 5 Total Involvement Scores, 1 Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 Factors. Significant differences were noted on only 4 of the 57 scaled scores. Table A4 illustrates these 4 differences. Group Means and Standard Deviations are provided in the table.

The lowest mean score as illustrated in Table A5 on 3 measures was recorded by the 18-19 year old students and the highest mean scores in the same 3 measures were recorded by the 17 year old students. Standard Deviations are shown in parentheses.

Table A4 Significant Differences among Age groupings of Students (16 years, n= 86), (17 years, n = 127), (18-19 years, n = 28) from analysis of the 5 Total Involvement scores, 1 Overall Total Involvement Score and 51 factor scores.

Dependant Variable	df	F	p
Total Number of College Involvements	2, 237	3.563	.030
The Spirit of the College is: Achievement	2, 237	3.884	.022
The Spirit of the College is: Rugby and Supporting	2, 239	3.563	.030
The Prevalence of insults: Inherited Attributes	2, 216	4.062	.019

Table A5 Age with “Total Number: College Involvement” score and three mean factor scores

Age Group	n*	Total Number: College Involvement	The Spirit of College Achievement	Prevalence of Insults: Inherited Attributes
16	86	3.99 (2.26)	-0.15 (0.80)	-0.02 (1.02)
17	127	4.24 (2.77)	0.17 (1.18)	0.12 (0.92)
18-19	28	2.71 (1.62)	-0.27 (0.44)	-0.51 (1.14)

This pattern is reversed in the factor “Spirit of the College: Rugby & Supporting”. As illustrated in Table A6, 17 year olds recorded the lowest mean score and 18-19 year olds recorded the highest mean score. Standard Deviations are shown in parenthesis.

Table A6 Age with mean factor score for factor “Spirit of the College: Rugby & Supporting”

Age Group	n*	Spirit of the College: Rugby & Supporting
16	85	0.06 (1.05)
17	127	-0.12 (0.67)
18-19	28	0.40 (1.67)

ANOVAS of significant differences were carried out for the Residential Regions of the Students and the students' 5 Total Involvement Scores, 1 Overall Total Involvement Scores and the 51 Factors. Significant differences were noted on 8 of the 57 scaled scores (7 have already been displayed in the main body of the work). Table A7 illustrates the remaining 1 significant difference. Group means and Standard Deviations are provided in the table.

Table A7 One Significant Difference among Residential Regions. (Brisbane Area = 147), (Gold/Sunshine Coasts = 15), (Other Queensland = 22), (Other Australia = 13), (Asia = 13), (Papua New Guinea = 14) and (Other World = 5) from analysis of 5 Total Involvement scores, 1 Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 factor scores.

Dependant Variable	df	F	p
Outsider Influence	6, 67	2.159	.042

The highest mean score for the “Outsider Influence,” was recorded by students from Other Australia. Gold/Sunshine Coast students recorded the lowest mean score for “Outsider Influence” These data are illustrated in Table A8. Standard Deviations are shown in parenthesis.

Table A8 Residential Regions with mean factor score for factor “Outsider Influence”, “College Heroes: Academic Achievers” and “College Quality: Mature Man”

Student Residence	n	Outsider Influence
Brisbane Area	49	0.01 (0.99)
Gold/Sunshine Coast	6	-0.96 (1.12)
Other Queensland	6	0.55 (0.66)
Other Australia	2	1.50 (0.95)
Asia	2	-0.38 (1.79)
Papua New Guinea	8	0.29 (0.66)
Other World	1	-0.46 (0.99)

ANOVAS of significant differences were carried out for the Number of Years at the College and the students' 5 Total Involvement Scores, 1 Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 Factors.

There were no significant global F tests. However, since the independent variable represented different lengths of time (1 to 5+ years) at the College tests for linear and quadratic trends were undertaken to supplement the global F tests. A significant linear trend would indicate that scores increased or decreased according to the length of time at the College. A quadratic trend would indicate that scores at the extremes (1 or 2 years and 5 or 5+ years) were similar. Significant linear and quadratic trends are presented as findings since the logic of such a-priori contrasts is independent of the global F test.

Of the 5 Total Involvement scores, 1 Overall Total Involvement Score and the 51 Factor scores, significant linear and/or quadratic differences (at the .05 level) were reported on 9 scales.

Upward linear trends are evident for “Total Number of College Involvements”, “Masculine Quality: Sporty Participant”, “College Heroes: Significant Adults”, and “Appropriate: Performing Arts”. In these instances the longer boys are at the College the more they record a higher mean score on these 4 factors. The longer boys have been at the College the more

involvement they have with the College and the more they understand that to be masculine involves sporting participation. The longer boys have been at the College the more they name significant adults to be heroes of the College and the more they consider it is appropriate to engage in performing arts activities. Figures A4, A5, A6 and A7 illustrate these linear trends.

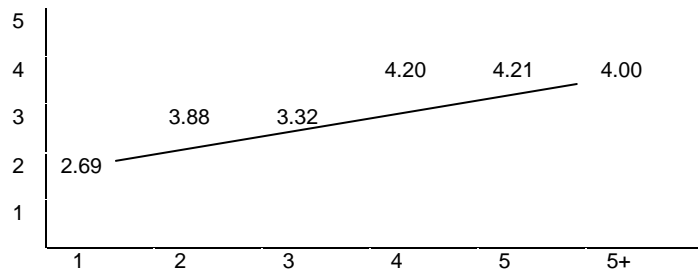


Figure A4 Linear trend on ANOVAS for "Total Number of College Involvements" ($F_{(1,243)} = 4.33, p = .04$)

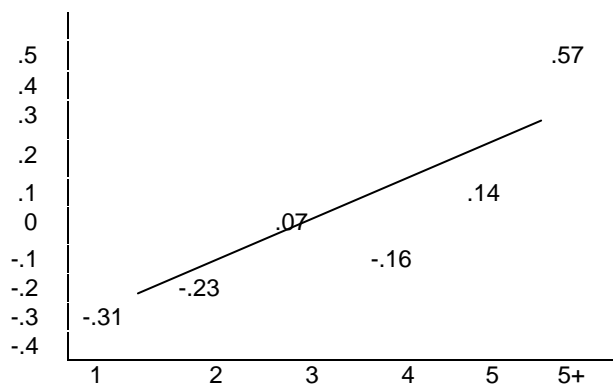


Figure A5 Linear trend on ANOVA for "Masculine Quality: Sporty Participant" ($F_{(1,243)} = 5.04, p = .03$ & ($F_{(1,243)} = 6.48, p = .01$)

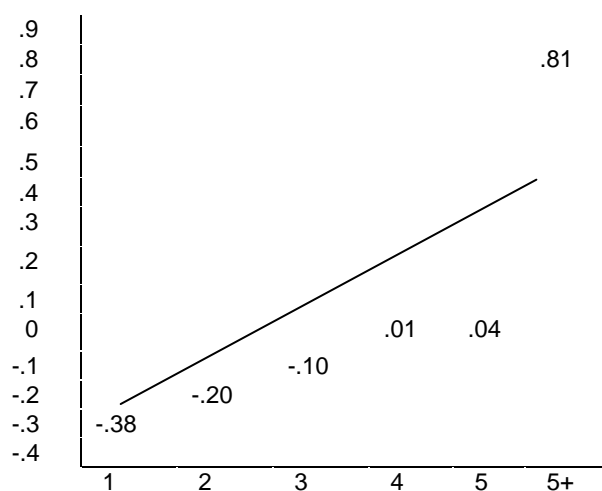


Figure A6 Linear trend on ANOVAS for "College Heroes: Significant Adults" ($F_{(1,243)} = 9.01, p = .00$) & ($F_{(1,243)} = 6.35, p = .01$)

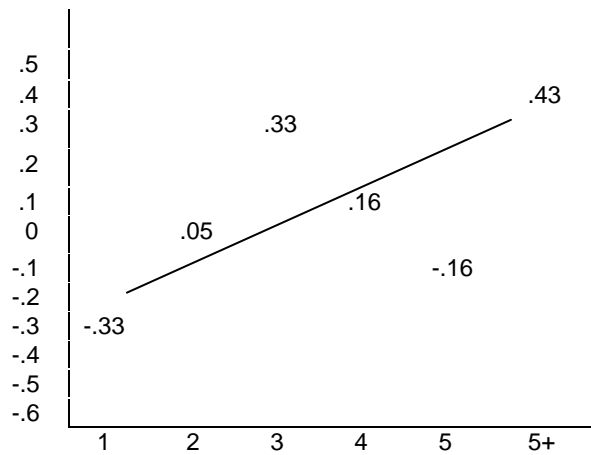


Figure F7 Linear trend on ANOVAS for “Appropriate: Performing Arts”
 $(F_{(4, 223)} = 2.44, p = .05)$

Downward linear trends are evident for “Masculine Quality: Physical Strength” and “College Spirit: Sport Especially Rugby”. In these instances the longer boys are at the College the less likely they are to name, physical strength as a masculine quality or sport especially Rugby as the College Spirit. Figures A8 & A9 illustrate these linear trends.

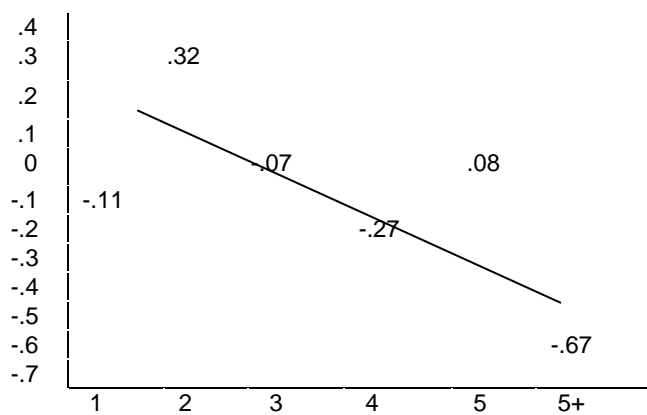


Figure A8 Linear trend on ANOVA for “Masculine Quality: Physical Strength”
 $(F_{(4, 243)} = 2.74, p = .03)$

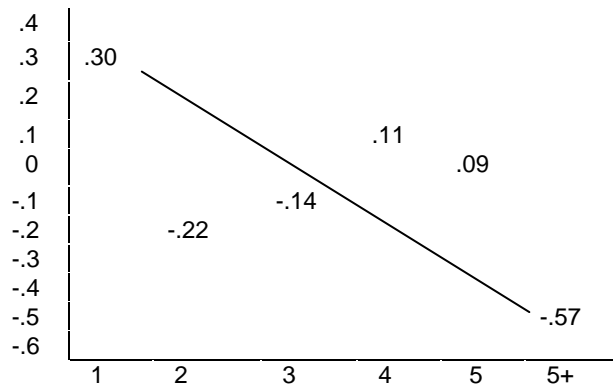


Figure A9 Linear trends on ANOVA for “College Spirit: Sport Especially Rugby”
($F_{(1, 223)} = 4.31, p = .04$)

A quadratic trend on ANOVAS for “Prevalence of Insults: Personal Attributes” demonstrates that minimum mean scores are recorded by boys who have been at the College for 2, 3, 4 and 5 years. Boys who have been at the College for 1 or 5+ years have recorded the highest mean scores. The longer boys are at the College the less they record that insults against “Personal Attributes” are used frequently. This is illustrated in Figure A10.

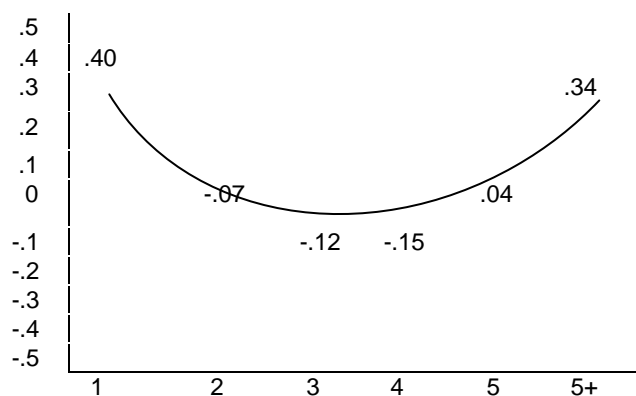


Figure A10 Quadratic trend on ANOVAS for “Prevalence of Insults: Personal Attributes” ($F_{(1, 224)} = 4.76, p = .03$)

A quadratic trend on ANOVA “The College Values Particular Students” (Figure A11) demonstrates that maximum mean scores are recorded by boys who have been at the College for the middle number of years. It is of interest to note that a downward linear trend can also be identified. The highest mean score is recorded by boys who have been at the College 1 year and lowest mean score is recorded by boys who have been at the College for 5+ years.

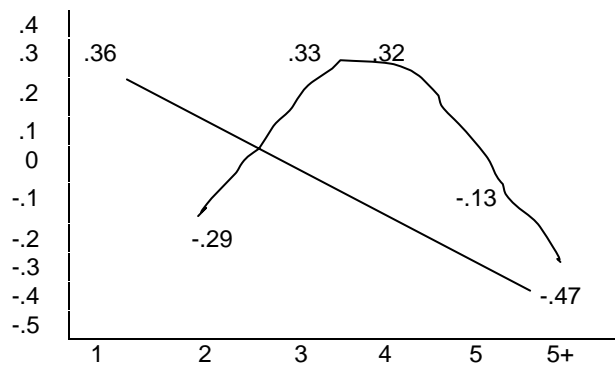


Figure A11 Quadratic and Linear trends on ANOVA for “The College Values Particular Students” (Linear $F_{(4, 223)} = 3.75, p = .01$ & Quadratic $F_{(3,223)} = 4.11, p = .01$)

Significant linear and quadratic trends are also recorded on ANOVA “College Man: Sportsman”.

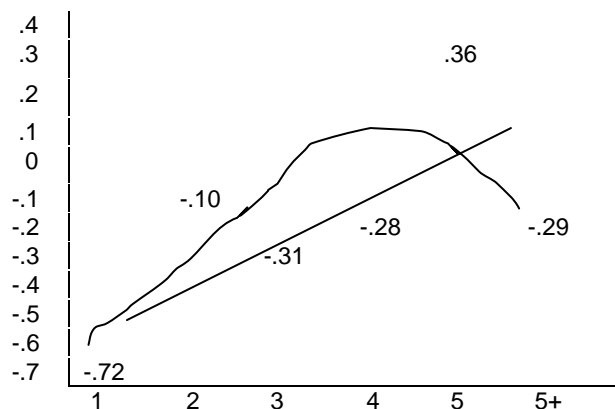


Figure A12 Quadratic and Linear trends on ANOVA for “College Man: Sportsman” ($F_{(5,243)} = 6.61, p = .00$), ($F_{(1,243)} = 17.85, p = .00$), ($F_{(4,243)} = 3.80, p = .01$) & ($F_{(3,243)} = 5.05, p = .00$).

Intercorrelations between Factors

The intercorrelations between the 51 factor scores were also computed. Correlations exceeding .3 are accepted as sufficiently substantial to report as findings since a correlation of .3 indicates a 10% sharing of variance. The correlations as recorded in Table A9 are noted as substantial. Correlations with sets of factors are constrained to zero by the varimax rotation procedure used within.

It is noted that “Insider Influence” correlates positively to “College Life: Pride and Involvement” and “College Life: Sport especially Rugby” but correlates negatively to College Quality: Successful and Religious. The factor “Outsider Influence” correlates positively to one factor, “College Quality: Mature Man”.

Table A14 Substantial Correlations between Factors

Factor	Factor	r
Outsider Influence	College Quality: Mature Man	.316
Insider Influence	College Life: Pride & Involvement	.368
Insider Influence	College Life: Sport esp. Rugby	.331
Insider Influence	College Quality: Successful & Religious	-.333
College Life: Pride & Involvement	College Values Particular Students	.521
College Life: Pride & Involvement	Appropriateness: Academic Success	.369
College Life: Pride & Involvement	Appropriateness: Leadership & Sport	.403

APPENDIX G



Australian Catholic University

TITLE OF PROJECT: LEARNING TO BE A BOY WITHIN A CATHOLIC
SECONDARY BOYS' SCHOOL

NAME OF RESEARCHER: MS GREER WHITE

NAME OF PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR: DR GAYLE SPRY

Dear Parents of Year 12 Students,

This letter seeks your permission for your son to take part in a research project that I am undertaking at Nudgee College during the course of this year. This letter seeks permission for your son to take part in the completion of a questionnaire.

There is a concern today about the education of boys. Boys it is claimed are not achieving at an optimum level either socially or academically. Research evidence claims that there is a link between how boys construct and express their masculinity and their success at school. A research project has been designed in order to discover what may be happening for the boys of Nudgee College. The project will invite the year 12 boys of the college to share their experiences of their years at Nudgee. The study will be limited to the year 12 students of the college. The first step of this research is the completion of a questionnaire. This questionnaire will seek to identify what have been important factors for the boys in their education towards young men.

The identity of boys who complete this questionnaire will remain anonymous and the information obtained by the researcher will be strictly confidential. In the course of the research and in the publication of its findings no boy will be personally identified. Information that is obtained will only be used for the purposes of this research. The researcher will not make collected data available to College personnel in any form that will identify any participant.

Boys who agree to complete the questionnaire will be asked to do this within one Religious Education or Study of Religion school period. The completion of the questionnaire will take place in week 10 or 11 of this first term. This time period has been chosen so that there will be a minimum disturbance to the boys' academic workload.

The second stage of the research will involve approximately 20 boys partaking in a process of one to one interviews and/or small group discussions. Boys will be asked to volunteer to take part in this second stage of the process. You as parents will be given additional information on this process if your boy volunteers and your permission will again be sought before your son will be involved in the research.

It is anticipated that the year 12 students will enjoy the opportunity of sharing their experiences of Nudgee College. In doing so they will be contributing to the education of future students. Information obtained through this research will provide valuable knowledge of what is happening to boys in the

College. This knowledge will be fed back into the leadership structure of the school in order that the individual and collective needs of boys are fully considered in the school. This study may also have relevance to the education of boys in the Christian Brothers' Education System and in other single sex boys' schools. Indeed the findings of this study could contribute to the body of knowledge that addresses what is important in the education of boys in any school situation.

Students may freely choose not to participate in this research without any fear of reprisal. In addition they may withdraw from participation at any point in the process again without prejudicing their future care or academic progress.

If you have any questions regarding this research please direct them to myself, Greer White at Nudgee College. Phone: 07 3865 0470. I began my employment at Nudgee College as a Counsellor in 1999. I am presently engaged in Doctoral Studies at Australian Catholic University and hence my involvement in this research. This study has been approved by the University Research Projects' Ethics Committee at Australian Catholic University. It is undertaken with the full knowledge and approval of the Principal of St Joseph's Nudgee College, Br Vince Skelly. My research supervisor at Australian Catholic University is Dr Gayle Spry.

P.O. Box 247,
Everton Park,
4053,
Tel: 07 3855 7301
Fax: 07 3855 7331

In the event that you have any complaint about the way you have been treated during the study, or a query that the researcher has not been able to satisfy, you may write care of the nearest branch of the Office of Research.

*Chair, University Research Projects Ethics Committee
C/o Office of Research
Australian Catholic University
PO Box 247
EVERTON PARK QLD 4053
Tel: 07 3855 7294
Fax: 07 3855 7328*

Any complaint made will be treated in confidence, investigated fully and the participant informed of the outcome.

If you agree to allow your son to participate in this project by completing the questionnaire, you should sign both copies of the Informed Consent form, retain one copy for your records and return the other copy to the Researcher, Greer White.

I thank you for your interest.

Yours faithfully,

Greer White
12th March, 2000



Australian Catholic University

TITLE OF PROJECT: LEARNING TO BE A BOY WITHIN A CATHOLIC
SECONDARY BOYS' SCHOOL

NAME OF RESEARCHER: MS GREER WHITE

NAME OF PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR: DR GAYLE SPRY

Dear Parents of Year 12 Students,

This letter seeks your permission for your son to take part in the second stage of the research project that I am undertaking at Nudgee College. This letter seeks permission for your son to take part in the one to one interviews and/or the small group discussions.

There is a concern today about the education of boys. Boys it is claimed are not achieving at an optimum level either socially or academically. Research evidence claims that there is a link between how boys construct and express their masculinity and their success at school. A research project has been designed in order to discover what may be happening for the boys of Nudgee College. The project will invite the year 12 boys of the college to share their experiences of their years at Nudgee. The study will be limited to the year 12 students of the college.

The first step of this research has now been completed and a wealth of information has been obtained. In order to indepth this information approximately 20 boys have volunteered to talk further about their experiences at Nudgee College and their education towards manhood. Your son is one of these boys. Boys who volunteer to partake in the interviewing process or the focus group discussions will be asked to contribute approximately 2 to 3 hours of their time over a six month period. Again appointments will be negotiated so that there is minimum disturbance to the academic life of each student.

Boys who take part in the one to one interviews and group discussions can be assured that their responses will remain confidential. In the course of the research and in the publication of its findings no boy will be personally identified. Information that is obtained will only be used for the purposes of this research. The researcher will not make collected data available to College personnel in any form that will identify any participant. Both the one to one interview and the small group discussion will be audio-taped. These audio-tapes will be listened to only by myself as researcher and will be held in a secure fashion away from the Nudgee campus.

It is anticipated that the year 12 students will enjoy the opportunity of sharing their experiences of Nudgee College. In doing so they will be contributing to the education of future students. Information obtained through this research will provide valuable knowledge of what is happening to boys in the College. This knowledge will be fed back into the leadership structure of the school in order that the individual and collective needs of boys are fully considered in the school. This study may also have relevance to the education of boys in the Christian Brothers' Education System and in other single sex boys' schools. Indeed the findings of this study could contribute to the body of knowledge that addresses what is important in the education of boys in any school situation.

Students may freely choose not to participate in this research without any fear of reprisal. In addition they may withdraw from participation at any point in the process again without prejudicing their future care or academic progress.

If you have any questions regarding this research please direct them to myself, Greer White at Nudgee College. Phone: 07 3865 0470. I began my employment at Nudgee College as a Counsellor in 1999. I am presently engaged in Doctoral Studies at Australian Catholic University and hence my involvement in this research. This study has been approved by the University Research Projects' Ethics Committee at Australian Catholic University. It is undertaken with the full knowledge and approval of the Principal of St Joseph's Nudgee College, Br Vince Skelly. My research supervisor at Australian Catholic University is Dr Gayle Spry.

P.O. Box 247,
Everton Park,
4053,
Tel: 07 3855 7301
Fax: 07 3855 7331

In the event that you have any complaint about the way you have been treated during the study, or a query that the researcher has not been able to satisfy, you may write care of the nearest branch of the Office of Research.

*Chair, University Research Projects Ethics Committee
C/o Office of Research
Australian Catholic University
PO Box 247
EVERTON PARK QLD 4053
Tel: 07 3855 7294
Fax: 07 3855 7328*

Any complaint made will be treated in confidence, investigated fully and the participant informed of the outcome.

If you agree to allow your son to participate in the focus group and/or one to one interviews, you should sign both copies of the Informed Consent form, retain one copy for your records and return the other copy to the Researcher, Greer White.

Yours faithfully,

Greer White
24th July, 2000



AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

TITLE OF PROJECT: LEARNING TO BE A BOY WITHIN A CATHOLIC
SECONDARY BOYS' SCHOOL

NAMES OF RESEARCHER: MS GREER WHITE

I (the participant) have read and understood the information provided in the Letter to the Participants and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in the **completion of a questionnaire**, realizing that I can withdraw at any time.

I agree that research data collected for the study may be published or provided to other researchers in a form that does not identify me in any way.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT
(block letters)

SIGNATURE DATE

NAME OF PARENT/GUARDIAN
(block letters)

SIGNATURE DATE

NAME OF RESEARCHER GREER WHITE

SIGNATURE DATE



AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

TITLE OF PROJECT: LEARNING TO BE A BOY WITHIN A CATHOLIC
SECONDARY BOYS' SCHOOL

NAMES OF RESEARCHER: MS GREER WHITE

I (the participant) have read and understood the information provided in the Letter to the Participants and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in a series of:

one to one interviews

and/or

small group discussions

(Please tick the appropriate box/boxes)

I realise that I can withdraw from this research at any time.

I agree that research data collected for the study may be published or provided to other researchers in a form that does not identify me in any way.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT
(block letters)

SIGNATURE DATE

NAME OF PARENT/GUARDIAN
(block letters)

SIGNATURE DATE

NAME OF RESEARCHER GREER WHITE

SIGNATURE DATE



AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

TITLE OF PROJECT: LEARNING TO BE A BOY WITHIN A CATHOLIC
SECONDARY BOYS' SCHOOL

NAMES OF RESEARCHER: MS GREER WHITE

I Brother Vincent Skelly, Principal of Saint Joseph's Nudgee College, have been given a copy of the Research Proposal that explores how boys learn to be boys at this College. I have read this proposal and understand the research that will be conducted with the year 12 students of this College. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to allow the Researcher, Greer White to conduct this research within this College.

The Counselling Team of the School have been informed of the nature of this research and they will be available if any issues arise for individual boys.

PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOL: BR VINCENT SKELLY

SIGNATURE DATE

NAME OF RESEARCHER : MS GREER WHITE

SIGNATURE DATE

Appendix H

Matrix of Responses Participants' understandings of masculinity.

Research Question 1: How do students of the College understand masculinity?																									
Guiding Question: 1. What do participants consider are the qualities that identify idealised expressions of masculinity? 2. How do participants understand moral goodness as a masculine quality?																									
THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1) Qualities of ideal masculinity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X					X			X
involvement	X	X		X																					
helpfulness	X																						X		
maturity	X		X		X																				
Independence	X		X		X										X	X									
personable	X																								
being responsible	X															X	X								X
doing things well	X							X		X															
being outgoing		X																							
being an athlete/sportsman/rugby player		X					X																		
leadership		X																							
friendliness		X																					X		
intelligence				X			X																		
strength				X																					
good looks				X																					
honest						X																	X		
reliability						X																			
treats women well						X																			
loyalty						X																			
fitting in							X																		
an all rounder								X																	
a good mate								X		X															
someone you can get on with										X															
talented										X															
a good person				X						X	X														
trying your best										X		X													

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDANTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
has a go at things										X														
respect for self and others												X												X
able to enjoy yourself																	X							
good manners																					X			
being a good example																								X
2) The masculine quality of moral goodness.		X		X		X			X	X		X				X	X							
I think ethical action is important in a man. The ideal College man you would look at him a bit differently if you knew them better and you know that they are not at all an ideal man.		X																						
The ideal man will have Christian values or whatever values we are teaching them. This person will be a good person in that sense.				X																				
I know the ideal man of the College for me personally they are not my best friends ... I think the ideal qualities for a man are honesty, reliability, treats women well definitely and loyalty towards his friends. My idea of the ideal man is the opposite of the College's ideal man.						X																		
I have to say my ideal of the ideal man is someone who has a go at everything. Is a good person. Tries their best. Tries to do the right thing by others. Not so much being the macho type of person. There are so many people it is only like those types of people, macho boys, that get recognized, the popular ones. Like those qualities of having a go, just being a good person that sort of stuff, they are not recognized as being popular in school as ideal.									X															
Those types of people (macho boys) get recognised, are the popular ones. Like those qualities of having a go, just being a good person. That sort of stuff they are not recognised as being popular in school, as ideal.										X														
I think it is trying to be the best possible person you can be. Respect for themselves as well as others.												X												
I think moral values are important. You have to have respect for one another.																X								
I'd like a school that that more moral values. Sure this school tries to say that we've got good morals and ethics and that sort of stuff but once you get into it it doesn't.																	X							
3) The influence of the College in forming participants' ideas of masculinity	X	X	X	X						X					X					X				
Yes it's (my idea of the ideal man) is fairly similar to the College's but its not quite there but like the first few steps.	X																							
My ideal of the ideal man has been shaped by the College		X																						
The College has influenced me but I think I will change once I get outside when I leave year 12.			X																					
I guess I'd like to be like that (the ideal College man)				X																				

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDANTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
I guess the ideal College man is the in thing. I play footy so that's all right. I get on with others so that's all right.										X														
The College tries to force feed you 24 -7. You have to be the College man. You can't just go out on the weekends and party you should be sitting at home studying or something.															X									
Moral values is something that this school is lacking																				X				

Appendix I

Matrix of Responses Participants' Perceptions of the College's Idealised Masculine Expressions

Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?																									
Guiding Question: What are the College's idealised masculine expressions?																									
THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1. Sporty athlete	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X	X	X		X	X	X		
a) Athletic with sporting prowess	X	X			X		X	X	X			X													
The ideal college man would be someone who plays sport.	X																								
I'd say a keen athlete.		X																							
Is probably athletic and relatively fit.					X																				
To be the ideal College man I reckon you just have to be a good sportsperson.							X																		
Sporty is probably the most important thing.								X																	
A College man is someone who is very athletic. Who is good at sports.									X																
The ideal men of the College are the sportoes.												X													
b) A rugby player			X	X	X	X	X			X						X	X					X	X		
A rugby player is the ideal man of the College.			X																						
The ideal man of the College is like the captain of the first fifteen.				X																					
[The ideal man is] a rugby player.					X																				
The ideal College man I guess plays in the 1 st XV.						X																			
The College's got this way with its footy and you either play footy or you don't.							X																		
If you play footy you're cool. If you don't then unless you are high up then no one wants to talk to you. Footy is just sort of seen as being the thing.										X															
If you want to be part of the College spirit they bring it on so hard with the football.																X									
You have got to play rugby here. I wasn't going to play rugby this year but I sort have been forced into it. I also wanted to play because it is my last year at school. This is what you do at the College, play rugby.																	X								
The perfect College man is based on sport, especially rugby.																						X			
The school is all about rugby.																							X		

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDANTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
c) Physically large, strong and good looking			X	X	X	X		X	X		X							X	X		X			
It's a rugby player, strong and good looking.			X																					
The ideal man at the College traditionally is a rugby player, strong and good looking.				X																				
[Rugby players] good looks, short hair.					X																			
[The ideal college man is] macho.						X																		
Sportoes have strength. Being large in size is important.								X																
The College likes macho men.									X															
Sportoes have a strong build.											X													
It's a big stereotype. The mean look to be big and strong. That's what everyone thinks the College is. Big rugby players and big meat heads.																		X						
Being big and strong is supposed to show your manliness.																			X					
It's important at the College to be big and strong.																					X			
d) Successful with women and have fun			X			X			X	X														
Good with women and drinks a lot.			X																					
The ideal College man according to most of the students is a rugby head who pulls the chicks and drinks a lot.						X																		
The rugby player gets all the women. He's charming. He's got a good sense of humour. Rugby players are the big chick magnets and the drinkers.									X															
The ideal fellow ... basically to be respected you have to, you don't have to, but going out, being one of the blokes basically. Going out to parties, girls, a few drinks.										X														
2. The ideal College man is an academic achiever	X		X	X	X			X	X		X										X		X	
a) Successful in academic studies	X		X	X	X			X	X															
The ideal College man is fairly good academically.	X																							
It would be someone who could achieve well academically. He can do his work pretty well.			X																					
An educated person.				X																				
Is sort of brainy I guess.					X																			
I think people also respect people who are academically good as well.								X																
Is something like a Rhodes Scholar. Brainy. Always strives to do their best academically.									X															
b) Academic achievement comes second to sporting achievement		X	X					X	X		X										X		X	
Academic achievement is second to sport for sure.		X																						

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDANTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
We are renowned for being a great sporting school. They try to put more of an emphasis on academic these days but we will always be renowned for sports.			X																					
Academic achievement is second to sport for sure. It is more important to be a good sportsman.								X																
The College doesn't like all the people who are boring because they are just up and down studying, no sense of life, no personality. They might get discriminated against.									X															
I think people also respect people who are academically good but it comes second to sport.											X													
The Principal is trying to help put education in front of sport now but sport always takes precedence over academic.																					X			
Sport comes before academic.																							X	
3. The ideal College man is an involved participant	X	X	X						X									X			X	X	X	X
The ideal College man is involved. He gets things done. He is involved in committees especially as a senior.	X																							
The College's ideal man gets involved in a whole lot of different areas.		X																						
He takes part in a lot of things. Takes part in the school.			X																					
A College man has a go at everything.									X															
They expect that you involve yourself in College stuff.																		X						
You just have to spend a lot of time at the school being involved.																					X			
The College has an investment in cheering and attending sporting events. This is what is important and what they value here.																						X		
Turn up to training and turn up every game no matter what you are doing.																							X	
They expect that you will get involved in everything and love it all.																								X
4. The ideal College man is a personable leader.	X	X					X	X	X															
The College man needs to be able to talk to people. Not being shy or anything. Just being really outgoing. Yes personable. The ideal College man doesn't cause any trouble in the way that they are friendly, helping the younger guys and stuff.	X																							
The College's ideal man is someone in a leadership position, a prefect or something along those lines. Showing leadership in the school. Someone who is friendly.		X																						
[The ideal College man] has a good social life. He gets along with everyone. He has to be able to talk to everyone and that.							X																	
The ideal College man is sort of confident, very confident. Someone that can go and turn the women. I think it's just all about having a good face, having a good image.									X															
Someone who displays good leadership qualities.										X														

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
5. The ideal College man is a compliant rule keeper	X		X							X					X	X	X							
He doesn't cause any trouble.	X																							
Is a good example. Wears his uniform right.			X																					
He is a gentleman who respects what the school wants of him.										X														
They expect you to do as they tell you. The ideal College man is the guy that opens the car door for his wife or the guy that when he goes for an interview is nicely dressed and nicely polite and speaking.															X									
The gentleman with the best looking clothes.																								
They want you to think the College is everything. It's meant to mean everything to you. You are supposed tot take it all.																X								
It's a bit of a mould that they give you. They are trying to bring everyone out the same. They want you to do as you are told and love the College.																	X							

Appendix J

Matrix of Responses Participants' Perceptions of the College's Curriculum

Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?																									
Guiding Question: What does the College's curriculum, particularly its vocational education and religious education programmes reveal about the College's gender regime?																									
THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1) Academic Curriculum	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X			X	X	X	X	X		
a) Diminished value given to academic curriculum	X	X	X				X	X	X	X		X													
I would like to leave the College on a good note with my studies. That is the only thing I've got to do. Everything else is up high, really high. I'm getting As for everything except my schoolwork. My social life, my participation are doing well. That's where the emphasis is here.	X																								
There are different groups within the school. Mainly it well seems to be an academic group and a non-academic group. The academic group has been ostracised by the non-academic group. I don't know whether it is jealousy or ignorance on their part because they see themselves as being not what they should be. It's really like animals. I suppose you could say they are the carnivores and the herbivores in that it is a smaller group having a lot of influence over a larger group. If you say that the ostracising is like attacking them and it is.		X																							
The College is renowned for being a great sporting school. We are not renowned for our academic programme.			X																						
The College doesn't like all the people who are boring because they are just up and down studying, no sense of life, no personality. They might get discriminated against.																									
The college doesn't give much attention to its academic study. It's not noted for that.							X																		
I think the College is about not doing any work. Just be lazy and be a smart aleck basically. Obviously it is allowed because it happens but I don't think there is a lot you can really do about it. The College has a different sort of mentality as opposed to the guys at Grammar. From what I gather if you don't do your best at that school, not just sport but also at academic then people look down on you a bit there.								X																	

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
There are no standards at the College because there is no scholarship exam or nothing. You get basically the run of the mill student. You don't have the really educated come smart mannered sort of fellows. Mostly they are just the more normal citizens and some of these take away from our marks because they just don't care about study. There are other guys who are smart enough to get Bs and stuff but they haven't got time to work. They get Cs and Ds.									X															
Sometimes I wish I had gone to BBC or State High. They are better at the academic. This College doesn't do much for the academic.												X												
b) Academic Curriculum versus the sporting programme				X	X		X		X	X		X		X		X			X	X	X	X		
I was short listed for a Bond scholarship. Bond University rang me and said, "I've been trying to get on to your Principal but he won't answer my calls." I thought that was very interesting. I thought would it be different if I was being selected on the Australian Rugby Union team				X																				
Certain teachers would value the sporting more than the academic. There are a lot of teachers that would put sporting first. That is just the way it is here.					X																			
I couldn't name you the 10 guys that will get OP1s at the moment. I couldn't think of them but I could name you the 1 st XV. That would be the same for everyone.							X																	
The College needs to do something about its academic programme. Because of the sport, because people are encouraged to play sport and a lot of them forget they are here to actually do study. Something needs to be done to make it known that we are actually here to study. They cut back the money for the Heads of Departments. They just hushed that up but we know that it should be going into the academic region so that we can benefit from it. Instead it goes into sport									X															
I think people also respect people who are academically good but it comes second to sport.										X														
Certain teachers would value the sporting more than the academic.												X												
The guys in my team don't do very well academically, well as well as probably they could. They pay more attention to their training than their homework.														X										
Oh sport is everything. It's more important than classes.																X								
We all play sport and stuff but I think that if you didn't play sport or didn't want to play sport I don't think you would fit in. Not at all. The academic comes second to sport for sure.																			X					
Nothing could put academic before sport. I think they would much rather win on the rugby field than win OP wise.																				X				
The new Principal is trying to help put education in front of sport now. Which could take a long time but he could maybe do it.																					X			
The last 2 years this school has been based on sport especially rugby not the academic.																						X		

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
c) No perceived effort in academic curriculum		X		X				X			X								X	X				
Some students do well and they are academically focused but they don't concentrate on that and they don't present themselves as that. They focus on other areas, be it sport or whatever or girls. But away from the focus of academic. They still partake of that but present themselves differently.		X																						
I won't let on that I've finished an assignment or something. The thing at school is you don't really do the work until the last minute but I don't really like that method. I like to be planned. I just pretend that I've just done it and hand it in on the due date. Sometimes I've done it days before.				X																				
If you work hard to do really well here there is a bit of a problem. You see people that work hard are put down for doing that. Especially when people do really well is when they get put down the most as opposed to working just to sort of pass. It is OK if it comes naturally and people do not work to get good results but doing the work and putting the effort into doing that especially if you don't play football that's not on.								X																
Some people just study at night. They don't put any effort into the class and that. They don't do anything and they still get an A. They do all their work at home.											X													
You need to hide the fact that you are doing any study from a lot of students.																			X					
(You need to hide your study) especially from sportoes.																					X			
2. Vocational Education Programme											X	X			X	X	X							
a) Pride in Programme by participants															X	X	X							
At the end of the day when you are looking for a job you will actually pull out with a better chance of getting a job than the people who are up there sitting at the desks.															X									
The basic thing about Voc Ed is that they at least try to treat you as an adult. They let you in on all the information. They try to basically wake you up to reality. They let everyone voice an opinion. Basically what we say actually means something. The teachers will say, "What do you guys think?" We will give our own opinion. It will actually be our own opinion, no matter whether it is bad what we say or whether it is going to be good. Its more hands on sort of people down here that want to go out and learn. We've got people who want apprenticeships for computing, diesel fitting, all sorts of stuff like that. It is not an easy job just sitting in the classroom. What we are doing is all hands on. You actually know what you are doing. It's a lot better.																X								

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
It's like up in OP, sure they knuckle down and do all their work, but down there we are doing... I know heaps of guys up here who actually hate what they are doing. And they say, "Oh, man I wish I was down TAFE" and all that. Because at least we are doing something down there that we enjoy. They say "Oh you go out to work once a week. You bludgers you get a day off". At the end of the year we will come out with more certificates than them.																	X							
b) Lack of respect and value for programme and participants											X	X				X	X	X						
I just think of the Taffie boys as more stupid than the OP boys. They don't take their work seriously and are often out of class and mucking around. There is a division between us. They are always constantly assessing who is better and. Like there would be one dude who says, "Oh I'm going to start working next year and you are going to have to go to Uni for 4 years. I'm going to be earning all this money." And you say, "Yes but I'm going to be earning a lot more at the end of it compared to you." And there is a big struggle between us.											X													
I don't think that the Taffies understand the meaning of the word assignment or study. There is a big difference between us and them and its like they keep going on about their programme and they really do nothing much.												X												
Actually up here with the OPs is a very hierarchical system. You have got the Principal then the students right at the bottom and they don't really mean anything and then the Taffies right at the bottom. I really hate it sometimes people say to you, "Oh you guys suck," and all that and I say, "You wouldn't know".																X								
I've copped stuff from OP teachers. Like you are walking up and you know how most people would be joking around and they just say "Oh here's trouble" if you knew them but it was like "Here's trouble", seriously. And one teacher said, "Dead shit Taffies".																	X							
This teacher walks up, we didn't even know him, and he says, "Oh you guys look like trouble". There was nothing wrong with our uniforms or anything we were just walking up from down back and he just says "Oh you guys look like trouble". ... Mrs. H and a couple of kids were trying to put in a grant to get a garden and stuff fixed up down the back and Mr. B said to here "Why the hell are you putting in a grant you Taffies down there don't do anything down there anyway.																		X						
3) Religious Education Programme	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X					X	X	X
a) RE develops nothing in boys	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X					X		X						X	
I haven't been taught anything about life skills or about being a man from going to RE.	X																							
I know quite a few people don't like RE in the school. They don't reckon it teaches you anything.			X																					

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
My first off reaction would be nothing really. It is really absent of all gender emphasis. It just tells you that these are the qualities of a good human.				X																				
I know people in the school who couldn't give two hoots about religion. I'd have to say not a lot truthfully because it falls on deaf ears.					X																			
I really don't think it teaches that much. I really don't think students pay any attention in class. They don't take it in. Anything that is said is not really put into practice.							X																	
RE doesn't mean much to me. It hasn't taught me anything.								X																
Nothing really. I think it is looked upon as being totally irrelevant and unimportant. Yeah I don't think anyone pays any attention to RE because it doesn't count for your OP>									X															
As far as the boys are concerned religion teaches absolutely nothing. We sit there in religion. You just didn't want to do it. You would sit there and basically everyone would get assignments off everyone else. Basically you just didn't want to do it.										X														
I haven't learnt much from RE. I'll come out saying I don't want to go to church today.															X									
They try to teach us something in RE. Like you should follow Jesus. You hear it but whether you take it in and listen to it and believe it yourself is up to personal opinion. I don't take much in. If I did I'd come out being a Bible basher.																	X							
People like me from overseas fail to get educated about what their religion is about. I have friends coming from different countries attending Mass, having Holy Communion and they are not given much explanation.																							X	
b) RE develops something in boys		X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X										X		X
Develops ethical people																								
At the moment I'm doing a course on ethics and right choices. I think that's very relevant because I think a lot of people wouldn't know how to approach certain problems and that is an important part of being a man.		X																						
And morally, moral decisions or choices that people have to make like they are put into a situation like that. A lot of it applies in a situation like that.			X																					
It develops positive morals.						X																		
They might teach behaviour and ethics and that sort of thing. Teaches you showing love and caring for one another and that kind of stuff.							X																	
I did a unit on ethics and learnt a fair bit about that. I don't know if it was so much about masculinity but it is sort of about being a good person.									X															
I could see that basically the morals and stuff like that would actually help me.										X														
It teaches you to be Christian just like Jesus. If he didn't give out the bread to someone else they may be hungry. It teaches kindness and sharing.																						X		

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Develops religious beliefs					X					X	X	X												X
I guess they put pressure on you to believe that there is something out there. I myself I do believe in God.					X																			
They try to teach us basically that God ... They want to put God into our lives basically.										X														
The religious education programme teaches us to become a sign of faith. We care for each other.											X													
I see the RE programme teaches us religious ideals. Celebrating feast days and important days of the College. It's focused on religious aspects of being a community.												X												
Personally I think that the programme here is good but it's what the facility is to the students. It is how the student responds. We have religion here but here the students don't take it seriously. It defeats the purpose. We have Mass for both day boys and boarders but the students don't attend.																								X

Appendix K

Matrix of Responses Participants' Perceptions of College's Discipline Practices

Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?																										
Guiding Question: What do the College's discipline practices reveal about the College's gender regime?																										
THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
1. Discipline practices are too restrictive.	X		X												X	X	X	X								
I think they are a bit harsh with punishment especially now we are Year 12s. We should be given responsibility to act on our own.	X																									
With bullying when you get into the senior years you cop a bit from the seniors when you are in Year 8 and it moves on. You get into year 12 and you pick on Year 8s. It happens a fair bit. There are guys who don't like that the school is against this, very much against it. I reckon they are too hard on us over this			X																							
They are trying to be tougher about us going to class and doing our studies and they are saying too much time and money go into rugby. And I just think they are ruining the tradition and all the good things that go with rugby. They are tearing it down by bitching about it. I hear teachers say it. And it annoys me because sometimes we train more than we would study.														X												
As soon as you hit year 8 your youth disappears and you have to become a man straight away. You have to be responsible and not do anything wrong.															X											
We always get complaints about us. Just say we are driving and the limit is say 40 out of the school and you are doing something like say 60. You get phone calls like, some guy is driving ridiculously and you shouldn't be driving. It's like that. He should be a young gentleman driving slowly. That's how the College is about everything. We (Vocational Education boys) just don't like to be given ideals man. We just don't like to be told, listen you have got to get up in the morning and do that, do that, do that and do it exactly the way I tell you to do it.																X										
You can't be a teenage boy and muck around on public transport and stuff. We have to be a College man, straight down the line. We have to do what they want us to do																	X									

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
2. Discipline practices are too lenient		X				X	X	X		X					X				X	X	X	X			
I've asked a few people from other schools about our reputation and they say Oh you are big tough footy heads that get in trouble on weekends.		X																							
A lot of things happen in this school that don't get dealt with well. There's not much discipline. There is a lack of respect and drugs in school, smoking, drugs, sex.						X																			
I don't think there is really a great demand on you academically. Teachers don't really really push it. They don't go mad at you. If you do it you do it. They tell you to do it. You just get what you deserve. If you don't do it you fail it. They won't exactly go out of their way to push you or to make you do it.							X																		
The ideal College man is, "Don't do any work". Just be lazy and be a smart aleck basically. It's allowed and it's something that needs to be changed.								X																	
There are no standards at Nudgee. Because there is no scholarship exam or nothing. There are a group of guys who take away from everyone. They basically do stupid things. The College lacks in the department of trying to keep people in line.										X															
They (rugby boys) can get away with anything they want.																		X							
There are double standards here. Like the main group of teachers consider that the top rugby players are different to everyone else. They can get away with anything.																			X						
I've just realised what a dick head most of them were. Just a mob of idiots running around being stupid. As if they were still in grade 8. There are so many guys that would love to come to the College but they are getting held back because these guys (the ones that get away with anything) are mucking around and they are getting the second, third and fourth chances. You can do something pretty bad and get away with it if you are a good sportsman. The standards need to be lifted. The unfairness is just so evident when you are here. It would make it heaps easier if everyone had the same standards																				X					
I remember 2 years ago one of the 1st players was caught stealing. He just got a week off school to think about what he had done. Then about two weeks later another guy got caught stealing. He was dismissed. Sent on his way. If you are a friend of a rugby player you get dealt a special hand as well. I would probably make it more strict here. I would enforce stronger rules. The meat heads give us a bad reputation with what they do on weekends. They drink and such and people think that all College guys drink.																						X			

Appendix L

Matrix of Responses Participants' Perceptions of the College Sporting Programme

Research Question 2: What is the College's gender regime?																									
Guiding Question: What does the College's sporting programme reveal about the College's gender regime?																									
THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1. Shaping school identity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X		X	X			X
a) The College is renowned for its sporting success		X	X	X		X					x										X	X			X
When you are looking at College sport from the outside it looks like there is so much emphasis given to sporting success.		X																							
We are renowned for being a great sporting school.			X																						
Nudgee has a tradition of the sporting spirit.				X																					
The College is about sport						X																			
Nudgee puts so much emphasis on sport. It's what it is famous for.											X														
It is a major stereotype that this school is all about sport.																					X				
When they are doing their advertising they should really talk about the importance of sport, the truth of the real College. Not only the good things but also the other side. Let people know it before they come or otherwise it is lies.																						X			
Sport is what the College is about																									X
b) Rugby - Nudgee's identifying sport						X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X											
Rugby is like the pinnacle event						X																			
This is a big rugby school with almost everyone playing it							X																		
Nudgee has a bit of a reputation as a football school									X																
Rugby is sort of forced on people but it is also I guess a reflection of what people want to do										X															
There is so much emphasis placed on Ross Oval, the Nudgee tradition and playing rugby											X														
The College's got this way with its footy. Nudgee puts it around that it is the 'Cradle of Australian Rugby												X													
A rugby player is everything at Nudgee.. I'm just a gymnast that's all. I didn't get a scholarship or																		X							

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
The image of this being a really pro rugby school made me want to come and a lot of guys are the same. Rugby gets a lot of guys into here even if they are not good at it														X										
c) Expectation of sporting involvement	X			X	X			X	X	X	X	X												
Being involved in sport is something they (students) should want to do. If you play hard and take it up hard you become more renowned in the school. Go out and be part of it. It's what the College is all about. It brings people together. It brings people together as a school. That's where it is. We read random names. If they don't stand up or wave their hands around and let us know that they are there and then we know that they are not at the game we sort of... We yell their name out and it makes whoever they are sitting at home or whatever they are doing. It makes them look bad in front of the school because they are not there. Oh John Smith. John Smith is not here. During the next week people could say, "Where were you? You got your named called out." On the other hand we do have prizes for people who are there. If we call the name out we will a Fila rugby ball or a Fila bag or something.	X																							
I've been involved in chess, debating, rugby and waterpolo. I've tried to be involved. And that in a way has been me searching for acceptance. You are sort of the odd one if you don't play rugby.				X																				
They emphasis that you have to play 2 sports a year					X																			
Rugby I think is forced on you. Just by placing the emphasis on football. There is so much emphasis placed on Ross Oval, the Nudgee tradition and playing rugby. Well there is a role call around home games. This only applied to football.								X																
I think it is quite ridiculous actually. I think it should be in the person to decide whether the individual wants to go to cheer for the rugby or not. They shouldn't get pressured. "Come on I'm going to beat you up".									X															
For us we are expected to go and watch them (sporting games) on Saturday										X														
They recommend that you do 3 sports a year.											X													
The 1st XV players they do it for themselves but I think they also do it for the school. People expect it and it is their devotion to the school. They have a lot of pressure placed on them.												X												
d) Boarders identify with sporting identity	X				X	X	X			X								X	X		X			
A social life is very important if you want to be known as a man of the College. It's like come out with the boys after the game on the Saturday and come and have some fun. Drink together and party together. No one really likes the guys (boarders) who stay in on Saturday night and play their computer. That's what it is all about. We all come back together all the seniors.	X																							
Sport's important for boarders more than for day boys. You've got to do sport at the College.					X																			

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
I think in the boarding school you just think playing sport and being macho is the thing. I guess you are educated as to that's how it is and you think. "Yeah he's a good bloke he drinks a lot. He pulls the chicks. But really that's not it."						X																		
Boarders are not interested in school work. They don't come to the College to really do school work. No it's sport. I don't know how many scholarships the College gives but from what I've heard, heaps. A lot of people are here just for sport. The College pays for them to come here just for sport.							X																	
I went to St P in year 7 and we were the first group of boarders to go over there. I think there were 24 of us. We went over and mixed in with the grade 7s. Over there we ruled the roost basically. We went over and just took over the grade 7. We made every sporting team. Filled up all the A teams and things like that. That caused a lot of rivalry between us.										X														
My brother he bought a ticket to swimming but we weren't allowed to go. He got bagged on by a couple of year 12 boarders. He was only in Year 8. That was last year. He got bagged because he didn't have the right spirit and he didn't show for the 1 st XV games.																		X						
Boarders take all their 1 st 15 matches more seriously than us (day boy students).																			X					
Sometimes you feel you might want Saturday to yourself because you have been at school all week, boarders have been there too, but you just feel it's your own space, your own kind of time. It's yours, Saturday and Sunday. But if you don't go to the rugby games then you are frowned upon because when they read your name out at the game and your name's not there then you are gone.																					X			
e) College spirit generated by boarders	X			X		X		X	X		X			X		X	X	X	X	X				
The majority of boarders are very close knit and very active. There are a lot more loners or whatever you call then in the day boys. Day boys miss out on the spirit of the College. They are missing out on a heap. I looked forward every Friday for the College Grandstand cheering practice. I always skipped lunch to run down and get my spot in the grandstand. And I still love it. I certainly do. It only goes for half an hour but being in grade 10 you are looking out there and you see these guys like these 5 guys. I come from a small mining town of 4 thousand people in the Northern Territory and you come down and you see these fully grown men with their beards and whatever and they are standing out the front and they are screaming. There is nothing like it. Nothing like it at all. And now I get to do it. Now I get to stand out the front and cheer (Participant 1).	X																							
I think boarders have more of the College spirit.				X																				
You set up life friendships at school especially through boarding. There is a mateship amongst the boarders.						X																		
Sport's important for boarders more than for day boys. You've got to do sport at the College.							X																	

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
In rugby you get to see a whole lot out in the field, the expression of emotion and that sort of stuff. And then you get the whole grandstand packed up with cheering and that sort of stuff. Most of the boarders get really serious about it. I'm starting to lose that kind of spirit.								X																
It's the boarders who put the pressure on for people to go to the sport on a Saturday but some of the boarders get pressured too. I think it is a bit over the top the way they go about their cheering practice. They get up there and yell all this stuff.									X															
The boarders have been here for a long time. It has been their home for a lot of them for a long time. There is a lot of emotion in boarders about this.											X													
The boarders are more involved in College sport. They have more of the spirit.														X										
The College spirit is basically just for rugby and for the boarders. Yeah we've got College spirit on rugby days and everything else sucks.															X									
College spirit is just what they want you to be. They want you to show up to every bloody football game religiously and follow it like it is religion. If you do that you know you don't have any other life. In year 10 when I boarded for a while because my parents went overseas. It is a lot different in the boarding house to what you would think it is. In the boarding house they are all looking after themselves and it is very much number one. Look out for number one. The boarding house is pretty much a tight unit like what TAFE does as well. They all stick up for each other and stuff like that.																X								
I think there is a certain line with all the spirit stuff. I think it goes too far. When you come to school on Monday it will be like "Where were you on Saturday?"																	X							
We have a relationship with boarders but I don't think it is as close with boarders who are with boarders. They are like brothers. They have lived with each other basically. We only see them at school. We probably don't have as much spirit and culture in our blood as the boarders.																			X					
Boarders have closer ties with the school.																				X				
2. Making men	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X		X									X	
a) Sport an expression and education into manhood	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X		X										
Being involved in sport has taught me a lot about being a better person and definitely about being a better man. It makes you more mature I think too ... rugby requires more commitment because it is physical game. Because it is a physical game you have to physically show that commitment. You have to tackle someone or something. You have to clean someone off the boards. You have to do it. Like a commitment. It's a feeling of team. To be asked to play with the 1 st XV s that gave me a really good feeling. That made me feel more man because they are the big tough as in rugby tough and big and strong. The College is all about being the best man you can be and rugby is that way of showing it.	X																							

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Going to rugby training you have to sacrifice other things to go in and do the training. That requires commitment and hard work that we see as good in men and it requires those.		X																						
Sport gives you a good base and helps your attitude. If you love sport you will sort of grow up with a love of sport for life and teach your kids how to play it. It will keep getting passed down and I think that is a good thing. Because the more sport people play the better off they will be.			X																					
The College's sporting programme teaches boys to be the traditional type of man I guess. Be involved. Don't cry. Don't care about others. Also I guess being reliable, being a confident person.				X																				
Rugby could teach you discipline.						X																		
A lot of ideas and ethics about being a College man comes from rugby. Rugby teaches boys how to be dominant men.							X																	
It's a badge of honour to train so hard that you vomit. And it is basically I think enforced. Not enforced by, encouraged by the staff. It is not something that the students sort of start with I guess. It's not discouraged to force yourself to that extent. I don't think teachers actually say train until you throw up but if you do throw up you are better. Without actually saying that but the message comes through pretty clearly. It's not just football. It's all sports, cross-country, athletics. It's in all the A teams. You don't see it really in the B teams, in the seconds. It's more prevalent in the 16s and opens because people start to take it more seriously.								X																
Training until you spew. That shows that you are a man in sport because you train so hard and you train every morning. Throwing up is a sign that you are keen to get fit and keen to succeed in your sport. I hear it every morning in the dorm during pre-season training. I think possibly some of them may get up just to fit in, "Oh yeah man, I spewed up too."									X															
'Nudgee sport teaches responsibility. If you are captain of the 1 st XV you learn a lot about responsibility. ... If you spew up, it tells you that basically you have been strong enough to push yourself pass the line. Basically about chess. I look at people and because I do other things I look at them and think they are all a bunch of little girls. They are perceived as not having a lot. And then you look at the footy players. We are seen as being big, tough men because we get into fights and stuff like that.										X														
To be successful you have to put everything into it sometimes even at the expense of other things. They (sportsmen) are pushed to the limit. That's why I do have respect to them because I know they do work them very hard. They would tell stories like the 1 st XV players would come in and say that this morning was freezing cold and they had to get up like at 5.30.												X												

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Here they wake up a 6 o'clock in the morning and go and run round the oval. When I first came here I couldn't understand why they would be doing that. It sort of teaches them self discipline. They sort of reject their studies. It depends on the kid. But as far as getting up in the morning it's pretty good. You don't get that a lot. That's a good thing. I think it is a good quality to have.														X										
b) Enjoying the friendship of mates	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X				X								X		
It's (sport) about having fun ... Sport is about playing as a team and looking after one another. And that is exactly what we did. Last weekend we had our last game and we had a big fight. It started off with one of our players and our whole team came in. Which wasn't a big macho man thing to do. We just did it to help our mates. Though the next week we were going to be suspended. We all stood beside each other and we didn't point the finger at one another.	X																							
When you get into the team level of playing sport you can see that toughness is not so evident you are just playing the game with mates.		X																						
I think maybe rugby is intimate. It's about men with men. You get a bonding going on in team sports particularly.				X																				
For me the most important thing about sport is enjoying it.					X																			
Oh the cheering is great. You support your mates on the field.						X																		
People are probably happier playing in the 5ths than playing in the 1sts. It's the team where they stuff around.								X																
What I see as values in playing sport re just participating, being a decent person to others.									X															
Playing in the 5 th rugby team when you get down to it there is more mateship, more unity, get together. It is more fun. You learn to play sport for fun rather than to play sport full serious.										X														
You find in the grandstand lots of times, or what ever you are, as long as you are in a big group at the sporting event that people sort of forget about how they dislike someone. It helps them to get over it. They sort of forget about it while they are there and when they forget about it they cooperate. I see it all the time. People I thought who weren't friendly getting on.														X										
Sport teaches you to turn up to training and turn up to every game no matter where you are and just play fair, not cheating and stuff like that.																						X		
3. Expressing power and authority	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
a) Competition		X	X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X				X					X		
The competition between sport and academic at the College is really like animals. I don't know if it's just me. I see it. It's like animals. I suppose you could say that they are the carnivores and the herbivores in that it is a small group having a lot of influence over a larger group. If you say that the ostracising is like attacking them and it is.		X																						

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
It's like I guess if the GPS schools were countries. It would be nationalism. People have a hatred for other people because they go to a different school. It's a big competition.						X																		
Watching the rugby games has all the school boy things, macho, rivalry, competitiveness.							X																	
I think football is probably important because we win a lot and the emphasis is place on that. I've seen the College when we don't win. Things turn a bit nasty.								X																
Playing in the 1sts its do or die basically.											X													
It's put out every year that you've got to beat last year in how many sporting events you win.											X													
Sometimes there is a very big division between the academics and the sportoes. Every Year 12 is compared with premierships from the year before to see if you are a better Grade 12 class. To see if you've got more. It is a big competition.												X												
The College is basically trying to get a front. From what I've seen and what I've heard it's, "Look our rugby team is just the greatest." That's what will come across. We've got so and so forty teams. Look how good our sporting commitment is.													X											
They are trying to make out that we are the best at rugby. We've got so and so forty teams. Look how good our sporting commitment is.																	X							
Sport at the College teaches you to train and hopefully we win.																						X		
b) Toughness		X	X						X								X							
The masculine qualities generally you are looking for in team sports are toughness and independence. These are part of our heritage or what we've come from or what we've evolved from. Sort of along the hunter-gatherer lines. It's portrayed in the team sports the finer skills of that and that is what is brought out.		X																						
The stronger and tougher you are the better you'll be in the game (Rugby Union). People like Rocky and Walter they are really big boys and they have done really well at footy this year because they are very very strong and use their size and strength to really good advantage on the field.			X																					
Rugby praises the masculine qualities, toughness, never back down from a challenge.									X															
In grade 9 I was running pretty good times but I injured my legs real bad during rugby season. I was told not to do rugby but I played in rugby because I've always liked it. Then I injured my legs. Stress fractures in each of my legs. Basically now if I run on track I can't walk after. Like the day after I can't walk. So I stopped that last year. I did it for a while but it hurt too much. I just play rugby at the moment.																	X							

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
c) Rugby – Power and Aggression	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X		X		X			X			
Last weekend we had a big fight. The school that we played was going to put criminal assault charges on us.	X																							
Some people are inclined to play a little dirty. Like in rugby if they start intentionally rucking people or going for late hits.			X																					
It's sort of part of rugby to give aggression.				X																				
The footy players can get away with pushing people around and pushing into line and that sort of stuff. You can't really say anything. These guys are big.					X																			
Rugby teaches you how to fight and how to back chat the ref. How to be a smart-arse. How to not be a good sport.						X																		
You get to be a big man in rugby. You get to go out there and smash people and all that sort of thing and make a name for yourself.							X																	
Just like they (rugby players) are God's gift to the sport they play. They don't care about anything else. They go around pushing people around.								X																
In rugby if there is a fight the whole team gets involved. That's what I hate. On the last day of rugby at BBC I saw 3 games and there were about 4 fights. But then again in the 1 st XV you don't see many fights because they are the image for the public.									X															
Sporting boys have a lot of control in the school both in the playground and in the school environment. I think it is about respecting dominance. It is not really physical. I wouldn't deny that there is bully sometimes but in general we have respect for sporting boys.												X												
Guys that are really good at running the ball don't get as much respect as the guys that can tackle viciously all day. Guys like to portray themselves as being fearless and macho. There is a big element of that in rugby. It's like a way of proving yourself. If you do something pretty amazing as far as like dumping someone in a game then that's huge. You get accolades from everyone because everyone looks at you.														X										
You get these people walking around, "Yeah man, I'm tough and I play 7ths rugby." Yeah like they are huge.																X								
The top rugby players they overpower most people in the school. That's why they are looked at differently because they have the power people think.																		X						
The teachers often look at some of these rugby players and kind of idolize them a bit. Most of these teachers really idolise these students. They think, "Oh yes I want to be their friends". I think they are scared of them.																					X			

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
d) Sporting boys association with heterosexuality					X		X		X		X							X	X					
There is a lot of touchiness in this boys' school in relation to being gay. But I know a lot of people in this school who don't really go against it. It would be good to see some of the 1 st guys turn out gay. It's the footy guys that say things against gay people.					X																			
I think the rugby guys are scared of 'poofers' ruining their reputation. If you play soccer you are called as sissy ... Last year one particular senior came up to me and he said to me, "Are you going to go to the football?" I said no. He said, "Why not?" He reckoned he was going to bash me up.							X																	
Well say if the captain of the 1 st XV, the best cross country runner or the track and field champion was homosexual, that would soil their image definitely. "Oh year he's a good runner but he's a homosexual so forget him."									X															
If someone is really academically inclined, really academic, studying, doing their assignments and not playing sport they would be called 'poofers'.											X													
If I was to be gay or something. I'm speaking hypothetically. You wouldn't say it here. This is one school where you wouldn't say it.																		X						
Even if they suspect that you were gay even if you weren't they would come and beat you up. They look to see if you are into sport or if you go to socials. It's like gay people are those you don't see at parties because they are spending most of the time studying.																			X					
e) Rugby – Emotional Release				X	X		X								X	X								
You share a lot of feelings in those teams. Sad if you lose, happy if you win the premierships that sort of thing.				X																				
If you are playing football you get to cream someone legally. You get to take out a bit of agro. You get to release everything.					X																			
Swimming perhaps it is not as exciting. You don't get to show your dominance as much besides winning races. You can't show any feeling. There is no expression in the sport I suppose. Whereas in rugby you get to see a whole lot out in the field, the expression of emotion and that sort of stuff. It's got more feeling to it I suppose. And then you get the whole grandstand packed up with cheering and that sort of stuff. Rugby's got more feeling to it.							X																	
Sport relieves stress.															X									
You've got to play sport to relieve the tension of the schoolwork.																X								
4. Experiencing the 'good' life	X		X			X	X		X			X		X			X		X	X	X			
a) Socially attractive boys	X						X		X			X		X					X					
Social life is very important if you want to be known as a man of the College. Social life is like, come out with the boys after the game on the Saturday and come and have some fun. Have a drink. Be with the girls. ...It is important that you get out. That's how you meet people. It is the way you meet girls and things like that. It is really important in your final year to get out and have some fun and really live it up.	X																							

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
If you want to be liked you have to be number one, in the firsts or whatever. Everyone knows the 1sts. ...This is an all boys' school. You have to be able to pull chicks.							X																	
The sportoes like to think of themselves as chicksters.									X															
The girls really hang off the higher profile rugby people at parties.											X													
Rugby boys are the big chick magnets.														X										
Meat heads are the drinkers and the big chick magnets.																		X						
b) Fun boys	X		X			X	X	X	X	X				X			X			X	X			
A social life is very important if you want to be known as a man of the College. It's like come out with the boys after the game on the Saturday and come and have some fun. Drink together and party together. No one really likes the guys (boarders) who stay in on Saturday night and play their computer. That's what it is all about. We all come back together all the seniors.	X																							
I think in the boarding school you just think playing sport and being macho is the thing. I guess you are educated as to that's how it is and you think. "Yeah he's a good bloke he drinks a lot. He pulls the chicks." But really that's not it. Rape occurs at these parties. Yes forced sexual acts. I think it is crap how women get called sluts for sleeping around but blokes are legends. "Oh I had three on the weekend", or something like that. Marijuana is also in high usage around the school. But drugs, not really. Anyone who does other drugs than that is not of the majority group.						X																		
You have fights and that sort of stuff at parties. And that's one of the things people talk about after the parties. At school the two most important things you find out about people are fights first and people getting drunk second. You can't find any good aspects about these parties.							X																	
Football players have to be stupid. Mucking around, getting into trouble.									X															
If you don't play sport you don't have fun.										X														
A lot of people think of the College as like, they are great on the field but they keep drinking too much on weekends and such after the games.											X													
The guys that play rugby on Saturday have great fun playing, everyone is watching them and then they go out on Saturday night and have a great time together. A lot of the guys look after themselves pretty well but it is sort of the culture to go out and get really drunk. The 1 st XV like we are the stars of the party sort of thing. So I think it's the guys who are not having as much fun who drink a lot.														X										
They basically say if you don't play sport you don't have fun. Which in a way I think is good.																	X							
We have a reputation for going to parties and drinking too much on the weekend.																				X				
The jocks or the footy heads go to parties. People sometimes don't want them at their parties because they cause trouble and that.																					X			

Appendix M

Matrix of Responses Implications for Students of College's Gender Regime

Research Question 3: What are the implications for students of the College's gender regime?																										
Guiding Question: 1. What are the implications for students of the College's emphasis on sport? 2. How does the discipline practices support or challenge the College's gender regime?																										
THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
1. Pride in College Sporting Achievements	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									X		
The ideal College man would be someone who plays sport. I wouldn't give up playing rugby for anything.	X																									
When you are looking at College sport from the outside it looks like there is so much emphasis given to sporting success and we are successful.		X																								
We are renowned for being a great sporting school.			X																							
Nudgee has a tradition of the sporting spirit. I'm proud that they are GPS rugby premiers even though I'm not in the team. I'm proud that we're the top school and I'm proud that we are an all boys' boarding school				X																						
Rugby is like the pinnacle event of the College.						X																				
To really get on here you need to play rugby. You can do other things if you want but to be playing rugby is like the most important thing for a student to do							X																			
Sport is probably the most important thing at the College.								X																		
A College man is someone who is very athletic. Who is good at sports. There is so much emphasis placed on Ross Oval, the College tradition and playing rugby.									X																	
The College's got this way with its footy and you either play footy or you don't. The College puts it around that it is the 'Cradle of Australian rugby'.										X																
The College puts so much emphasis on sport. It's what it is famous for.											X															
The ideal men of the College are the sportoes.												X														
A rugby player is everything at the College. I'm just a gymnast that's all. I didn't get a scholarship or anything like that.													X													
Rugby is school spirit. It is what we are proud of. The image of this being a really pro rugby school made me want to come and a lot of guys are the same. Rugby gets a lot of guys into here even if they are not good at it.														X												
You go around the city and hear about the College as the football school.															X											

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
I understand that the College is a sporting school and one where the outstanding results come from sporting events.																							X	
2. Inequitable valuing and treatment of students		X		X		X	X			X	X			X	X	X	X		X	X	X			
You are put up on a pedestal if you make a 1 st team.		X																						
I've been involved in chess, debating, rugby and waterpolo. I've tried to be involved. And that in a way has been me searching for acceptance. You are sort of the odd one if you don't play rugby.				X																				
The 1 st XV boys get more honour.						X																		
Those boys who put on the biggest hits (in rugby) they will be talked about the most.							X																	
The main group of teachers considers them (sporting boys) different to everyone else. They can get away with anything, especially in P.E. They can get away with anything they want and nothing will happen to them. But at the moment if we do just the littlest thing wrong we are in trouble. I find it so bad. The unfairness is just so evident when you are here. People who do things like debating, chess and soccer they actually get looked down upon.								X																
You would be more respected if you played 5 th footy than if you played 3 rd soccer.										X														
No one cares about the 8 th XV or the 9 th XV but everyone cares about the 1 st XV. No one cares about soccer boys. They just care about rugby. And there's, with respect to the 1 st XV, there is the fact that they do get special privileges whether they deserve it or not. Yeah fine during footy season, if they need to go and have a sleep or something like that's fair enough but when it comes to after footy season and they are still copping extra stuff because they play in the 2nds then its going a bit far.											X													
Sporting boys have a lot of glory.												X												
We have training at lunch time and all the kids come and watch and whatever and it makes you feel a little bit special.														X										
With the College spirit they bring it on so hard with the football. If College spirit was really alive then it would equalise with every sport.															X									
They force feed it to you, College spirit. Like every cheering practice. I don't know if you've been to a cheering practice. "If you had the spirit you'd come and watch the 1 st 15 play. If you had the spirit you'd do this. Sure it's good to have the spirit and such and support your school. Everyone get out and everyone do that." Sure that would be all right if they said everyone get out and watch the 3rds play and watch the 2nds and then watch the 1sts.																X								
The College doesn't value its students. We do down here at TAFE but up there it doesn't.																	X							
I remember in grade 9 I was getting taught by the 1 st XV coach and I had to leave the class because I was getting treated really unfair, marks wise and in the classroom wise as well. Just because I played soccer and he was involved with rugby. It was so bad that even my dad had to come to the school and have a talk to Brother.																			X					

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
I was in the same class (grade 9 PE) and the teacher treated me as though I didn't know much. I found academic wise we would be sitting in class and he would say, "Who's done their homework? Who hasn't done their homework?" A few guys would put up their hands. I remember one time he would make me do it twice and there were a few other guys who were in the firsts of rugby and he goes, "Oh don't worry about it. Do it next time." And I'm just sitting there going that's not what we are on about.																				X				
If you are not a top rugby player it means you are on the back foot. If you step up you would probably just get knocked down.																						X		
3. Lack of acceptance of some masculine expressions				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X					X	X	X	X	X	X
a) Sporting commitment does not meet some boys' needs						X	X				X								X	X	X	X	X	X
I've got better things to do then have to come to Saturday sport.						X																		
I'm coming back to school this year. I left last year. Coming back to it after being away for 6 months is really hard. You know the whole school boy spirit thing, rivalry and that sort of thing.							X																	
I don't play sport and I'm not such interested in coming to Saturday sport. I have a part time job which is pretty important to me.											X													
In the summer I play cricket for a team. I was playing at school and in a club as well. I find it is a bit annoying for me because I travel a long way to get here. I'm up at 6 and I don't get home till 5. So it's pretty important for me to have a weekend away from the school. Because you get pretty sick of it really.																			X					
I don't work on Saturday but I play club soccer. And that takes up all day Sunday. Basically I don't have a weekend away from soccer until the season finishes. That's about it.																				X				
I work on Saturday																					X			
Sometimes you feel you might want Saturday to yourself because you have been at school all week. Boarders have been there too, but you just feel it's your own space, your own kind of time. It's yours, Saturday and Sunday. But if you don't go to the rugby games then you are frowned upon because when they read your name out at the game and your name's not there then you are gone. All of the boarders like they don't work but I work. I need to work to have my own money. My family is not rich or anything.																						X		
Sport sometimes interferes with my studies. If you want to play a sport you have to give up your Saturday and it is trouble. Sometimes it is quite far, like in Toowoomba. It is 2 hours away. Sometimes it is a home game but most of the time you have to wake up and get yourself up and spend the day to play the game. You only get Sunday off to work.																							X	
I need the Saturday time to do my studies and I'm tired of the stupidity of the cheering stuff.																								X

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
b) Domestic, personal or emotional issues				X	X	X	X	X	X															
I guess I wouldn't talk a lot about my family.				X																				
Being at a boarding school you might be here for 6 months and you might be going through hell. You can't let anything show. You have got to knuckle down, punch a wall or something like that. Because you can't let it show. Being in a boarding school you can't let anything out.					X																			
I guess you can't express emotional things here at the College. You cop crap for doing different things.						X																		
I would never talk about my Asian background. I'm definitely not ashamed about it or anything. It's just something. There is something here. There are just an overwhelming number of people in our dorm. It's just everyone in my whole dorm even those who you don't think are racist. They just change their perception because they don't want to be seen by the other fellows relating to Asians.							X																	
I suppose I have a few family problems that I won't tell anyone.								X																
I like cooking and stuff. Sometimes at home I do things like that but it's probably not something I would advertise here.									X															
c) Cultural, artistic and academic pursuits				X	X				X		X			X			X	X	X		X	X	X	
If I said I like the ballet then they would think I'm a weirdo.				X																				
In some circumstances you cop crap for doing different things. I know one of my mates got a guitar for his birthday and fellows were paying him out because of it. Dead set. And yet playing the guitar is a better still than sitting around paying other people out.					X																			
I play footy, cricket. Chess. Basically in chess I look at people and because I do other things I look at them and I think they are all a bunch of little girls. They are. I don't know. They are perceived as not having a lot.										X														
I'd hide that I like debating, public speaking, playing the piano and reading from sportoes.												X												
In Year 8 you copped it real big if you played soccer because they reckoned it was a rugby school.															X									
People that are working hard. Doing what they are here for. They get called poofter.																		X						
Yes if you are really academic, studying, doing your assignments you get called poofter. Even soccer guys get called poofter and runners.																			X					
I don't feel the spirit because I play soccer. Soccer players aren't accepted as much as rugby players are.																				X				
It is hard because it is a school that's very good at rugby and not forcing but very encouraging people to play sport and when we come from other countries and we can't play as much of sport as they do. It is very hard for us. At certain stage it is very hard.																						X		

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
One of the hardest things I face being here at the College is to integrate with the community here. Maybe our culture doesn't have as much sport as or is as aggressive as the local people here or even the things they do the things they like.																							X	
Sport here in Australia is important. But in Asia you probably have to work all week and have no holidays. It's not as important. We come here and we try to get as much knowledge as we can.																								X
d) Harassment		X		X	X			X		X	X							X	X	X	X			
I don't really have anything in my life that I wouldn't talk about. I have a wide range of interests but I suppose I don't really have something like that that would be seen as unacceptable within the student body at the College. But for boys who do have I would say they would be ostracised. If (the conflict between the sporting and academic boys) is not so bad as bullying but its basically verbal harassment or payouts or whatever.		X																						
When I first came here if you would have come up and said I'm a debater you would have copped it with "Oh you don't play rugby" and that sort of thing.				X																				
You cop crap for doing different things.					X																			
People who put their head down into their study they'll get called 'stiff'								X																
There are always groups that you wouldn't want to know things that you've done or said. Stupid things that you wouldn't want to let on about because you wouldn't hear the end of it. There is a mentality at the College just to pay people out. It is just the way it is and you learn to live with it whether it is right or wrong. Basically its just little niggles. "Oh you are a fagot", or "Oh you are a fat mess". It's just sort of. It's as if people just haven't got anything else to say.										X														
I haven't been bullied physically, just by word. Mostly I've been bullied about my sport (soccer) and secondly because I'm Asian. A bit of racism comes in there with my Asian mother. Thirdly because I'm not big. If you don't fit into their rugby sporting crowd they just find any excuse to bully you I think.										X														
Sportoes would give you a hard time.											X													
I played soccer in grade 8 and 9 basically. These guys when we were in grade 8 and 9 used to pay us out because we played soccer. My brother he bought a ticket to swimming but we weren't allowed to go. He got bagged on by a couple of year 12 boarders. He was only in Year 8. That was last year. He got bagged because he didn't have the right spirit and he didn't show for the 1 st XV games.																		X						
I get harassed because I play soccer, because I play soccer.																			X					
I remember it was '98 there was one particular senior came up to me and he said to me. "Are you going to go to the football". I said no. He said "Why not?" He reckoned he was going to bash me up. There is a separate group of people that always keep on the good. If you are a tree person and you don't go to football they don't care. Tree people are all the footy heads. Like the 1 st players and that.																				X				

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
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Guys are scared of people like they are ruining their reputation and putting it across that all College guys are like that (gay). That's why I think there is bullying stuff involved. So its bash, bash him up. Get him out of the school. So he doesn't do anything to other people sort of thing.																				X				
It's not as though they actually set out to get them out of the school but it's the niggly bullies. Someone walks over there and he's niggled again. Another place in the one day and he is niggled again. He just gets nervous.																					X			
4. Limited academic achievement of students	X	X	X		X	X		X		X	X	X		X									X	
The year has gone incredibly fast, like a 100 miles an hour. The work's not hard but there is a lot of it. Big, big amounts of it. I think that's what sort of pulls me down. I want to do other things in the College too like play sport. Be involved. The thing that would stop me getting good results is my social life. That is another thing you need to bring the social life into being a College man.	X																							
Certain teachers would value the sporting more than the academic. There are a lot of teachers that would put sporting first. But I mean that is just the way it is.		X																						
I think it would be probably myself stuffing around a fair bit. I don't get the work done that I'd like to do. I love following my own interests. I find it very difficult to make myself study. I just can't make myself study. It just doesn't go down with me for some reason or other. I just like knowing what the other guys are doing and stuffing around.			X																					
I put in as much time as I can to my study. I find just doing study without doing spor... Last term when I was playing soccer and training at 6 o'clock in the morning and full study I was falling asleep last period of the day. But like I would fall asleep in computing the first 10 minutes of the lesson. I'd drop for about a minute. Then I'd wake up and I'd miss the first 10-15 minutes of the lesson. I'd miss quite a bit and I'd fail at the end of it.					X																			
I did too much sport. Also there was a lot of other stuff going on other than school work that I found to be important as well. I loved a balanced life I guess. Friends and socializing and things like that and sport. ... The 1 st XV takes precedence over OP students. I couldn't name you the 10 guys that will get OP 1s at the moment. I couldn't think of them but I could name you the 1 st XV. That would be the same for everyone.						X																		
I spend my time walking around talking to people. Being social. I end up doing everything except work, I guess. Sometimes I wag class. The boarders are probably the worse at wagging class. They are cracking down on it now. Locking a lot of the dorms. Even last term they'd break in. We'd find ways to get in. They just go back and sleep or whatever.								X																
The guys who are in the 1 st XV basically it is more important for them to play footy than to do study but for everyone else it's not really. The College needs to do something about its academic programme. Because of the sport, because people are encouraged to play sport a lot of them forget they are here to actually do study. The College puts more money into its sport.									X															

THEME AND SUB-CATEGORIES OF THEMES IDENTIFIED	RESPONDENTS TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE																							
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It is more important for the guys in the 1 st XV to play footy than to do study but for everyone else. The only thing is we have to go and watch them on Saturday. So that cuts into our study. Boarding doesn't help. You have always got the guy next door or the guy down the road that you can always go and see. ... Some people might be quite smart but they try to hide it to fit into the football image. You see people that work hard and people put them down for doing that.										X														
I think people also respect people who are academically good but it comes second to sport.											X													
Sportoes are incredibly addicted to sport you could say. They live for sport more than anything. They put more emphasis into their sport than into their education. They put everything into it sometimes at the expense of other things like free time, study, having a social life. It's sacrifice. I think they do it for themselves but I think they also do it for the school. People expect it and it is their devotion to the school.												X												
As far as the training goes it's a little too much. The kids that are doing all the training, like the guys in my team [1 st XV team] we can't do very well academically. As well as we probably could. Like for myself in English I was on a VHA. I got 3 VHAs and then I got a SA in the rugby season. So I got a HA. The SA just brought it back down to the middle HA type of thing. We had a whole lot of rugby and I got sick. So I had to take time off and I had to train in the afternoon. There was an 'in class' essay the next day and I just wasn't ready for it. When you are finished training you are just really tired and I just want to sleep. The class essay the next day and I just wasn't ready for it. When you are finished training you are just too tired.														X										
If academic was put in front of sport than people would do better.																				X				
I think this school concentrates too much on sport to do well academically.																							X	