


This item is held in Loughborough University's Institutional Repository (<https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/>) and was harvested from the British Library's EThOS service (<http://www.ethos.bl.uk/>). It is made available under the following Creative Commons Licence conditions.



C O M M O N S D E E D


Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.5

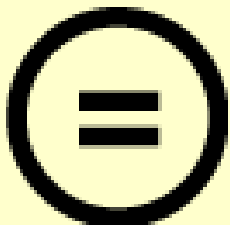
You are free:

- to copy, distribute, display, and perform the work

Under the following conditions:

 **Attribution.** You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author or licensor.


 **Noncommercial.** You may not use this work for commercial purposes.

 **No Derivative Works.** You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

- For any reuse or distribution, you must make clear to others the license terms of this work.
- Any of these conditions can be waived if you get permission from the copyright holder.

Your fair use and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

This is a human-readable summary of the [Legal Code \(the full license\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.5/).

[Disclaimer](#) 

For the full text of this licence, please go to:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.5/>

**LIVING LINKS AND GENDER
RESOURCES: THE SOCIAL
CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITIES IN
TEACHING PHYSICAL EDUCATION**

BY

DAVID HUGH KENDALL BROWN

ph. D.

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctoral Thesis of Loughborough University, 2001
© by David Hugh Kendall Brown (2001)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my thanks to my supervisor John Evans for his continuing support on this project. I would also like to thank Emma Rich, Brett Smith and Andrew Sparkes for their willingness to share their ideas with me throughout this process. Finally, I thank Tamsin, for her unquestioning belief in, and tolerance of, my involvement in this study as it inevitably transgressed from professional to personal life. I would like to dedicate this study to the memory of both Trevor Williams and Colin Hardy whose beliefs, enthusiasm and dedication to the study of sport and physical activity, were and still are, an inspiration to me.

ABSTRACT

This study is a conceptually driven exploration of the life worlds of male Physical Education teachers and the social construction of masculinity. Its focus is twofold: Firstly it asks questions of what gendered resources Physical Education teachers draw on in their teaching? How do they obtain and deploy these resources? What is their social significance? It asks these questions of a cohort of student male Physical Education teachers, as they pass through their teacher education year. Secondly, it asks how might we best represent these gendered masculine resources in social terms? Can we assemble alternative ways of articulating the masculine body-self-society complex in this context? The methodological approach is qualitative, social constructivist and employs a life history strategy. The participants were purposefully sampled and interviewed in depth, as they made the transition from student teacher to teacher. The study draws on the empirical data to illustrate and develop conceptual understandings of the problematic. In so doing, it highlights the social importance of remote and current gendered biography as a resource for action in teaching. These men's biographys are shown to 'link' them to their gendered life experiences, which centre on a lifetime of successful involvement in the culturally dominant masculine arenas of sport and Physical Education. The linkages are expressed as a set of intellectual and embodied dispositions that provide the resources for action - the habitus. Furthermore, these men are shown to be sensitive to the presentation of their masculine selves and possess multiple masculinities, which they deploy according to their interpretations of the specific contexts in which they find themselves. The contention here is that the deployment and display of particular forms of masculinities are contingent on the possession of the necessary alternative resources in their habitus - which are very often missing. As a consequence, we see dominant masculine displays being drawn on as a default, or master identity in teaching. This perspective suggests implications for the social reconstruction of legitimized gender ontologies being presented to children. The conclusion makes some conceptual suggestions on how we might use these insights to address the deficits in gendered resources that are available to these men and others like them, in order to allow them to express broader ranges of masculinities through their teaching.

PUBLICATIONS

Material based on the research undertaken for this thesis and ideas developed therein have been presented and published in various forms elsewhere:

Refereed Journal Articles

BROWN, D. (1999) Complicity and reproduction in teaching physical education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 4 (2), pp. 143-160.

Book Chapters

BROWN, D., & RICH, E. J. (2002) Gender positioning as pedagogical practice in learning to teach Physical Education. In Penney, D., (ed.) *Gender and Physical Education: Issues and Directions*. London: Routledge.

Conference Presentations

BROWN, D. (1998) Using an interpretive life history approach to examine the social (re)construction of gendered practice in teaching PE. Paper presented at the *Ethnography in Education Conference*, University of Oxford.

Other

BROWN, D. (1998) Relative Responsibilities - A reaction to John Smith. In P. Hodgkinson, (ed.), *The Nature of Educational Research: Realism, Relativism or Post-Modernism*, pp. 71-73. Crewe School of Education, Manchester Metropolitan University.

BROWN, D. (1998) Book Review: Armour, K., & Jones, R. (1998) *Physical Education Teachers' Lives and Careers*. PE, Sport and Educational Status, in *Sport, Education and Society*, 4 (1), pp. 104-106.

BROWN, D. (1998) Book Review: Maxwell, J. A. (1996) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, in *Sport, Education and Society*, 2 (2.), pp. 239-242.

BROWN, D. (1998) Book review: Fernandez-Balboa, J.M. (ed) (1997) *Critical Postmodernism in Human Movement, Physical Education and Sport*, in *Leisure Studies*, 18(1), pp.76-77.

CONTENTS

FIGURES	4
ABBREVIATIONS	5
CHAPTER ONE: RATIONALE: 'GENDERED TEACHERS ARE MADE, NOT BORN.' BUT HOW?	6
1.1 INTRODUCTION: AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL POSITIONING	6
1.2 THE STUDY OF MASCULINITY IN EDUCATION, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT	8
<i>1.2.1 Masculinities in Education.....</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>1.2.2 Masculinity in Physical Education and School Sport.....</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>1.2.3 Bringing in the Teachers as Gendered Subjects</i>	<i>15</i>
1.3 THE CONTEXT OF TEACHING PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES.....	20
<i>1.3.1 Life in the Education Marketplace.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>1.3.2 The Interplay of Hegemonic Masculinity and Market Forces in Physical Education.....</i>	<i>26</i>
1.4 AN EMERGENT THESIS	30
CHAPTER TWO: A CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT: 'THIS IS A MAN'S WORLD': MASCULINITIES AND SOCIAL POWER	32
2.1 THE PROBLEM WITH POSTMODERN MASCULINITIES	32
<i>2.1.1 Deconstructing Gender</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>2.1.2 The Gender Politics of Silent Meta-narratives.....</i>	<i>35</i>
2.2 OPENING UP A THIRD SPACE: REFLEXIVE MODERNITY, MASCULINITY AND INSTITUTIONS	38
<i>2.2.1 Reflexive Modernity and Masculinist Science?</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>2.2.2 Masculinities and Institutionalization</i>	<i>42</i>
2.3 MASCULINITIES, RELATIONAL POWER AND THE WORLD GENDER ORDER	45
<i>2.3.1 Domination and Subordination.....</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>2.3.2 Complicity.....</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>2.3.3 Marginalization and Authorization.....</i>	<i>50</i>
2.4 OVERVIEW	53
CHAPTER THREE: SENSITIZING CONCEPTS: CONSTRUCTING MASCULINITIES IN TEACHING PHYSICAL EDUCATION	55
3.1 DECONSTRUCTING MASCULINITIES.....	55
3.2 THE REFLEXIVE BODY-SELF: RECOGNIZING THE MASCULINE BODY.....	58
<i>3.2.1 The Limits of the Discursive Body in Physical Education.....</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>3.2.2 Conceptualizing the Body's Agency.....</i>	<i>60</i>

3.3 PIERRE BOURDIEU: PRACTISING MASCULINITIES AND DEVELOPING HABITUS	63
3.4 ARTHUR FRANK: MASCULINE BODY-SELF RELATIONSHIPS	67
3.4.1. <i>The Problems of Embodiment</i>	67
3.5 ERVING GOFFMAN: THE (GENDERED) INTERACTION ORDER.....	72
3.5.1. <i>Interaction and Multiply Masculine Selves</i>	72
3.5.2. <i>'Body Idiom'</i>	75
OVERVIEW: EXPLORING LIVING LINKS.....	79
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS: INTERPRETIVISM AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM	80
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	80
4.2 THEORETICAL PARADIGMS AND PERSPECTIVES: NON-FOUNDATIONALISM AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM	82
4.2.1. <i>Where Logic Gets Fuzzy</i>	82
4.2.2. <i>Ontology: Objective Reality or Socially Constructed Worlds?</i>	83
4.2.3. <i>Epistemological Assumptions: The Limits of Subjectivity, from Discoverer to Architect.</i>	85
4.2.4. <i>Human Nature Assumptions: Knowledgeable Actors or Cultural Dupes?</i>	89
4.2.5. <i>Methodological Assumptions: The Research Theory - Research Practice Bridge</i>	90
4.3 RESEARCH STRATEGIES: LIFE HISTORY: A LIFE LESS ORDINARY.	92
4.4 METHODS OF COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS.....	94
4.4.1. <i>Sampling Masculine Lives and Histories</i>	94
4.4.2. <i>Life History Interviews</i>	100
4.4.3. <i>The Research Journal</i>	103
4.4.4. <i>Data Analysis as a Creative Process</i>	103
4.5 THE ART, PRACTICES AND POLITICS OF INTERPRETATION AND REPRESENTATION.....	107
CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS: THE REFLEXIVE MASCULINE SELF.....	113
5.1 PRACTISING MASCULINITIES: THE HABITUS AS A GENDERED RESOURCE.....	113
5.2 INSIDE THE HABITUS? NARRATIVES OF MASCULINE BODY-SELF RELATIONSHIPS	129
5.3 ACTING MASCULINITIES: LEARNING A GENDERED INTERACTION ORDER	137
5.4 POSITIONING THE MULTIPLE MASCULINE SELF: TOWARDS COMPLICITY	146
CHAPTER SIX:DISCUSSION: LIVING LINKS AND GENDER RESOURCES IN TEACHING PE.....	155
6.1 STORIES OF REPRODUCTION AND CHANGE: LIVING LINKS	155
6.2 CONNECTING THE MASCULINE SELF, THE INSTITUTION AND THE GENDER ORDER	162
6.3 INSIDE THE MASCULINE HABITUS: BODY SELF-RELATIONSHIPS.....	167
6.4 THE CONDITION OF INDIVIDUATED MULTIPLE MASCULINITIES.....	169
CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS: TOWARDS AN ONTOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE.....	174
7.1 SOME STRATEGIES FOR 'ONTOLOGICAL LEVEL INTERVENTION' IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHER EDUCATION	174

7.1.1. <i>Connecting Abstract Knowledge and Personal Experience: Positioning the Masculine Self</i>	178
7.1.2. <i>Modifying the Gendered Habitus Resource: Depositing Dispositions through Practice</i>	180
7.1.3. <i>Narrative Resources: Developing Reflexive Multiple Masculine Narratives of Self</i>	184
7.2 REFLECTIONS ON A METHOD: DEVELOPING THE LIFE HISTORY APPROACH FOR FUTURE STUDY	187
7.3 CLOSING COMMENTS	191
REFERENCES	201
APPENDIX 1: INTRODUCTORY LIFE STORIES.....	229
1. <i>Alan's Story</i>	229
2. <i>Peter's story</i>	232
3. <i>Derek's story</i>	237
4. <i>Shaun's story</i>	240
5. <i>Joe's Story</i>	243
6. <i>Paul's story</i>	246
7. <i>Adrian's story</i>	249
8. <i>Trevor's story</i>	253
APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLE INTERVIEW THEMES AND QUESTIONS	257
<i>General/Family Background</i>	257
<i>Schooling, Sport & Physical Education</i>	257
<i>Undergraduate Career</i>	258
<i>Deciding to Become a PE Teacher</i>	258
<i>Views About Physical Education</i>	258
<i>Teaching Practice</i>	259
<i>Additional</i>	259

FIGURES

FIG. 1.1: THE EDUCATION MARKETPLACE	20
FIG. 1.2: THE LOGIC OF SUCCESS	21
FIG. 2.1: THE GENDER ORDER: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS	46
FIG. 3.1: CLASSICAL GENDERED BINARY OPPOSITIONS	56
FIG. 3.2: BODY PROBLEMS AND BODY-SELF RELATIONSHIPS	68
FIG. 4.1: CORE ASSUMPTIONS	83
FIG. 4.2: HELPFUL AND UNHELPFUL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	104
FIG. 4.3: ELEMENTS OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS	104
FIG. 4.4: SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF SCIENTIFIC WRITING	108
FIG. 6.1: SOCIALIZED MASCULINE SELVES: LIVING LINKS	162
FIG. 7.1: ADDRESSING LIVING LINKS: AN ONTOLOGICAL APPROACH	177
FIG. 7.2: AUTO/BIOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL - FOCAL THEMES	179
FIG. 7.3: FUTURE STUDY	195

ABBREVIATIONS

ATS	Articled Teacher Scheme
BTECH	Bachelor of Technology
CATE	Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education
CPS	Centre for Policy Studies
CVCP	Higher Education, the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals
DES	Department for Education and Science
ERA	Education Reform Act (1988)
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GMS	Grant Maintained Status
GTC	General Teaching Council
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
ICT	Information Communication Technology
LEA	Local Education Authority
LMS	Local Management of Schools
LTS	Licensed Teacher Scheme
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
NC	National Curriculum
PE	Physical Education
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
SAT	Standard Assessment Task
SCITT	School Centred Initial Teacher Training
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
YTS	Youth Training Scheme

CHAPTER ONE: RATIONALE:

'GENDERED TEACHERS ARE MADE, NOT BORN.' BUT HOW?

The purpose of this chapter is to several fold. Firstly, I respond to Denzin & Lincoln (2000), who call for researchers to position themselves as multicultural subjects, exposing their motivation for engagement in a given area of study. I therefore, provide a brief autobiographical narrative of self that leads to a personal rationale for why I feel it is important that we study teachers' masculine identities in Physical Education (PE). Secondly, I briefly assess the social study of masculinity in this area to-date. Thirdly, I consider the current socio-political context of PE teaching and its impact on the social study of masculinity. Fourth and finally, I summarise these into an emergent thesis.

1.1 INTRODUCTION: AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL POSITIONING

As with most people, this thesis has been motivated and developed following a number of consequential experiences that have affected me, the way I perceive the social world, and my place in it. Following my preliminary reading of texts such as C. Wright Mills (1959); Berger & Luckmann (1967); Goffman (1969); Foucault (1977, 1986); Apple (1990); Sparkes (1991); Giddens (1990, 1991); Bourdieu (1990), Turner (1984); Evans (1993); Shilling (1993a) and Connell (1995), among others, my perspectives and priorities began to change. The social significance of the body and practice, as both a constituted and constituting social phenomena occurs to me to be central to any conceptualization of society, and how it reproduces and changes. At the same time, I have come to sense that we cannot ignore the Foucauldian knowledge/power dialectic in any of our accounts. Connell (1995) suggests this perspective with reference to gender in education, when he comments:

Any curriculum must address the diversity of masculinities, and the intersections of gender with race, class, and nationality, if it is not to fall into a sterile choice between celebration and negation of masculinity in general. The importance of

education for masculinity politics follows from the onto-formativity of gender practices, the fact that our enactments of masculinity and femininity bring a social reality into being (Connell, 1995, p. 239).

Connell's text Masculinities (1995) provoked a significant 'reality shift' for me. At the time of reading this work, I was on holiday from my job teaching PE, whilst studying part-time for an MPhil in education. Returning to work, I suddenly, became aware that I was teaching within a disarmingly taken-for-granted gender organized environment (the school and the subject of physical education). Moreover, characters represented in Connell's life history work often reminded me of myself, and how I would unconsciously engage in masculine acts of 'protest,' or 'resistance' against authority. Yet at the same time I complicitly defended the prevailing hegemonic masculine ideology and drew on the patriarchal dividend adherence to it can bring. I recognized myself in the stories of others who enjoyed the power of being in control and making things happen in their lives.

It helped me to identify and link some of my feelings, relationships with others, tastes, dispositions, insecurities and view of the world to my 'remote' biography. I began to become more sensitive to the significance of my own (and others') social positioning: Of my whiteness; my mesomorphic body shape; my Protestant English upper - working class upbringing and the constructedness of my heterosexuality. I also became more conscious of my current biography; of having led an uncomfortable 'jock' (see Messner & Sabo, 1990) existence through school and college; of being an 'authorized' part of the boys 'inner sanctum' (Brown, 1998) due to my 'useful' working class physicality. I began to realize why many of my performances of a competitive hegemonic masculinity in sport never came easily. I came to recognize the powerfully physical male influences of my father, godfather, grandfather, older cousins, two of my PE teachers and a cluster of male celebrity icons including Sylvester Stallone, Marvin Haggler, Bruce Lee, and Arnold Schwarzenegger. I realized that all of these men define themselves through being exemplars of masculine physicality. Slowly I began to remember, the degree of mimesis I engaged in, the 'right' words, phrases, gestures, postures and physical practices, as well as those that were rejected out of hand as belonging to the 'other.' Yet, I also remember that I never really felt I was able to achieve the 'perfect' masculine 'way.' These recognitions happened gradually, and represented small epiphanies that prompted changes in my views towards the kind of man I was and how I might otherwise engage with the world. In spite of these intellectual changes - I discovered that 'real' change was so much harder to achieve - the physical dispositions were so strongly engrained that they were (and still are?) serving as socialized 'instincts.'

And so to teaching PE; I began to realize that in spite of my newly found views and perspectives, my practices in the classroom and gym, especially when put under pressure, still drew heavily on my 'traditional' working class habitus - so diligently practised and acquired for all those years. Looking around, I found that I was not the only one, men and women alike who I worked alongside, were teaching through their dispositions at least as much as their intellect. I realized that my work with children was contributing to the construction of their own gendered identities. I had become, for some children *that* PE teacher that I so learnt from, for others I had doubtless also become *that* PE teacher that they will recall, in years to come, as a typical macho stereotype. Either way, detailed performative aspects of my masculine social identity displays were being used by children both knowingly or otherwise, to position themselves; through copying, modifying or rejecting.

Therefore, through my own remote and current biography I have come to entertain this thesis that concerns the implications of the 'onto-formativity of gendered practices.' The focus of this study is twofold; Firstly, it seeks to illuminate how student male PE teachers draw upon their masculine sense of self in becoming and being a PE teacher. Secondly, its focus is conceptual. Developing understandings of how individuals live through their masculine identities and how these evolve over time, is a crucial part of the above agenda, because only when we can develop adequate descriptions of these, can we then begin to act on them. The dual focus articulated above, retains a critical commitment to amelioration of the human condition and the freedom from oppression or violence (partly) through emancipation in education (see Evans & Davies, 1993) that is associated with the modernist project of scientific knowledge production. I agree with Giddens (1993) who comments, 'most such violence comes from men and is directed towards beings weaker than themselves' (p. 309). The study will therefore seek to say something about how we might address change in this area. That said, this modernist position is subject to a series of significant qualifications and modifications, following important poststructuralist and postmodernist turns; I will address these in the chapters that follow.

1.2 THE STUDY OF MASCULINITY IN EDUCATION, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT

Hegemonic masculinity, as Connell (1995) defines it, is 'not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position

in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable' (p. 76). This position takes the view that there are multiple masculinities characterized as dynamic and relational to hegemonic masculinity. The range of dispositions that might constitute a hegemonic masculinity is problematic from a sociological point of view because legitimation is often based on notions of implicit superiority/domination which amount to an ideology. As ideology this form of masculinity effectively subordinates other ways of being as a means to justify its own position of hegemony. Hegemonic masculinity, seen in its historical and contemporary context, has arguably come to define the shape of the social landscape that we live in today. Indeed, recent critical theoretical and phenomenological work (among other approaches) suggest that such ideological dispositions have contributed to influencing everyone's sense of social reality (see for example, Classen, 1997).

While the sociological study of gender and society in accompaniment with numerous 'waves' of feminist action (see Sarah, 1982) has had a notable impact in raising social awareness, and in many cases transforming gender relations, there remains a pressing critical agenda: Hegemonic masculine dispositions carry with them very 'real' (read material & symbolic) dimensions of domination, subordination and marginalization (Connell, 1995) for many women, men and children. It would seem that phenomenology and critical theory remain necessary approaches if we are to continue to peel back the layers of taken-for-grantedness and understandings through which society, education and physical education are perceived.

Fortunately, in the last decade, critical agendas have been extended to include the socio-cultural study of men and masculinity. For some this broadening of focus represented a logical and necessary step moving gender theory towards a more dialogical perspective: A view succinctly summarized by Brittan (1989);

The fact that masculinity may appear in different guises at different times does not entitle us to draw the conclusion that we are dealing with an ephemeral quality which is sometimes present and sometimes not. In the final analysis, how men behave will depend upon the existing relations of gender. By this I mean the way in which men and women confront each other ideologically and politically. Gender is never simply an arrangement in which the roles of men and women are decided in a contingent and haphazard way. At any given moment gender will reflect the material interests of those who have power and those who do not. Masculinity, therefore, does not exist in isolation from femininity - it will always be an expression of the current image men have of themselves in relation to women (Brittan, 1989, p. 1-6).

If masculinity and femininity are a relational phenomenon, as authors such as Messner & Sabo (1990) and Hall (1996) suggest, then we can only adequately understand social constructions of femininity and the subordination of women, in association with constructions of masculinity and male domination: Conversely we can only understand men if we acknowledge how masculinities are constructed in relation to femininity, and how they get *negatively* defined (for example see Klein, 1993). It is important to stress that whilst the focus of this study is on men and masculinity, I attempt to retain a relational or dialogical view of gender.

Relationships between masculinity, patriarchy and hegemony centre around the thematic of power. Gender power relations, might be seen to operate in similar ways to Gramsci's (1971) theory of class hegemony, in that they are never absolute and constantly shifting. Nevertheless, hegemonic masculinity remains the dynamic ideological form around which western patriarchal relations are constructed, legitimized and defended. Relational power and legitimacy suggest that there are in evidence multiple constructions of 'masculinities,' as men implicitly and explicitly are positioned and position themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). While it needs to be qualified that women are normally most disadvantaged by the impact of hegemonic masculinity in gender relations, the ideology subordinates many men as well. Pleck's (1995) view is useful here; he conceptualizes patriarchy existing as a system of two halves, both related to each other, 'in which men oppress women, and in which men oppress themselves and each other' (1995, p. 10).

As a subject of enquiry the social study of men and masculinity continues to proliferate in breadth and depth (see Peterson, 1998; Seidler, 1997; Messner, 1997). July 1998 saw the launch of a journal devoted exclusively to the social study of *Men and Masculinities* and with it I suspect, the consolidation of this as a distinct field of enquiry. There remain concerns (see for example, Hall, 1996; Godenzi, 1999) that the study of men and masculinity might become little more than a masculinist, academic backlash that uses postmodernist intellectual arguments to reassert its traditionally hegemonic voice amongst increasing varieties of voices. It would seem however that most are concerned with exploring those issues that haunt men and result in oppression of others by men; insecurity, hidden anxiety and identity and a collective pursuit of deconstructing dominant discourses (Chapman & Rutherford, 1988; Rutherford, 1992; Sabo & Runfola, 1980; Pease, 1996;

Jackson, 1990). Moves towards reconstructing different visions of masculinity, are firmly on the agenda as well (Siedler, 1997).

These approaches broadly respond to Hearn's (1987) call for sensitivity towards the role of men in feminism. As Hall (1990) argues, the study of men and masculinity should be working towards a critique of men's practice and masculine ideology that might use feminism but that does not seek to appropriate it. Neither, in general do male academics appear to be reacting to feminism in the way in which commentaries typified by Robert Bly's *Iron John: A Book About Men* (1990) represent. Rather, as mentioned, they are engaging with critical feminist insights and perspectives to help unravel the complexities of men, masculinities and their relation to contemporary society.

1.2.1 Masculinities in Education

The social study of males in education is not new as Willis' (1977) *Learning to Labour* demonstrates, there has long been an interest in boys, men and socialization in sociological literature. However, research in educational fields has only more recently embraced the study of masculinity in connection with femininity, in ways that are critical and deconstructivist (for example see Connell 1987, 1989, 1993; Connolly & Neill, 2001; Mac an Ghaill, 1996). While these developments represent a significant step forward in the field of gender research, there is a far from clear-cut research agenda, and neither the theoretical nor the empirical insights generated are yet to effect significantly, the policy makers. For example, Yates (1997) demonstrates how Australian public and policy debates on gender equity in education now include boys but often remain based upon two simplistic and unitary themes; that boys are now losing out (due to lower examination scores) and that the solution is to adopt the policies that raised girls' scores and apply them to the boys. As Yates (1997) concludes, these are likely to be flawed approaches mainly because it 'fails to deal adequately with power and with masculinity and femininity as a relational phenomena' (p. 340).

A focus on gender as non-unitary and (power) relational phenomena has implications for how we view 'involvement' in gender issues. Connell (1995) suggests that the degree of complicity shown by both the males and females who find themselves oppressed or restrained in education is indicative that the 'Gender Order' is effective in shaping everybody's perceptions and identities, even those it disadvantages. The social significance of this position raises questions of how gendered practices in education and

physical education might provide ontologically stabilizing (although often oppressive) gender realities.

What seems generally agreed in academic circles is that gender relations in education are interrelated and defined in terms of power; and masculinity and femininity are non-unitary and context dependent. The significance of context is seen in Mac An Ghail's (1994) *The Making of Men*, where he provides convincing empirical accounts of the above from a study of Parnell school in the West Midlands. Mac An Ghail identifies distinct and localized male student cultures, which reinforce and help to construct socially positioned forms of masculinity and sexuality. These are constructed within the school in terms of relations of power. Thus; for example, the 'macho lads,' 'academic achievers' and the 'new enterprisers' are significant for the formation of different forms of masculine identities configured in relation to each other, femininity, teachers, school structures as well as the intersections of race, class and ethnicity.

Skelton's (1997) work suggests similar conclusions. Based on a study of boys' identity in primary schools in the North East of England, she suggests that constructions of hegemonic masculinity vary from school to school and are shaped by a number of factors. Furthermore, 'primary-age boys draw upon, negotiate and reject aspects of the hegemonic masculinity of the school in the process of constructing, negotiating and reconstructing their masculine selves amongst the immediate male peer group' (1998, p. 366). That some of these factors concern the expression of violent and sexualized behaviours would seem to underline the significance of developing a thematic of relational power. Thorne's (1993) observations in North American elementary schools lead him to conclude that gender construction is both fluid and contextual and ordered by the dynamics of power;

Power is central to the social relations of gender. Both boys and girls operate from a position of subordination to adults; age relations like those of class and race, alter the dynamics of gender. However, boys - who control more space, more often violate girls activities, and treat girls as contaminating - participate in larger structures of male dominance. Girls often contest boys' exertions of power, and other lines of inequality add to the complexity. The dynamics of power, like those of gender are fluid and contextual' (Thorne, 1993, p. 159).

1.2.2 Masculinity in Physical Education and School Sport

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the social study of masculinity in PE and school sport has been a rapidly expanding area (see for example, Swain, 2000; Pratt, 2000; Light, 1999; Light & Kirk, 2000). Structurally, PE and sport in schools remain mapped and bounded by gender 'appropriate' forms of activity, and organization that carry an unequal status and

differentiated opportunity (Talbot, 1993). The re-emergence of sociological interest (Frank, 1990) in the social construction of the body has also added new conceptual dimensions for understanding masculinity in this arena (see for example, Turner 1984; Shilling, 1993a, 1997; Kirk, 1992b; Sparkes, 1996a, 1996b). Therefore, it needs to be acknowledged that research into men, masculinity, and identity in PE and school sport needs to draw upon a wide range of related areas from mainstream embodied sociology, cultural studies, sociology of education, sociology of sport, and the sociology of physical education.

While the social construction and reproduction of gender relations within the field of PE and school sport have long been acknowledged (Mangan 1981; Kirk, 1992a; Hargreaves, 1986; Messner & Sabo, 1990) it is the relational way in which this takes place and social inequalities that these constructions sustain and reproduce which must now occupy our attention:

A relational conception of gender necessarily includes critical examination of both femininity and masculinity as they develop in relation to each other within system of structured social inequality (Messner & Sabo, 1990, p. 13)

Relational views of gender constructions challenge us to re-examine sociological structure/agency, nature/culture and body/mind dichotomies to consider how, 'the complex web of interconnections between cultural values, gender identity development and gender stereotypes surrounding sport is mediated through the PE curriculum' (Humberstone, 1990, p. 202). In so doing we must acknowledge the implications of these interconnections for social and cultural reproduction, because as Edley and Wetherell (1995) point out, the relational nature of men and women (amongst other social categories) implies that changes to the position of one group will cause ripples, affecting the lives of the other. In sporting contexts, this sentiment is strongly echoed by Hall (1996) who argues, that explanations of women's oppression and subordination in sporting fields are inseparably tied to analyses of men and masculinity. She adds that studies of men, by men need to include examinations of 'how male hegemony reproduces unequal gender relations' (Hall, 1996, p. 45).

Analyses of embodiment and masculinity have made possible illuminative developments in research into gender relations in PE and school sport. For example, Scraton (1993) draws on a range of qualitative data to problematize the promotion of equality in physical education through coeducational settings. By adopting Connell's (1987) categories of 'hegemonic' masculinity and 'emphasized' femininity, Scraton asserts that inequalities are likely to be reproduced as those boys who display hegemonic (heterosexual) masculine characteristics are likely to dominate and subordinate the girls and other boys in mixed sex

settings. Dimensions of embodied power in gender relations in the classroom raise political issues of gender and sexuality, which as Scraton (ibid.) summarizes, need to be better understood in theory and in practice by PE staff.

The domination of girls and other boys by those boys displaying hegemonic masculine characteristics is also strongly reinforced by Reynold's work (1997). The ethnographic study conducted in English working-middle class and middle class primary schools, illustrates how the practice of football took over playground space during pupils playtime, excluding girls generally, some boys, and asserted the social dominance of a few male pupils. Reynold (1997) concludes;

The masculinizing practices that took place with and without the game of football seemed to stem specifically from the need to portray and display to others, the type of male hegemony, achieved by positioning themselves within a wider sporting 'narrative.' Moreover, because of their construction in opposition to femininities, such hegemonic practices subordinate, stigmatize and marginalize other masculinities and femininities. In other words, they reinforced the constraints on boys and girls experimenting with other ways of being male and female (Reynold, 1997, p. 20).

Humbertone's ethnographic research (1990, 1993) implicates teachers, curriculum and policy in the reconstruction of gender based difference and stereotypes. She explored the impact of outdoor education on a group of children at Shotmoor Outdoor Education Centre. In her view, conditions represented an alternative context for experiencing gender relationships from normal PE classes. Firstly, the girls and boys shared the classes together, usually with limited experience of activities and wore similar uniforms. Second, the girls and boys shared the same privileges, teachers worked alongside their pupils and encouraged the use of first names. Thirdly, taking responsibility and independence in dangerous situations create an element of shared experience. Humbertone's observations led her to conclude that the adventure education programme;

Visibly challenged both stereotypical assumptions about gender and everyday notions of physicality. This was largely a consequence of the regular programme designed to enable girls and boys to realize their full potentials through the process of learning the new skills associated with adventure activity. Boys' rethinking of gender was an unintentional consequence of the programme. PE experiences of these types could form a developmental basis for alternative masculine identities that neither celebrates the warrior ethos nor identifies corporative endeavour, caring and emotional expression as wimpish weaknesses (Humberstone, 1990, p. 210).

Humberstone's analysis is largely structuralist and slightly romanticized, perhaps taking rather insufficient account of agency. In spite of these positive structural changes, and the 'gender' expertise levelling of the specific activity, pupils and teachers alike, are still just as likely to continue to 'fit in' to gendered interaction patterns that approximate adopted socialized roles, already inculcated. Nevertheless, the demonstration that boys' masculine identities and perceptions of femininity are *unfixed and changeable*, assuming the adequately structured opportunity, provides us with a glimmer of alternative realities that may be available through PE. Finally, Humberstone's work, empirically reinforces a key point; that gendered PE is strongly *linked to* who teaches it and how these individuals teach.

1.2.3 Bringing in the Teachers as Gendered Subjects

Talbot (1993) goes further in implicating teachers, she comments;

British physical education is gendered in ideology, content, teaching methods and through its relationships with the wider dance and sports contexts. While teachers of physical education may claim that they espouse equality of opportunity for all children, their teaching behaviours and practices reveal entrenched sex stereotyping, based on common - sense' notions about what is suitable for girls and boys, both in single and mixed-sex groups and schools (Talbot, 1993, p. 74).

She argues that in spite of gender equality being a part of the British 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, and more recently within the Education Reform Act 1988, with regards to sport and PE there remain many anomalies due to the Act's lack of recognition of biological sex differences, and this undermines legal clarity over discrimination based around gender. This means that whilst sex discrimination is unlawful, sex differentiation (equal but different) is not. Many teachers of physical education continue to use the anomaly sex differentiation and base it around 'gender expectations,' the result is the perpetuation of a gendered curriculum and pedagogy.

With reference to the 1972 North American gender equity in education bill Title IX, Griffin (1989) argues that coeducational innovations based around notions of access, 'failed to examine carefully enough how gender is conceptualized by both teachers and students and how deeply rooted that conceptualization is in the larger societal context' (1989, p. 220). The problem, she asserts, is in part due to the naive empirical-rational assumption that once individuals were made aware of the error of their ways, all concerned would change their practices, thus eradicating the 'problem.' The approach has failed to recognize just how deeply socialized, and intrinsically political the issue of gender relations is. Seemingly moot

points all too often get represented as intractable, biological 'givens,' but the questions remain; how do teachers and teacher educators conceptualize gender? How many still view gender as a biological trait? How can we challenge such beliefs and practices in the name of a more inclusive PE for all?

If teacher conceptualization of gender is a key point of departure, we must address where, when and how dispositions towards gender develop and get legitimized? Furthermore, what is the role of Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in addressing these issues, and how does it achieve this? Indeed does it achieve any of these things? Somewhat surprisingly, Flintoff, points out that until recently 'an understanding of the role of PE ITE in challenging or confirming gender inequalities has not yet developed as an area of enquiry' (1993, p. 184). Her empirical study has begun addressing this by examining two higher education institutions in England, one a former male college and the other a former female college, now part of a university and an institute of higher education respectively. Both were offering four-year undergraduate courses and one year postgraduate courses. She focused on how practical PE studies were selected, organized and timetabled, and to what extent students participated in addressing gender equality issues. On the four-year courses equality issues were only addressed via short non-assessed modules; on the postgraduate courses, equality issues were either not raised or only addressed by one or two lectures.

Attitudes of the staff towards gender issues, ranged from liberal 'access' views to more hostile resistance, no-one sought to question or challenge the Gender Order or the role of PE ITE implicitly assumes. These positions clearly influenced the planning and organization of the courses. Practical studies of PE subjects delivered in preparation for teaching practice were differentiated along gender lines in anticipation for the gendered teaching context the lecturers expected to send their students into, i.e., women don't need rugby and men don't need netball because they won't be teaching it. The rationales for keeping differentiation in some activities exposed ideologies of masculinity and femininity which were influencing decision making. Justifications for activity differentiation and segregation were also evident and based around gendered perceptions that emphasized the avoidance of contact sports for females and the avoidance of aesthetic activities for males. Flintoff concludes;

If the practices and ideologies evident in the case study are endemic in PE ITE, then ITE courses not only fail to raise students' awareness of gender issues, but also may *reinforce* ideologies of masculinity and femininity through the choice, time tabling and teaching of PE activities (Flintoff, 1993, p. 97).

The implications of Flintoff's conclusions are that they underline the socially significant nature of teacher education. Moreover it confirms, Talbot's (1993) view that PE in its contemporary form remains characterized by structured inequality and gender difference. Moreover, at an ideological level, messages of gender conceptualized as 'biological difference' are still prevalent and influencing the next generation of PE teachers. I agree with both Griffin (1989) and Flintoff (1993) who consider that these forms of reproduction need to be viewed in broader contexts of society and across time (in an inter-generational sense). Moreover, the semantics of 'reinforce' or 'challenge' quite rightly suggests that gendered attitudes and practices are already deposited in the individual from a variety of practices and discourses that go well beyond PE ITE. These views are congruent with Templin & Schemmp's (1989) *dialectical perspective* of teacher socialization that they define as one which our views of 'socialization focuses on the constant interplay between individuals, societal influences, and the institutions into which they are socialized'(1989, p. 3).

It seems clear that teachers are key intermediaries in the transmission and reproduction of what counts as legitimate gendered knowledge and dispositions. What teachers know and how they come to know it, is likely to shape individual interpretations of PE discourse and inform the content and delivery of PE. Recent research underlines the significance of teacher actions, in constructing gender relations through their pedagogy. For example, Wright (1997) studied the use of language by PE teachers in two state secondary schools and one Catholic secondary schools in New South Wales, Australia. She comments;

Teachers' choice of language in terms of patterns of personal pronouns, speech functions, modality and clause complex structures from the evidence described above construct very different social realities and learning environments in single sex as well as coeducational environments for the boys as compared to the girls in the lessons analysed for the study. A partial interpretation suggests that whereas boys are positioned centrally in relation to the discourses of PE which privilege the knowledge and values associated with the dominantly masculine practice of traditional team games in Australia, girls are positioned and position themselves as marginal, in need of constant encouragement, cajoling and detailed instruction (Wright 1997, p. 69).

Recent research by Evans, Davies & Penney (1996) also reinforces the view that directions for future enquiry into an inclusive PE will need to account for the role teachers play in the social construction of gender relations. Teacher interpretations often mean that 'children and young people are differentially 'positioned' by the pedagogies of classrooms in relation to their peers, their teachers, and the subject matter of PE' (ibid., p. 165). PE teachers' dispositions are key factors in this process, as Evans, Davies & Penney (1996) point out:

Patterns of personality and attitude no doubt mingle significantly with teachers' own pupil identities and careers to provide distinctive inflows to teacher training and thereafter into departments strongly influencing, if not determining, provision and practice in PE (Evans, Davies & Penney, 1996, p. 179).

Such patterns expose PE teachers not merely as the products of a brief period of initial teacher education, but knowing subjects with lives and identities which they bring to the profession. In light of these developments the formation and maintenance of the gendered PE teacher identity need to be viewed both critically and empathetically in order to illuminate how these people come to make sense of being a PE teacher, and the dispositions they carry over into their professional identities. In other words, we need to be concerning ourselves with the interplay between individuals, societal influences and institutions. Central to this view is the positioning of embodied identity as the locus of analysis, which is conceptualized by Hall (1992) as follows;

Identity in this social conception, bridges the gap between the 'inside and the 'outside'- between the personal and public worlds. The fact that we project 'ourselves' into these cultural identities, at the same time internalizing their meanings and values, making them 'part of us,' helps to align our subjective feelings with the objective places we occupy in the social and cultural world. Identity thus stitches (or, the use of a current metaphor, 'sutures') the subject into structure. It stabilizes both subjects and cultural worlds they inhabit, making both reciprocally more unified and predictable (Hall et al, 1992, pp. 275-6).

If identity stitches the subject to structure then what happens if there is dissonance between self identity and social/professional identity? Work in this area has fractured any possibility of viewing PE teachers as a homogenous group of professionals, divided unquestioningly according to sex and gender. The life history work of Sparkes (1996c, 1997) and Squires & Sparkes (1996) has proved seminal in this respect, problematizing the lives and self-identities of gay and lesbian PE teachers. Sparkes' (1996c) analysis explores the constant public/private dichotomy of the everyday lives of these teachers and applies Griffin's (1991) range of the coping strategies that she found teachers used to manage their identities. He points out that the dichotomy reduces lesbian and gay identity to sexuality and since the ideological public face of sexuality in schools is heterosexual, deviance from this demonstrates a personal 'problem' to remain in an individual's private life.

These stories offer a powerful testimony of *structured denial*; how gender power relations operate to force lesbian and gay teachers actively to deny their 'master' self identities, and thereby render them invisible in schools. This occurs in spite of the fact that, 'their lesbian and gay identity is central to their very being as a person and shapes the way

they relate to the world as a whole.’ (Sparkes, 1996c, p. 171). Significant here too is that their ‘silence in the face of oppression provides them with a form of resistance in which the conscious refusal to be defined as a victim provides them with a sense of agency’ (ibid., p. 173). Of course, one of the unintended consequences of these silences, in spite of their resistance, might be the confirmation of the semblance of heterosexual Gender Order.

The work of MacDonald & Kirk (1996), also provides compelling evidence of gender power relations operating on personal and public identities of PE teachers. The study examined the lives of six newly graduated male and female PE teachers who were beginning their careers in small non-urban Queensland towns. The small town environment in Australia places a high cultural value on sport, however, its social function is characterized by Dempsey (1992, cited in MacDonald & Kirk, 1996) as a major force in partitioning females and males, of subordinating the work of women, and of sustaining the patriarchal social order in the town. The small size of the town meant that their professional and private lives were under persistent scrutiny, the teachers’ recreational pursuits, social lives and even choice of food shopping were constantly scrutinized. MacDonald and Kirk’s conclusions suggest that in order to ‘fit in’ these teachers had to struggle with their own sense of self, and the stereotyped social expectations made of them. In so doing they were constantly faced with the dilemma of either resisting or reconstructing sets of social stereotypes concerning their roles as custodians of a particular patriarchal vision of PE teachers.

Their success in appearing to be ‘normal’ teachers of Physical Education was in large part dependent on their self identity being in some degree congruent with the social identity attributed to Physical Education teachers (MacDonald & Kirk, 1996, p. 73)

To achieve social conformity, identity work of this nature proved very draining and perhaps unsurprisingly, as a consequence, several of those in the previous two studies have left, or are intending to leave the profession. Research goes a long way towards demonstrating the silent discourses and practices of social power that operates to sustain heterosexual, patriarchal gender relations within PE. Consequently, the gendered identities of PE teachers need to be put firmly on our research agendas. But firstly, we must consider the social context in which these identities are performed and managed.

1.3 THE CONTEXT OF TEACHING PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES

1.3.1 Life in the Education Marketplace

The point that PE teaching does not take place in a social vacuum, needs little elaboration. The purpose here is to consider the location of the study's participants in the broader social and political milieu of contemporary education in England and Wales, and to identify some of the possible implications of this location. The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) serves as an appropriate starting point, because it represents the most significant piece of educational legislation in post war Britain since the 1944 Butler Act. The Butler Act is usually remembered for its allegiance to the principle of the welfare state, reflected in its introduction of the universal right to free state education for all (Chitty, 1990). The 1988 ERA is most likely to be remembered for replacing this unquestioned right with an alternative 'neo-liberal commercial paradigm' (Winch, 1996), characterized by the recontextualization of educational discourses. Education became schooling, and schooling became a commodity to be produced, marketed and sold in the newly structured educational market place in England and Wales. As Evans Penney & Davies (1996a) contend this represents for education and PE a 'back to the future' scenario where the 'market' becomes analogous with precepts of social Darwinism, so prevalent in the Victorian era. In ideological terms, views of 'the market' were, and still are, that it could solve all the difficulties of social planning.

Therefore, as a piece of legislation the 1988 ERA was ideologically radical (Lawton,

1993). It fundamentally altered existing power structures, granting unprecedented authority to the Secretary of State (SoS) for Education and the Department for Education and Science (DES), head teachers, governors and parents, while purposefully by-passing the Local Education Authorities (LEAs), teacher unions and

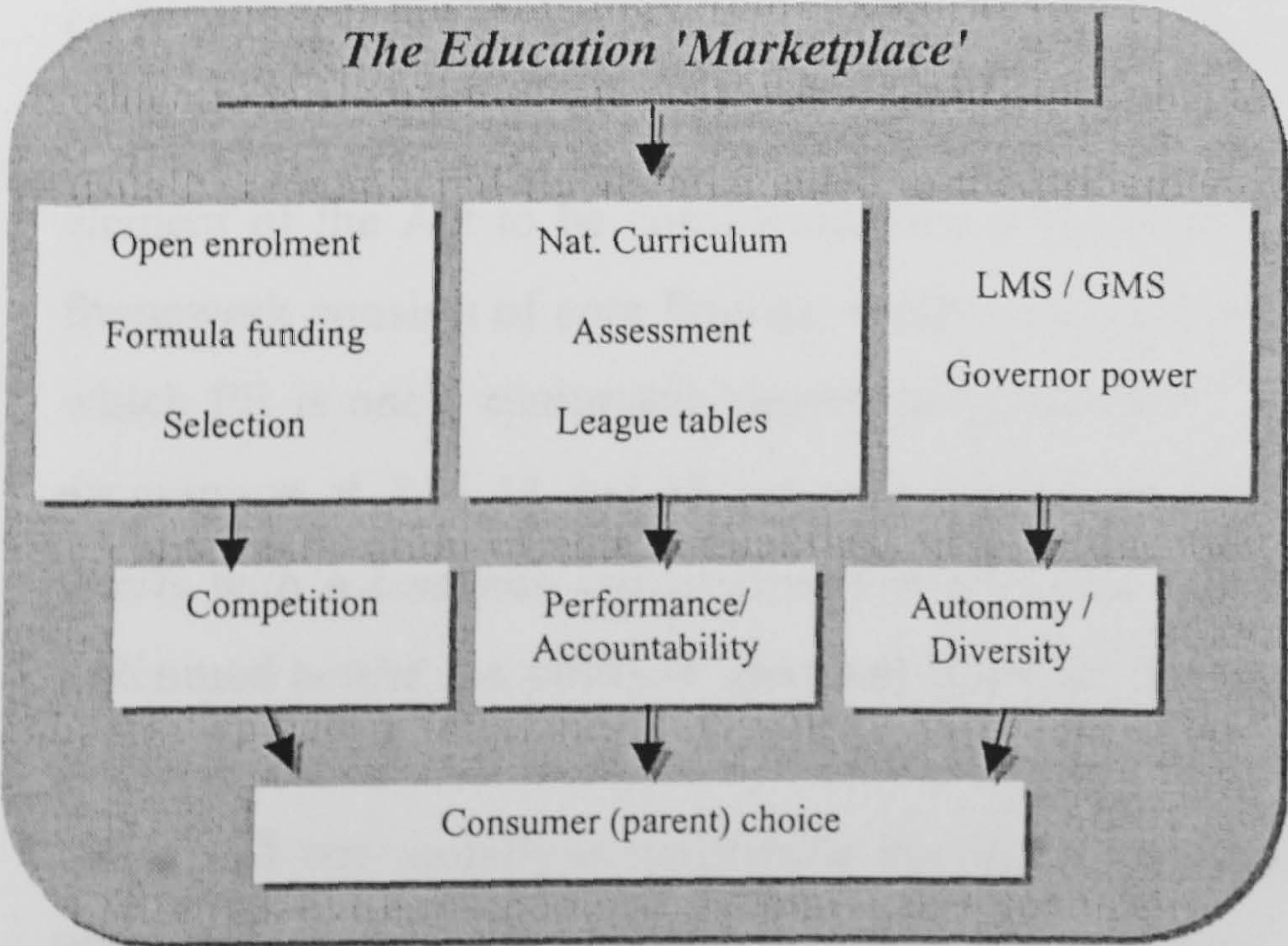


Fig. 1.1

teachers (Maclure, 1989, p. 5). These reforms and those that followed were a package of measures which need to be considered collectively to get a picture of how they worked as a mosaic of reforms (see fig.1.1). The introduction of Local Management of Schools (LMS) by-passed the LEAs by transferring financial and managerial control of schools to school governors. They became responsible for the running of annual school budgets, use of facilities, recruitment, the use of personnel, and the delivery of the National Curriculum (NC) (Evans, Penney & Bryant, 1993). School budgets were re-allocated by formula funding: based upon the number and age of pupils in a school. Open enrolment introduced a consumerist dynamic by dismantling the previous pupil catchment areas and allowing parents the 'freedom' to choose where their children receive their education, thus creating a 'survival of the fittest' culture into the educational marketplace, as fig. 1.2 depicts.

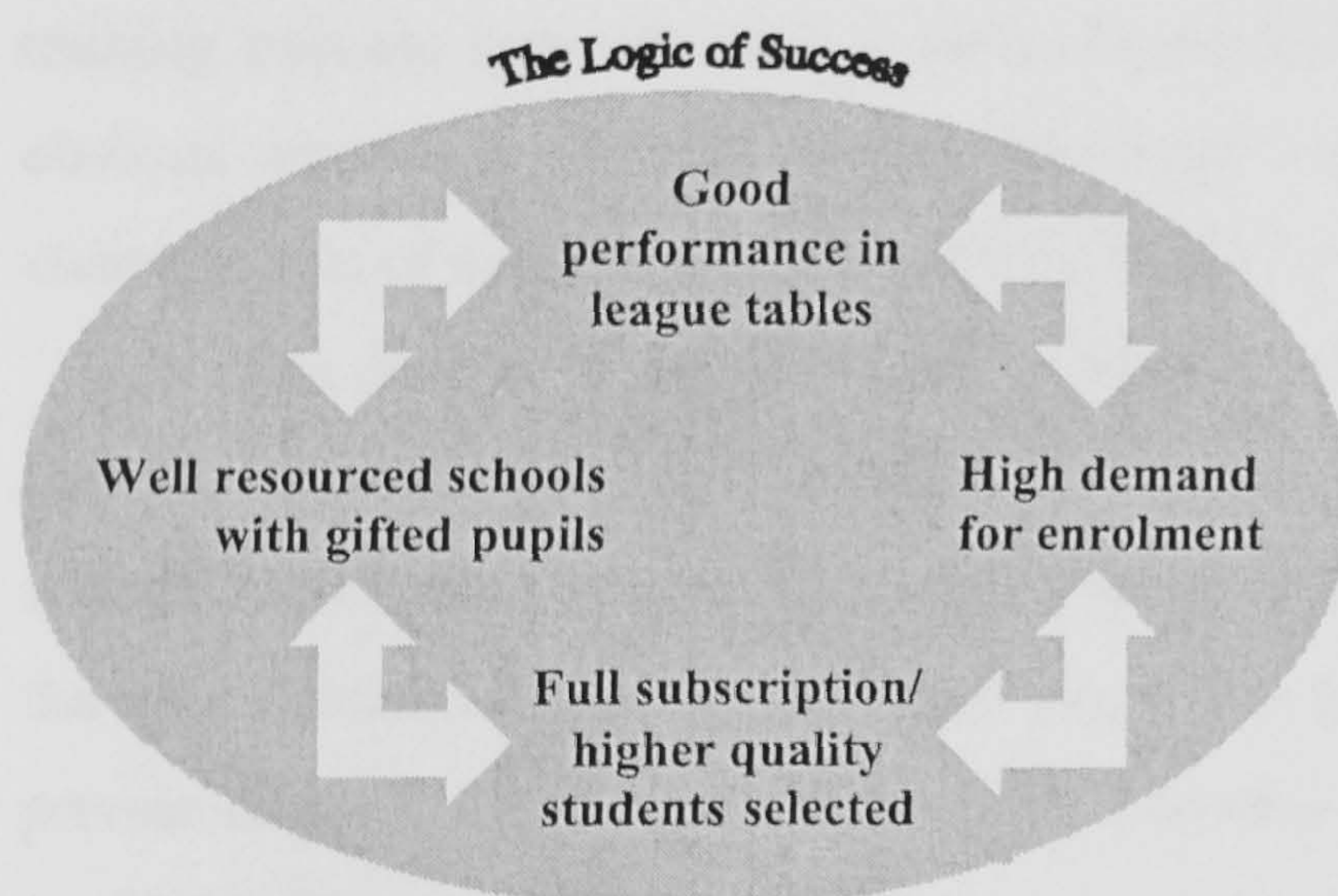


Fig. 1.2

Of course, there is a mirror image of this model, which is that of the failing schools. Government says rather less about the inevitability of this scenario as a direct result of the ideologically motivated policy that creates the educational market place, nor does it any longer accept, responsibility for the social, practical and ethical ramifications of failing

schools. It takes neither a socialist, nor a sociologist to appreciate that those disenfranchised by the forces of late capitalism are likely to find themselves hopelessly positioned, by the 'market place' education system also (Apple, 1996, Avis et al, 1996). The other major element of the Act to be considered here is the National Curriculum (NC). The general framework consists of core English, mathematics and science, and foundation subjects (of which PE is one), attainment targets, programmes of study and a structured assessment programme at 7,11,14 and 16 for each subject. Its stated objectives were to provide all pupils with a common curriculum. The principle of a *national curriculum* was broadly welcomed across the political spectrum (Lawton, 1989). However, in social, cultural and political terms Kenneth Baker's National Curriculum (Secretary for State for Education in 1988) was not socially or politically neutral. It is on these grounds that it has been the subject of considerable criticism.

In political terms, Chitty (1990) points out that as part of the ERA, the NC effectively supports the commodification of education: A centrally standardized curriculum, coupled with the publication of test results, works to provide the new consumers (parents) with hard information on which to base their choices. It has also been criticized for being politically divisive because it moves curriculum control away from teachers, educationalists and LEAs to politicians (Whitty, 1990). The role of the teacher, within this, has been redefined in technical rather than professional terms, as functionaries who deliver knowledge and collect assessment data to provide quantifiable consumer information. Lawton (1989) highlights, that this arrangement is driven by political ideological, rather than professional interests, in that little or no consideration is given to *how* this structure might produce improvements in educational standards. Ball's (1990) research of the policy making process supports such a view; he contends that there has been an increasingly obvious separation between the generation and implementation of policy and that this is a characteristic of a managerial perspective of policy making.

The content of the NC is also subject to criticism from a socio-cultural perspective (see for example, MacNeil, 1990). The fact that the NC is not statutory for independent schools raised many suspicions that its founders saw it as populist and therefore protecting the educational status quo. The latter point was particularly visible with the support that private education had received from the Thatcher Government via incentives such as the Assisted Places Scheme and tax exemptions through charity status. Socially, the inconsistencies of the public/private divide were strengthened rather than reduced. Moreover, the NC content is socially and culturally regressive; 'The subjects thereby instated bear an uncanny resemblance to the list which generally defined secondary school subjects in the 1904 Regulations' (Goodson, 1990, p. 48). This is, as Goodson argues, disturbing because it ignores a generation of educational research and development. The NC is also open to criticism for its heavily, 'imperialist and eurocentric' content (MacNeil, 1990) that ignores recommendations of the Swann report published only a few years previously.

Policy analysts and critics have been quick to point out the shortcomings of these reforms in practical terms, pointing to the political ideological tensions incumbent in their design. Whitty (1990) and Lawton (1993) consider the Reform Act as an example of the inner ideological tensions of the Conservative party expressing itself through policy. Thatcherism was a combination of neo-liberal libertarianism with neo-conservative 'cultural

rightism,' generalized and promoted under the guise of individualism (Lawton, 1993, p. 2). Therefore, the ERA 1988 represents an uncomfortable amalgam of beliefs. With the input of neo-liberal think tanks such as the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) and the neo-conservative Hillgate Group, the decentralization of the education system in a market place was juxtaposed with the traditional restorationist content of the National Curriculum. Simultaneous attempts to construct an education system that facilitated workforce competitiveness in a global economy and preserved ethnocentric cultural values and practices were as Esland (1996) considers 'misconceived in the first place' (1996, p. 20). The result, as Lawton (1993) argued, was a series of ideological contradictions;

Between vocationalism and traditional knowledge, between freedom and control, between local and central control, nationalism and internationalism, special educational needs and national needs, populist capitalism and state power (Lawton, 1993, p. 60).

In educational terms, 1988 ERA ushered in the dawn of a new political and ideologically motivated educational era in this country. The language of this era is a forced emulation of the marketplace; the familiar tones of consumerist discourse ring out; clients, consumers, service, choice and diversity are chorused with the harsher pragmatic language of economics; commodity, efficiency, forecasts, competition, performance figures, growth, profit and loss. At the same time we have been bombarded with discourses urging back to basics, discipline, morality, traditional family values and nationalism. For over a decade the policy making of the New Right has imported its contradictory ideological views of society into education. The ERA 1988 is now a part of educational, institutional and social culture, in spite of the serious questions remaining on issues of democratic accountability (Carr & Hartnett, 1996) and inequity (Evans, 1993). It seems that this state of affairs will continue, given New Labour's current reluctance for reform, that challenges the ideology of the 'market.'

There are two powerful arguments as to why decentralization and restorations are flawed responses in a late modern era. Firstly, nostalgia makes for bad policy making (Evans, Penney & Davies, 1996, p. 3); the restorationist content of recent reforms demonstrates deep insensitivity to the needs of a modern pluralistic society, and perhaps more surprisingly, to the human capital resource that the diversity of pluralism offers the economy. This is largely because embedded in restorationism are outmoded attitudes towards class, gender, race and culture that has taken generations of educational research and educational development to deconstruct. Secondly, beneath the rhetoric, as Esland

(1996) points out, the educational market place embraces values of competitive individualism which underlies free market principles. In so doing it endorses by association a form of unfettered capitalism that values 'growing inequality, social polarization and the promotion of individual consumption over social citizenship'(Esland, 1996, p. 41). As Apple (1996) puts it "freedom' and 'choice' in the new educational market will increasingly be for those who can afford them. 'Diversity' in schooling simply will be a more polite word for the condition of educational apartheid' (p. 38). Apple further adds that in the period where the postmodernist mood is upon us and the 'grand narratives of progress are seen to be deeply flawed is it appropriate to turn to yet another grand narrative - the market - for the solution?'(Ibid., p. 48).

It wasn't only through the ERA that the Right Wing 'think tanks' made their ideological visions felt. The Hillgate Group, the Centre for Policy Studies and the Institute of Economic Affairs called for radical reform of initial teacher training. Their neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideologies were at odds with the content of most teacher training courses, although for differing reasons, indeed the Hillgate group was in favour of abolishing teacher education altogether. The creation of CATE (Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education), in the mid eighties effectively saw the beginning of the centralization of teacher education in England and Wales, it will be remembered primarily for its circulars promoting the Postgraduate Certificate of Education route into teaching and for advocating school, University, partnerships. Slightly later however, de-regulation was also taking place with the introduction of the Licensed Teacher and Articled Teacher Schemes that relied almost entirely upon school based training. The teaching unions and teaching profession had, by the early nineties, been significantly emasculated by successive legislation that it was unable to resist further centralization of power.

However, the ideological thinkers of the New Right wanted more radicalism and wished to completely separate what it saw as a bastion for egalitarian, left wing idealism - teacher education departments and colleges - with Initial Teacher Training (ITT). It was something around which the conflicting New Right opinions towards education could converge upon. It wasn't long before more legislation was being proposed. Kenneth Clarke began the, now familiar, process of 'recontextualization' by media, creating a crisis and then producing a Consultation Document (DES, 1992), in which the proposed solutions to the alleged crisis were presented. The Conservative Government's desire to move teacher education into schools and out of higher education, away from the educationalists. What

followed was a putative deprecation of pedagogy by ministers and their quangos in order to justify their ideological reforms.

Clarke's successor John Patten produced a more radical White Paper in 1993, which was soon to be presented as the 1993 Education Bill. With regard to Initial Teacher Education (ITE) the following proposals were forwarded,

- The abolition of Council of Accreditation in Teacher Education (CATE).
- The Establishment of a Teacher Training Agency (TTA) that would allocate funding to all Initial Teacher Training courses, and much of the educational Research in England (formerly the duty of the Higher Education Funding Council for England).
- A central part of the TTA's remit was to promote the development of School Centred Initial Teacher Training courses (SCITT).

(Ambrose, 1996, p. 24)

In spite of concerns expressed by schools, governors, parents and the hitherto respected voice of Higher Education, the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals (CVCP), the Bill with the majority of its proposals intact, became statute in 1994. The government had succeeded in fully centralizing control over ITT in England and by abolishing CATE meant that the Secretary of State would effectively preside over the decision making process without uninvited professional advice. Ambrose (1996) summarizes this by concluding that 'teaching would become one of the most unprotected professions' (p. 25). Calls by the CVCP and some politicians to emulate the Scottish example by establishing an elected General Teaching Council (GTC) that would fill the void left by CATE were not carried. Equally worrying was the Lords' Amendment, overturned in the Bill's passage through the Commons that allows schools to go it alone in the provision of ITT without University accreditation. Concerns now also remain within Higher Education with regard to the likelihood of a narrowing of research funded by the TTA and a research agenda that encourage an emptying out of critical content.

The purpose of this digression is to establish a contextual backdrop; The current Labour Government has done little to redress these ideological shifts in educational structures and provision, leaving us with the increasingly culturally 'logical' market solution to educational provision in England and Wales, with all the trappings of Darwinistic thought that it engenders and legitimizes. Within this context, we must consider the training of the

next generation of PE teachers. Clemson (1996) considers that the transmission of cultural values due to the state control of ITE needs addressing closely. It seems, as Evans, Penney & Davies (1996a) point out that teacher education has been effectively de-theorized to the point where teacher educators are limited to providing the minimal techniques for teaching without time to provide opportunities for theoretical feedback or reflection on why we do what we do. With such shorter and weaker forms of teacher education, what will fill the experiences of student teachers? Will the discourse of 'pragmatics' of the education market place, and the 'nostalgia' of nationalistic cultural restorationism replace the critical, analytic discourses once occupied by higher Education teacher education courses, imperfect though they are? What are the gender implications of the current educational landscape?

1.3.2 The Interplay of Hegemonic Masculinity and Market Forces in Physical Education

Many, if not all of the recent reforms, pander to the status quo. In a de-regulated, market oriented education system, the successful reproduction of existing cultural hierarchies is often the very commodity through which schools secure economic survival. Indeed, in many cases (such as the grammar school), a virtue is made of tradition in an attempt to appeal to the middle classes and aspiring 'petit bourgeoisie' respectively. Whether enfranchized or not, children now lie at the mercy of residual cultural hegemonies, that previous generations of educational policy sought to remove.

The above represents a deliberately bleak scenario in which social and educational impoverishment is likely to follow from overzealous political ideology and economic pragmatism, with prophetic echoes of the Hayekian 'road to serfdom' thesis. In the case of PE these concerns are not voiced without substantiation: The work of Evans & Penney throughout the 1990s has made a detailed assessment of the impact of the 1988 ERA on Physical Education in schools. In a series of reports, their research suggests that the structure and content of PE are being radically influenced by the ERA reforms (See Penney & Evans, 1999). Their conclusions also begin to bridge the gap between politics, policy making, and cultural hegemony that pervades society and education. They identify a strongly political commitment to culturally restorationist tendencies (Evans & Penney, 1995).

The fact that PE was made a foundation subject was extremely good news for the future of PE in the National Curriculum. However, without a minimum statutory requirement for curriculum time and resources, PE (amongst other foundation subjects) is left to compete for curriculum time and resources (Evans, Penney & Bryant 1993a). It does

so within the context of being a subject with socially marginal status (Sparkes, Templin & Schempp, 1990; Sparkes & Templin, 1992) due in part to the historical legacy of 'practical' subjects being granted less status than their classical academic 'cognitive competitors' such as English, Maths and Science. With head teachers and governors making time and budgetary decisions, the legacy of PE status is likely to prove a significant factor against the support of PE. Furthermore, the tradition of PE as a non-examined subject is supported by the emphasis in the NCPE on team games, performance and practical aspects. The pressure of this market rationality has traditionally been interpreted by PE departments and teachers, to channel their efforts into 'producing' successful extra curricular team games in order to present an attractive 'shop window,' for the school. Penney and Evans (1999) comment;

Exactly what was recognized as physical education's selling point is an important issue to consider, and not all heads of physical education agreed with the emphasis that was being encouraged by senior management and schools' governors. (Penney & Evans, 1999, p. 96).

The combination of devolved *laissez-faire* budgetary policies and a 'flexible' PE curriculum structure nevertheless, leaves the door ajar for 'common sense' ideology to dominate PE curriculum planning and delivery. The re-emphasis on traditional team games in the NCPE coupled with budgetary limitations means that justifications for a return to cheaper whole class teaching, single sex PE with traditional skill based content has been re-legitimized. If we add to this the pressure put on by a need to satisfy the 'consumer' conscious governors and the parents themselves who invariably relate PE to their own school experiences, the possibilities for a regressive PE based on cultural nostalgia and conventional social hierarchies are evident. Therefore, the link between the policy for PE and hegemonic masculine reconstruction is a very significant one because of the cultural baggage that accompanies nostalgic restorationism. By this I am referring to the set of social values transmitted by such traditional PE pedagogy and practice; values that position hegemonic masculinity at the centre of PE discourse.

Hall (1996) reminds us of the importance of historical perspectives for understanding the relational process of gender in sport and society. Restorationist discourses that call for a return to 'traditional' PE and sporting values, also implicitly embrace the education of a set of gendered values and dispositions belonging to another social era, something Maguire (1999) refers to as a 'wilful nostalgia,' characterized by 'a sense of historical decline or loss, a departure from some mythical golden age of belonging' (p. 189). Discourses of nostalgia

and tradition in PE and sport, have been used before, as Kirk's (1992) discussion of post war PE points out;

In a very short space of time, competitive team games had become the core of physical education and the largest part of the programme. In the process, the meaning of school physical education was itself reconstructed. Within a decade and a half, a version of physical education, that had until the 1950s only been 'traditional' to the private schools in Britain became 'traditional physical education' for everyone, for the masses as well as the wealthy (Kirk, 1992, p. 84).

At this time the redefinition (or re-affirmation) of state PE to centre around competitive games brought with it a particular set of masculine values as ideology fostered in the Victorian public schools between 1850 and 1914 (Mangan, 1981). It is probably hard to over-emphasize the impact that this shift had on the education of retrospective hegemonic gender relations in state PE. The *games ethic* as the term had come to be known, promoted the educational qualities of team games that for males were seen to both instil and embody the ideals of success, dynamism, vigour, competitiveness, individualism and fair play. The cult of athleticism that accompanied the games ethic promoted a particular kind of masculinity or 'manliness' that the following, written in 1891 by the former Loretto Headmaster, R.M. Freeman, portrays succinctly:

I can only value skill in athletics so far as it is a token of genuine manliness. Be careful with what I mean by this term 'manly,'...I want each of my boys to be foremost in braving pain and facing danger, to take a licking without flinching, to stop the most violent rush at football, to stand up to the swiftest ball in cricket, to play an uphill game pluckily, to run races gamely, in short to 'funk' nothing... robust, healthy frame, strengthened by constant air and exercise and tempered by the wholesome toils of an athletic life. (Freeman, 1891, Cited in Mangan, 1981. P. 38)

These forms of manliness, defined in practical terms were considered an ideal and have been re-legitimized in modern discursive and practical forms through documents such as John Major's 'Piece de Resistance,' *Raising the Game* (Gilroy & Clarke 1997). As a version of manliness the cult of athleticism always represented a precarious mixture of beliefs; Christian gentility and social Darwinism (Mangan 1981), but it nevertheless, set out purposefully to construct hegemonic masculinities through PE and school sport (Mangan, 1987, Dunning 1999a), just as it actively subordinated women (Mangan & Park, 1987). It is significant that social Darwinism easily became the more powerful of the belief systems in Victorian times, and remains the same powerful discursive rationale in the market place today, almost any form of educational success and failure is reduced to such underlying

'certainties.' It should also be noted that the unfortunately ambiguous canonization of Darwin's 'survival of the fittest' was used to underpin both the games ethic and the cult of athleticism. The 'fittest' was taken in its most literal embodied and social sense and the means to achieve that state of mind and body, its advocates believed that this was best achieved through competitive team games. Therefore, games 'were a training ground for life; and service to one's country was the ultimate test of that training'(Tozer, 1986, p. 79). This ideological reading of Darwin ignored cooperation and adaptation, merely choosing the theme of competition to construct a popular justification for competitive, dominant masculine dispositions and practices.

The competitive games ethic and the cult of athleticism would not and could not be practised or preached with equal fervour with the working classes; the emphasis on games within state PE saw the movement of games away from a practice that delineated social superiority towards a 'common denominator' (Kirk, 1992, pp. 91-92). Competitive games had been democratized and socially reconstructed, not as a sign of bourgeois identity but national identity (ibid., p. 92). However, what had also been 'democratized' was the set of hegemonic, competitive masculine values, practices and dispositions that underpin the ethic of competitive games. These dominant masculine dispositions had a profound effect on PE for both girls and boys. Following the 1944 Butler Act and the beginning of mass secondary education the introduction of competitive team games into state schooling was accompanied by an influx of male teachers into the male profession which by the 1950s had justified and legitimized competitive team games (Kirk, 1992). The dispositions embedded in these games placed hegemonic masculine ways of being *at the centre* of PE discourse. The legitimate place for girls and female educators in this 'traditional' approach was subordinated in relation to men (Dunning, 1999b).

While the history and development of female PE was based on a different set of assumptions to male PE, it has always operated within the socio-cultural framework of patriarchal power sport (see Fletcher, 1987, Scraton, 1993). Traditional female games were imported as well and used in conjunction with Ling gymnastics and dance to reinforce the development of perceived feminine qualities such a grace, poise, aesthetics. These were reinforced by the biological arguments concerning gender roles of men and women. Therefore, the advocates of 'traditional PE,' do not tell the whole story. They omit to mention that traditional practices are underpinned and constructed by a value system that was and still is socially and culturally divisive.

The gendered baggage of 'traditional PE' just like that of the ideological 'free market' discourses that it now feeds, invokes the grossest separation of social processes and outcomes from social power. It divorces human action from social structure and harnesses biological reductionism, and meritocratic individualism in order to justify hegemonic masculine dominance. Therefore, in its modern reincarnation, restorationism in the form of 'traditional PE,' is a dangerous anachronism from the point of view of gender equity. In spite of research evidence that schools and children would benefit more greatly by radically alternative approaches to the provision of sport and PE in schools (see for example, Furlong, & Cartmel, 1997; Roberts, 1996; Kirk, 1999; Penney & Chandler, 2000; Flintoff & Scraton, 2001), traditional arguments retain a culturally powerful credence, and are being pushed in contemporary political circles. Finally, the cultural supply and demand cycle are completed with successful and competitive school teams proving popular selling points to prospective parents, meanwhile, the cultural legacy of hegemonic masculinity is retained in and through PE becoming modified to fit the market place education system. It is in this gendered arena that I locate male teachers.

1.4 AN EMERGENT THESIS

The emerging thesis is conceptually driven, and the collected life history data will be used to illustrate and explore these conceptual understandings. It is taken that male student teachers of PE and sport are soon to become key intermediaries in the social construction of gender in PE and school sport: Male PE teachers continue to enjoy the majority of dominant positions within the PE profession and due to the ambiguity of the National Curriculum texts and the cultural legacy of masculine hegemony in the subject, many PE curricula still use traditionally male activities as the reference point. The way in which their previous attitudes and dispositions towards PE and school sport, are drawn on, challenged and confirmed during their experiences through teacher education is a key point of interest.

Assuming the significance of hegemonic masculinity in PE and the key role of teachers in its transmission, this study attempts to refine our insights into where and when male teachers themselves come to acquire masculine dispositions and how they position themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity.

I shall state my position here in simple terms, but they remain highly elusive in elaboration: Teachers are taken to be in some way, *living links*, who, as embodied, socialized individuals, bind past, present and future gendered PE discourse and practice together. The connection between the participants' biographies as student, student teacher

and teacher, are acknowledged and examined closely. The focal point of these living links is taken to be teacher education. The period and process of becoming a teacher are seen as the nexus of a cycle of social construction and legitimation, where the individual biography of the student teacher meets the institutional discourses and practices of schools and higher education. With these issues in mind I shall address the conceptual context of masculinities in a little more detail.

CHAPTER TWO: A CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT: 'THIS IS A MAN'S WORLD': MASCULINITIES AND SOCIAL POWER

We cannot articulate social constructions of masculine teacher identities outside of their relationship with power, femininity and socio-historical location. This is the first and most critical exercise because it shows masculinities and the identities built around them, as the social constructions that they are, and that masculine identities form relationally in the context of experiencing an individual's 'life world.'

The above raises some key questions, for example in what kind of society am I studying masculinity? What is my position on the prevailing condition? What is the nature of the relationship between the individuals and society and how does masculinity connect with these? Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to position the social study of masculinity and masculine teacher identity in PE in a broader conceptual context of modern society.

2.1 THE PROBLEM WITH POSTMODERN MASCULINITIES

2.1.1 Deconstructing Gender

It is undeniable that postmodernist thought has become a prominent intellectual perspective (for example see, Harvey, 1990; Best & Kellner, 1995, Kellner, 1997; Lyon, 1994). The impact of postmodern thought on the social sciences and humanities has been 'considerable and traumatic' (Delamont 1998). However, to ignore the postmodern turn just because the issues and problems being produced in this sphere of intellectual activity are pernicious, would be a profound form of closure. Equally it would be dangerous ground to accept all that professes to be postmodern without subjecting it to serious critical examination. What is certain (and not a lot is in this debate) is that there is more to the postmodern turn than the histrionic outpourings of male middle class intellectuals, although there are some fine

examples (none will be cited) postmodernism has become a buzz word for architects, designers, academics, critics of art, literature and film, journalists, social scientists and now, it seems, the human movement profession (see Fernandez-Balboa, 1997). Indeed, it has become almost tangibly fashionable to hold postmodernist views. Part of the reason for widespread appeal of postmodernism is semantic; its multiple meanings give the intellectual movement extraordinary fuzziness and add to its propensity for being an intellectual depository for any non-modernist idea. In fact, everyone and anyone with a reason to deconstruct the 'iron cages' of instrumental rationality, the legacy of Enlightenment Thought, along with humanism, science or reason has seen fit to do so to by drawing on postmodernist perspectives.

For many excluded groups, such as women, gays, blacks, and other colonized or marginalized peoples, postmodernism has presented an intellectual mandate for the emancipatory voice they had been struggling for for so long. Often however, instead of getting the public and intellectual stage they deserve, they have had to struggle to be heard amongst a new cacophony of postmodernist voices: Popes and Bishops are re-inventing religion to retain their power and influence; Right Wing politicians across Europe are reasserting the right wing nationalist, culturally restorationist voice; Capitalists are commodifying culture and selling it back to the people it came from in the name of eudemonism, especially sports culture. Within these and other examples is a prominent multiplicity of masculine voices, clamouring to be heard, to assert their voice (read 'agendas') in the arena of gender politics.

So what is postmodern? Well, the appropriate answer to this might be everything and perhaps ultimately nothing—I take postmodernism to mean an intellectual turn born out of the belief that the modernist project has failed, and its modes of thought are defunct and in need of replacing. *Postmodernity* is the social condition that is said to have replaced or be replacing modernity as the characteristic nature of western societies today (Lyon, 1994). Obviously, the two terms (Postmodernity, Postmodernism) are constructed around similar meanings, but we need to be very cautious with their synonymous use (Hargreaves, 1994). The basic pillars of postmodernity and postmodernist thought are summarized by Giddens (1990);

Apart from the general sense of living through a period of marked disparity with the past, the term usually means one or more of the following: that we have discovered that nothing can be known with any certainty, since all pre-existing 'foundations' of epistemology have been shown to be unreliable: that 'history' is

devoid of teleology and consequently no vision of 'progress' can plausibly be defended; and that a new social and political agenda has come into being with the increasing prominence of ecological concerns and perhaps new social movements generally (Giddens, 1990, p. 46).

While I agree with what much of what postmodernist writers have to say about society, like many I remain uneasy about calling it postmodernity. I agree with Giddens (1996) that much of what passes for postmodernist thought these days is in fact poststructuralism re-focused; the breaking down of traditional social orders, the re-ordering of the local knowledge by global knowledge of disciplines emanating from science, the fragmentation of traditional lifestyles and life cycles, and the separation of the sign and its referent and of course, deconstructionism. Sarup (1996) positions postmodernism rather well, when he points out;

Postmodernism cannot be said to be new; after all, most of what it advocates was already present in Nietzsche's work. We have to admit either that postmodernism has been around for a very long time, or that modernism has contained within itself, a postmodern dimension (1996, p. 103).

Therefore, postmodernism is contained within modernism as an internal critique. Nietzsche himself represented one of the earliest and strongest of these voices. He believed that modernism was the source of many corruptions, enforcing what Weber later defined as the 'iron cage of rationality' (see Ritzer, 2000) that denied a simple existence. That said, Nietzsche advocated neither decadence nor nihilism in response. In order to escape modernistic nihilism the Nietzschean 'superman' should pursue;

Amor fati: that one wants nothing to be other than it is, not in the future, not in the past, not in all eternity. Not merely to endure all that which happens of necessity, still less to dissemble it - all idealism is untruthfulness in the face of necessity - but to love it (EH, p. 68, cited in Staught & Turner, 1988, p. 233).

The rejection of universalism or 'grand narratives,' and retreating to the security of particularism, has intellectual implications for collective responsibility towards equity, equality or emancipatory issues, as an unsaid consequence. The problem is, of course, that many interpret Nietzsche's call for action as a form of radical individualism that lures postmodernism close to another form of nihilism in which 'anything goes' and no-one compares notes any more - the balance between Nietzsche's modernist nihilism and the dystopic postmodernist nihilism is therefore, a precarious one.

One thing is certain, poststructuralist and postmodernist perspectives provide many powerful and useful tools for analysis, the most notable of which are those of deconstructionism. As Von der Lippe (1997) describes;

One can question the privileged status and legitimacy of established relations and forms of power and replace binary oppositions, dominant meanings, and unfounded functions. At the same time, the act of deconstruction enables one to bring to the foreground and assert marginalized meanings, histories, and texts. (Von der Lippe, 1997, p. 28)

The potential of deconstructionist perspectives to 'unwrap' every modernist, rationalist argument (every argument?) it comes across is most welcome in the study of masculinities and social power. For example, the questioning of one of the main narrative assumptions in sport and PE, for example replacing narratives such as 'all sport and exercise is good for you' and that sport is 'value free' with understandings that sport and exercise can harm and be used as a vehicle for exclusion, oppression and suppression, has taken the social study of sport forwards. Postmodernism (or poststructuralism) has many interpretations, many of which are hard to distinguish from critical theory, as Von der Lippe (1997) demonstrates in relation to masculine orthodoxy in human movement arenas;

Put simply the notion that men are superior to women and therefore the former should have 'power over' and dominate the latter has become broadly accepted. Hegemonic orthodoxy (masculine or otherwise), however is neither stable nor entirely successful. Indeed, it is a locus of struggle, and as such it should be subject to deconstruction (Von der Lippe, 1997, p. 29).

However, what lies beyond deconstructionism for analyses of masculinity in society, sport, education and PE? What does it suggest if it cannot supplant universal metanarratives of social justice and the amelioration of human endeavour? Considering human movement, Fernandez-Balboa (1997) among others considers postmodernism as an intellectual position that can be wedded to older emancipatory positions such as critical theory - something he terms as 'critical postmodernism,' which embraces the metanarratives of social justice as its core agenda whilst embracing postmodernist insights - attractive. Nevertheless, as I have argued elsewhere (Brown, 1998), and as authors in the same volume contend (see Bain, 1997), do such 'modified' forms of postmodernism really represent a postmodernism, or, is it more accurately a contemporary reformulation of critical theory, drawing on the analytic tools of poststructuralism? I am more comfortable with the latter. Either way the insight in this text represents useful and provocative insights into the human movement profession, of which teaching PE is a part.

2.1.2 The Gender Politics of Silent Meta-narratives

Beyond deconstructionism, the end of history (via grand narratives) there is a consequence that lurks behind the intellectualist lure of postmodernism - particularism. There are strongly

political undertones to many fervent supporters of particularism in the face of gender power relations. At best, particularism represents the celebration and legitimation of social and cultural diversity, few would find this contentious, but further along the continuum between universalism and particularism we find the more extreme, 'darker side' of particularism, with 'silent' complicity or even open advocacy of the prevailing gender power relations in society, on the basis that it 'just is.' Social and cultural understandings are, I believe, relative. In this I agree with Smith (1997) that we should learn to live relativism in the form of negotiated particularism, pluralism and multiculturalism, but this assumes that acts of deconstruction lead to reciprocity, mutual understanding and a disposition towards collaborative reconstruction, and I am by no means convinced, that such dispositions are shared across the postmodernist intellectual community, nor are they supported by empirical sociological observation.

The modalities of gender power certainly aren't changing too quickly. One has only to look to the 'city' in the UK; the top 100 blue chip companies remain fairly constant. Inside the boardroom few radical changes of gender, race, or class have taken place in the last few decades either. As deconstructivist analyses make clear, the power bases in business, politics, sport, and education, is still predominantly European, heterosexual, white middle class and male. The opportunities of voice that a truly radical postmodernism promises, are all too often annihilated or shut off as 'other,' by politically more powerful voices (Goodson, 1995b). In social science we must be extremely wary of particularist arguments that suppose it will provide the panacea for social oppression, as Harvey (1990) notes;

The language game of a cabal of international bankers may be impenetrable to us, but that does not put it on a par with the equally impenetrable language of inner-city blacks from the stand point of power relations (Harvey, 1990, p. 117).

Beyond deconstruction, if there cannot be metanarrative, then there must not be silence at this level or the vacuum will be filled. From a gendered perspective, silence is another metanarrative; the main critique of both Lyotard and Derrida's positions on the subject (see Harvey, 1990). This is perhaps even more highly problematic because of the way in which it undermines a collective argument against masculine, heterosexual forms of domination. Bain's example is indicative of the point I am making here;

In order to sustain commercial support for the LPGA, tournament officials, golfers, and television networks collaborate in presenting a picture of women's professional sport that denies the presence of lesbians and reinforces traditional heterosexual values. The net effect was to make lesbians invisible at an event

that is one the major lesbian festivals of the nation. As members of the viewing audience, it made us feel invisible and powerless as well (Bain, 1997, p. 194).

The postmodernist polemic, although sophisticated, is vulnerable to manipulation at moral, political, and ideological levels. The vacuum left by the 'end of history,' the 'denial' of grand narratives and the celebration of particularism is vulnerable to renewed domination by those with power to reconstruct such narratives through philosophical pragmatism and social, political and cultural extremism. A good example, that links to the earlier discussion on the context of education, is the shift from explicit Keynesianism towards an implicit belief in the free market, which in education engenders legitimizes the replacement of 'education for all' with the a belief in the 'natural' selection and regulation of the 'educational marketplace'(Apple, 1996). Justifications of the 'market' are profoundly ideological and play into the hands of patriarchal structures, cultures and dispositions that present such economic frameworks to mediate the transition of traditional patriarchal modalities of power to more dynamic, flexible forms. Critics of postmodernism often argue that the movement comes suspiciously close to complicity to a neo-liberal political agenda, where, 'much of its critical thrust has melted into a new conservatism' (Thomas & Walsh, 1998, p. 367); A political stance that is eager to de-politicize all forms of oppression and inequity and represent it as an inevitable quality of a dynamic, late 'advanced' capitalist society. Indeed Jameson (1984a, 1984b, cited in Harvey, 1990) theorizes that postmodernism is identifiably the cultural logic of late capitalism in which culture has become integrated into commodity production and as Harvey (1990) argues, 'the struggles that were once exclusively waged in the arena of production have, as a consequence, now spilled outwards to make cultural production an arena of fierce social conflict'(p. 63). The removal of explicit metanarratives takes with it human responsibility for our social condition. A denial of metanarratives makes the particularizing of social morality increasingly acceptable and allows for the restoration, reformulation and continuation of pre modern and modernist 'rational' essentialisms into radical postmodern thought. Along with these come practices of masculine power and domination, and, after all why *not*?

So where does all this leave us? Well, like Sarup (1996), Harvey distinguishes between POSTmodernISM and postMODERNism, favouring the latter interpretation as a set of intellectual ideas that take modernism as its point of departure rather than attempting to deny modernism intellectually and bypass it completely. Harvey recognizes, 'the rhetoric of postmodernism is dangerous for it avoids confronting the realities of political economy and circumstances of global power'(1990, p. 116). He concedes that many of the metanarratives

in social theory (he cites, Marx, Freud and Althusser) are much more sophisticated and open-ended than is often admitted by postmodern polemicists. Furthermore, he argues even the most puritanical postmodernists are 'faced with making some universalizing gesture' (ibid., p. 117). Lyotard's 'appeal to justice' and Derrida's 'total political silence,' are pertinent examples of this contradiction. That this is logically or theoretically defensible is doubtful, as Harvey concedes, that it relates empirically to society and its development is highly improbable. Nevertheless, read in Harvey's terms postmodernism offers some startling insights into contemporary thought that we would do well to listen to.

What is my position? It isn't postmodernist per se. That said, postmodernist insights and techniques are as valuable as they are disconcerting, and I undertake to draw on some of these insights where appropriate. I find Lyon's (1996) position most convincing. He suggests that the way forward is to listen to pre-modern, modernist and postmodern thought. Therefore, we need to learn from and utilize the insights and techniques of poststructuralism and postmodernism, yet remain guarded about the extreme 'laissez-faire' philosophical and epistemological standpoints, tempting though they are. We need to take stock of the changes to the social order and gender relations, whilst placing them in context with the observable pre-modern and modernist continuities. I think when *these precepts* are adopted in sociological enquiry, what we come up with is not postmodernity at all but another transitional phase in modernity itself, the response to which is perhaps less postmodernity than a *reflexive modernity*.

2.2 OPENING UP A THIRD SPACE: REFLEXIVE MODERNITY, MASCULINITY AND INSTITUTIONS

Women, men and science are created, together, out of a complex dynamic of interwoven cognitive, emotional and social forces (Keller, 1985, p. 4)

2.2.1 *Reflexive Modernity and Masculinist Science?*

The main rival explanation to the modernity/postmodernity debate is spearheaded by the work of Giddens (1990) and Beck (1989) who present the case for a 'Reflexive Modernity' through their respective critical, ontological sociological theories (Bryant & Jary 2001). Lash (1994) contends that these approaches mark the opening up of a significant third space, 'a fully different and open-ended scenario' (Lash, 1994, p. 112), between the utopic metanarratives of modernism a dystopic evolutionism of postmodernism. What is happening, according to these theorists and others like them, is a process of 'reflexive

modernization,' a replacement of a traditional social order with a progressively reflexive form of modernity. Significantly this is an unfinished and conceptually open ended process.

More recently the works of Lash & Urry (1994); Giddens (1994); Adam Beck, & Van Loon (2000); Beck (2000) and others, have developed these into more focused social ontological commentaries on our social condition. The common dynamic linking them is the sociological concept of reflexivity applied to science, which they agree lays at the heart of the scientific rationality driving modernization. As Stauth and Turner (1988) put it, reflexive modernization is 'the malaise of modernity,' created and driven by Western science, which Giddens (1991) considers;

In respect both of social and natural scientific knowledge, the reflexivity of modernity turns out to confound the expectations of Enlightenment thought - although it is the very product of that thought. The original progenitors of modern science and philosophy believed themselves to be preparing the way for securely founded knowledge of the social and natural worlds: the claims of reason were due to overcome the dogmas of tradition, offering a sense of certitude in the place of the arbitrary character of habit and custom. But, the reflexivity of modernity actually undermines the certainty of knowledge, even in the core domains of natural science. Science depends, not on the inductive accumulation of proofs, but on the methodological principle of doubt. No matter how cherished, and apparently well established, a given scientific tenet might be, it is open to revision - or might have to be discarded altogether - in the light of new ideas or findings. The integral reaction between modernity and radical doubt is an issue which, once exposed to view, is not only disturbing to philosophers but is existentially troubling for ordinary individuals (Giddens, 1991, p. 21).

The universal truths of society, guiding Enlightenment thought, even if they do exist, are unobtainable in their absolute form. Science can only provide circumstantial truths due to its methodological adherence to the 'principle of doubt' (Cassell, 1993, p. 294), and so never fulfil the modernist project. Therefore, the process of modernization itself has become reflexive and it continues to change according to its own self reflections. The important point in all these theories is their attempts to link individuals' ontologies to this reflexive process, Giddens (1995) comments.

At the global level, therefore, modernity has become experimental. We are all, willy-nilly, caught up in a grand experiment, which is at the one time our doing - as human agents- yet to an imponderable degree outside of our control. It is not an experiment in the laboratory sense, because we do not govern the outcomes within fixed parameters - it is more like a dangerous adventure, in which each of us has to participate whether we like it or not...The global experiment of modernity intersects with, and influences as it is influenced by, the penetration of modern institutions into the tissue of day-to-day life. Not just the local

community, but intimate features of personal life and the self become intertwined with the relations of indefinite time-space extension (Giddens, 1995, p. 59).

Individuals increasingly have to derive their sense of self in modern societies through the expert systems upon which we have come to rely. However, ontological meanings remain shrouded in circumstantial uncertainty - unclarified by either science itself or the abstract systems it informs. A situation, that Giddens (1991) argues, can be 'existentially troubling' for ordinary individuals. Nevertheless, reflexive modernity implicates individuals, as Giddens (*ibid*) notes:

The level of time - space distancing introduced by high modernity is so extensive that, for the first time in human history, 'self' and 'society' are interrelated in a global milieu (Giddens, 1991, p. 32).

As technologies increasingly invade not just our cognitive consciousness, but also our bodies, the natural and social-cultural properties of the body become ever more interrelated with science raising, but not answering questions over what exactly the material body is (Turner, 1984). Science and technology coupled with consumerism have given individuals unprecedented control and developmental possibilities for their embodied selves (Featherstone, 1982). We can now change ourselves by using the many expert systems available; hormone replacement treatments allow us to change our individual chemical constitutions; surgery allows the alteration of the surface appearance of our bodies. The list is long indeed, counselling therapies, fitness regimes etc. If modernization extends to the core of the self, then so does the principle of radical doubt. How should we change ourselves and why bother? What I eat, do, think and feel today may be proved wrong or even dangerous tomorrow.

Finally, for Giddens the self-reflexive process initiated and demanded by life in modernity, means that the self becomes, almost inevitably, a 'reflexive project.' For Shilling (1993a) central to the reflexive project is the body because it provides the individual with a possibility for creating a stable sense of self. The presence of reflexively organized projects leads to their realization in the form of lifestyles. Lifestyles give meaning to modern existence by way of sets of practices (Chaney, 1996). These are negotiable and yet reflect peoples' reflexive body projects and provide material substance to individual narratives of self identity.

As knowing and thinking actors, we fashion meaning from our lives, selves and identities through drawing upon the range of interpretative schemes available to us.

Institutions now deliver many of these scientifically 'legitimate' embodied, interpretive schemes. Reflexive modernization has expanded into areas that concern the individual's own body-self -society relationship. Expert systems such as medical science, psychiatry, social science all provide constitutive knowledge (albeit as circumstantial) of what we are, who we are, and the relationship that we have with ourselves and others in society. This entry into the life of the individual by modernist dynamics is quite unprecedented and has implicated the individual in the process of reflexivity.

However, viewed through reflexive, gendered lenses, Western Science is a 'masculinist' project, perpetuating and valuing certain dispositions and ways of thinking about the world at the expense of others. Keller's (1985) insights are useful for developing this argument;

The most immediate issue for a feminist perspective on the natural sciences is the deeply rooted mythology that casts objectivity, reason, and mind as male, and subjectivity, feeling, and nature as female. In this division of emotional and intellectual labor, women have been the guarantors and protectors of the personal, the emotional, the particular, whereas science-the province par excellence of the impersonal, the rational, and the general - has been the preserve of men (Keller, 1985, p. 7).

Science has become the sole means towards Truth. This Truth is not only now seen to be inadequate (reduced to a mere 'truth') because of its inherent fallibilism leading to circumstantiality, it is also seen as an essentially masculine truth. If women and men find forms of emancipation through reflexive modernization driven by science, it is emancipation by acceptance of a relationship with a world that has been constructed around the silent and often 'absent presence' of a dominant masculinity.

Siedler (1997) describes the science of modernity as based on 'Cartesian disconnections'(p. 12) in which the pursuit of reason and objectivity resulted in the gendered (di)vision of experience. From this viewpoint the scientific basis of modernity is framed by discourses that emanate from dominant white heterosexual masculinities, characterized by imposed splits between reason and nature, mind and body, thought and emotion, matter and spirit. Keller (ibid.) again summarizes these in some more detail;

One can argue that it is precisely this division that is responsible for two notable omissions in most social studies of science. First is the failure to take serious notice, not only of the fact that science has been produced by a particular subset of the human race - that is, almost entirely white, middle class men - but also of the fact that it has evolved under the formative influence of a particular ideal of masculinity. For the founding fathers of modern science, the reliance on the language of gender was explicit: They sought a philosophy that deserved to be

called masculine, that could be distinguished from its ineffective predecessors by its virile power, its capacity to bind Nature to man's service and make her his slave (Keller, 1985, p. 7).

The masculinist rationality, by setting itself up in direct opposition to nature, comes to view the natural world as some-thing that could be discovered, conquered, understood, and then dominated and exploited by man's objective use of reason, making the world a more 'civilized' and predictable place, something Giddens, refers to as the 'socialization of nature' (1991).

With a desire to break with the traditions of the past, the progenitors of Enlightenment saw organizing social life according to reason and rationality as opposed to the spirit, emotions and nature as an attractive quest. Rational qualities were associated with particular European masculine dispositions leading to the valorizing of certain types of experience over others. In particular, this included the denial of thoughts and practices associated with the pre-modern, such as the use of myths, 'unreasonable' cultural practices, dreams, fantasies and visions became considered inexplicable and therefore a threat to the objective rational self (Siedler, 1996).

Therefore, the masculinist science of modernity silenced all other voices to reify its own position of 'rationality.' The man and the father's voice remain symbolically powerful because of associations of the male as commanding the objective and impartial voice of reason: The male voice of reason is supposedly one that doesn't listen to subjective (feminine) feelings or mythology (childish and primitive), and is associated with rationality and the mind giving, as Siedler (ibid.) puts it, moral expression to Descartes' idea that we exist as rational selves, through our minds while we have an external relationship with our bodies. Keller's (1985) view concurs, commenting, 'the division between objective fact and subjective feeling is sustained by the association of objectivity with power and masculinity, and is removed from the world of women and love' (p. 8).

2.2.2 Masculinities and Institutionalization

The contention here is that these gendered disconnections are still very much at the heart of late modernity that drives globalization through reflexive institutionalization. This raises implications for the masculine nature of not only science, but also professional knowledge, the abstract systems - institutions, and expert systems that feed on science for its legitimacy and central discourses. Therefore individuals, through their inevitable involvement with the systems of modern societies are effected by modernist gender disconnections at the level of the self, and these impacts contribute to shaping our forms of thinking and feeling in

gendered ways by legitimizing the division of experience (Classen, 1997), these then contribute to forming dispositions of gender which in turn contribute to the maintenance of a very similar social order (in spite of modernization) - hence, structuration.

By this process, men generally and especially those invested in dominant modes of masculinity, have enjoyed enormous power and privileges within modernity and continue to do so in spite of the transition to a highly reflexive modernity. On the other hand, the *double hermeneutic* (Giddens, 1990), effect of reflexive modernization has opened avenues that challenge dominant masculine modes of thinking underpinning both tradition and western science. Giddens (1994) points out that generations of feminist struggle and structural social change has meant that even the most, 'intimate connections between gender, sexuality and self-identity, are now publicly placed in question...To place them in question means asking for their discursive justification. No longer can someone say in effect, 'I am a man, and this is how men are,' 'I refuse to discuss things any further'(Giddens, 1994, pp. 105-106).

However, the displacement of a traditional unquestioned division of experience that is the Gender Order does not necessarily mean the banishment of gender inequality and inequity, although it may make it a theoretical possibility. Lash (in Giddens, 1994) forwards the view that reflexive modernization is a process in which there are identifiable winners and losers, such as the new middle classes, the underclass and indigenous cultures. To extend this critique to gender and power, there are significant implications for the types of gendered self that might best thrive or survive in this environment, where traditional gendered dispositions can no longer be taken for granted and the modernist universal voice has been recognized as male, the issue of power needs to be brought to the foreground. Many men and women have neither the social power, nor the personal resources to respond to increasing calls for reflexivity, be this in the work place or personal relationships. For Brittan (1989) the effects of forced social change are most noticeable with those who lack the social resources to adapt;

Masculinity only becomes problematic when changes in the social structure generate changes in institutions like the family. Thus when capitalists used women as cheap labour, they altered the terms of personal relationships in the home. Men were threatened by women entering the labour market and this led to a sharpening of gender differences and conflict (Brittan, 1989, p. 180).

Equally worrying is the oppressive nature of dominant masculine forms that are being reconstructed and the new arenas that hegemonic power and domination colonize with old power relationships. Brittan (ibid.) argues that we may well be witnessing a 'crisis in

masculinity' due to a questioning of male dominance on society, however, it does not mean the end to male domination or indeed the cult of masculinity;

The viciousness of the counter-attack against feminism, and the gay movement by the 'New Right' is indicative of some kind of strain in masculinism. Male authority can no longer be presented as taken-for-granted - it has to be defended and rationalized by recourse to the most blatant sexual stereotyping...Such a 'legitimation crisis' may be experienced differently by different groups of men (Brittan, 1989, p. 184).

This is entirely consistent with the notion of the reflexivity of science. Men may be being more reflexive about their masculinity, but their objectives for doing is not necessarily to deconstruct the Gender Order from which they benefit, but to modify it, and themselves to retain the social power and privilege accorded dominant masculinities.

If we accept reflexive modernization as the dual ongoing process of globalization and the excavating of tradition, then we need to question it for what it contains. Is it a specific form of masculine cultural imperialism? In other words, how are dominant groups, institutions, ways of being and modes of thinking being actively reconstructed on a world scale by the progressive collapsing of the boundaries of time, space and the replacement of traditional socio-cultural forms with those expert systems and reflexive institutions informed and legitimized by western scientific thought. What dynamics of gender power are embedded within these processes?

Connell (1998) argues that globalization has provided economic and cultural power to particular groups of men on an unprecedented scale, equipping them with the resources and channels to exert dominance and enforce standardization over a multiplicity of localized masculinities across the developed and developing world. The primary channel for this has been the export of institutional power;

Now, the colonial and postcolonial world saw the installation in the periphery, on a very large scale, of a range of institutions on the North Atlantic model: armies, states, bureaucracies, corporations, capital markets, labour markets, schools, law courts, transport systems. These are gendered institutions, and their functioning has directly reconstituted masculinities in the periphery. This has not necessarily meant photocopies of European masculinities. Rather pressures for change are set up that are inherent in the institutional form. (Connell, 1998, p. 11)

Globalization, therefore is fundamentally underpinned by *globalizing masculinities* - hegemonic masculine ideologies exported through institutions that promote an ordering of the social world along dominant modes of gendered consciousness. Dominant masculinities

are not just reconstructed through the promotion of neo-liberal free market discourses (which they are) but more fundamentally as a rationale for the whole *raison d'être* of the institution, inherent in the very conceptualization of structure and practice, such as in the globalization of elite sports institutions and businesses (Maguire, 1999), which are unpinned by dominant masculine world views. In a 'postcolonial' era where neo-liberalism remains ascendant, the hegemonic form of masculinity in the current world Gender Order is particularly associated with those who control its dominant institutions.

Therefore, the gender ontological dimensions of this domination through institutions, requires considerable sociological analysis in the future. The implicit function that institutions such as schools and expert systems such as PE might be serving is a significant one. For example, the way in which the 'English' public school-as-institution, is widely exported around the world, may not explicitly fashion cultures in our image, but does serve to perpetuate our own version of a European masculinity and its divisions of experience. PE has a particular part to play within this exported institution. From a globalizing viewpoint its reproductive function serves to separate the girls from the boys and then the boys from the men, as well as embedding, through practice, the Cartesian disassociation of mind, body, rationality, gender techniques of the body, dispositions towards nature and so on. Hegemony is maintained through the correspondence created between a cultural ideal of masculinity and the institutional power, both collective and individual that make it social reality and give these ideals legitimate symbolic capital (see Bourdieu, 1999). Therefore, if we wish to understand masculinities, their particularities and localities, we need to contextualize their positions and relationships relative to reflexive institutions (gendered) science and the global Gender Order.

2.3 MASCULINITIES, RELATIONAL POWER AND THE WORLD GENDER ORDER

As white heterosexual, middle class men we were initiated into particular privileges within modernity, for reason was to be identified with masculinity. So it was that modernity was largely cast within men's terms, though it was presented as a universal aspiration that was open to all (Siedler, 1997, p. 96).

We can no longer isolate the ethnographic moment from the global milieu into which they are invested (Connell, 1988). The relationships *between* local and global masculinities, seen in terms of power relations, are not fixed but relative and dynamic, responding in some way to the perceptions of a global hegemonic norm: A 'World Gender Order' as Connell (2000, p. 40) puts it. Therefore, masculine self-identities and the projects of self that construct them

are likely to be very powerfully influenced by the global as well as the local, and in turn play their small part in the perpetuation of the Gender Order - structuration as Giddens might say.

The objective for exploring gender dynamics, is not to be able to pinpoint the individual *characteristics* of a globalizing masculinity that lurks hidden within exported institutional structures and processes, but to work with the more fundamental observation that a dominant elite masculine ideology works to perpetuate male power and in so doing establishes a whole range of social relationships. 'Hegemonic masculinities' position themselves with reference to an idealized, westernized form (although there are likely to be many variations). This idealized conception of masculinity is itself referenced relative to femininity and other forms of masculinity. As Connell (1995) notes;

Hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable (Connell, 1995, p. 76).

The contested nature of hegemonic masculinities leads to the establishment of power relations with other forms of masculinity around the world that become either subordinated, marginalized or rendered complicit, according to the degree of threat they pose to the established order. Connell's (1995) formulation of relations among masculinities offers researchers in PE and sport a framework (see Fig. 2.1) that responds to the dynamics of hegemonic masculine power operating in a global arena, with, 'hegemony, domination/subordination and complicity on the one hand, marginalization/authorization on the other' (1995, p. 81).

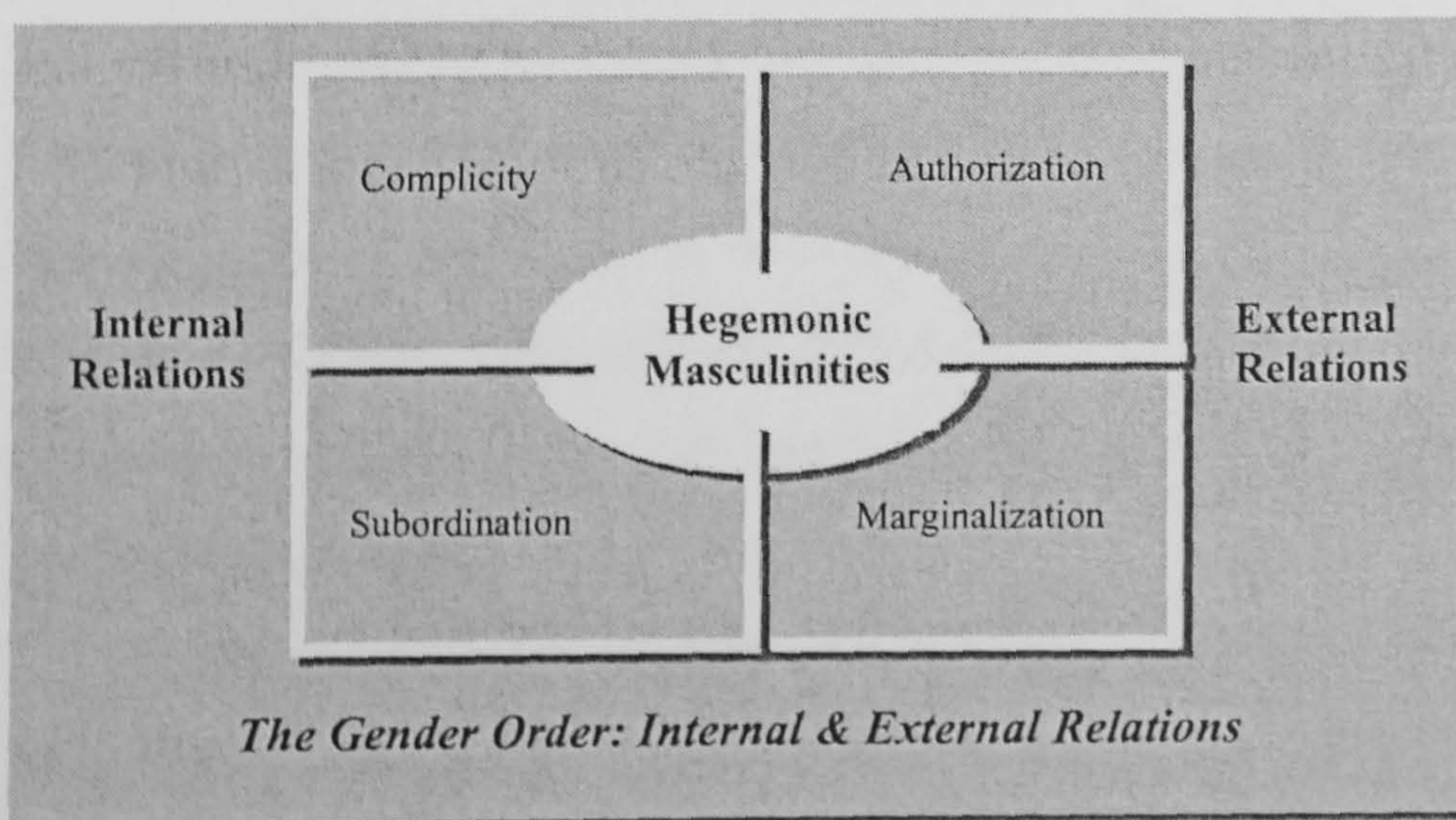


Fig. 2.1

These configurations are socially constructed through discourse and embodied practice in specific social, historical circumstances and therefore not fixed, but as Connell notes, 'any theory of masculinity worth having must account for this process of change' (ibid., p. 81).

As this heuristic will be central to the development of this thesis, I will examine these relations in a little more detail.

2.3.1 Domination and Subordination

The first set of relations defines the *internal* Gender Order with women, homosexual men and 'effeminacy' being actively subordinated. The discourses and practices of hegemonic masculinities driving reflexive modernization continue to subordinate the position and value of femininity. There are very real implications for many men and women. In spite of having won many concessions through feminist scholarship and activism, globally, women remain subordinated economically, legally and culturally. Very often the nature of such subordination involves either physical or symbolic violence and oppression. The absence of a significant presence of women with power, in political, business and professional spheres is indicative that such a relationship still pre-dominates. Those that are present in such spheres have all too often had to play a complicit 'idealized' feminine role, or demonstrating hegemonic dispositions themselves, or, more usually both.

A similar, if more veiled power relationship operates between hegemonic masculinities and homosexual masculinities. In this case these men find their masculinity is denied them in relation to the hegemonic norm. Ideological configurations of maleness and dominant patriarchy, position gay masculinity at the bottom of hierarchical relations between masculinities. As Connell (1995) puts it, 'Gayness, in patriarchal ideology is the suppository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity, the items ranging from fastidious taste in home decoration to receptive anal pleasure'(p. 76). In other words, to be gay is *to represent the Other*, to embody subordinated feminine dispositions and qualities. Further, due to the pervasive biological reasoning for much of the hegemonic masculine ideology, to be gay is more subordinate than to be female, because femininity and its supposed traits are assumed to be the 'natural' quality of being female. To be gay (and lesbian) on the other hand is assumed to be a malady, going against nature and therefore, something to be corrected or according to some self styled - supremacists, eradicated. The response of those who actively defend dominant heterosexual masculinities is often overt and severe, ranging from 'gay bashing,' 'corrective therapies' and presently the avocation of genetic engineering.

Dominant masculinities also actively subordinate other heterosexual men as well. Many heterosexual men and boys who do not possess or display the competitive, dominating self-assured dispositions are labelled effeminate, thereby reinforcing the symbolic association to femininity and weakness. Like their homosexual counterparts they are positioned as subordinate, still not 'real' men whose rightful place belongs in a subordinated role.

The irony is that nobody is exempt from this categorization to the hegemonic ideal because so few can demonstrate this ideal in its entirety. Subordination through sexism and homophobia, are central self-defining traits of hegemonic masculinity and those which characterize the key relationships in the Gender Order. The ideological characteristics of femininity such as weakness, emotion, softness and passivity are to be avoided at all cost for fear of being subordinated. The binary opposition used to construct and maintain dominant masculinity as that which is not feminine makes it 'negatively defined' for dominant men and therefore needs constant defence from the Other (see for example, Klein, 1993; Young, 1990). In these ways men who aspire to the hegemonic masculine ideals are constantly having to 'prove' themselves against an ideal form.

The institution of PE has been active in subordinating femininities, homosexuality and 'effeminate' masculinities for a very long time (see Talbot, 1993; Scraton, 1993; Mangan, 1981). This subordination goes beyond more than cultural stigmatization. As discussed in chapter one, a discipline and a part of an institutional system, PE has made a virtue out of subordinating the Other in the name of nationalism, religion and science. Biological assumptions about sex, are blurred with gender and serve as the justification for the separation of girls and boys and until recently, male and female PE teachers themselves. In addition, boys were taught through PE to demonstrate dominant masculine qualities such as suppression of emotion, acceptance of pain, loyalty, courage, etc. (Mangan & Walvin 1987; Tozer, 1986).

In the UK, cultural axioms such as 'Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton,' served to reinforce mythopoetic visions that PE and school sport can and should fashion men who would dominate and maintain order in the British Empire. These views are still a strong presence in the neo-conservative discourses of nostalgia (Maguire, 1994, Kirk 1992). The process of schooling hegemonic masculinities was celebrated in typically Darwinistic fashion. Notions of 'what doesn't kill you makes you stronger' along with constant competition, were used to put the 'survival of the fittest' doctrine into practice, and in so doing legitimize the dominance of the strong over other weaker boys. Of course, the severity of the schooling might have changed and the legitimacy of hegemonic masculinities is now openly called into question, but the legacy of their organizational, cultural, and some would say 'psychic' infrastructure (Chapman & Rutherford, 1988; Rutherford, 1997) remains remarkably apparent still reifying a dominant masculinity at the expense of others.

2.3.2 Complicity

Complicity as a relational dynamic is part of the *internal* Gender Order between men and women. Complicity refers to those who might not *actively* promote hegemonic masculinity but do not attempt to challenge or change it either. Most complicit men appreciate and display some of the characteristics of a dominant masculinity such as assertiveness, aggressiveness, competitiveness, physical strength or power, emotional reserve and so on. However, many (if not most) men cannot meet the cultural ideal of the dominant masculinity, they do not practically embody hegemonic masculinity, if they tried, they themselves might risk subordination through failure. The number of men who are active in their defence of hegemonic masculinities is probably quite small. On the other hand, the number of men said to be complicit to hegemonic masculinity is likely to be very large indeed.

Connell's complicity is rendered more plausible given what he refers to as the *patriarchal dividend* (1995, p. 77); the socio-cultural benefits that men in general gain from the subordination of women, subordinated men and marginalized groups. For the complicit male these benefits offer power and legitimacy over subordinated and marginalized others within the Gender Order, without having to actively defend or promote it oneself. Strategically then it would seem that most men are complicit to the hegemonic masculine norm in their culture.

The notion of complicit masculinities is complex; affiliation with hegemonic norms does not imply a 'soft' or 'watered down' version of hegemonic masculinity, although it may seem to be no more than this. Complicit masculinity does not therefore seek domination, it merely benefits from it. Indeed, to live a 'normal' life in a patriarchy most men are likely to best excel with complicit masculinities, they are not powerful enough to exert unquestioned authority over the subordinated or marginalized Other and so enter into a whole range of compromises through institutions such as marriage, family, the community life as well as increasingly in the workplace. At the same time, complicit masculinities receive the patriarchal dividend by going along with the dominant position the male traditionally takes in these relationships and institutions.

The sheer scope for diversity with complicit masculinities makes it problematic in theory. However, given the overall problematic of hegemonic masculinity in practice, complicit masculinities come to sound extremely realistic indeed. Although complex and problematic it is important to make a distinction between masculinities as well as perhaps

the mass of men to whom 'Masculinity Politics' need to be directed if change to the Gender Order is to be more than cosmetic.

There are opportunities here too. If we define the term complicity, we get something along the lines of 'taking part in wrong doing' (The Oxford dictionary). Personified, the term becomes accomplice - a partner in crime. This is an angle that can open avenues not to explore the actively dominant, the subordinate or the marginalized, but the subtle and insidious ways in which very 'normal' men, help *en masse* to reproduce a Gender Order. Furthermore, it also opens the possibility that it may be necessary to include women and other marginalized groups within the more general dynamic of complicity. Within the confines of subordinate and marginalized roles many men and women may form strong identities and competencies that recreate the very order that oppresses them.

PE once was (and might still be) a bastion for the reproduction of hegemonic masculinities. However, questions need asking over the nature and extent of complicity among teachers in PE. Complicit masculinity in PE teachers would suggest a tendency to not promote actively hegemonic masculinity in their teaching and planning; they would also tend to be prepared to make compromises to establish productive relationships with their female and other teaching colleagues, particularly with reference to the marginal (or unisex) sports now on the curriculum. However, it would also be consistent if they made little effort to change the traditional PE provision in organization and delivery, preferring to keep the traditional male sports separate, because 'biological' differences between girls and boys will restrict 'performances' of both, and see it a healthy activity to develop competitive, rugged dispositions in the boys in preparation for the outside world, which is seen as competitive place where only the strong survive. The patriarchal dividend most prominent here, is that by maintaining the traditional separations and associations between boys and girls, the dominant place of male PE and sport within and outside the curriculum will be maintained and legitimized. Along with this, the teacher himself is not challenged to examine the connections between personal identity, ideology, teaching and the construction of gender relations.

2.3.3 Marginalization and Authorization

If hegemony, subordination and complicity are relations within the Gender Order, in other words between men and women, then marginalization/authorization represents a second set of relations that describe the interplay of the Gender Order and other social structures such as class, race and ethnicity. Relationships between masculinities are made more complex

and problematic by this, but by the same token the picture also becomes considerably more realistic. Marginalization therefore refers to the way hegemonic (white, European, middle class) masculinities use other masculinities to reinforce the Gender Order without relinquishing institutional and cultural power.

Masculinities from different ethnic, racial or class groups are *authorized* by dominant masculinity meaning that men from a variety of cultural groups are encouraged to display hegemonic qualities *vis-à-vis* the internal Gender Order. However, in comparison to the mainstream dominant hegemonic forms, other masculinities are marginalized by not representing the ideal and never fully being able to fulfil the white supremacists ideal. On the other hand, these other masculinities form a very important part of the social construction of identity for the hegemonic masculine identity. The often-cited example of the elite black American sportsman, well used and paid well for his talents, embodying hegemonic masculinity serves to illustrate marginalization/authorization relations. Black American sportsmen, rarely enter into the hierarchy of professional sport in the United States after their playing career is over, in the form of coaching, sports, management. In spite of their over representation in the practising sport, these men are under-represented in practically all the professions feeding from the sports industry. In PE the story is perhaps even worse.

Social mobility is available to these men on the basis of their ability to promote and defend hegemonic masculinity, but they always risk marginalization in a culture that white, middle class males dominate. Moreover, their mobility is singular and very specific, having very little impact on race relations in the United States with a hugely dis-proportionate number of black to white men unemployed. This is consistent with the view that hegemony is never static and neither are those who oppose it. However, these compromises do throw up some interesting questions for notions of class and ethnic masculinities.

As with ethnicity and race factors, many working class men also experience marginalization in spite of embodying hegemonic masculinities, a situation compounded into a double marginalized position if one is both ethnic and working class. Working class masculinities have traditionally been the 'engines' of production in developing societies. While dominating them culturally and economically, the dominant middle and upper class masculinities were content to authorize a vigorous hegemonic working class masculinity. This was fostered through a basic schooling to instil what Weber has termed the 'Protestant Ethic'; a strong Christian morality, an appreciation for punctuality, self-discipline and a

disposition towards following orders - dispositions for a 'functional' working class masculinity of a labour force (Weber, 1904-5). At the same time, working class masculinities were actively marginalized as unrefined and vulgar, lacking in leadership qualities and intuition, therefore being only deserving of a subservient place in society.

These relationships also permeate PE and school. For example, there is evidence of what Connell (1995) terms *authorized masculinity* where young black males are *channelled* by their teachers into trying for a career in sport (Cashmore, 1982; Carrington & Williams 1988). The double ideology that blacks are good at all 'power' sports, and yet lacking in academic ability is an enduring legacy of colonial forms of subordinating other racial and ethnic groups by using speculative biologism (see also Hoberman, 1992). However in terms of the Gender Order, although 'authorized,' black masculinities are also marginalized in this way because primary legitimacy is given to their physical rather than academic selves, thus, reaffirming the social stereotype of physical superiority but intellectual inferiority.

Working class boys also tend to be channelled towards the physical rather than the intellectual pursuits as an expression of their masculinities (Willis, 1977). Again, historical representations of PE (see Kirk, 1992; Mangan, 2000) show us that middle and upper class boys were receiving outdoor education, team games, athletics and so on - all developing qualities such as leadership, intuition, teamwork working with complex rules, etc. Conversely the working classes received a diet of drills both military and gymnastics, to foster the development of a strong body and self - disciplined but subservient masculinity (Shilling, 1993b). Finally, the UK context is by no means particular, with regard to the PE of masculinities. Andrieu's (1990) historical analysis of PE in 20th century France reveals similar positioning within a Gender Order, from the ideology of the bourgeois, 'homme d'action' education of leaders on the one hand to the approach of developing of 'Bataillons Scolaires' on the other, in which PE was seen as pre-military preparation for 'le peuple.'

There are a number of issues that need to be addressed when adopting a relational view of gender. Connell's (1995) theory, by his own admission, represents 'a sparse framework' (p. 81), because it attempts to resist over-categorization of different types of masculinities. On the one hand this is a benefit because we can use it to theorize the general orientations of different masculinities in relation to the status quo thus gaining some general sense of congruence between theory and observation. There are limits, however, to how all encompassing any multi-variable framework can be without beginning to lose some of that congruence. The difficulties this raises are borne out in many ethnographic studies including

Connell's (1995) own, where individuals and groups seem to exhibit contradictory relationships to the hegemonic masculine project (see Peterson, 1998). Men who would be subordinated and marginalized if their true masculine identities were known, remain either complicit or seemingly defenders of the hegemonic norm, examples would include the men represented in the work of Klein, (1994) and Skelton, (1998). Equally many men who embody and display hegemonic masculine ideals, such as top sportsmen, competitive executive business men etc., are often, at the same time, gay, transsexual, or from marginalized ethnic, racial or class groups. Furthermore, many women have successfully challenged their subordination and adopted dominantly masculine characteristics. These and other examples, render the above categorizations over simplified or insufficiently dynamic. Indeed Peterson's (1998, p. 117) critique of Connell's framework from a pro-feminist, queer theory perspective, points out that by using categories such as hegemonic, subordinate masculinities formed ostensibly through practice, etc., Connell tends to 'fix' identity categories and shut down critical interrogations of the sex/gender and nature culture distinctions. He continues;

The 'de-naturalizing' of the natural that has been integral to queer thinking, as well as to many other areas of contemporary thought, presents us with the opportunity of reflecting upon our normative ideals of masculine identity (Peterson, 1998, p. 119).

Peterson's point is important, we need to continue to deconstruct and reconstruct epistemological frameworks in order to question and develop them. Connell's framework, with the above qualifications in mind, remains a very useful heuristic device.

2.4 OVERVIEW

The discussion in this chapter has intended to establish a number of positions for approaching the study of masculinity in teaching PE. Firstly, I have argued that while postmodernism is an intellectually powerful stance (especially deconstructionism). The movement's adherence to the removal of grand narratives is problematic. If postmodernism adopts grand narratives, then it is not so radically different from a updated form of critical theory or poststructuralism - approaches that I will be making some more use of in this study. I also argued that the removal of grand narratives is a dangerous political strategy as it creates an intellectual vacuum that will be filled by the dominant voices in society, who, for a range of reasons want to de-politicize oppression and inequality. Finally, I pointed out that

many postmodernist approaches vastly over-emphasize the break with modernity both in their observations on theory and of society empirically.

I then went on to argue that 'reflexive modernity' theorists provide a much more transformational, open ended account of social change in which to contextualize masculinities. It also gives far more adequate accounts of the process of Globalization and the role of science and institutions. I then contend that conceptually, Western Science is based on the division of experience between male and female, and that it has had a profound impact through modernity and reflexive modernity, and justified a Gender Order. I then go on to consider Connell's relational theory of the Gender Order, which offers a useful heuristic for positioning masculinities and femininities within broader processes of power and control.

The 'macro' perspectives introduced here, their reflexive linkages with the individual, and the relational notion of the Gender Order, provide a conceptual context for focusing in on an eclectic range of sensitizing concepts that I will be drawing on to consider the dynamics of the social construction of masculinity in the more localized context of teaching PE. This will be addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE:

SENSITIZING CONCEPTS:

CONSTRUCTING MASCULINITIES IN TEACHING PHYSICAL EDUCATION

3.1 DECONSTRUCTING MASCULINITIES

The purpose of this chapter is to identify a range of sensitizing concepts that I will draw on to approach the empirical data gathered in the study. In so doing I acknowledge masculinity and masculine identity as discursive, 'cognitively' understood phenomenon. However, I also attempt to develop a perspective of the lived body, and thereby acknowledge some sense of mind body *duality*, as opposed to *dualism*. I therefore consider a range of concepts that allow us to retain a view of the body as a practical, sensual, emotional and performing entity that demonstrates simultaneously, agency and structure.

Masculinity and femininity are, in Connell's (1995) words, 'remarkably elusive and difficult to define' (p. 3). What is certain, is that we cannot and should not talk about or define masculinity outside its relationship with femininity. A significant irony lies in the observation that people often feel they understand gender only too well and consequently see no particular use for its systematic study. It is this 'obvious' discursive, embodied and practical familiarity that we all have with gender in our everyday lives that belies its complexity and fuels our reliance on the taken-for-granted. Therefore, studying gender binds us to take up discursive positions, either implicitly or explicitly. I think Connell (1995) captures the essence of the discursive constructions of male/female identity in the following comment;

Masculinity and femininity are inherently relational concepts, which have meaning in relation to each other, as a social demarcation and a cultural opposition. This holds regardless of the changing content of the demarcation in different societies and periods of history. Masculinity as an object of knowledge is always masculinity-in-relation. (Connell, 1995, p. 44)

Considering the *invisible* nature of men and masculinity in discourse Brod & Kaufman (1994) point out that this is so because men and masculinity often take an assumed or centred position in discourse serving as the implicit subject. They call for the need to make men and masculinity explicit, de-centred in discourse and deconstructed as a unified power bloc. A useful way to unlock this process is to examine the logic of identity (Adorno, 1973) as a hermeneutic circle that instigates and maintains a particular masculine perception of the world. In her analysis of difference, Young (1990) deconstructs of the logic of identity. She contends that the search for a *rational* account of meanings of things often gives way to a reduction of them to a unifiable or universal identity. By looking for an essence, or formula

(as opposed to relation or process) of commonality that can be identified, measured or counted, the logic creates a dichotomous classification - that which is inside and outside (ibid., p. 98).

The irony is that ‘by seeking to reduce the differently similar to the same, it turns the merely different into the absolutely other’(ibid., p. 99). The logic of identity is problematic here because it reinforces *binary opposition*, in which there is the positive category and the other category. Fig. 3.1 depicts gender based examples of such oppositions;

The unity of the positive category is

only logically made possible at the expense of the other (negative) category, ‘the second side lies outside the unified as the chaotic, unformed, transforming, that always threatens to cross the border and break up the unity of the good’ (ibid., p. 99). This logic creates multiple dichotomies in its perception of the world; subject/object, male/female, mind/body,

Classical Gendered Binary Oppositions



 Feminine(-)	Masculine(+) 
Soft	Hard
Passive	Active
Weak	Strong
Non-confrontational	Confrontational
Emotional	Rational
Impulsive	Considered
Body	Mind
Sensitive	Insensitive
Non-Competitive	Competitive
Submissive	Controlling
Timid	Bold
Inclusive	Elitist
Body - Associated	Body-Objectified
Flexible	Rigid
Relaxed	Tense
Listens	Speaks
Explains	Tells
Towards Dyadic	Towards Monadic
Nature	Science

Fig. 3.1

nature/culture, to name a few. Identity constructions formed from binary oppositions must be recognized as being identity discourses positioned with reference to the invisible values imbued in the logic of hegemonic masculinity and its relationship with power and patriarchal dominance. Clearly such a logic can be utilized by any group, although there is, as already mentioned, in western societies, a consistent identity reference against an implicit core of hegemonic masculine values. These 'invisible' discourses have tended to emanate from the position of the European white middle class Christian heterosexual male.

Hall (1996) maintains that social and cultural identity defined in terms of the outside or difference, 'entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other...that the positive meaning of any term and thus its identity can be constructed' (p. 5). Fine et al's (1997) work provides a powerful example: Their analysis of white working class men growing up in New York in the 1990s, shows that this group's identity centres on discursive constructions of the 'colonized Other' (p. 55). This vestigial construction (from the colonial discourse of West European expansionism) places the 'unnamed, unmarked, white Western self against which all others can be judged' (Fine et al., 1997, p. 55). For these men the binary logic of identity operates to co-produce identity, marking the 'Others' with negative difference (primarily African Americans and white women) and themselves as the positive, legitimate white male. The sad irony of these men's identities, Fine (ibid.) argues, is although they identify in masculine terms with the white power elite they are alienated in relation to that elite and in fact have much stronger material affinity with those very groups they define as Other. Again the Gender Order is affecting the identities and positions these people take and make to make some sense of their gendered a life worlds.

The invisible discursive logic of masculine identity is not only ironic but paradoxical because, as Derrida (1981) argued, the positive half of the binary opposition *requires* the Other for its own identity, or in other words, it is what the positive *lacks*. As a form of socially determined closure with 'unity' and exclusion being defined through power relations, identity formation has to be located;

Precisely because male identities are constructed within, and not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power (Hall, 1996, p. 4).

Through processes of socialization into the disciplines of PE and sport, starting from a very young age, the able, conforming, successful male pupils have their discursive identities infused with notions of superior performance to their female colleagues and other lesser performing males. In this way the dominant discursive modalities of power of Western science, become disseminated through disciplines such as PE reinforcing and legitimizing male constructed binary oppositions to the Other in gendered personal and professional identities such as male/female, strong/weak, skilled/unskilled, dominant/passive.

Therefore, gendered identity and its formation are a key site of interconnection between the self and the social. While individuals create social relationships, they themselves are social creations. According to Hall (1992) identity, 'bridges the gap between the "inside" and the "outside" between the personal and public worlds, in this way it mediates the individual with social structures' (p. 275-6). Identity might usefully be regarded as a meeting point or *suture* between shaping discourses, practices and individual subjectivities (ibid.). If identity is indeed the meeting place between the discursive modalities power and the volitional, sensual subjectivity of embodiment, then it is at this suture, where the identity politics of gender really becomes a social force, where binary oppositions are interpreted, articulated and reproduced or indeed re-interpreted, interrupted and changed. The discursive logic of identity is readily attributable to teachers invested within the discipline of PE who are invested representatives of an 'expert system' that is legitimized and guided by Western science.

3.2 THE REFLEXIVE BODY-SELF: RECOGNIZING THE MASCULINE BODY

3.2.1 *The Limits of the Discursive Body in Physical Education*

At a conceptual level, Connell (1995) suggests that a straightforward compromise between the biological and social constructivist views of masculinity is antithetical. The question remains; are all social arrangements including gender and masculinity based deterministically on effects of the biological body or is the body determined purely by the social, merely a blank canvas to be painted, a surface ready for imprinting? As I see it there is no need for another regurgitation of the relative positions of socio-biological versus social constructionist interpretations of gender and masculinity except to acknowledge the political nature of the debates and to position this thesis accordingly. These gender and sexual politics are as disturbingly pertinent today as when Foucault (1978, 1986) presented his counter arguments in the History of Sexuality volumes. For example, sex role theory is political

because of its biological functionalist orientation, asserting that individuals who go against their sex role are simply labelled deviant and have no recourse to challenge such a 'natural' Gender Order, discursively or otherwise. The ingraining of this perspective however represents for Foucault, a powerful discursive construction of the body, and one which even enters the un/subconscious as his analysis of dreams demonstrated. These constructions - form part of the bio-politics of power and generally serves to reinforce the status quo in gender relations and reinforce nature/nurture dualisms. On the other hand, Foucault's social constructionism is also open to the criticism that the reality of the *material* body is in danger of disappearing altogether in discourse (see Shilling, 1993a). In so doing it fails to address the real impact our biological selves in the social construction of gender, particularly with regard to the very 'real' nature of practice, physicality and sensuality.

However, there is in my view, a clear difference between these criticisms; as a compromise to the nature/nurture dichotomy sex role theory has no logical place to go because it cannot provide any critique of power, inequality or even, deviance without restating the essentialist position that gender relations are always and everywhere reduced to natural biological sex differences: Sociobiology: Under analysis by Foucauldian, feminist and queer theory, these positions quickly become indefensible. The social constructivist criticisms on the other hand *do not necessarily* lead to a conceptual culs-de-sac because of one readily observable point; the body is *unfinished at birth* (Bourdieu, 1984, Shilling, 1993a) and the processes of socialization work as much upon the body as they do upon the mind of individuals and groups. Therefore, the challenge to social constructionism generally has been to reconsider, not just the nature/nurture dualisms, but also the mind/body dichotomy that has characterized much social science debate (see Shilling, 1993a, Synott 1993). In so doing this has led many theorists to re-position the role of the body in the social construction of a gendered society. A challenge taken up by Brittan (1989);

So when I talk about the social being 'embodied' in men, what I am stressing is the political construction of male gender identity. Thus, socialization is not simply about the acquisition of roles, but rather is about the exercise of power by one group over another group...Socialization can be seen, therefore, as the processes by whereby children acquire an ideology that naturalizes gender. It is also the process in which the 'body' becomes objectified in discourse, a discourse that takes for granted the 'reality' of sexual difference and inequality, and which assigns a particular kind of potency to the male body, and denies potency to the female body (Brittan, 1989, p. 45).

Like Foucault (1977), Brittan established that patriarchal power operates through discourse on the body but keeps the body in view. Bodies are still gendered in and through discourse,

but he also hints at something else more open ended; by acknowledging that discourse *assigns* potency to the male body and *denies* it to female bodies, in other words, he does not necessarily deny the body its agency. This position opens up another dimension for analysing and defining gender because a body that has agency must be still be examined in terms of discourse that assigns qualities to it, but it can no longer be talked of *merely* as a passive recipient of such discourses but an entity with potentiality.

The discipline of PE provides strong examples of discursive regimes that advance biological views of gender and in so doing deny agency to female bodies and by juxtaposition enhance that of male bodies. Hargreaves (1990) offers a pertinent commentary on this discursive 'reduction' of the body operating in PE discourse;

Whatever the outcome of debate about biological differences - and there obviously are differences - it is equally obvious they are not the basis of gender divisions in PE. We are dealing here with social differentiation. PE follows the dominant perceptions of sexual difference in the culture, and collapses the social into the biological, that is it reduces social relations into relations between things (Hargreaves, 1986, cited in Tinning, 1990, p. 56).

Likewise, Griffin (1989) confirms this view pointing out that 'in most of the literature in PE and in discussions among physical educators, gender is framed as a performance variable or an issue of sex difference' (p. 221). Significantly, she adds;

Our lack of success in changing the basic gender dynamics in physical education and sport is a result of our failure to understand the importance to the maintenance of a male-dominated society of accepting gender as a biological trait. Framing gender as an issue of inequity is too simplistic and ignores the necessity of thinking gender as a biological trait in justifying the power imbalance between men and women (Griffin, 1989, p. 223).

3.2.2 *Conceptualizing the Body's Agency*

At this juncture it is useful to recognize Game's (1991) argument that critical, deconstructive sociology must attempt a reformation of the relationship between the subject and the social not as binary but relational. Game's (1991) development of Bergson's (1950 cited in Game 1991) inversion of the centred subject is a useful starting point; the 'significance of the body, the refusal to privilege consciousness, and a disruption of the external - internal opposition,' (cited in Game, 1991, p. 50). This is not as Sarup (1994) clarifies, to 'lapse' into subject-only positions but a recognition of the fragmentation of the human subject by the social (p. 62). Therefore we are left with the challenge of recognizing and going beyond binary oppositions and the centred subject in order to view gender identity and difference dialectically (Sarup, 1994).

Undeniably it has been the rapid development of the social study of the body that has facilitated such developments. The work of theorists such as Turner (1984); Shilling (1993a, 1999); Scott & Morgan (1993); Frank (1995); to name but a few, have re-integrated embodiment into social analysis making the body both a subject and object of investigation. Increasingly the conceptual frameworks being adopted in this area are displacing both former views of gender with alternatives that draw on the notion of the body's agency in juxtaposition to its centredness in discourse. The view is therefore, one of a 'reflexive subject' (see Lash & Urry, 1994) in which the body and consciousness are simultaneously valorized and the social is brought into the individual through perceptions of self and social identity.

Lash & Urry (1994) make the observation that theorists such as Bourdieu (1990) have attempted beyond subject-object dualisms adopting a position that the body habitus is neither subject nor object and reflexivity thus becomes hermeneutic and aesthetic. Alternatively Beck (1992) and Giddens (1990) assume a more cognitive 'self-monitoring' reflexivity. Both insights need to be retained and developed as they say important things about the human condition. Whilst reflexivity may be a source of great ontological anxiety, be it concerning self identity, or the scientifically created 'risk society,' paradoxically embodied reflexivity also offers the potential for self-empowerment and change (Brown, 1998), thereby suggesting a greater agency of the body and emotions than is perhaps normally granted.

The reflexive modernities of Giddens (1990) and Beck (1992) present powerful macro-micro ontological perspectives which address and attempt to resolve the dualisms of structure and agency into a duality. The geopolitical organization of bodies in time and space has seen the globalization of expert systems and reductions in the degree of traditions and local influence. If as Giddens (1991) points out, and I concur, that high modernity does indeed 'extend to the core of the self,' then the relationship between ontological security and 'stable' self identity has the potential to be regularly interrupted with serious existential questions posed as a consequence. As individuals we are therefore obliged to engage in reflexive projects of the self in order to 'reflexively monitor' ourselves and our changing environment in order to ensure a stable sense of self is maintained. Shilling (1993a) qualifies that we need to conceptualize such reflexivity in terms of embodiment. We might then recognize 'sensuality' (Falk, 1994; Shilling & Mellor, 1996) as an important sociological factor in our determinations.

Elsewhere, Merleau-Ponty's (1962) consideration of the 'body subject,' positions the body as an entity with agency that challenges the reduction of the body to an object; in this sense it is also a de-centred subject because the body cannot be regarded as entirely biologically or socially fixed. The reflexive body-subject as it might be called, is neither an object nor a fully fledged subject, but, as Crossley (1997) puts it, 'a third term between the two' (p. 23). Locating embodiment, therefore, might best involve the recognition of a reflexive body-subject representing an individual's 'practical, purposive engagement in-the-world, that draws upon a stock of cultural techniques and habits and responds intelligently to socially instituted meanings (rather than reacting mechanically to fixed physical stimuli)' (Crossley, 1997, p. 23). Such a view might attempt to engage with the body as a simultaneously biological and social phenomenon (Shilling, 1993a).

From this practical, purposeful *embodied* position thought and understanding merge with embodied emotion and sensuality. Indeed, we may begin to have to come to accept that we 'know' with our bodies and respond 'reflexively' with our emotions and so on....conceptually the body-mind duality is a 'messy' business. Speech and gesture are physical purposive acts of communicating brought about by our sensual perception of the world and precede the use of spoken language. Therefore, embodied perception is communicative; as we perceive the world it involves and binds us to it in a dialogical manner. A communicative body-subject position allows us to challenge and even collapse rational/emotional oppositions, supporting Williams' (1977) call for accepting 'not feelings against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought' (1977 p. 128). In so doing we might be able to unlock some of the processes that Williams refers to as the 'structure of feelings' (ibid., 1977). Furthermore, in terms of social relations, this is critical because to accept the body-subject as not only inter-subjective, as Husserl ([1936] 1970) proposed, but also *inter-corporeal*, allows conceptualizations that go beyond the limitations of linguistic inter-subjectivity in the study of the corporeal.

The body-subject engaging in inter-corporeal communicativity is implicated in social relations at the deeper ontological levels: As Classen (1997) points out embodied sensual perception is in fact 'inflected with gender values' (p. 1) beginning in pre-modernity, the influence of which can be witnessed, symbolically embedded within modern formulations and critiques from Freud to Irigaray (ibid., p. 2). Significant here, as I have already indicated, is the social division of senses that were naturalized with men being associated with having 'rational' qualities of the mind (sight and hearing) and women, those

of the body (touch taste, smell) which served to reinforce the hierarchical nature of the mind/body male/female duality during the Renaissance period of European history. Morgan (1993) points to a well-known example in the following;

Let us consider Rodin's often reproduced (and parodied) '*The Thinker*.' Firstly, it is almost certainly no accident that the figure is a male figure; it is by no means certain if the statue would work if it depicted a women in an identical pose. Further, it is clearly a matter of some importance that it is not any old male body being depicted. An obese figure or a skeletal figure would be as inappropriate as a female figure. Secondly, the figure clearly represents a special kind of unity of mind and body. The figure is not simply thinking; he can be said to be actively doing thinking (Morgan, 1993, p. 72).

Such gender positioning of embodiment leads me to consider some specific conceptualizations that account for embodiment in social life.

3.3 PIERRE BOURDIEU: PRACTISING MASCULINITIES AND DEVELOPING HABITUS

The above articulations have implications for the levels at which we research the transition of knowledge and power relations in teaching and learning in PE. A consideration of Bourdieu's work in *Distinction* (1979) reminds us of the very real embodied divisions in social life, and how through embodied social practice, fundamentally different ways of perceiving and being in this world are constructed. In his largely theoretical treatise, *The Logic of Practice* (1990), Bourdieu develops the view that social practice is a central dimension of social reproduction;

The theory of practice as practice insists, contrary to popular positivist materialism, that the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and, contrary to intellectualist idealism, that the principle of this construction is the system of structured, structuring dispositions, the habitus, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52).

There are significant implications of such a view for the reproduction of embodied forms of gender (as well as its intersections with class, race ethnicity and sexuality, etc.) and for the transmission of these forms from teacher to pupil. The influence on identity, how teachers construct and draw upon their own embodied gendered identities to communicate and make sense of themselves, will influence their interpretations of appropriate practice. Given that PE teachers control the practical environments of pupils, their structuring of practice is likely to reflect their own dispositions towards the masculine and feminine body and its uses.

It may be suggested that masculinizing and feminizing practices associated with the body are at the heart of the social construction of masculinity and femininity and that this is precisely why sport matters in the total structure of gender relations (Whitson, 1990, p. 23-24).

Clearly discourse does not completely consume the bodies and identities of PE teachers, but neither are they free from them in any absolute sense - hence, notions of duality. Extending the conception of communicativity to the inter-corporeal suggests that PE teachers can and do, receive and transmit gendered subjectivities, embodied in gendered movements, gestures, and dispositions that embed themselves in the embodied senses that constitute 'social actor.' Taking the 'embedding' view of the social practice of sport and PE further, it is worth considering Bourdieu (1990) who reflects;

The logic whereby agents incline towards this or that sporting practice cannot be understood unless their dispositions towards sport, which are themselves one dimension of particular relation to the body, are re inserted into the unity of the system of dispositions, the *habitus*, which is the basis from which lifestyles are generated (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 127).

There is every reason to think that the social determinations attached to a determinate position in the social space tend, through the relationship to one's own body, to shape the dispositions constituting social identity (ways of walking, speaking etc.) and probably the sexual dispositions themselves (ibid., p. 71).

For Bourdieu then, conventions of practice reproduce and legitimize certain orientations to oneself that solidify into schemes of dispositions or *habitus*. Formations of *habitus* are subject to certain conditions, which are defined by the context or 'field.' Distinguishing *habitus* requires the consideration of what Harvey and Sparkes (1991) refer to as 'three moments in the mediation of human agency by objective social conditions' (p. 172). The first moment is the conditions of existence that constitutes people's lived experience and range from forms of work, economic situation, ethnicity, gender, family context, etc. The second moment derives from the first and determines *habitus*; the variation from one class to another or schemes of dispositions particular to a given class that arise from peoples' lived experience. The third presupposes the first two in that a particular *habitus* gives rise to lifestyles that are sets of practices. Sets of practices display the differences apparent in the conditions of existence.

Therefore, practices are significant because they are 'reality' forming, at the most fundamental level of perception, where basic discursive frames of reference and schemes of expression are deposited, intervening through reinforcement between the individual and their

body (Bourdieu, 1990). Over time and with constant practice these turn into seemingly intransient dispositions, representing a;

Durable way of standing, speaking, walking and thereby feeling and thinking. The opposition between male and female is realized in posture, in gestures and movements of the body, in the form of opposition between the straight and the bent, between firmness and uprightness and directness, and restraint and flexibility. As is shown by the fact that most of the words that refer to bodily postures evoke virtues and states of mind, these two relations to the body are charged with two relations to other people, time and the world, and through these, two systems of values (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 70).

Conceptions of habitus offer possibilities for understanding how male PE teachers might come to adopt certain dispositions towards themselves and others, how this becomes a part of their overall self identity and how this influences their practice as PE teachers. If, as Bourdieu (ibid.) suggests, habitus is taken up by *mimesis and transformational schemes* of role play or games then the origins of these schemes of dispositions for PE teachers must be traced from early physical activity practices through to the present day. Moreover, this perspective also suggests the need to see embodied identity formation, through the habitus, as a historical continuity; something that is, and can be, approximated neither in the past nor in present but only relationally together:

The habitus - embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as - history - is the active present of the whole past of which it is a product (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56).

Therefore from Bourdieu's perspective of practice and habitus, teachers of PE are positioned *ipso facto* as key agents in the reproduction or transformation of practice as they represent the embodied human link between past practice as successfully experienced and internalized, and present practice. Habitus and the body are simultaneously the material and symbolic manifestations of social discourse, the markers of difference and as such complicit with binary identification and objectification not just in relation to masculinity, but also race, class, ethnicity, sexuality and ability. Therefore, we must consider habitus as a key component of 'self' and subjectivity, while at the same time recognize that 'the social reproduces itself and its relations of power through the education of the habitus in general and bodies in particular' (Lasch & Urry, 1994, p. 45). Rose (1996) contends;

Certain ways of holding oneself, walking, running, holding the head and positioning the limbs, are not merely culturally relative or acquired through gender socialization, but are regimes of the body which seek to subjectify in

terms of a certain truth of gender, inscribing a particular relation to oneself in a corporeal regime (Rose, 1996, p. 137).

Bourdieu's theory of practice has received its share of criticism, from the constructive, Shilling, 1993a, Kauppi, 2000) to more extreme denunciations (Alexander, 1995). I agree with all the these theorists that the triad of 'habitus, capital, field,' concepts when locked together, constitute a reproductive conceptual apparatus, which serves Bourdieu's intentions of producing a theory of social reproduction very well, but say rather less about social change. I would also agree with Kauppi (2000) that the consequence of an oversocialized view of the habitus begins to disassociate agency of the individual, the habitus becomes a structural entity residing within the individual - appealing to but dislocated from the emotional, sensual self that I am suggesting is a significantly mediating factor in our interactions with society. Moreover, if we conceive these elements as hermetically sealed 'units' in a reproductive cycle, then clearly the limitations of such a view become very apparent.

However, I believe an alternative view is worth articulating, if we take Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction as just this - a theory of social reproduction, then it can become a very useful *barometer for change*. In applying Bourdieu's theory of embodied reproduction, through the habitus, capital field triad - what we often find is *dissonance*, between these elements. It is in the identification of dissonance, between what *should be* aesthetically ordered configurations of habitus, capital and field, and what we actually observe, both empirically and conceptually, that represents a very useful indicator of social change.

There is another alternative - that we uncouple the otherwise, constrained concept of *habitus* from the intellectual 'tyranny' of having it fit with capital and field (although clearly very often it still does). This allows the habitus to evolve conceptually into something that reconnects with a sense of agency, while retaining its classical etymological affiliation to the embeddedness of social structure. For Bourdieu, this may be difficult, as so much is invested into the triad of elements described above. For others, the habitus is clearly a powerful, elusive, yet evolving concept. Like Kauppi (2000), I am convinced habitus can and will become a free-floating expression of duality; simultaneously objective, subjective, rational and emotional, but importantly a *reflexive, malleable and dynamic* phenomenon. In this uncoupled sense notion of habitus can be an extremely useful tool to explore masculine embodiment in teaching PE. But in taking this stance we might need to explore the potential

conceptual linkages or bricolage necessary to bring out the rather underdeveloped potential of agency that rests within the concept.

Therefore, unlike neat 'Cartesian' subjects, we do not live in purely mechanical bodies devoid of agency or feeling (Shilling & Mellor, 1996). We are rather, both *objects* and subjects of practice, something Connell (1995) refers to as 'body reflexive practice.' Our bodies have a certain biological and practical agency, and consequently do not always do what we want them to; they can resist the rationality or even irrationality of our interpretations of discourse and practice. Nevertheless, as body-subjects, we, through our bodies, can be 'scripted' according to a practice. The *habitus* generated by body reflexive practice, therefore, is a useful heuristic to examine how embodied engagement with the social world contributes to our masculine or feminine realities and in this sense is powerfully 'onto-formative.'

This masculine habitus provides cognitive, practical, sensual and emotional frameworks for addressing the problems interacting with the self and others in society. However, uncoupling habitus, allows us to probe a little more for linkages that might help explore the notions of the bodys' agency.

3.4 ARTHUR FRANK: MASCULINE BODY-SELF RELATIONSHIPS

Embodied dispositions are alternatively expressed through Frank's (1995) theory of body-self relationships. Frank's (1995) *The Wounded Storyteller* focuses on the body and its involvement in individual actors' actions with particular reference to illness. However, Frank's model does not only account for the body-self relationships of the ill body, it is just that episodes of illness expose the self and render it powerless to control the body's agency and therefore highlights the problems of control most clearly.

3.4.1. *The Problems of Embodiment*

In Frank's (1995) analysis, there are, 'four general problems of embodiment; control, body-relatedness and other-relatedness, and desire'(p. 29). The four problems represent a continua rather than dialectical oppositions. In constructing a 'matrix' of these continua (Fig. 3.2), Frank creates four ideal and typical body types; the disciplined body, the mirroring body, the dominating body, and the communicative body. As Frank stresses such language is itself discourse and therefore, an imposition on bodies, but they nevertheless serve as a useful premise. People are rarely ideal types in the 'really real,' rather, 'ideal types are puppets:

Theoretical constructions designed to describe some empirical tendency. Actual body selves represent distinct mixtures of ideal types’ (ibid., p. 29).

Considering the four continua of embodiment problems, the first is predictability versus contingency. This dimension concerns control of the body, and the relative importance attached to it. Frank posits the example of the highly choreographed performance of the gymnast as an extreme example of predictability, with the extreme

Body Problems & Body-Self Relationships
(Arthur Frank, 1995, p.30)

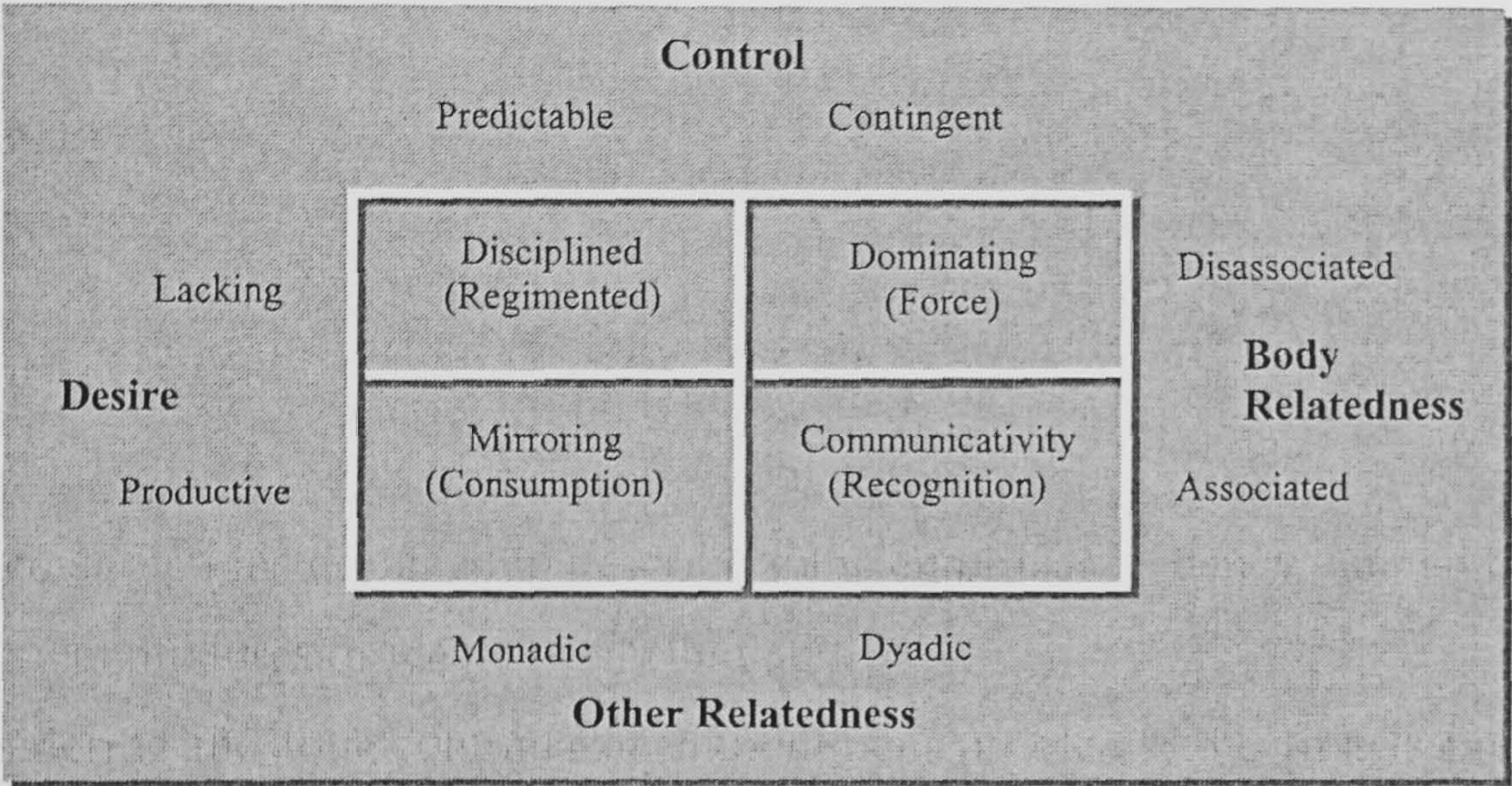


Fig. 3.2

contingency shown by the infantile body, ‘burping, spitting and defecating according to its own internal needs’ (ibid., p. 31). Predictability is a strongly masculine teacher orientation. The perception of the need for high levels of body competence and skilfulness in order to teach is supported by various pieces of research (See Armour & Jones, 1998, Sparkes, 1991). The importance of a predictable body can be directly linked to the PE teacher’s investment into the discourse of scientific rationality that is central to PE: The body must be made to perform with high levels of predictability in order to ensure maximal levels of efficiency and movement performance. This is a guiding light for many PE teachers who convert this logic into the technology of practice via continuous drills and exercises. This is likely to be even more important for the male PE teacher, given that the ideologies that are attached to the inherent physical ability of men (e.g. greater hand-eye coordination, ‘better motor skills,’ faster reflexes, etc.) as opposed to women.

Body-relatedness considers the nature of being associated/disassociated from one’s own body, and in other words asks, ‘Do I have a body, or am I a body?’ (Frank, 1995, p. 33). Some people, Frank argues can become very disassociated with their own bodies to such a point where they are unwilling to invest anything into it. In studying illness Frank points out

that chronically ill cancer sufferers often show this tendency. Observing the male PE teacher it is quite clear that the tendency is to have highly disassociated relationship with one's body. However, the nature of that disassociation is crucial: the masculinist rationale of a scientific rationality sees the body as a machine to be worked upon and perfect to achieve high levels of efficiency. Therefore, while willing to invest enormous quantities of time in the body, the relationship between body and self remains disassociated and separated, the body becomes an object to be used in PE and sport.

The third 'other-relatedness' dimension considers the question of how embodied individuals relate to other embodied individuals. The key here is the word 'embodied' because for Frank, 'how the shared condition of being bodies becomes a basis of empathetic relations,' (ibid., p. 35). This points towards dyadic bodies that exist for each other. In contrast, the monadic body understands itself as existentially separate and alone. My contention here is that male PE teachers are among the most obvious examples of the monadically other related body self. Successful investiture into the culturally prevalent ideologies of competition, meritocracy and individualism through PE and sport embeds a strongly monadic tendency, through the need to succeed at the expense of others. This is especially so when one considers the de-personalized body as a machine metaphor so often used in PE and sport (see Tinning 1990). The mechanistic view positions the body as a separately functioning unit.

The fourth problem concerns desire and the body. Desire is taken in the sense forwarded by the question, 'What do I want, and how is this desire expressed for my body, with my body, and through my body?' (ibid., p. 37). The fundamental quality of desire is that it cannot be fulfilled. It illustrates the triadic model of *desire, need and demand*, proposed by Jacques Lacan. Desire of a need can be fulfilled but desire, when expressed as a demand, cannot ever be satisfied because the desire is the demand. In considering the ill body, Frank shows that bodies can lack desire whilst other bodies remain desire producing.

Desire to express a masculine self with and through the body is manifest in the demonstration of hegemonic and complicit masculinities. This is particularly so in many sports and PE where the importance attached to competition, winning while demonstrating high levels of skills and physical prowess are powerful indicators of 'desiring expression' of the masculine body. In the classroom a desire to express masculinity through and with the body is likely to result in a distinctive pedagogy, including sets of practices and relationships with others that demonstrate this masculine sense of self. As Frank confirms, however, such

desire in insatiable because it lies within the act of desiring itself rather than the acquisition of the desire. For this reason, strong body-self relationships of desire might generate equally strong needs to constantly ‘prove’ oneself through the act of teaching and doing PE and sport. The final twist here is that desire may be indirect, not finding desire in the body doesn't necessarily mean the body-self relationship is lacking desire but that it is through the body that this desire will be expressed therefore, the fitness enthusiast may fail to demonstrate desire of and for the body (they may dislike their bodies) but they will nevertheless, find desire and pleasure *through* the body from having performed a punishing routine and having fulfilled a desire to control the body.

The four bodies in Frank's model are ideal types and represent a metanarrative of the choices that body-selves act out. These choices also contain an ethical dimension and can therefore constitute a moral problem: The dominating body's tendency to control the bodies of others being an example. As ideal types the four bodies and their relationship with the matrix of action problems represent extreme types and as such the majority of people will embody more than one type of body-self and often occupy neither extreme of the continua. Of interest here are the ways in which characteristics associated with hegemonic and complicit masculinities pertain to certain bodies. In particular notions of the disciplined, dominating and mirroring bodies provide insights into body-self relationships that might be drawn and influence approaches to teaching. The fourth, the communicative body, remains as Frank points out, an idealized type and a body-self relationship that perhaps would provide the basis for future emancipatory models.

The disciplined body, to begin, represents a quest for predictability and seeks it through self regimentation. Body regimes of this order transform the body/self relationship into disassociation, separating the body, which becomes an ‘it.’ Disassociation is typically present with a monadic other-relatedness, which is supposed from the logic that if a body-self is unable to form a meaningful association then the chance of relating empathetically to other bodies is improbable. Finally, while the disciplined body lacks desire, that lack may be re-found through an enjoyment of the benefits of the particular regimen. Frank's description of the disciplined body type is illuminating for the study of types of masculinity prevalent in PE teachers. In many ways the description exemplifies the characteristics of a complicit masculinity. Therefore, the complicit masculine PE body is typically seen as a disassociated ‘it,’ or more precisely a machine, that is tuned and instructed to reproduce consistent and predictably precise performances in PE and sport. It is monadic in that the discipline

imposed upon it is self-discipline and the responsibility of the self above all else. Moreover, it is desire-producing not through simple acts of expression of masculinity but expression of control, restraint and regimentation that are attributed to being masculine.

The second type of body most consistent with the dominant masculine mode of being the type of masculinities that actively seek to defend the Gender Order. The dominating body, is that which 'defines itself in force' (Frank, 1995, p. 46). Frank asserts that a dominating body-self assumes contingency but cannot really accept it, in other words like the disciplined body it really seeks a more predictable body self relationship found in forms of regimentation. It finds itself disassociated and lacking in desire for themselves in the same way as the disciplined body, but it is dyadic. Frank warns that this is a potentially dangerous relationship when one considers the nature of someone who is disassociated from themselves, but wishes to dominate others, in terms of the male PE teacher, the authoritarian didactic modes of teaching might become the favoured approaches for instruction.

The third, mirroring body, Frank writes, 'defines itself in acts of consumption. The body is both instrument and object of consumption' (p. 43). The mirroring body responds to visual stimulus and then seeks to recreate those desirable images. The images may vary but are related to the body and therefore tend to be health, or style oriented. The mirroring body-self tries to become the image of the image they find alluring. It fears contingencies such as illness or injury as these disrupt the image and, therefore, can be defined as favouring predictability. The mirroring body clearly also associates with itself, and shows monadic tendencies as it considers itself existentially alone in a world where other bodies judge it by appearance. These body-selves are desire producing, but this desire is produced for the self. Some of these body-self relationships may be identifiable in the complicit and dominantly masculine teacher of PE. In particular the desire to recreate 'appropriate' images of being a masculine body, are consistent with the need not to 'show weakness.'

The communicative body is, by Frank's own admission, an idealized type. The body-self can accept contingency of life as the natural order of things. It remains fully associated with itself seeing body-self unity as important. At the same time however the communicative body is both dyadic and desire producing (ibid., p. 50-51). In relating closely with other bodies it seeks empathetic communion with other bodies. Its own desire is born out of relating its own sense of self with others. Frank's work differs strongly from Turner's (1984) in that the emphasis is, as Shilling (1993a) notes, based on the embodiment of agency. In the context of this study the notion of body-selves is significant for studying what

relationships with self and others these male PE teachers describe in their life stories, whether they correspond to mirroring, disciplined and dominating bodies and the degree of embodied agency that comes through these accounts.

3.5 ERVING GOFFMAN: THE (GENDERED) INTERACTION ORDER

My intention here is to highlight the potential of Goffman's work for studying the construction of masculinity in these student teachers personal and professional lives. In particular, I will identify the sensitizing concepts of social stigma, body idiom, territories of the self, the performing self, and finally the constructs of self and social identity are considered. Goffman considers these dynamics and others besides them, as *parts of the Interaction Order*. He elucidates in the following comments;

My concern over the years has been to promote acceptance of this face-to-face domain as an analytically viable one - a domain that might be titled, for want of a happy name; the Interaction Order - a domain whose preferred method of study is micro analysis. (Goffman, 1983, p. 2)

The Interaction Order is 'a domain of activity.' To be sure, the Interaction Order prevailing even in the most public places is not a creation of the apparatus of state (Goffman, 1983, p. 5).

As such, the Interaction Order is reducible to neither agency, nor structure, as Shilling (1999) notes;

Goffman's (1983) and Rawls'(1987) conception of a sphere of association, framed by organizational constraints emerging from human interaction, linked to the corporeal dimensions of co-presence and individuals's need for a social self. This 'Interaction Order' incorporates the body and emotions into sociology as part of an order consequential for, yet irreducible to, structures and agency. (Shilling, 1999, p. 545)

While not without its conceptual difficulties, as Shilling (1999) identifies (some of which I shall consider below), the Interaction Order nevertheless, presents another very useful heuristic for studying life experience (including PE teaching) and the stories people tell about themselves, as they implicitly contain stories of interaction and embodied communication.

35.1. *Interaction and Multiply Masculine Selves*

In The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life (1969) Goffman developed the notion of management of the self within a dramaturgical model of 'performances' and the playing out of roles that actors engage in to interact successfully in everyday life. The interactions are

separated into 'front' and 'back regions' (pp. 109-140). Front regions are situations where the individual must perform in order to maintain a desired impression of the self, and back regions represent those instances where the individual is not required to perform. Individuals, therefore, are always engaged in the process of constructing and sustaining a sense of self (identity) which can only be achieved by consistent performances in the audience of others.

For Goffman then, social identity (virtual identity) and self identity (actual identity) are mutually interdependent: The identity an individual thinks he/she has (virtual/social) will form the basis of their social performance. Virtual social identities are constantly on display and assessed by others. Conversely, the feedback a person receives about how they are perceived will have significant effects on their actual social identity. Any gaps between actual and virtual identities can lead to embarrassment for the individual but are normally repairable and do not affect self identity. However, if others judge an individual's virtual social identity to be generally or consistently unsatisfactory, then that person becomes stigmatized by others; a more permanent judgement. Social identity will then undergo a dramatic shift, damaging self identity and requiring significant changes to repair the gap between the two. For an actor to be stigmatized, therefore, has important consequences for both these types of identity and will be likely to inform future action.

The presentation of the masculine self in teaching PE has a fundamental role to play in the construction of a teacher's self and social identity and in the social construction of ways being and interacting as a male. It should be noted that while we can normally control what impressions we wish to give off (within certain structural limitations) we cannot control the interpretations that others may draw from our performances. In this sense as Shilling (1993a) notes, individuals are, 'caught in a web of communication irrespective of individual intentions,' (p. 85). However, individuals are implicitly aware of this situation and this awareness further premeditates and shapes self presentation during interactions. In the context of teaching PE where the locus of the pursuit is largely 'body work,' Goffman's perspectives provide the potential for understanding the nature of gendered presentation of self in this arena.

In Stigma (1963) Goffman analyses ways in which social interaction is performance based, requiring individuals to exhibit the 'right' qualities, that he claims are normative. In so doing he moved the study of human interaction into mainstream sociology. A stigma in

Goffman's (1963) terms is a 'special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype' (p. 14). He continues;

There are different types of stigma; 'abominations of the body'; 'blemishes of individual character' and 'tribal stigma of race, nation and religion' (ibid., p. 14). The body clearly has an important role to play in the social mechanism of stigmatization (Goffman, 1963, p. 14).

The outcome of gendered encounters with others results in individuals being judged about various socially defined norms (or stereotypes). Individuals who fail or refuse to live up to this norm risk being stigmatized. As Goffman (1963) points out, in our society not all 'undesirable attributes are at issue, but only those which are incongruous with our stereotype of what a given type of individual should be' (p. 13). A stigma is an attribute that is 'deeply discrediting,' as they reduce the holder of them to be less than a whole person by being outside the 'norm.' Furthermore, due to its being so easily visible and, therefore, judgeable. We must take great care to present our 'selves' in ways that show us 'favourably. Thus a high degree of expertise in body-self management and presentation is a premium for the maintenance of our identities in teaching PE. As Shilling (1993a) notes, the meanings created by, and attributed to, the body, are used to classify others and for self classification and in this sense, 'we tend to perceive our bodies as if looking into a mirror which offers a reflection framed in terms of society's views and prejudices' (p. 85).

The threat of stigma plays a very important part of the socialization processes, and as Dodds (1993) notes, social and cultural stigmas are used by PE teachers in their teaching and in their language of control. The discourses drawn on are very often gendered, and more often than not promote ideologies of the female characteristics; passive, weak, uncoordinated, fearful, etc. For a boy to be attributed such a stigma (e.g. He throws like a girl) can cause identity problems, but he is also likely to be singled out in ways which reinforce, exemplify and reproduce the Gender Order.

Therefore, our gendered bodies and selves have a very important role to play in our being regarded as 'normal' individuals in society and in specific sub-cultures that he uses in the sense of 'accepted.' In terms of the male PE teacher, failing to exhibit the perceived attributes are likely to result in being stigmatized; perceived as having undesirable attributes. In an interaction intensive profession, such as teaching, this can have serious consequences on long term health (Woods & Troman, 2000) as well as reducing future opportunities for employment. This may include having one's gender, sexuality, personal, professional or physical competence called into question. The need to 'fit in' for the male PE teacher is real.

He is likely to feel pressure to display traits that are associated as being normative to the stereotypical male PE teacher; such as being dominant, competitive, strong, courageous, rational, loyal to the status quo (or politically docile) capable of suppressing the emotions, and having an athletic physique and well-developed physical skills.

3.5.2. '*Body Idiom*'

Goffman's work places the individual at the centre of his analysis and focuses on human agency taking place within the constraints of a prevailing Interaction Order. Therefore, while individuals are seen as 'embodied,' embodiment is not autonomous because interaction itself is highly structured. Behaviour in Public Places (1963b) highlights how Goffman perceives this interaction structure operating by 'shared vocabularies of body idiom' (p. 33). Peoples' perceptions of social appearance and performance are bound with social and cultural meanings that have been internalized through the process of 'social ritualization' which Goffman (1983) describes as 'a standardization of bodily and vocal behaviour' (p. 3).

These structured interactions link the body to the self and provide very powerful constraints (as well as opportunities) on bodily actions, creating a range of circumstances that give rise to the need for body-self management. Elsewhere Synnott's (1993) social anthropological work supports this view: In The Body Social: Symbolism and the Self (1993), he traces concerns over the management of bodily functions for example back to the Renaissance period in Italy around the fourteenth century when among the upper classes, 'As new standards of refinement rose, so more and more areas of 'instinctive' or 'natural' behaviour came to be judged as indelicate and unmannerly' (pp. 90 -91).

The strength of Goffman's approach is its ability to 'frame' individual and collective appearance and performance as instances of the self and society in interaction, and with it the simultaneous presence of agency and structure. Factors such as; 'bodily appearance and personal acts, dress, bearing, movement, and position, sound level, physical gestures such as waving or saluting, facial decorations and broad emotional expression' (1963b, p. 33) all represent aspects of bodily behaviour that have a ritualized idiom attached to them. Consequently, social actors have an understanding of a commonly shared set of meanings that are attached to bodily behaviour. It is idiomatic in the sense that these meanings are shared by both performer and observer of the behaviour. That body idiom has a shared set of meanings is significant for Goffman (1963b) when he states: 'Body idiom then is conventionalized discourse. We must see that in addition it is a normative one' (pp. 34-35).

It is important to note, therefore, that in terms of body idiom an individual cannot choose to display nothing as all bodily behaviour will have its interpretation according to its normative symbolic meaning. The paradox of this is that the way to say least with one's body is to act in the way that is expected in the given situation. The embodied self is a site of communication drawing on a shared vocabulary of interactions and performances. Individuals are constantly using this to convey, conceal and interpret meaning in situations where two or more individuals interact. Clearly such a vocabulary of body idiom is wide ranging; moreover, it is situated within the bounds of time, space, race, culture, subculture, history, gender, etc. However in spite of this Goffman (1963b) maintains that;

While no one in society is likely to be in a position to employ the whole expressive idiom, or even the major part of it, nevertheless everyone will possess some knowledge of the same vocabulary of body symbols. Indeed, the understanding of a common body idiom is one reason for calling an aggregate of individuals a society (Goffman, 1963b, p. 35).

The shared understanding of a conventionalized body idiom is a central feature of teaching PE. The body idiom used by male PE teachers links closely to interpretations of the stereotype. For example, idioms of self presentation mean male PE teachers are generally clean shaven, with short hair, no earrings (worn) and no tattoos exposed. Clothes are usually active 'performance,' types rather than leisure sports clothes in dark or deep 'masculine appropriate' colours. Male PE teachers normatively exhibit a remarkably narrow range of body types, that are most strongly mesomorphic in composition. These factors (and others) become condensed into an idealized presentational norm and are likely to be the result of a series of social selections (through sports careers, teacher education, job interviews). In addition, the male PE teacher needs to demonstrate skilled performance in a very narrow range of sporting sub-disciplines; Rugby, football, basketball, athletics, cricket and swimming. The performance itself is more often than not less important than 'having a background' and identity in one or more of these sports. Acts of bearing and self expression require a firmness; this comes over in a strong and unyielding posture, with positive and assertive gestures.

The above body idiom (often assumed an outcome of socialization into team games) is considered to be one of the best platforms for subservience to the rules, making the male PE teacher strongly suited as a disciplinarian in order to fulfil this aspect in terms of body idiom. A male teacher must be able to demonstrate authority and dominance through gesture, voice, posture and expression. Perhaps most importantly, the 'masculine' teacher

must be constantly on guard not to display body idiom that might be regarded as effeminate or merely 'lacking' in male qualities, as this self presentation would be sufficient to attract stigmatization. Therefore, care must always be taken not to show too much understanding, too much passivity, too much emotion, indecision or other forms of 'weakness.'

Male PE teachers, like many other institutionalized professionals in society, need the capacity to recognize and utilize the shared body idiom in the ways in which they sense meet their situational and contextual requirements. The notion of body management becomes a key feature of interaction, and is bound with the perspective of individuals being knowledgeable actors who, where possible, utilize their agency. Body management, therefore, refers to the management of our bodies through the sensitized application of body idiom and to avoid stigma. The need for management of the body and self in occupational careers and even at home, has led to what Goffman (1969) terms the 'bureaucratization of the spirit,' being so called due to the ever increasing amount of time, effort and sophistication being required for social performances. Success at this task of body management is imperative as people are 'accepted' or stigmatized according to their successful use of this expressive idiom.

In addition to a shared body idiom used in interactions in Relations in Public (1971), Goffman added the concept of 'territories of the self' (p. 28-44), which examines interactions between actors sharing social spaces;

The very notion of an egocentric territory suggests that the body is not only a preserve but also a central marker of various preserves - personal space, stall, turn, and personal effects (Goffman, 1971, p. 42).

Within this concept are several categories. While not all are appropriate for this study one is of particular interest for the front region performances of male PE teachers in the social spaces created in the PE lesson: 'Personal space' is referred to as the 'space surrounding an individual' (ibid., p. 29). Goffman's point here is that our bodily space may not be violated indiscriminately and for others to enter this personal space there need to be contextual factors that presuppose this being acceptable or not; for example approaching a stranger and touching them is not seen as legitimate behaviour whereas bodily contact with a stranger in a lift or a busy street is to a certain degree acceptable (as long as it is either unavoidable or unintentional).

The PE lesson is a platform for the development of various kinds of personal space usage demanded and legitimized but are these gendered? Many girls are encouraged to respect each others personal space in games, boys are encouraged to invade the self-

territories of opponents and team mates alike. In addition, such masculine uses of personal territory and the invasion of that of others make a practical reality of masculinist discourses of playing PE and sport. Goalkeepers are expected to 'dominate their box,' defenders 'close down' their opponents, rugby forwards are told to attempt to 'get amongst' and 'smother' their opponents - masculinist language, practice and interaction.

Similarly, the physical nature of interaction while teaching 'boys' PE and school sport (e.g. games where contact is the norm) means that many male teachers allow pupils to transgress their personal territory and vice versa. The degree of collapsing of personal territory that is expected, permitted and entered into by the teacher is likely to strongly influence the social reproduction of dominant forms of masculinities in PE. These are critical moments where the presentation of self and the reproduction of dominantly masculine ways of being, are brought together in rituals of interaction and practice. To shy away from physical contact and refuse to collapse one's 'egocentric' territory when performing is seen as either being 'aloof,' effeminate or both with a stigmatization to follow.

As Shilling (1999) notes, 'the 'Interaction Order' is, then, not simply a context for the potentially artificial 'presentation of self,' but a deeply moral domain' (p. 546). Furthermore, Shilling (ibid.) points to some of the limitations of the Interaction Order that are useful qualifications for using the perspective in this study. Firstly that we should fall into the 'cognitive' trap of assuming that all individuals and interactions are purely rational, structured, actions, rather, that context and emotional intensity, can and does mean that individuals may not always try to 'fit in' and may actively pursue interactional disorder rather than order. Secondly, Shilling points out that the interaction is underdeveloped in historical terms meaning that the Interaction Order itself is a changing, rather than fixed, phenomenon and will necessarily vary in and through time and space. In response he proposes that we must take more seriously the somatic sector of interaction, especially the role of the emotions. Of particular interest here, is how individuals have come to learn interaction patterns and the changing forms of mediation that modify the Interaction Order over time. There is not space here to do justice to these qualifications nor to Shilling's (ibid.) own suggestions, but I agree that 'further theoretical work is clearly required for this somatic sector of interaction to become more than a broadly delineated space' (p. 554). Nevertheless, these qualifications are helpful to sensitize the use of the Interaction Order perspective.

OVERVIEW: EXPLORING LIVING LINKS

The above discussion attempts to articulate a range of sensitizing concepts and heuristics for analysing the social construction of dominant forms of masculinity in PE. Realistically, the gender construction process is a complex one, with masculine power being maintained throughout at a variety of overlapping social dimensions. Taking a broad view, however, *any* sociological account needs to make provision for the body-self-society complex. This means acknowledging the interplay between the cognitive, the embodied and the emotional, and in so doing calls into question, approaches to structure and agency.

We might therefore view student teachers as potential *living links*, who, as embodied, socialized individuals bind past, present and future gendered PE discourse and practice together. The process of becoming a teacher is an important one for the social construction of gender relations in PE and perhaps beyond. How dispositions of masculinity are recognized, recruited and then worked upon is an important task for sociological investigation of contemporary educational research.

The next generation of teachers will be differently trained teachers, much of their instruction will come from the social context of the school and this will build upon their own particular biographical histories. The visceral, corporeal imprint of these biographies, the habitus, is likely to be of even greater influence than previously due to the brevity of their teacher education and the practical context in which it occurs. What dispositions are brought into the profession in the biographies of the student teachers is a subject of both sociological and professional interest and significance. It is also important to retain Bourdieu's (1990) observation that these dispositions need to be viewed in relation to the historical legacy of the present generation of teachers and coaches and how dispositions may be transmitted, legitimized and embedded through practical mimesis, as well as cognitive understanding. With these perspectives in mind I shall move on to discuss the research methods deployed to consider these social phenomena.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS:

INTERPRETIVISM AND SOCIAL

CONSTRUCTIONISM

All research is interpretive; in that acknowledged or otherwise, it is guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, p. 19).

4.1 INTRODUCTION

By way of introduction it is worth outlining what I actually did, in methodological terms, in order to give something of an overview before I go on to discuss why I did it this way. This study is conducted from a non-foundationalist, social constructivist view of the world, with some inclusion of critical theoretical viewpoints. It is exclusively qualitative and interpretive in its methodological orientation and is purposefully designed to be non-linear and flexible. The focus for the research was stimulated by my own experiences of teaching PE and subsequently developed into a thesis through drawing eclectically on a range of conceptual frameworks - which began to shape and drive the types of questions being asked. In turn these began to presuppose the nature of the methods that might best explore these emerging ideas and questions. The life history strategy emerged as the most suitable approach with which to explore these men's masculine identities as they experience their PGCE period.

A sample of a dozen male PGCE students was then theoretically sampled (one was sampled opportunistically) at their inception of a PGCE in PE course at an English University in 1998. These men (8 agreed to take part) were then interviewed at the beginning of their PGCE year using semi-structured interviews that were guided by a series of pre-considered thematic areas. The interviews were tape recorded, and interviewer notes were also taken, these were then transcribed and superficially analysed by 'in vivo' and 'sociological coding' as soon as I had collected the data.

The sample was then reduced, and the remainder of the participants were interviewed at once again at the end of their PGCE study period, where a degree of cross referencing took place from the first interview to check for basic accuracy, follow up on emerging themes and issues and to gather more detailed life story data. The formal analysis was based on content analysis, in which I considered the conceptual patterns that emerged from the data. I also began to draw on any relevant emergent features from the 'in vivo' coding that I performed. The majority of the study is represented as a modified realist tale, with myself as author appearing and disappearing occasionally, in order to reflect upon, and make my bias as transparent as possible. The introduction and conclusion of the thesis shifts between the modified realist and the confessional style of representation.

Denzin & Lincoln (2000) consider that in North America at least, 'qualitative research operates in a complex historical field that crosscuts seven historical moments. These seven moments overlap and simultaneously operate in the present' (p. 2-3). They qualify that this moment, 'is defined more by breaks and ruptures than by a clear, evolutionary, progressive movement from one stage to the next' (p. 1047). Whatever the merits of this description of qualitative history, I sense that it is useful in highlighting some of the key clusters of issues that face qualitative researchers in the 21st Century. They comment;

There is an elusive centre emerging in this contradictory, tension-riddled enterprise. We seem to be moving farther away from the grand narratives and single, over arching ontological, epistemological, and methodological paradigms. The center lies in the humanistic commitment of the qualitative researcher to study the world always from the perspective of the gendered, historically situated, interacting individual (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 1047).

In what follows, the perspectives, methods and techniques deployed in this study are addressed with reference to this 'tension riddled enterprise.' However, I will also argue that many of these tensions are largely positive as they incite dialogue, and through dialogue, we are more likely to gain a reflexive awareness of others than if we withdraw into secular positions. For the purposes of structuring this chapter I have adopted Denzin & Lincoln's (2000) interpretation of the qualitative process. They consider the following phases;

Phase 1: The researcher as a multicultural subject

Phase 2: Theoretical paradigms and perspectives

Phase 3: Research strategies

Phase 4: Methods of collection and analysis

Phase 5: The art, practices and politics of interpretation and representation.

The first phase amounts to 'positioning the self' and has been judged sufficiently important to be included at the outset of the thesis (chapter one). Phase two to five are considered in this chapter. They are sufficiently pertinent titles that I have elected to use them to structure the remainder of the chapter here, as they broadly encompass the key areas of methodological qualification and elucidation that I might expect to present in explaining the approach taken in any qualitative, interpretive study, at this particular time.

4.2 THEORETICAL PARADIGMS AND PERSPECTIVES: NON-FOUNDATIONALISM AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

4.2.1. *Where Logic Gets Fuzzy*

Getting better acquainted with one's beliefs and feelings involves taking time to consider the fusion of ontological, epistemological, human nature and methodological assumptions that collectively create the paradigm and perspectives that underpin our belief systems. I still remember the first time I encountered Hilary Putnam's (1987), 'No God's eye view,' analogy that, for me at least, opened the door onto the paradigm debate. The way the debate was presented to me was not as some dry abstract intellectual self-indulgence, but as a key to gaining access to a constellation of realities, lived, shared and believed every day by 'real' people (instead of 'theoretical subjects'); a window onto different social worlds and how we might study them.

In spite of Denzin & Lincoln's view of all things being interpretive (about which I agree up to a point), it is plain that not all science/social science traditions consider themselves as interpretively active. While there are merits in rehearsing the grand paradigm debates of the Sixties, Seventies and Eighties, there is little space for it here, and it has already been done so eloquently by others both within and outside of the fields of sport, education and PE (see for example, Kuhn, 1970; Brubaker, 1984; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Guba, 1990; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Sparkes, 1992; Smith, 1992, 2000). Rather I would prefer to describe more specifically the position adopted here within the *broad church* that is often referred to as the non-foundationalist or interpretive paradigm.

In recent times interpretive thinkers in social science have been busy undermining many of the intellectual rules that have long provided the foundations of mainstream social

science. Perhaps so much so that the interpretive intellectual landscape is in a constant state of flux, which is a very positive step for the development of qualitative study, although this situation also brings a degree of uncertainty.

The work within this study is best and most often described as social constructivist, and in broad terms correspond to the positions set in Fig. 4.1. Between the foundationalist and non-foundationalist paradigms social constructivism appears to differ little with the other interpretations of non-foundationalism - they are seen by many as merely interpretations on a theme.

However, from within this paradigm the view is quite different, and positions vary

enough to warrant a further narrowing of focus. Indeed, as we shall see even positions within Constructivism are differentiated and 'tension riddled.' That said, these pluralities are by no means secular retreats - although they always have the potential to become such, as any political analyst will surely testify to. Changing paradigm debates are the

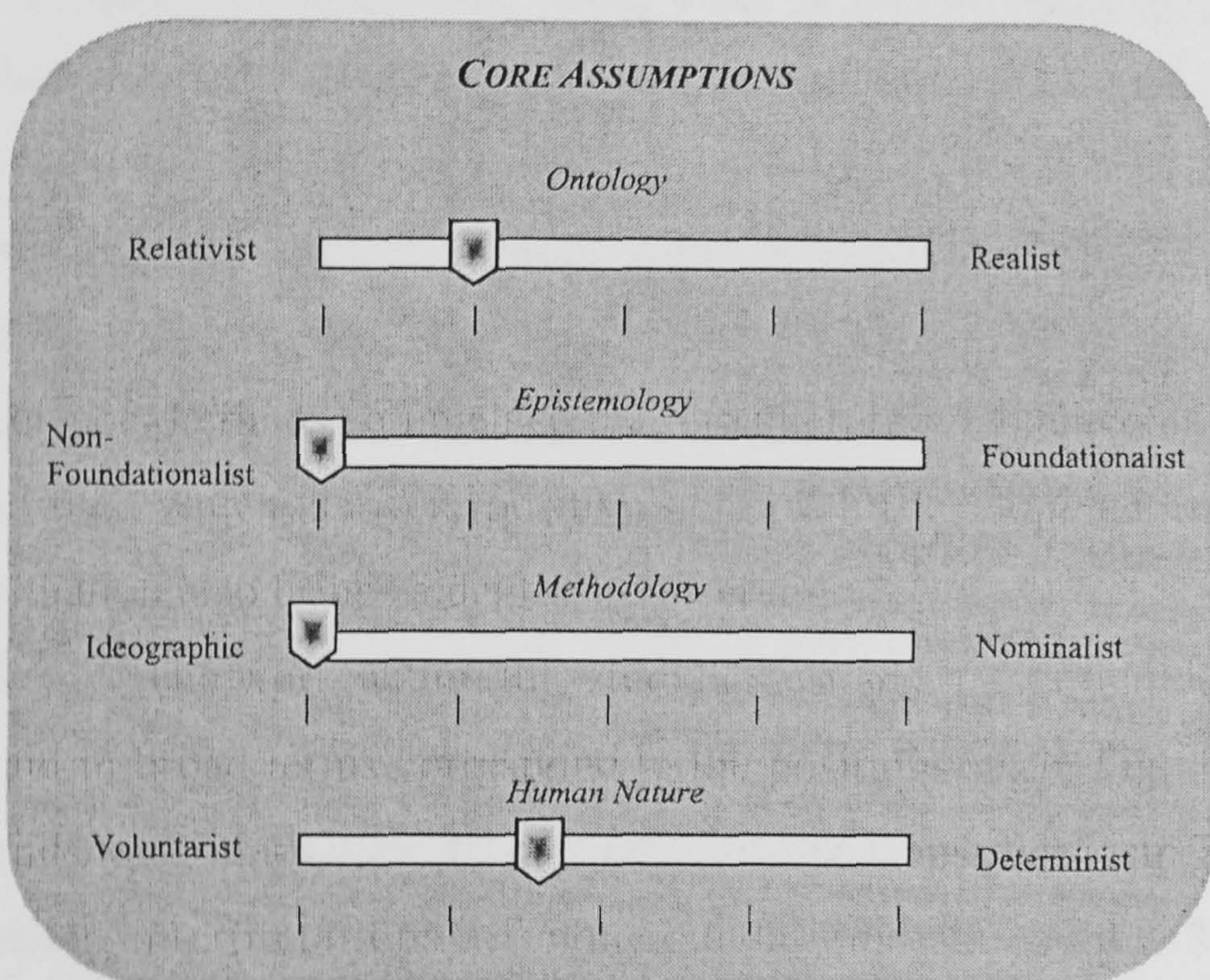


Fig. 4.1

'agent provocateur,' stimulating contingent responses and creating a state of constant flux, fuzzy logic and reflexivity, where positions and beliefs are increasingly ephemeral. Therefore while constructivists generally share very similar assumptions and positions, it is equally fair to say that there is a continuum of positions ranging from the strong to the weak (Schwandt, 2000, Stedman-Jones 1998). For this reason, I will focus on the positions I have created for this study with reference to the social constructivist paradigm.

4.2.2. *Ontology: Objective Reality or Socially Constructed Worlds?*

Like most interpretive paradigmatic thought, social constructivist views hold that social reality is of a strongly subjective nature, and therefore, an internal, idealistic construction (see Cohen & Manion, 1981; Sparkes, 1992). Social actors interpret meanings from their life worlds and environment in which they live (through linguistic transition and directly

embodied experience) and from this construct their understanding of, and relationship with, the world. Social interaction is seen as a process of consolidation, validation or annulation of our personal perceptions of reality with those of other people and of society more generally. Where things begin to differ is how social scientists or philosophers interpret this internal, idealistic, subjective reality. The main ontological contention here is whether these subjective realities are constituted by, or constitutive of an 'objective' social reality (that which exists beyond human perception), or, put differently, whether our views are in some way relativist or realist.

Social Constructivism is often accredited with taking its conceptual idealism from the work of Immanuel Kant, who, in writing The Critique of Practical Reason (1788) became one of the first proponents of 'conceptualism' arguing that there is no form of reality that is not linked to our conception of it. However, the origins of this thought, and the relativism it implies, is much older, being influenced by the Greek Sophist philosophers, Protagoras in particular argued for a form of conceptual relativism, which as Stedman-Jones (1988) argues can take on different interpretations ranging from a 'species' relativism to individual relativism to social/cultural relativism. Unlike Stedman-Jones (1998) however, I do not see relativism as being a choice between one or other of these levels; i.e., the individual/culture individual/society and so on.

The lack of a 'universal social reality' means that social reality is constructed relative to the individual/culture/society/civilization. As Smith and Deemer (2000) contend relativism is 'more or less the condition of the world' (p. 878). An important qualification however is that while there may be no objective social reality, there are clearly 'shared forms of consciousness' that create commonalities of belief and construct the 'illusion' of an objective social reality. With regards to relativism, Gergen & College (1999) capture this point, commenting;

Constructivist thinkers generally refuse any transparent or necessary connection to an array of existence outside itself...the emphasis is placed on meaning as embedded within language use, words deriving their meaning from the attempt of people to coordinate their actions within various communities. Furthermore, the meaning of language originates within ongoing relations among people. The individual mind is abandoned as the originary source of meaning and replaced by relationship (Gergen & College, 1999, p. 7).

Put differently, social realities are constructed through the shared understandings of individuals. I would extend this point to include the non-linguistic forms of communication of the body in social life as well. Here, the important point is that realities are subjectively

constructed and experienced by individuals but shared and confirmed through communication with others. Collectivities of individuals build up shared understandings of the 'reality' of the social world -and these then become integral parts of cultural and social belief systems - and are passed on across generations, thereby constructing the illusion of objective existence (it is worth repeating here that the subject of discussion is the illusion of an objective existence of social phenomenon and meaning structures. I do not wish to imply a radical relativism that questions materiality, such as whether or not gravity is not objectively verifiable, or whether planes only fly if we think they do). Importantly however, because they are constructed by individuals and collectivities, these understandings are constantly changing, but they often do so slowly and imperceptibly.

This qualification is important, because without it, the everyday business of social science becomes secularized in relativist/realist groups of thinkers who cannot bring themselves to entertain the theoretical or empirical work of others, on the basis that the author and reader disagree on whether there is or is not an objective social reality. Such stances are unhelpful and often unneeded because relativists and realists alike share many strong agreements on the shared behaviours and consciousness of social actors and the existence of social structure in some form. Neo-realist social thinkers; for example, largely agree on the notion of shared understanding but still maintain that there is an independent social reality out there waiting to be discovered if only we could find the methodological means to uncover it (Hammersley, 1990; 1998; Kirk & Miller, 1989). Therefore, while our ontological beliefs are important - they should not, and do not (generally) prevent dialogue, especially between thinkers of a social constructivist and critical paradigms, where the sharing of common ground is an aspiration. Neither do relativist ontological positions preclude the aspiration to a socially constructed form of relational humanism that makes strong arguments for the type of reality that society might construct for itself - rather than making idealistic claims that reality is, 'in reality' just, fair etc. These positions do however have consequences for the epistemological standpoints that we might adopt from here.

4.2.3. Epistemological Assumptions: The Limits of Subjectivity, from Discoverer to Architect.

Relativism is nothing more or less than the expression of our human finitude (Smith & Deemer, 2000, p. 886).

Ontology is intimately related to epistemology and views on the former will have a direct effect on the latter positions that become available as a result. Constructivist perceptions

over the nature of knowledge draw on relativism for its stance, an epistemological position described by Cohen & Manion (1981) as 'of a softer, more transcendental kind, based on experience and insight of a unique and essentially personal nature' (p. 4). The nature of knowledge is again seen as subjective and consequently, relative in the sense that as there can be no one all embracing 'Truth' concerning the social world or for that matter social reality. Reiterating Putnam's (1987) point, there can be 'no God's eye view' (cited in Sparkes, 1992, p. 27), no view from everywhere. All views are views from somewhere, and all knowledge/truth, is 'truth for' (Stedman-Jones, 1988). While Epistemological relativism shares a dialectical relationship with ontological relativism, these remain strongly contested, and by no means settled debates (see for example, Norris, 1997, Hammersley 1998; Alexander, 1995). However, as Becker (1993) considers we might do well not to wait for the settling ontological and epistemological debates before we begin our work;

If we haven't solved them definitively in two thousand years, more or less, we probably aren't ever going to settle them. These are simply commonplaces, in the rhetorical sense, of scientific talk in the social sciences, the framework in which debate goes on (Becker: 1993, p. 219, cited in Wolcott, 1995, p. 171).

I concur with Becker's viewpoint and while the debate goes on, as surely it will, we must learn to accommodate a plurality of epistemological frameworks in qualitative research. For myself, the challenge, is as Smith (1997) argues, learning to live with relativism. There is a range of issues embedded within the challenge that Smith and Deemer (2000) identify;

It is time to move beyond any lingering hopes for a foundational or quasi foundational epistemology, to change our metaphors and images from those of discoverers/ finders to those of constructors, makers, and to accept that relativism is our inescapable condition as finite beings...But that said, the relativism that arrives with this perspective does not mean that we must give ourselves over to the neo-realist fear that anything goes in our assessments of the quality of inquiry (Smith & Deemer, 2000, p. 884).

Some commentators also argue that, at the level of philosophy of science, the relativism argument is self-refuting (see for example, Stedman-Jones 1998). In other words, to state that 'everything is relative' is a non-relative absolutist statement. Of course, we have to appreciate that this refutation is a foundationally 'logical' statement, the very same type of logic that derives from naive or neo-realist world views that assumes an objective reality and in many cases aspires to construct an epistemology that can discover it. By this logic relativism is self-refuting. However, given that relativist perspectives apply a different logic does this matter? In the opinion of Smith and Deemer (2000) it does not represent a

crippling blow, because relativistic understandings of the world make no epistemological appeal to be able to understand the social world from what Bernstein (1983) refers to as an 'Archimedean point,' therefore, the logical contradiction is of little importance. As human beings our understanding of the social world are subjective and finite (this does not imply inert) it just means that we cannot see everything as it 'really is,' because of the limitations of our subjectivity. Therefore, the one absolutist statement of relativism - that all things are relative is merely a recognition of human finitude and subjective limitation. With no ultimate 'knowable' social reality resulting from our inability to transcend our subjectivity, we cannot make an appeal to any externally referenced criterion to construct universal epistemologies for social science validation.

The question leading from this is, does this mean that anything goes? Again, I would contend with a resounding 'no' that anything does not go - but reasons for this are perhaps different from the reasons for critical or neo-realist fears as expressed by thinkers such as Norris (1997); Hammersley (1998). As Smith & Deemer (2000) point out, lurking behind the notion that anything goes is again a foundationalist logic, that holds that there are some innately, pre-determined, 'better' ways of studying and hence accessing the 'real' social world than others - again neo-realist ontological assumptions driving epistemological positions. As Wolcott argues, debates such as these often take on a 'sophomoric quality - where neither side really seems to listen to the other or try to hear their point of view' (p. 170).

That said, it is important to qualify the relativist point of view of 'anything does not go' and why it is unacceptable according to its own logic, put simply, anything goes involves an abdication of responsibility and this begins with language. Smith (1997), and Smith & Deemer (2000), contend that there are important distinctions to be made in our use of language in a social constructivist research. The language of foundationalism, for example, sets up the scientist as 'discoverer,' someone who merely reports what they 'find' and thereby as individuals, need not accept moral or ethical responsibility for their findings/actions. By contrast, the language of relativism is more adequately analogized as that of an architect, in which the researcher 'constructs' representations of the social world, and therefore must take responsibility for his/her constructions of knowledge and accept judgement as to whether they are better or worse. In this distinction, I believe are the beginnings of reconstructed ethical and moral positions with respect to social science work and our capacity as finite beings to carry this out; La Follette (1991) argues;

We are left within the real world, trying to cope with ourselves, with each other, with the world, and with our own fallibility. We do not have all the moral answers; nor do we have an algorithm to discern those answers. Neither do we possess an algorithm for determining correct language usage but that does not make us throw up our hands in despair because we can no longer communicate (La Follette, 1991, p. 8).

The language of construction allows the beginning of dialogue about what are and are not good, interpretations and representations of the social world. From this perspective, terms such as validity, objectivity, bias, reliability, are legacies of positivistic and fallibilistic logics which need surplanting with constructivist language, or at least translating adequately. Therefore, rather than discussing validity we need, as Wolcott (1995) contends, to be considering what validity means? Dialogue is crucial to the construction of alternative frameworks for judging the quality of work that introduces more flexible logics

The consequences of some of these dialogues have already given rise to new language, with more constructivist logics embedded within them. Employing terms such as transferability, credibility, verisimilitude, and empathy has much to offer social constructivist research appraisal (for a fuller discussion of these terms see Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995, pp. 128-9). Importantly these terms and their usage also require ongoing dialogue, constant contextualized re-construction in order to make judgements.

Constructivist epistemological criteria then, do not claim universal 'Truth' merely by their application. Just because we cannot, in social science enquiry, guarantee validity or claim 'reality' correspondence through our methods, does not mean we cannot agree on what constitutes 'good' research or 'valuable' knowledge. It does, however, mean that our criteria will vary as will our reasons for choosing our criteria. In social constructivist terms the criteria, as well as the methods, need to be transparent and justified through dialogue resulting in some form of agreement on their value. By Smith & Deemer's (2000) own admission, this is hard work - why? Because it involves making and defending judgements. They continue, 'judgements must be made and must be argued and justified, unless in the latter instance, one simply resorts to raw power' (p. 888).

Ironically, judgements are exactly what all social scientists do most of the time, but we can no longer make our judgements behind the de-contextualized and deliberately obfuscating curtain of method-as-procedure and the linguistic certitude of 'reality discovery' to which it appeals. Rather we must ask penetrating questions about who makes what judgements, when, where and on what basis, i.e., what are the list of criteria and what power was present and exercised in these judgements and if so was it reasonable?

So, if we have to live with our finitude and yet make judgements over quality that involve invoking some kind of epistemological position (however transient), how do we address the problem of constructivist criteria? Smith and Deemer (2000) have pointed out that we use 'lists,' which they describe as follows;

For us a list of characteristics must be seen as always open-ended, in part unarticulated, and, even when characteristic is more or less articulated, it is always and ever subject to constant reinterpretation. Moreover, the items on the list can never be the distillation of some abstract epistemology, they must inevitably be rooted in one's standpoint or, to use Gadamer's (1995) term, they must inevitably evolve out of and reflect one's 'effective history' (Smith & Deemer, 2000, p. 888).

Our lists must be open ended, and require a delicate balance between reference to relativistic openness and to our ethical responsibilities. We may struggle to remain open to new forms of enquiry that have much to offer, but which challenge our lists, demanding we modify them to accommodate new quality. Simultaneously must we deploy our power to exercise judgement over social constructions that may fail to meet the requirements of our criteria lists. Above all the process of judgement through lists involves dialogue with others and the constant reminder of the relativist ontology that through our actions, we are constructing rather than finding social reality and in this we have an ethical responsibility to keep channels of communication open.

4.2.4. Human Nature Assumptions: Knowledgeable Actors or Cultural Dupes?

Human nature assumptions represent the debate on determinism and voluntarism and are consequential in that the orientation here guides the significance attached to the individual in society, which in turn justifies research focus. In terms of a research orientation it might best be described as a continuum with determinism at one end and voluntarism at the other with the interpretive, social constructivist approaches endeavouring to entertain the significance of both.

Extreme forms of voluntarism in sociological context see humans as ultimately independent entities who make their own decisions, and actions and are therefore, unaffected by social forces. Such an extreme philosophical view rides on the assumption that the will of a person cannot be influenced/determined by external sources. The opposite of this view is the deterministic extreme that views socialized individuals as cultural dupes who are totally constructed by society and therefore, all decisions they make are grounded as a direct causal result of their socialization. In my view extreme forms of voluntarism run contrary to the social theoretical assumptions of social constructionism that assumes that individuals are

powerfully shaped by the cultural and social life contexts. Equally, however, strong determinism provides for very unconvincing accounts of social change and cannot account for the diversity among individuals with similar life circumstances. The conclusion for many is to occupy a difficult and uncertain space between the two.

In many ways the agency/structure debate is a contextualized sociological formulation of the determinism/voluntarism debate. It is of no coincidence that many of the theorists I have engaged with from Beck (1989), Giddens (1990, 1991), Bourdieu (1990), Goffman (1969) and Connell (1995) have all made concerted attempts to present solutions which navigate this middle way. The nexus of the macro and the micro, the emic and etic, and the individual and society as a reflexive phenomenon, is among the most interesting and important to make sense of, given the rapidly changing social order outlined previously. As Berger & Berger (1976) put it, the 'micro-world and macro-world continuously interpenetrate one another' (p. 19). Purely determinist or voluntaristic views cannot fully engage with these issues as they only represent one-way only flows of influence. Those theorists who have taken on the challenge to explore the dynamic middle ground of the voluntarism/determinism continua are among the most criticized from all sides of the debate, yet they are also among some of the most influential and interesting sociological thinkers of our times. The work here - accepts with some humility the challenge of positioning itself midway between these two human nature assumptions and in so doing is endeavouring to ask questions of the reflexivity of the body-self society complex with reference to gender and masculinity in teaching PE.

4.2.5. Methodological Assumptions: The Research Theory - Research Practice Bridge

Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest that methodological assumptions are procedural representations of the first three underlying philosophical assumptions and I agree. The outcomes of the first three assumptions, in many ways are likely to (or should?) presuppose the fourth set of assumptions, which are an orientation to either, idiographic or nomothetic methodological assumptions. Jary and Jary (1991) define these as follows;

An idiographic focus is on cultural and historical particulars, using methods such as ethnography and biography: while a nomothetic focus seeks to establish general laws following an explicitly natural-science model of knowledge (Jary & Jary, 1991, p. 296).

Sparkes (1989) goes further in differentiating between positivistic and interpretive assumptions and its consequences:

That the two world views at the ontological and epistemological levels are separate and distinct cannot be stated too strongly, since there is often a tendency to gloss over these differences and produce a situation wherein confusion takes place between what Bryman (1984) has defined as 'philosophical issues' and 'technical issues' (Sparkes, 1989, p. 136).

Social Constructivism, due to its ontological and epistemological assumptions is most obviously (although in practice not exclusively) oriented towards idiographic methodological approaches. The marriage of philosophical issues and technical issues promotes congruence throughout the research approach. Consequently, the adoption of idiographic research techniques and strategies is not coincidence or choice, but a bridge between the ontology, epistemology and the theory research practice.

Jary & Jary (1991) define idiographic methods in social enquiry as 'a method of investigation which is concerned with the individual or unique experience rather than with generalities' (p. 296). In other words, the pursuit of in-depth accounts with an emphasis on 'quality of investigation' in terms of a *no stone unturned* approach. More specifically idiographic methods also are characterized by being empathetic in an attempt to get close to respondents' stories. In these terms, life history approaches appear to be a paradigmatically 'pure' interpretive research tradition that advocates these philosophical assumptions of ontological idealism, epistemological relativism and a belief in a dialectic between human voluntarism and determinism. Building them into methodological assumptions and techniques that are sociologically in depth, discursive, openly interpreted and subjectively empathetic in orientation.

The depth of data qualitative techniques generate is most appropriate for a clearer understanding of the context in which these meanings are generated. The design of this research, accepting the actuality of social constructionism, encompasses the unique social/cultural/economic environment (micro & macro) that shapes the participants' (and researchers) interpretations.

The design is also emergent. This provided the freedom to adapt and refine the focus and sample following the ongoing process of data collection and analysis. Therefore, it exploits another potential strength of qualitative enquiry, which is to respond methodologically and theoretically to 'unintended phenomena and influences' (Maxwell, 1996, p. 19) Given that the design is emergent it is not possible to detail precise sampling procedures, I have however attempted to describe retrospectively the overall methodological strategy that was used and how they were applied in practice. Furthermore, some precise details were left out in order to protect the anonymity of the participants.

4.3 RESEARCH STRATEGIES: LIFE HISTORY: A LIFE LESS ORDINARY.

In this study I have adopted a life history strategy for approaching data collection and usage. Sparkes (1992) contends that life history is better described as a strategy or an approach than a method per se, as life history is a set of principles and viewpoints that guide the deployment of particular qualitative methods and techniques. It should also be acknowledged from the outset that the life history work as approached here is not representative of the strategy in its 'purest' form which as Plummer (1983) notes;

Is the full-length book account of one person's life in his or her own words. Usually, it will be gathered over a number of years with gentle guidance from the social scientist, the subject either writing down episodes of life or tape recording them. At its best, it will be backed up with intensive observation of the subjects life, interviews with friends and perusals of letters and photographs (Plummer, 1983, p. 14).

Clearly, such an undertaking would be difficult to achieve in the format of a PhD thesis and my aspirations here are more modest. Nevertheless, I am drawing on the rudiments and basic tenets of the life history strategy in this work. I am taking my working definition of life history from Watson and Watson-Franke (1985) who take the view that life history is, 'any retrospective account by the individual of his life in whole or in part, written or in oral form that has been elicited or prompted by another person' (cited in Tierney 2000, p. 538).

But, why life history? Well, life history starts with a simple assumption; No Life is ordinary□The fact that social scientists, script writers and audiences share a common interest in the life stories of other human beings is as near as I get to social essentialism□Lived experience is what makes life interesting from a social science perspective. A life lived, is a phenomenon, a life told is a version of that phenomenon that is invariably rich with mundane social detail - such details can be overlooked, glamorized or studied in detail depending on the perception of audience interest, as any biographer knows only too well. But neither of these points alter the interest that seems to be generated by life stories - the debate, quite rightly centres on representation, not interest. Whether a film, biography or research study is about an analysis of narrative, content or both, is not so important as the significance of the fascination of ours and others lives, and through story telling, how we and others make sense of the world. Because of its broad appeal auto/biographical work has challenged researchers to think differently about their work as Atkinson contends; 'in academe, we have entered the age of narrative' (1998); he continues;

Story presents us with a form of knowing that is equally of interest in history as it is in literature as it is in psychology, sociology, and even science. Story gives us lived experience in its purest, rawest form (Atkinson, 1998, p. 74).

Of course, stories are only representations and the life history approach, as strategy, works with representations of subjectivity as raw materials. Plummer (1983) contends that, 'the life history reveals, like nothing else can, the subjective realm' (p. 14). Life history research data most often comes from direct interaction with the participants themselves and focuses on the stories they tell. Sparkes (1995) considers the strength of the life history strategy is that its focus on 'central moments, critical incidents, or fateful moments that revolve around indecision, confusions, contradictions, and irony, gives a greater sense of process to a life and gives a more ambiguous, complex and chaotic view of reality (p. 116). As a philosophically located methodology, life history seeks access to both the inner phenomenological stream of consciousness and the outer interactional stream of experience (Denzin, 1989, p. 28); it attempts to represent these two phenomena concurrently to gain understandings over the process of and response to socialization. In doing this, life history strategy invites the application of social theory at the individual level as Tierney (cited in Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995) suggests, 'when I undertake a life history, I try to understand how larger concepts (culture, society, time) get defined and worked out by the individual (p. 117). In this respect the individual focus serves to provide the researcher with the potential of a first order micro-macro interface between individual and society.

By fitting the life story and personal experiences as told into the larger social, cultural and historical contexts that, 'shape and inform these tales of self' (Denzin, 1989, p. 120), we can gain a picture of how people construct a sense of meaning from their experiences. The life history method then, gives access to how social, cultural, economic and historical forces 'frame' individual lives and yet unique individual responses to this framing either reinforce or challenge social forces acting upon the individual. As Denzin (1989) conceives, 'how lives as biographical properties are owned, discarded, managed, controlled, destroyed, assembled, wasted and written about, is of central concern' (p. 9). Goodson (1995b) puts this slightly differently, commenting, that life histories become 'stories of action within theories of context' (p. 98), he continues;

Stories can be located, seen as the social constructions they are, fully impregnated by their location within power structures and social milieux. Stories provide a starting point for active collaboration, 'a process of deconstructing the discursive practices through which one's subjectivity has been constituted' (Goodson, 1995b, p. 98).

However, there are some important qualifications to make about these claims, Morgan (1990) reminds us that just as there are strong associations between forms of scientific knowledge and gender. The form of biography, autobiography and life history are all potentially subject to masculinist approaches. Life history will be less powerful if all it provides are heroic testimonial narratives of a life - which is just as possible as other narratives that rupture and fragment the linear, rationally told, tidy and closed masculinized story. He continues;

Many conventional biographies often resemble other monuments to public figures, such as statues or paintings. Here, the audience is conventionally called upon to comment upon the likeness or otherwise between the portrait and the subject, between the signifier and signified. In contrast, a more feminist approach to such practices might begin with the emphasis that there are many version's of a person's life. While some of these may be more truthful or accurate than others, they all have a particular truth and importance and the job of the biographer is to allow for as many voices as possible (Morgan, 1990, p. 176).

There are powerful epistemological undertones and caricatures suggested by Morgan's commentary, with the structuralist-as-masculinist (biography as product) and poststructuralist-as-feminist (biography as process). These are important ideas to retain and develop, particularly, I suspect, the notion of multiple overlapping versions of a life story that might be told to great impressionistic effect in different contexts. This rupturing of the singular voice, narrative, prompts us to consider multiplicity, agency and structure, and how it 'frames' the content and narrative of stories in quite different ways.

Life history, biography and autobiography are also often credited with having therapeutic and transformational potential (see for example, Plummer, 1995; Day Sclater, 1998; Ely et al, 1997; Finley & Knowles, 1995). With respect to researching men and masculinity, this aspect of the method may offer potential, as Jackson (1990) comments;

The main value of this critical life history process and other approaches like it is not found just in the personal stories or the critical commentary, but in the specific way the creative collision between the confessional and the theoretical invites other men, other readers, to interrogate their own pasts (Jackson, 1990, p. 260).

4.4 METHODS OF COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

4.4.1. *Sampling Masculine Lives and Histories*

The sampling strategy used here is based on the principles of purposeful sampling or criterion-based sampling (Patton, 1990). These approaches can be defined somewhat

simplistically, as an approach that deliberately selects certain processes, sites, events, settings and individuals because for a variety of specified reasons they are judged to be the most useful sources of information. Here, I engaged in theoretical sampling (Burgess, 1982), which is a form of purposeful sampling that selects 'critical' cases by drawing up criteria from the theoretical framework of the study.

The theoretical sampling strategy is conceived as two overlapping phases, the first was to acquire the participants and the second was to review the sample after the first set of interviews. The conceptual context of the study informed the first phase of sampling. The sample, therefore, focused on male undergraduates who studied for a Sports Science Degree at an English University and then applied (successfully) to become a PE teacher through the ITT programme at the same institution. I applied for, and was granted, ethical clearance to study the GTTR (application) forms of the next incoming cohort of PGCE students (the precise year of this needs to remain anonymous to protect the identities of the participants). I then applied the theoretical sampling criterion, to these texts studying the stories they told about themselves in their applications, in order to identify potential participants whose backgrounds and identities suggested distinctive social and cultural profiles, such as ethnicity, regional background, types of sports they participated in, at what level, and the type of schools they attended as a pupil. Furthermore, these latter sampling decisions acknowledged, power relations operating within the field of sport, and their reflection within the NCPE. Therefore, a range of representation in sporting disciplines was also a factor, in the form of team games, individual games, individual athletic activities or expressive activities. The one additional criterion, that they all had attended the same University institution, was seen as additionally interesting and potentially significant area to explore in relation to their previous life experiences. This additional criterion meant that it was possible that I might have taught some of these students on undergraduate courses. In spite of the various pro's and con's of knowing respondents articulated by (Hammersly & Atkinson, 1983). I considered that on balance, knowing them would be advantageous as my relations with students were generally good, and our prior acquaintance might make the interview process more productive, because good relations with the participants allow the researcher to identify and overcome any reasons for 'defensiveness on the part of the respondents,' (Denscombe, 1983, p.111).

Therefore, the theoretical sampling approach helped to identify a range of contrasting and *different cases*, rather than 'ideal types' in the Weberian sense (see Gerth & Wright

Mills, 1997, p.59). As a result of this process I identified twelve undergraduate male students, whose backgrounds presented distinct differences in terms of social background and sporting biography, but who were also perhaps 'typical' in other ways; They were all male sports science students, academically successful, physically able, mesomorphic males and, (relative to social norms) 'elite' sports performers. It also transpired that I had indeed taught all of the students at some point in their undergraduate careers, and that my level of acquaintance did not vary too much between each of them. With my shortlist in place, I then liaised with the PGCE staff to make a short announcement in an introductory PGCE session at the beginning of the year. During this announcement, I requested to meet these twelve men briefly after the session, where I then outlined my research intentions with them and subsequently invited them to take part. While the response was extremely positive, on grounds of 'too much work', five from the twelve decided not to take part. Therefore I was left with seven of my original sample. The next and final participant I was to approach came from what Patton (1990) refers to as 'opportunistic or convenience sampling'. Convenience sampling is taken to mean the making and taking of unintended opportunities to approach potential research participants, it does not however mean that *anything goes* in terms of the criterion for selection (see Weiss, 1994), rather, in my view, it aids the process of selection. The case in this study demonstrates both the above points as well as, I believe, the flexibility of the qualitative process; This is best described as a vignette;

One day while working in my office, the cohort of PGCE students I had recently approached, had just finished a session in a nearby gymnasium. They were all dressed in their distinctively coloured tracksuits – the standard issue for the course and it was expected that these were worn – a number of the men leaving the gym paused and were clearly discussing what had just taken place. A few of them were the potential respondents I had approached only a day or two ago, I took a moment to consider their comportment. They were smartly dressed, neatly cut short hair and stood with erect posture as 'fit' people with good muscle tone and confident outlooks often do. Then I noticed Alan (pseudonym), also a former student of mine, although a member of the group, he was different. As I watched, the group Alan, who had a closely shaven head, immediately covered his tracksuit with a short black leather 'bomber' jacket, took out a cigarette, lit it and began smoking, as soon as he had done this he shifted his posture, slouching slightly, while still talking with his peers.

The contrast between Alan's transformed appearance and that of the others was strong – none of the others appeared to remark over his difference, this was clearly 'normal' behaviour for Alan. I wanted to speak to Alan, find out more about why he wanted to become a teacher of PE, his display of masculinity was I felt crucially different from that which I had expected and had seen so far - he was immediately *an interesting case* and so I approached him shortly afterwards and to my surprise he wanted to take part and tell me his story.

Therefore, I had eight men in my sample for the life history study, (Paul, Joe, Peter, Derek, Trevor, Adrian, Alan and Simon - Pseudonyms) Although, the original sample was twelve, this was only because I had found twelve interesting cases that warranted approaching. However, a while later Joe decided to drop out of the PGCE course some time after the first interview (and my attempts at tracking him down were unsuccessful). Similarly, Adrian decided did not wish to participate in further interviews due to time constraints. Both of these candidates were a 'loss' to the study the sample size was left at six thereafter. Given the rationale for interviewing at the beginning and the end of the course and the reasons for interviewing these as opposed to *any* of the men, I decided to remain with the six remaining participants.

A few applications of the above discussion of the ontological, epistemological and methodological positions highlighted are merited at this point. According to the *criteria for this paradigm*, more participants gets me no nearer to *the Truth* than less, and therefore no claim of validity can be made. Should I try, it would likely mean, as Sparkes (1998) points out that failure is built in from the start of the qualitative project due to its using criteria from another paradigm. Indeed many qualitative researchers argue strongly that the concept and term validity itself is a misnomer in qualitative study and we would do well to replace it with more appropriate conceptual and linguistic structures that allow us to judge the quality of qualitative work differently (See Woolcott, 1995, Sparkes 2001). However we *can* and *should*, as Smith & Deemer (2000) contend, explicate the criteria established by which we judge our sampling decisions. Therefore, while the validity dilemma between twelve, eight and six did not and does not occur for me, eight participants had not exhausted my original theoretical sampling criteria, and this was more of an issue. For example, I would have preferred also to have in the sample, a disabled participant, a homosexual male, a least one Asian Englishman, one practising Muslim and somebody who was predominantly a dancer,

a martial artist and a cyclist. These would have been sound conceptually driven characteristics of alternative masculine experiences and identities that I wished to explore in and through the PGCE year. These *social characteristics* were however, not available, in the whole cohort (nor to my knowledge in any other). Given this situation to add more of the ‘same’ social characteristics in the sample, would do nothing to add to my position on validity (as mentioned) and seemed to add little benefit in terms of adding more ‘new’ dimensions to the explorative study I wished to engage in. Given the conceptually driven nature of the study, this decision concurs with others in the field, such as Maxwell (1996) who, in outlining a number of possible uses of purposeful and convenience sampling, comments, ‘the third possible goal is to select your sample to deliberately examine cases that are critical for the theories that you began the study with, or that you have subsequently developed’ (p.72). The final reason why eight (then six) was ‘enough’, is more pragmatic: To study the life histories of a large number of men without enhancing the focus seemed to offer a diminishing set of returns for increasing series of investments in time and labour. Such factors, while perhaps, philosophically trivial, are pragmatically important, in the context of limited time and labour resources. It is fair to say that given a more extended period of time, further six monthly or yearly interviews would be powerful additional data, a point to which I return in the conclusion of the thesis. However, even then I would not see the need to extend the sample unless the new participants were going to fulfil some of the additional criteria for interest cited above.

The second application of the paradigm positions in terms of the sampling is how the data is used and what claims are later to be made using it as a point of reference. As Plummer (2001) points out, life history work, draws on and generalizes from the data *differently*. Alasuutari (1995) summarises this position succinctly when he states;

Ethnographic research of this kind is not so much generalization as extrapolation: in certain, explicated respects the results are *related* to broader entities...Generalization is in fact the wrong word in this connection. That should be reserved for surveys only. What can be analysed instead is how the researcher demonstrates that the analysis *relates* to things *beyond* the material at hand. In this sense relating could be a more suitable term. (Alasuutari, 1995, p.156-157)

The conceptually driven nature of this study uses the empirical data generated by the life history strategy in an illustrative capacity – the masculinized lives, stories and meaning structures constitute representations of the world the participants inhabit. No *reality* correspondence can be verified in such a process, nor can the content of these experiences be

generalized to broad population of men – this is not intended. However, what can be extrapolated and related are some of the conceptual understandings, processes and more general frames of meaning that may resonate in other contexts, for other readers and researchers. Also significant is the reflexive engagement with theory. The conceptual understandings drawn on here are sometimes challenged by the data, the dynamic relationship between the individual and society for example, is demonstrated by many of the data extracts: The use of *a priori* and emergent concepts to make sense of the data hopes to stimulate new ways of thinking about the problematic. Using data in this way is, as Goodson (1995c) points out, a considerable and important challenge for those who engage in qualitative life history research;

Only if we deal with stories as a *starting point* for collaboration, the beginning of a process of coming to know, will we come to understand their meaning; to see them as social constructions which allow us to locate and interrogate the social world in which they are embedded. (Goodson, 1995c, p. 74)

Therefore the data and the theory combine to form a reflexive engagement with the complex relationships between self and society: The resulting constructs are not meant to imply that they *are* true of broader populations. However, the mixture of contextualization of personal experience and conceptual explanation can combine to form a powerful congruence that is best judged by the reader. Therefore, conceptual explanations, in these terms can tentatively be generalized, even from a ‘sample of one’ such as Clifford Shaw’s *The Jack Roller* (1930), which as Becker explains is equally, but differently ‘representative’;

If we are concerned about representativeness of Stanley’s case, we only have to turn to the ecological studies carried on by Shaw and McKay to see the same story told on a grand scale in mass statistics. And, similarly, if one wanted to understand the maps and correlations in ecological studies of delinquency, one could then turn to *The Jack Roller* and similar documents for that understanding. (Becker, 1996, cited in Armstrong 1987, p.7)

The same might be said for Thomas and Znaniecki’s (1917) *The Polish Peasant*. Both of these works are in-depth single case life histories that do a great deal to depict how we might understand life in America at that time. More recently, Sparkes’s life history work with lesbian PE teachers (1996c) further demonstrates how small sample sizes can yield relational understanding to others and for others, and in so doing also be a generative source for social theorizing. In this latter work, the seminal use and development of the sociological public /private divide constructs serves as a good example of how a relational set of constructs, can easily be applied to other cases and other areas of social life altogether.

4.4.2. *Life History Interviews*

The interviews focused upon the student life stories in three ways: First, how students interpret their own gendered experiences of PE and the impact of their teachers in constructing their dispositions towards PE and sport: Second, how these men draw on their biographies during teacher education: Finally, whether their experiences of teacher education significantly challenge or reinforce their gendered biographies. Through this approach, the interviews probed for insights into how and why hegemonic masculinity is, transmitted, and either reproduced or resisted across a generation of male PE teachers.

While there are other ways of constructing life histories (see Perry, 1985), the use of interviews is by far the most common. A little more needs to be said about the nature and purpose of this type of interviewing as a form of data collection. Above, I have forwarded the view that in contemporary Western societies, individuals are showing an increasing interest in the lives and life stories of others. Following this it is not so surprising that as Silverman (1993) contends, we now live in an 'interview society.' In addition, Holstein and Gubrium (1995) point out that 'all interviews are interpretively active, implicating meaning-making practices on the part of both interviewers and respondents' (p. 4). The primary method of data collection therefore, was the recorded, semi-structured/unstructured interview. Given the narratological focus of the life history method, obtaining a life story through interviews involves the acknowledgement of certain biographical conventions, as Denzin (1989) illustrates;

These conventions, which structure how lives are told and written about, involve the following problematic presuppositions, and taken for granted assumptions: (1) the existence of others (2) the influence and importance of gender and class (3) family beginnings (4) starting points (5) known and knowing authors and observers (6) objective life markers (7) real persons with real lives (8) turning-point experiences (9) truthful statements distinguished from fictions (Denzin, 1989, p. 17).

Biographical conventions, although problematic (see Sparkes, 1994; Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995), help to situate the life history method within the process of collecting data via the interview. Significantly, they give the life history interview important reference points both for researcher and researched. The interview technique adopted is not structured in the sense that I ask participants unchanging sets of questions which might frame and limit the interaction and response. Instead, it is thematic and open-ended; The same general themes

are covered throughout the course of corresponding sessions, which, more often than not, uses biographical conventions to give greater focus.

While key moments, decisions, influences serve to frame the interview, the exact formulation of questions, delivery, pace, detail, and scope is structured by the nature of interaction between researcher and participant. The objective of this procedure is that the 'interviewees, ideally, come to provide the structure in their own terms, in their own order, and in their own time' (Woods, 1986, p. 29). Atkinson (1998) goes slightly further in maintaining that, 'the less structure a life story interview has, the more effective it will be in achieving the goal of getting the person's own story, in the way, form and style that the individual wants to tell it in' (p. 41).

Interviews are also ethnically sensitive practices. I agree with Punch (1986) who concludes; 'Social scientists engaged in, or responsible for, research on human subjects should be acutely aware of the moral dimension in their work' (p. 80). With more specific regard to interviewing for life stories, Atkinson (1998) comments, 'the power factor puts one in a vulnerable position that could affect not only the voice it is told in but also the impact of telling it has on the one who is telling it (p. 74).

In interviewing, one response to these issues revolves around the sharing of power over the interview process. For example, by providing the choices over when, where, and how the interview takes place. These concerns are well grounded in practical as well as ethical reasoning, the disempowered participant is likely to 'hold back,' and give rather less of themselves than if they agree to an interview on their terms. I think Kvale (1996) summarizes this rather well, 'the interviewer must establish an atmosphere in which the subject feels safe enough to talk freely about his or her experiences and feelings' (p. 125).

Addressing these procedures was to attempt to put the interviewees at ease. I offered the participants the chance to choose their location, the time of the interview and whether or not I tape recorded the interview, and also reminded them that any time, they could request for the recording to be stopped or indeed stop the interview when they wished. Finally and obviously, I guaranteed them confidentiality of their identities with any use of the data, and that they were free to listen to the recordings or view the transcripts should they so wish.

As already mentioned, I chose to record the life history interviews. The recording of interviews has long been the recommended course of action for interviewers (see Shatzman & Strauss, 1973). A lot of valuable data would be lost without recording, as (Burgess, 1983, p. 120) notes. Similarly, Woods (1986) points out that, 'there is no other way of recapturing

the fullness and faithfulness of words and idiom' (p. 81). However, we should not treat recording uncritically. Tape recorded interviews provide 'hard data' to be sure, but it is important to remain aware, as Kvale (1996) reminds that taped interviews gives us a decontextualized version of the interview' (p. 160). The atmosphere, of the interview, the body postures and facial expressions are all 'filtered' out of the tape recording and need noting independently by the interviewer.

With the above factors in mind, the interviews were scheduled to take place at the beginning and at the end of the participants' PGCE year. This meant that significant changes to their sense of self would be mediated through the experience of the PGCE year and might be re-storied by the second interview. With two participants dropping out, it meant that all eight were interviewed at the beginning of the year and six at the end, therefore twice each. It should be qualified here that the timing rather than the frequency or volume of the interviews was the important strategy here as the time differential helped to illustrate the conceptual issues that are being dealt with. The re-structuring of stories over time shows a changing sense of masculine self and were therefore very useful in this illustrative sense.

As I was already acquainted with the participants some of the inevitable difficulties associated with interviewing strangers were minimized, equally it was clear from the participants' responses during interviews that they were at ease with talking to me about their lives. These initial relationships helped to develop a level of intimacy much more quickly than if these men had all been strangers. As Linde (1995) argues the interview process is a social event and the information exchanged is not one way. It is better viewed as an exchange she continues:

We expect our degree of intimacy with a person to correlate with our knowledge of their life story. In other words, as we get to know a person, we expect successively more detailed life stories to be exchanged...As our level of intimacy increases, we expect to know more and more about the other. (In fact, what and how much we know about the other may define the notion of a level of intimacy. (Linde, 1995, p.70)

Additionally, my increasing acquaintance with the participants extended to outside of the interview events themselves. A number of impromptu meetings on and off campus gave the opportunity to further develop the relationship, and also corroborate some of the information exchanged in the interviews. Although this was not systematic, nor was it a *strategy* on my part these small exchanges did prove useful in giving me a greater confidence in considering that some of the stories they told me were what they actually felt, rather than what they

thought I wanted to hear. Finally, I did attempt to collect some diary data, requesting that the participants might write down any notable experiences while at school. However, very quickly the participants informed me that this was not possible due to the time constraints of the PGCE year. One participant (Derek), did begin writing, however when he gave the material to me, he informed me that he would not be able to fit in any more writing.

4.4.3. *The Research Journal*

In addition to the interview focus, as a researcher I began and am still running a research journal. It might be termed a fieldwork diary for that is its application here, although I refer to it as a research journal because as a research resource it encompasses, but goes beyond, fieldwork notes. In fact, this practice and the rationale for it have a long history and are seen by many qualitative researchers as one the most crucial forms of secondary and subjective documentary data. Personally I have heeded the advice offered by C. Wright Mills (1959);

One answer is: you must set up a file, which is, I suppose, a sociologist's way of saying: keep a journal. Many creative writers keep journals; the sociologists need for systematic reflection demands it. In such a file as I am going to describe, there is joined personal experience and professional activities, studies under way and studies planned (C. Wright Mills, 1959, p. 196).

One important use, which is why I mention it here is that, it adds as a qualifier and compliment to the primary data collected in interviews (or any other form of primary data collection such as observation or participant observation etc.). The form it takes here is of a simple 'flat' computer database with three fields; 'date,' 'subject' and 'notes.' This procedure allows for the easy archiving and retrieval of information. It also rationalizes the time spent in the process of analysis. Once digitalized, the material transfers easily and provides an ideal channel for preliminary coding analysis.

4.4.4. *Data Analysis as a Creative Process*

I agree with Patton (1987) that data analysis is a 'creative process' (p. 146). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) further add substance to this notion of creativity, commenting that analytical themes and concepts can 'arise spontaneously' (p. 178). Creativity involves the engagement with subjectivity but undoubtedly causes its own difficulties. I used to concur with the widely held view that the process of analysis needs to be distinguished as two parts: that of analysis and interpretation (see for example, Patton, 1987). However, given the interpretive turn discussed earlier, the enduring epistemological problematic of subjectivity enters into any claims we might be able to make concerning the separation of interpretation from anything we do, including analysis; I am now more inclined to contend that analysis is

interpretation and *vice versa*, therefore, interpretation in methodological terms comes to underpin all strategy, procedure and technique. Such a view sees analysis in its broadest terms.

There is a multitude of approaches and techniques for analysing qualitative data (see for example, Ryan & Bernard, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994, 1995; Fieldman, 1995). Furthermore, among these and other authors there is general agreement concerning Patton's (1987) point that, 'there is typically not a precise point at which data collection ends and analysis begins' (p. 144). In this sense data collection and analysis

have a reciprocally evolving relationship: The researcher moves gradually from a focus on one to the other, and for large parts of the study the emphasis is on both tasks simultaneously

(see Fig. 4.2). This is in contrast to positivistic, hypothesis testing approaches that perform the data collection and analysis separately.

In this study I have elected for the former, overlapping approach. For some, analysis begins with transcription, for others, such as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) analysis, 'begins in the pre-field work phase, in the formulation and clarification of research problem, and continues into the process of writing up' (p. 174). In this way, 'analysis of

data feeds into the process research design' (ibid. p. 174); I am inclined to agree.

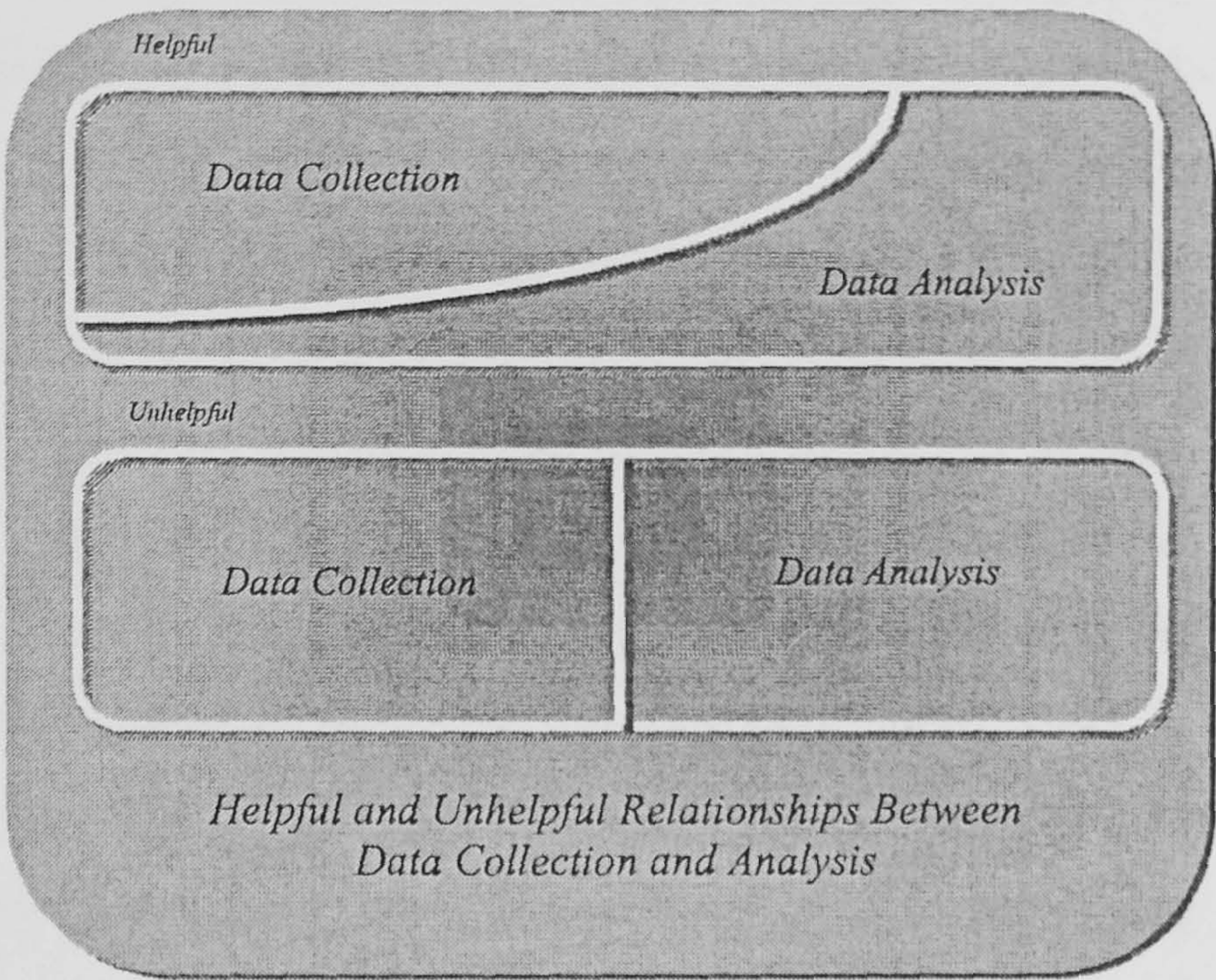


Fig. 4. 2

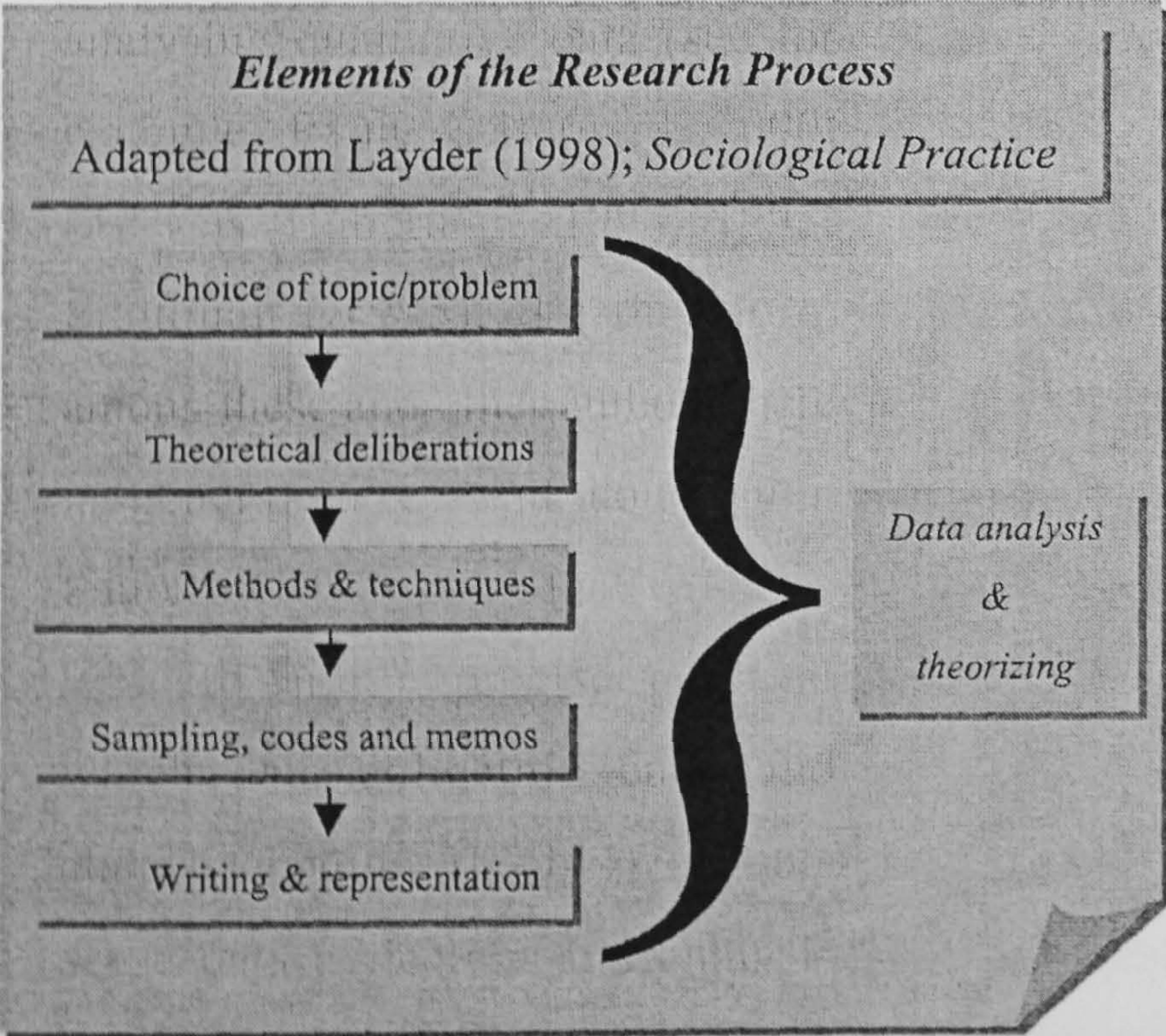


Fig. 4.3

However, Patton (1987) rightly warns that there are dangers in allowing early or preliminary interpretations to 'colour' further data collection and thereby reduce the flexibility and scope of subsequent data collection - these are real concerns that have to be built in via the feedback process and once again the research journal helps in this regard to establish an ongoing diary based dialogue in which the researcher constantly reviews the focus and direction of the research. This strategy allows what Miles & Huberman (1994) refer to as 'sequential analysis,' or as Hammersley & Atkinson (1983) describe it 'progressive focusing.' Whatever its appropriate name, the strategy involves the researcher moving in 'waves' between data collection transcription, preliminary analysis and then back to the data collection again with a revised focus. In principle, this process proceeds until 'saturation' point is reached, in other words, where within the sample the interviewee's responses cease to yield 'new' data or when, 'new cases repeat already familiar patterns' (Alasuutari, 1995, p. 58). Figure 4.3 represents the process described.

In practice, analysis begins by listening to, transcribing, reading and coding the recorded interviews. The transcription process is fundamental in getting close to the data and provides immediate feedback on the effectiveness of the type of questions and the quality of data recovered etc.. Kvale (1996) holds similar inclinations stating, 'rather than being a simple, clerical task, transcription is itself an interpretive process' (p. 160). The very act of interviewing and transcription leads to analysing data; the conclusions of this preliminary analysis are then reinserted back into the process to inform further data collection and so on in a reflexive cycle.

The interview transcripts, in this study, were put into a database and repeatedly read through and coded. I made notes through the research journal, described above, which served as the repository for all ideas and feedback throughout the entire study. The approach provided a valuable and dynamic medium for collecting, reflecting and refining. I would add that these databases merely represent computer assistance instead of computer led coding - which is the realm of the qualitative data analysis (QDA) applications. I performed the coding and analysis manually, because many of these packages still have a tendency to quantitatively codify data - leading to distorted 'results' in terms of what emerges as significant from the data (Weitzman & Miles, 1999; Weaver & Atkinson, 1995; Pfaffenberger, 1988; Kelle, 1997). As any qualitative researcher knows, one discrepant case can instigate an entirely new line of analysis - such cases are often missed by computerized coding because of their lack of 'frequency.' My experiences here have confirmed the

importance of the *modus operandi* approach, in which 'negative cases' are examined as a matter of course, rather than discarded.

Some further comments are warranted on my use of coding. Firstly, I agree strongly with Coffey and Atkinson (1996) who point out that while very important, we must remember that 'codes are organizing principles that are not set in stone, they are our creations in that we identify and select them ourselves. They are tools to think with' (p. 32). However, I tend to disagree with their view that coding is in some way separate from analysis and am more inclined to agree with Miles & Huberman (1994) that;

Coding is analysis. To review a set of field notes, transcribed or synthesized, and to dissect them meaningfully, while keeping the relations between these parts intact, is the stuff of analysis (Miles & Huberman 1994, p. 56).

In this study I elected to perform what Miles & Huberman (1994) refer to as 'pattern' coding, which they describe as, 'explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation. They pull together a lot of material into more meaningful and parsimonious units of analysis' (1994, p. 69). But, pattern coding in itself is only a general level description of coding, as a methodological technique more specific coding strategies were used. Here, I have adopted Strauss' (1987) reference to *in vivo* and sociological coding.

In vivo coding is a strategy of looking for and collating patterns of the participants own language and frames of meaning. They do not normally relate to any conceptual ideas, rather *in vivo* coding is a search for emergent, unanticipated insights. However, through this coding strategy we get a sense of whether the interviews have been useful in addressing the issues that are driving the research. Often they generate new issues, other times they confirm or deny the prevalence of conceptual issues. What 'in vivo' coding always does is get the researcher closer to the participants as people, to begin to appreciate their use of language, issues of significance in their lives etc. In contrast, the second form of coding, *sociological coding* was looking for patterns in the data that either imply or mention specifically, *a priori* concepts, or conceptual frameworks. For example masculinity, gender, stereotypes, habitus, identity crisis, etc.

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) are right to warn that coding can and does fragment data. In the same way that public figures often accuse the media of taking their quotes 'out of context' we also must be careful of a similar reduction for our own expediency, this is perhaps a most major concern with life stories. In our drive to get good 'quotes' we can distort their stories; They continue:

Our interview informants may tell us long and complicated accounts and reminiscences. When they chop them up into separate coded segments, we are in danger of losing the sense that they are accounts. We lose sight, if we are not careful of the fact that they are often couched in terms of stories - as narratives- or that they have other formal properties in terms of their discourse structure. Segmenting and coding may be an important, even an indispensable part of the research process, but it is not the whole story (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 52).

Finally after a series of collection sequences of coding and memo writing, the 'formal analysis' becomes the major focus. The strategy I have adopted here is most generally known as 'content' analysis (Lieblich, Tuval-Masiach & Zilber, 1998). Patton (1987) comments that content analysis involves, 'identifying coherent and important examples, themes, and patterns in the data. The analyst looks for quotations or observations that go together, that are examples of the same underlying idea, issues or concept' (p. 146). I brought the insights from the 'in vivo' and sociological coding phases, together to form a content analysis. These are represented within the following chapter of the study. The rationale for this approach is simple; I was interested in retaining some of the participants own frameworks, words, language, categories, processes etc. and to incorporate these into the conceptual content analysis, which was to explore the conceptual framework illustrated in previous chapters in relation to this data. As 'pictures' began to appear, the processes of analysis began to merge with the process of writing and representation, which raises issues that need addressing in the next section.

4.5 THE ART, PRACTICES AND POLITICS OF INTERPRETATION AND REPRESENTATION

Power is a socio-historical construction. No textual staging is ever innocent. We are always inscribing values in our writing. It is unavoidable (Richardson, 1990, p. 12).

Qualitative work, and particularly biographical work requires a thoughtful approach to representation. Methodological concerns over textual ownership and forms of representation are very much the product of contemporary turns in social science thinking. Sparkes (1995) describes this as the 'dual crises of representation and legitimation in qualitative inquiry' and adds that, 'these interrelated crises operate in tandem to define and shape the fifth moment of qualitative research which is fuelled by, and embedded in, the discourses of postmodernism and poststructuralism' (p. 159). My purpose here is not to rehearse the debates of

representation and legitimation, but to acknowledge them, and in so doing position myself as author and to comment on the textual strategies I have employed.

The opening up of these issues have, in my view, led to some of the more exciting and promising of all the methodological developments in the past two decades. Following work by such authors as Geertz (1988); Sparkes (1992, 1994, 1995); Richardson (1990, 1992, 2000); Goodson (1995b); Hatch & Wisniewski (1995); Coffey & Atkinson (1996); Wolcott (1995); Ely et al. (1997), to name but a few, we get a much clearer picture of ways in which issues of writing might be addressed in qualitative enquiry. Within diversity 'standpoint epistemologies' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) that have emerged in recent years, wide varieties of styles or genres are emerging, they nearly all share the call for qualitative researchers to develop a, 'reflexive self-awareness regarding rhetorical and stylistic conventions of the tales within the authors explicit and methodological understandings' (Sparkes, 1995, p. 158), a positive development. In short, there can be no return to the naive attitudes of writing as merely 'reporting' research 'findings.'

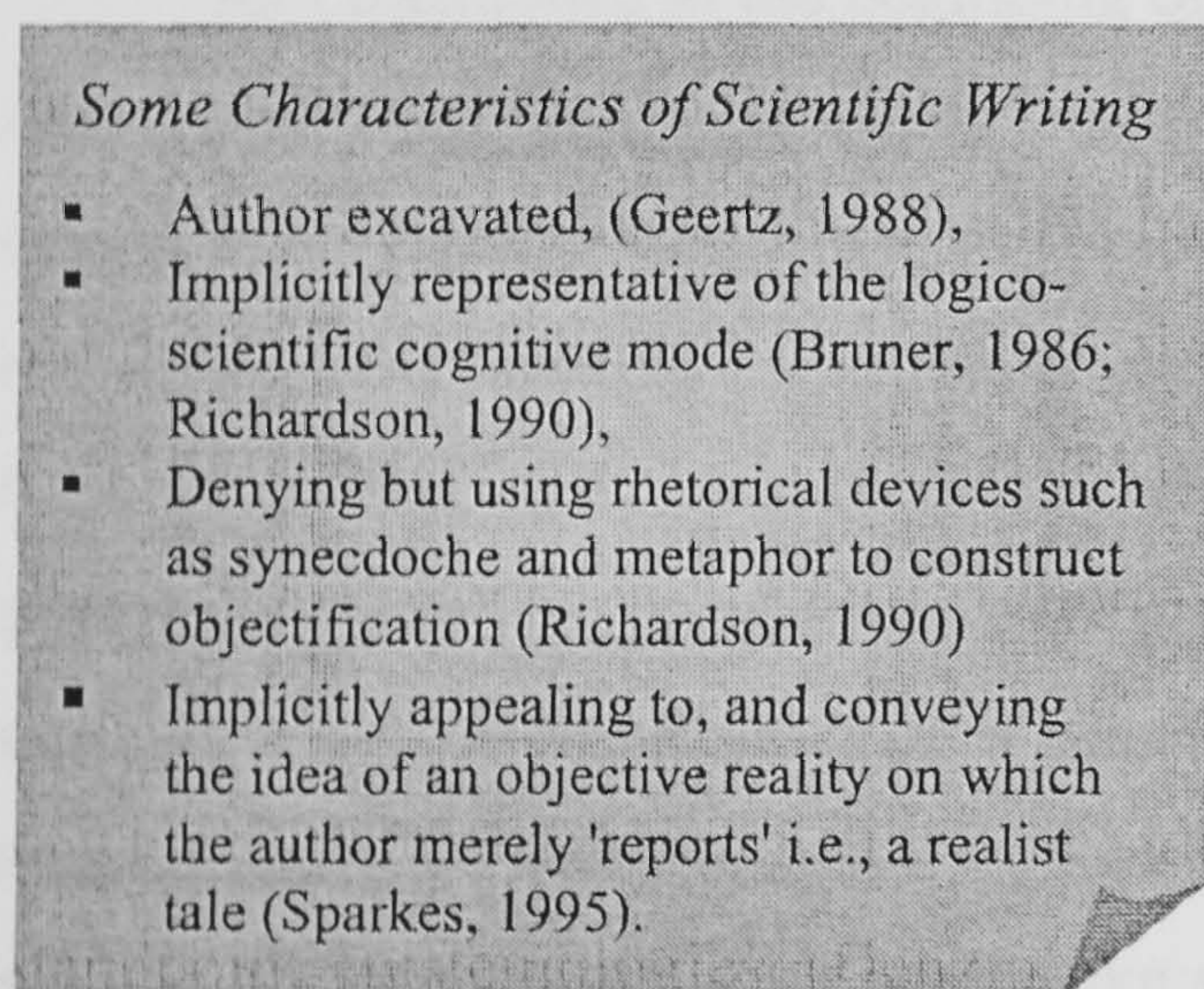


Fig. 4.4

As a consequence, writing or textual strategies have become important to acknowledge, but more important, a diversity of medium with which to represent people. Central to these developments have been the recognition and deconstruction of 'scientific' writing as particular forms of narratives, stories or tales (See Figure 4.4).

Scientific or 'realist' tales have dominated, not only positivistic social science but also qualitative inquiry for many years, yet have become increasingly problematic due to the underlying appeal to social realism that they portray. Associated with the recognition of this is the notion of the implicit claim of interpretive omnipotence (Sparkes, 1995) in which the researcher claims to be able to speak for the respondents in some all knowing way, raising in its wake concerns of over the politics of text, voice, power and exploitation (see also Goodson, 1995c). The authors cited above, and many like them, conclude, that we might more usefully construct different types of narratives - which reform the realist position, without relinquishing the responsibility for constructing our representations (see Richardson, 1990; Sparkes, 1995).

The language of alternative writing strategies, varies somewhat, for example, Richardson (1990) talks in terms of five types of narrative forms that are useful for sociological enquiry; everyday life; autobiography; biography; the cultural story and the collective story. Sparkes (1995) identifies these as 'modified realist tales,' within which a range of strategies might overlap simultaneously in any text. At its simplest level the modified realist tale involves recognition or author presence as a deliberate strategy, and identifies the author as a 'finite,' interpretive and socially positioned writer - simply put this involves writing oneself into the text, and this will vary in scope according to the specific desired effects of the author.

However, it is worth qualifying that reflexive writing and authorial presence is increasingly being seen as a desirable criterion for judging qualitative social science. Sparkes (ibid.) explores several other types of tales or narratives that researchers might employ as textual, writing strategies. These include; Confessional tales; Impressionist tales; Narratives of self; Poetic representations; Ethnographic drama and Ethnographic fictions.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, I have engaged with two types of the above, and therefore, it is worth elaborating a little on these. While the remainder of strategies are equally valuable in my opinion, there is not space here to develop a position in respect of their possible inclusion or exclusion in a study such as this. I have written the majority of this study as a modified realist tale. The reason for this course of action is straightforward: The study draws strongly on conceptual work of a variety of theorists and most strongly oriented towards a content analysis. Because an important focus is the application of an eclectic range of social theory to try to make some sense of how male student PE teachers draw on, and make sense of, their masculine identities in learning to teach PE. The strongest medium for this slightly abstracted approach is that of the modified realist narrative. However, I have also endeavoured to position myself as researcher, author and former PE teacher myself in presenting this narrative - in short the account makes no attempt to hide my subjectivity, my beliefs and bias.

The nature of modification involves moments of confessional tales - where I go further than acknowledging my presence through biographical positioning and engage in short interludes of subjective commentary. Sparkes (1995) describes confessional tales as an;

Autobiographical, highly personalized and self-absorbent account that tells what really happened during fieldwork. It attempts to gain a personalized authority by giving the researcher's point of view (Sparkes, 1995, p. 171).

Furthermore, Sparkes (1995) continues, in agreement with Van Maanen (1988), that confessional tales 'do not usually replace realist accounts, but act as a supplement for them' (p. 171). In this sense the material at the beginning of chapter one and the conclusion of chapter seven brings strong elements of the confessional. In addition to these more extended interludes, I have chosen to insert moments of the confessional throughout the thesis where revealing my own disposition as a researcher might shed light on decisions made etc.

The social constructivist, interpretive, life history approach, adopted here, acknowledges that all knowledge is a social construction. Therefore, as Kvale (1995) points out, the validation of knowledge is also a social construction. Accordingly, the applicability of a singular 'validity' for qualitative representations has, in interpretive narrative modes of enquiry, come under some scrutiny, due to its linguistically hermetic connotations of universal truth (see Smith, 1987; Wolcott, 1994; Sparkes, 1995).

In questioning, underlying epistemological foundationalism of 'validity' in representation, Sparkes (1989) points out that interpretive research must seek judgement on representation which is relevant, 'in terms of its own internal dynamic meaning structure' (p. 146), and that cognitively, the logico-scientific mode of thinking does not make sense in these internal structures. In contrast, the variety of possible interpretations of a given human experience can lead to a multiplicity of differing yet valid procedures and representations. Judging work by its internal logic has given rise to a range of textual strategies for representing subjective realities, and these strategies increasingly embraces literary as well as social scientific legitimation, seeking as Sparkes (1995) notes, not to 'establish truth but verisimilitude' (p. 183). However, as Sparkes (1997) later contends, if we replace the search for 'valid' representations with terms such as verisimilitude, 'difficult questions circulate around emerging criteria in different forms of inquiry' (p. 379). This leaves us, as a result, with Smith's (1993) realization that criteria are better seen as a set of values that influence our judgements, and, as a consequence, our representations, through writing, must make clear the criteria by which the representation is intended to be judged and the reader, engaging with this criterion is then in the best position to make that judgement. This, as Sparkes (1995) points out, leads to;

The emergence of a multitude of criteria for judging both the process and the products of qualitative research clearly signals that there can be no canonical approach to this form of inquiry, no recipes or rigid formulas, since different validation procedures or sets of criteria may be better suited to some situations and forms of representations than others. Most importantly, these criteria can change over time (Sparkes, 1995, p. 185).

The analysis and two discussion chapters that follow are the conclusions of a reflexive dialectic between the theory and the data. The textual representation of analysis is, as I have argued, a non-linear affair and in many ways quite ‘messy’ intellectually. Given this reflexive dialectic process, it is important to reiterate the intended relationship between the life history data and theory. In order to articulate this relationship the work of Plummer (2001) is particularly pertinent. He comments:

Social science probably proceeds best through some sense of cumulative, if partial generalization – building up ideas and concepts into layers of theory and understanding...Theories are simply ways of piecing the world together; through they come in many forms (grand, middle range, grounded; inductive, deductive, abductive; operational, prepositional, systematic, formal) and have many purposes (explanatory, sensitising, connecting). But they always work to provide a link between the very specific and the particular and the more abstract to the general. Life stories are nearly always geared to the more specific and particular and theory gives them a bridge to wider concerns. (Plummer, 2001, p.159)

Relating Plummer’s perspective to this work is important because one of the express intentions in this work is to develop our understandings of the construction of masculinities in and through Physical Education teachers and teaching – in this regard I am drawing strongly on the conceptual basis of the previous several chapters to make sense of the data, rather than the other way around – that said the data is also being used to make sense of the theory. Indeed Plummer (Ibid) contends that;

Theoretically we can make sense of life stories in three ways:

- to take a story to challenge some overly general theory
- to take a story to illustrate or illuminate some wider theory
- to take a story as a way of building up some wider sense of theory.

(Plummer, 2001, p.159)

The representational focus of the following sections is that second of Plummer’s points, that illustration and illumination of a wider theory. However, clearly there are moments when both points one and three are also engaged in. At no point are these theoretical generalizations taken to be the statistical conception of the term, which is that of representativeness to a broader population. They are rather, theoretical generalizations, based on making connections between these illustrative cases and wider understandings of the social world. This latter point extends particularly to the practical discussion in chapter seven, which fits with a life history strategy – that of connecting the individual to the wider social context of which they are a part, in which they act and are acted upon. This strategy attempts, as Goodson (1995c) suggests we should, to link ‘stories of action within theories

of context' (p.74). Of course, those stories of action themselves require some theoretical elaboration in order to suture them to social structure and in order to do this a degree of generalization is required. In discussing how we might proceed, I am providing a conceptual explanation and elaboration of the insights generated in the study. Therefore, the representation I am making is that based on the insights and evidence generated in the study and from these, there would appear to be some practical (conceptual) applications of this work.

The above discussion, frames my methodological approach and establishes some of the criteria around which I consider the work may be judged (my criteria 'list'). While there are a number of methodological issues that have arisen, I have chosen to return to these in the final sections of the final chapter of the study. The reason for this is to move without interruption from the standpoints articulated here, to the presentation of the data analysis itself.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS:

THE REFLEXIVE MASCULINE SELF

5.1 PRACTISING MASCULINITIES: THE HABITUS AS A GENDERED RESOURCE

A key first feature to note is that all the men in this study share a common history of participation in physical activity, beginning from an early age. This feature is strongly suggestive of Bourdieu's description of the acquisition of habitus and physical capital through practice. The first part of this analysis explores the formation of habitus with a view to developing insights into how a 'masculine' habitus is brought into teaching PE, in ways which pre-dispose these men to teaching in certain ways.

The core reproductive dynamic of Bourdieu's Logic of Practice (1991) is that social practice is both *structured and structuring*. In the sense that social and cultural fields of activity structure practices according to its perceived needs and that these practices then have a structuring effect on those who experience them. In a gendered sense the structure of male dominated social environments, such as sports practices, serve to perpetuate (if not totally) and structure those environments by immersing the practitioners in a world which is profoundly associated with certain forms of masculinity. This world might be termed, for want of a better expression, a masculine *life world* (see Crosset & Beal, 1997). The active sporting lifestyle emerges very early in their life stories, as Alan recalls;

Because we always had quite a big garden at home, so you used to, like, just take your football out and just get on with your mates and play football in the garden and just, like, have football parties for birthday parties, and I had a lot of sport when I was younger because I was a very active kid. (Alan)

My parents always tried to get us involved, we did, like, the 'Hyde park fun,' run we used to do that every year. They, like, used to go to the sports days used to try and get us involved with everything, get us playing football, swimming. (Alan)

Just like playing football in the playground with a tennis ball, cos we never had footballs and just playing kiss-chase with the girls and just having a laugh, you know what I mean it was just a good laugh. (Alan)

Alan's prioritizing of these moments is instructive, as these activities are overtly gendered, with football emerging as the main activity from as early as he can remember. Football parties are a prime example of the unconscious structuring of gendered forms of play in the early years of his life and through his body. These activities make socially legitimate use of the young male body, in which relationships with other boys and the self, through rule based competition, physical contact, and being physically dynamic, are actively fostered by well meaning parents, institutions such as schools and collectively by peer groups of the participating boys. Moreover, the reference Alan makes, to 'kiss chase' signifies the beginning of normative formation of heterosexual gender oriented practices that are permitted from such an early age, taking place not just within, but between the sexes. Practices like 'kiss chase' begin to embed normative symbolic relationships between the masculine and feminine into the masculine habitus. In addition, for Alan and others, is the experience of 'having a laugh,' while playing the games through which the associations of male activities, fun and leisure are brought together. Peter's early sporting experiences, like Alans,' show similar signs of structuring practices;

[I] always played for teams or whatever at football and different sports, I suppose my earliest memory of PE at school, was at infant school which is gymnastics really, we used to get the ropes out and mats out and boxes and things and I can remember walking through the (foot showers and towels) ...just general really vague memories at infant school and then through the junior school it's a lot clearer to me...The Junior school was an old school which gave it a traditional feel. I suppose it was really in that when I was there it was definitely a traditional school we did English and Maths and reading we just done the three 'r's playing games basically - it was a really traditional school. (Peter)

Peter's secondary school shared similarities with his junior school, in that it legitimized traditionally gender regulated, practices;

It was just a very traditionally games based school basically we did rounders, well the PE lessons were actually concentrated on rounders and football and out of school activities were just again based around football and team games like that. So really just games based. (Peter)

Peter's dispositions towards sport and physical activity were strongly structured through this traditional gendered school environment; little contact between the sexes and as he mentions, these experiences have implicitly shaped his appreciation of, and participation in.

sports over the course of his life. Now, however, he is more wary of over-romanticizing these experiences. In spite of the fact that he was, and is, well disposed to take advantage of them. In common with his peers, Peter recalls the structured activities were bound with a recognition of his own performances and the enjoyment he derived from them;

Oh definitely yes I mean as far as I remember I was lucky I was quite good at the sports I...always enjoyed it and always took part and always involved so for me it was great. (Peter)

Joe's early memories follow a similar pattern; sports practice, centred around school, male oriented sports and enjoyment;

Yes it's really the school...I often enjoyed sport myself at primary school and then secondary school I went to was very sporty, well heavily into rugby anyway, which was what I got into and they said if you're good at rugby, you can play rugby. (Joe)

Sport, probably just football in the yard I suppose, at Primary School...Kicking the ball about with a mixture of children all different ages because we all played together it was such a small school. PE lessons I suppose would be the teachers stood not in PE kit with a whistle directing us what to do with hockey sticks. (Joe)

A little later, his experiences were structured in more gendered ways;

The school was quite elitist it called the lower half the sporting group - the 'Drags' which is quite derogatory really in secondary school...Then when I went to the sixth form there was I didn't notice any difference with those who did and those who didn't. (Joe)

The language used by Joe here is strongly indicative of a 'Gender Order' in operation, where the elite performers draw a patriarchal dividend from being grouped together and the 'drags' are labelled and marginalized or even subordinated for their lack of prowess in performance. That this exceeds the pupils own actions reinforces the prevalence of segregation via institutional structures of gender/ability; A situation that serves to highlight and strengthen a Gender Order and perpetuate it by the sequestration of the 'Others' learning experience from those of the elite. Paul's early experiences support this view, embedding enjoyment with competition and physical activity;

At primary school I don't remember too much on the PE side, I more just remember the actual sport, playing football ...So PE would've probably have begun, I have some good memories of secondary school, and actually they are all good memories cos eh you know I was good at sport and any sport I tried, I could turn my hand to so...you know it was good and especially the first year at

[secondary] school, you know a new huge place and if you were good at PE you know you were accepted which is nice. So em, good memories. (Paul)

Trevor experienced perhaps less traditional and imposed sporting lifestyle. Although Trevor's experiences show some dissonance, the practice of sport, still had a significant structuring effect and one which also combined enjoyment and positive experiences;

Yes I always used to be one of the best, so just because I was good at stuff I was good at rounders, I was good at running I was good at football I played for the football team, played in the basket ball team we didn't have any athletics but we had a sports day at the end of the year which used to be quite good used to do quite well in there...So I was always naturally good at sport, something that I gravitated to because I was good at it, really more than anything else. (Trevor)

As with all the narratives above, the gendered nature of activities that are remembered stand out for these men. For Paul, football, again features strongly. In Adrian's case football was the main reason for attending his secondary school in the first place, as the other schools in the area he lived didn't offer it;

I was supposedly...should have gone to the school the high school in [town name] there was two or three high schools originally I lived there, but it was nearer a high school in a place called [town name] which is between [town name] and [town name]. I enjoyed it so much there in my first year because they played football and the [town name] schools didn't I carried on going to that school. (Adrian)

The structuring effect seems to draw on three interrelated aspects. The first that the activities were regular and social activities, second that they were 'fun,' in masculine ways and third that the participants all experienced the recognition of success. However, what they implicitly also highlight is the gendered nature of this active lifestyle, practically and symbolically. Most of the activities mentioned in the above data were symbolically male, and male dominated and in classroom situations (as we shall see later) taught by males. Importantly however are the underlying qualities that have also been structured through the 'unstructured play.' As with so many boys playing sport in recreation periods at school (see Swain, 1999), and at home, gendered sports play has a very powerful structuring function for developing sets of masculine dispositions. These include (among other things) learning to enjoy being intensely active, 'believing' in a strong competitive ethos, developing the body through strenuous activity, and learning when and how to display emotions in masculine ways. Indeed in Shilling & Mellor's (1996) terms these 'fun' physical practices might also be viewed as 'emotional' practices with masculine configurations of sensuality being embedded, inseparably entwined with physical qualities or sporting performance.

As discussed above Bourdieu's habitus might be converted into forms of *capital*. Bourdieu (1990) proposed that there are different 'states' in which capital can exist; 1) Incorporated state, 2) Objectified state, 3) Institutional state and 4) 'Social' state (see Robbins, 2000). The concept of *incorporated state* capital refers to the condition of possessing capital that is an embodied part of the individual. It is in particular evidence here in the form of the *social value of the habitus* and is displayed by the combination of factors such as a suitable physique, demonstrations of ability, strong competitive dispositions, suitable emotional displays and a willing acceptance of physical contact in sport. While there is nothing *inherently* or biologically masculine about these qualities in *modern* sport - they remain practically and symbolically attached to hegemonic forms of masculinity, adding forms of embodied criteria for judgement of the 'legitimate' 'sportsman.' The significance in these men's stories of male relationships developed in and through involvement in physical activity for their involvement is of a key consequence in becoming a PE teacher because these early practices, mark the entry into the male arena (or 'field') of sport and PE.

The fit between dispositions of the habitus needed for a field of activity and that of the social background of the participants themselves, according to Bourdieu (1993), is not too much of a coincidence. Their previous and ongoing sporting practices were both structured and structuring according to the exigencies of these fields. As the fields of sport and PE became more formalized, so increasing value is placed on particular qualities proven by members of the field and so a closure begins to occur between habitus-capital-field. Ultimately, social and cultural membership to the sporting field will depend upon the exhibition of desired embodied dispositions (Bourdieu, 1993; Shilling, 1993b). These participants have begun to express the 'required' formation of habitus to make this a possibility. However, key others play a central role in this process of legitimation and are crucial for helping the individual to recognize that capital is developing-albeit implicitly. The existence of 'male support networks,' in evidence (peers, fathers, PE teachers etc.) here are, therefore, central to the construction of a masculine habitus and the attachment of specific kinds of value (capital) to that habitus. Peter implicitly recognized an informal 'network' when relating his school sport and PE experiences;

As far as I remember, I was lucky I was quite good at the sports; I was always taking part. Captain of the side you know so you always get involved and always close to the PE circle. (Peter)

The participants recognized the existence of a 'PE circle.' Without exception, for all of them it represented a very specific gendered grouping in which the 'elite' boys who get to know one another and form bonds based around their performances in physical activity and their shared social characteristics and interests. This corresponds directly with Brown's (1998) observations of the 'inner sanctum' of boys PE and school sport in Australian schools. From the perspective of developing physical capital, this is central because membership to the PE 'circle,' as Peter describes it, is recognition of 'ability' and 'dispositions' towards sport. Although it should be pointed out that the networks stretched more widely than school peers. These networks are implicit and complicit to the dominant masculine 'status quo' in sporting arenas, and it is their gendered nature that can have a profound impact on the formation of habitus, identity, physical capital. To borrow a term from Connell's work the *patriarchal dividend* involves the privilegeding of a dominant masculine habitus, through (pre-) dominantly masculine sets of practices. Again, Peter shows an implicit sense of the logic of this dividend and how it works;

I suppose you get captains of different sports you get asked your opinion of who gets selected like who is going to play in the team and things like not really - you felt like you were a part of it all - the group of people who were valued in PE who were good at PE I suppose, and you accepted that you were talented and you would always be that way I suppose-really - I say Captain of PE that made me feel a little bit closer to the PE teachers. (Peter)

The key point here is that Peter was in a position to take advantage and learn more than many of his less gifted peers through the Captains role and the networks and 'inner circles' that his demonstrations of sporting ability legitimized entry into. Nearly all the men here recognized such networks and most were in some way a part. Shaun comments;

At school I was, it literally was, there was a little there was about five or six of us who literally had a practice at lunch time and after school that was my main reason was for going to school. Yes in the winter it was rugby/football that it was and if the football team didn't have a game we were dragged to play rugby and then in summer it was, we had a very keen tennis teacher and we used to go before school and at lunch time and after school but since then I have not had the opportunity to do it really (tennis). I was going to at college but when you don't play for two years. It's frustrating because you know you are doing wrong, and it just annoys me. (Shaun)

Derek's experiences are similarly indicative of a male support network.

Its just...I always hung around with I guess all the rugby boys I suppose and you'd have your own, because we were like a group, you would have your own relationship with the PE teacher. I suppose because, he was a role model you

would notice everything that he did and the funny things that he did and you would have a good laugh at. (Derek)

For instance, my last year at sixth 2, A level year, We had been the first team at the school we'd really, we'd virtually been together all through the time, and the most successful first school team they had, the year before that, they always just used to be in each others pockets and in some ways that benefited the team. (Derek)

Similarly for Paul, being good, meant recognition and this allowed him to 'fit in' his new school;

You know it was good and especially the first year at [secondary] school, you know a new huge place and if you were good at PE you know you were accepted which is nice. (Paul)

'Fitting in,' is a 'dividend' of being recognized as having ability which represents a form of physical capital that legitimizes participation. Alan's case is perhaps the defining one because of his discrepant attitude to these 'male networks.' Indeed Alan's case, in general, is dissonant [read interesting] from the others - because, his habitus, *lacks* the emotional attachment to the peer group. While he recognized the network of boys in and around PE and school sport and had sufficient ability, he chose not to tap into it and consequently suffered from not being a part;

I mean I was in the swimming team I was in like the cross country team, - but football teams were always like really 'cliquey,' so that never appealed to me because they were cliquey even though that was like my main sport I suppose. So I played outside school...and that got on my nerves and just like, didn't really enjoy school either because of the cliques and in the sixth form everyone grew up a bit. (Alan)

Alan confesses that his dislike of the 'clique' mentality as he calls it, was to have an impact in his playing career, because Alan did not involve himself directly in the PE circle of boys, he found himself excluded from their core 'male' activities at school, denying him the opportunity to develop his habitus further. It is also important to note that he was able to pursue the relatively non-gendered activities of running and swimming, and only had difficulty 'getting on' in the gendered team games such as football;

[In the sixth form] I tried like to get back into that sort of thing, but I didn't because of the cliques again I went to the football trials, and it was like if you played for someone if you'd been like in a team then you were going to get in immediately if you'd played for like Tottenham under eighteen's you're going to naturally get in, but if you were good enough, and you hadn't played for a team then they wouldn't consider you - that was the way I saw it - and like, I just...It

didn't appeal to me so I went and played up for Watford Town, the Old English Gentlemen and that and still playing (Alan).

Falling outside the networks and being ill disposed to them, not only hampered Alan's development of physical capital, but also restricted its conversion into other forms of social capital, because he could not access the right teams in order to demonstrate his ability, through which he could draw the patriarchal dividends of the dominant male. Here again, we see the patriarchal dividend operating in PE and sport. The dividend consists of becoming a recognized member of the elite male group, enjoying special relationships with PE teachers and sporting peers and, as a result, the integration into the male support networks of PE and school sport. This dividend is patriarchal because it involves conforming, without questioning the norms of the dominant masculine discourses and practices of the group. Alan's reluctance to invest himself into a group mentality and go along with its practices meant he did not demonstrate the appropriate habitus and was effectively ostracized. What is sociologically interesting about Alan's case is that he chooses neither full involvement, nor complicity in this situation. It is interesting though that Alan chose to shoulder much of the blame for this himself, maintaining that he preferred to be different and had to accept the consequences, whereas alternatively we can see this event as an example of how the other men in this situation differentiate between each other to (re-) establish their learnt norms of 'acceptable' masculinities in this sporting context.

Involvement in the inner sanctum of the PE circle and cliques of elite boys, fostered 'special' sporting relationships with their PE teachers, coaches, fathers and other males who were similarly invested into the field;

Um...I suppose you do really it's a different relationship to all the other teachers, so it's the same relation, cause you play for football teams it's a similar relation to the manager there, so I suppose it is its more...its less formal so that's probably a good thing yes. (Peter)

Well yes my PE teacher he may have influenced me coming on here whether he influenced me doing PGCE I don't really know [it was] a long time ago, but I wouldn't say he influenced me in the way he taught lessons. (Shaun)

I saw the teacher last year, this very old guy he was always on the verge of retiring, and every year you thought he was going to go, so he was probably over it but like he was just fun; you know so it was a very relaxed atmosphere. So it was just a lot a fun rather than classes that would have benefited us in a sporting sense, we just enjoyed them and then we all, in order to excel we went outside of school, and had a really good experience as well. (Paul)

To my surprise many of these men were/are still in contact with their former PE teachers, and I think this highlights some emotional depth to these relationships. The 'understanding' between the male PE teacher and their enthusiastic and 'better' performing male students, points to the construction of an 'ontological' bond that goes beyond the classroom, teaching and learning and draws on identified commonalities of disposition or habitus. These bonds can leave a strong emotional imprint. Many of the characteristics of a dominant masculine habitus are perceived as qualities, valorized, legitimized and then objectified. However, as mentioned earlier, not all the networks surrounding PE and school sport and the arenas of sport outside school, were equally important to develop masculine physical capital. In Trevor's case, his gradual involvement in athletics was inspired by other male figures;

My grandad was quite, my grandad was almost I must admit he was one of the he was the first person like took me down to the track and he used to take me down to the track and wait and take me home again and always encouraged me he always said I was a fast runner because I had a late, I mean seventeen is quite late really, I'd left school before I got into athletics he always said I was a fast runner and that I should go on and do some running. I was sort of keen on it, but I wouldn't have been bothered to do you know what I mean so he always saying you should do this, you could do that. He was a bit like that with me. He always saying you could be a dancer or you could be, you know he could see possibilities in everything so it was quite nice to have someone like that - I mean he did encourage me a lot. (Trevor)

Yes well I mean I was signed for two years with a professional club at schoolboy level and as you get towards the end of that two-year contract, there is a split then you go either YTS or you go back into not professional football and so it was made quite clear at the time if you weren't 100 percent committed to football you would struggle an awful lot to carry on at that level. So I suppose as I knew that I wanted to carry on with school and go to University, or that was in the back of my mind so I had to make a choice even at that age of 16/15 and a half 16 to go away from professional sport and go toward academic studies. (Peter)

No the family aspect would have been...they were obviously very proud of what I was doing, which for any kid it gives like an enormous boost having a big family support, especially my father we grew extremely close due to the sport that brought us very close together. The one thing about that I realize now was it kind of affected my social life, you know I was training, you know like most folk every day and nights and stuff, I had to travel a little bit sometimes to train so em its not the same like I didn't get into drinking at all, you know it didn't really interest me because I had something that appeared to me much better than any of that. So I got a lot of good friends and that, but it wasn't normal, You had other things on your mind rather than going out and having a good time. Because you can have a better time doing stuff that are - more worthwhile. So from that side, the family side was great, although obviously those pressures were there, you know if you're out with your friends and they'll be having a few, and then go out

and have a few pints and stuff you back and feel it you know to be honest you got to race tomorrow, you know that's your doing. (Paul)

That physical capital is transferrable, yet transient, in the social sense, has always been a significant point for Bourdieu (see Bourdieu, 1993, 1999; Shilling, 1997, 1993b). The data supports this, suggesting that developing legitimate forms of incorporated physical capital in the field of male sport, has strong possibilities for conversion into other forms of capital. In particular, becoming a sportsman represents the conversion of this incorporated state capital into self a social identity. The participants' life histories suggest that their 'core' identities are configured around 'sporting masculine' identities as opposed to other alternatives (e.g. Academic identities) that are also available to them. Although largely unsaid, the gendered natures of these identities serve as powerful attributes and embodied dispositional 'passports' to possible future educational and professional careers.

The embodied nature of school PE and sport, means that an academic qualification is not enough, as it is in 'classical' curriculum subjects. The remainder of 'proof' of one's eligibility rests on personal experiences, coupled with a perceptible habitus that demonstrates favoured sets of physical skills, dispositions and social attributes. Becoming sportsmen, as experienced here, includes the gradual realization of the value of their physical capital and its potential uses in occupational life. This realization undoubtedly also feeds into these men's perceptions of themselves as male adults, students, sportsmen and eventually, as potential PE teachers, Peter's comment was indicative;

I can't really, I suppose looking back you looked at the PE Teachers job and you thought that would be a nice job to do but that's just from a child's prospective and I suppose you knew that you were good at sport and you knew you were respected by a lot of people so you probably sound a cliché but you probably did respect the PE teacher, and obviously my dad was still playing sport at the time so I definitely, he was definitely an influence, basically people, who were involved in sport I would say. (Peter)

Without exception all these men's masculine identities have over time evolved around their interest, involvement and ability, in sporting arenas. Furthermore, their sense of self identity and the stories they tell, have become inseparably fused with their involvement in sport and physical activity. A large part of this process centres on their perceived qualities of their own bodies and 'its' degree of successful attributes for sport, as the following comments illustrate;

I was probably one of the biggest guys in the year probably, I would say I had a growth spurt earlier than them, than the other kids so I was always probably one of the biggest and most physically mature, at that. (Peter)

I was always big - I was always one of the biggest in the class. (Shaun)

Tall and skinny...I was probably about over six foot then. (Trevor)

I always knew I was good at PE I still was at that age you know what I mean I was best if not the best in the class like you know I mean a lot fitter than other people in the school. (Alan)

I matured quite early, so between the ages of eleven, and sixteen I was reasonably big very sporty, and I suppose stronger than the average person so I supposed I was probably physically in an elite group. (Joe)

These comments indicate the 'unsaid' understanding of the embodied quality of a masculine sporting habitus and physical capital - physical prowess. What is interesting here also is to look at the fixed and biological understandings expressed. For example, Joe recognizes that his physical size and ability, interest and experience set him apart from many of his peers at this point in his life. The combination of physical, size, ability and 'natural' fitness with dispositional attributes such as interest, commitment and competitiveness constitute a form of capital - which in Bourdieu's (1993) sociocultural terms converts into other more social forms of valued commodities. The discrepant cases here provide further evidence of the internalized importance placed on the 'right' physique. Although Derek and Paul had successfully converted capital in terms of their ability, and their dispositions towards sport, they found they were not 'big enough to compete' - the masculine solution is either building the body *until it is* big enough or to change sports completely, their responses differed;

I was a late developer physically, you know, I was a lot smaller than my friends up until about sixteen. Perhaps that was another thing which shied me away from rugby a little bit and then sixteen to eighteen, I sort of shot up and I started doing a lot of weights because I went into rugby more and my friends see me about town now when I come home and they don't recognize me sort of thing; I'm completely different yeah. But, I think we develop through stages and I was one of those who was a slow developer, physically certainly. (Derek)

In the first few years of school I found I was one of the taller, I used to get ...I was tall and...and I played lot of rugby up until I was about fifteen and I was doing very well then ...That went on until I was about fifteen, because I'd stopped growing and ...And I didn't fill out at all, not that I tried to do weight training or anything at that age obviously, I just stayed small it did obviously influence my sport choices. I was originally a promising rugby player. (Paul)

Including Derek and Paul, the conversion of physical capital was, in their experiences, successful. People began to see them, and equally importantly, they began to see themselves

as sportsmen of some measured ability. These kinds of recognition had important consequences, not just for their self-identities but also for their future decisions and life trajectories - becoming legitimate, respected members of particular social fields and cultural groups eases a further conversion of capital later in their sporting careers. This would eventually lead to them contemplating a career in the teaching profession. Derek's experiences provides a case in point here;

Well the Head of department that came in my third year; year nine, he had a big impact on me. He encouraged me to pursue my teaching career he helped my rugby a lot and sorted out a lot of my of what my best position would probably, oh he had a massive impact on me. I was thinking more in terms of the Head of Department before that, he really was...I think he needed to get out of the profession. Yeah he was a high profile he played for **** rugby player; his brother was a big Welsh rugby player. Because of that he was all, he tended to be all ego and because we worked under him as well its just that how they were at that time...Complacent they were. (Derek).

The conversion of physical capital into an identity is a reflexive process in which the matching of self identity with a social identity gradually becomes more coherent, consistent and distinctive as time passes. In Peter's case the love of sport, once instilled became something that began to define him socially. With this recognition, he began to recognize that involvement in sport might play a part in his professional future;

As when I first, when I first started playing most of my friends would have been involved in sport but I carried on playing while my friends fell away, and I would say when I first started playing most of my friends, circle of friends, were involved in sport but now only very few of my friends are still involved actively in sport. (Peter)

Well originally I wasn't going to University, I felt I wanted to get a job and not go into higher education then I felt I wanted to go into a Law Degree and study that side. And then, I just changed tack completely and always had this background of wanting to be involved in sport and thought that would be a good way to go and the more, I came through the A levels and the more I came into the Degree that became a lot stronger that what I wanted to do. (Peter).

For Adrian, the conversion was even stronger, as with his father being a former PE teacher and himself showing all the signs of having the 'right' dispositions, his PE teacher suggested it to him at a very early stage;

Yes and it's just like stigma [for] me for life, its just been I can't do it (because I can't ever remember seeing him again) [he would say] I told you were going to be a PE teacher - so I remember that well. (Adrian)

Adrian's comments also demonstrate that the matching of self and social identity facilitates the successful conversion of physical capital, he comments; 'I have never really had any other particular interest or been perceived as anything else by other people I don't think, I have always been like really fairly sporty' (Adrian). The conversion of capital, unlike the economic metaphor on which it is based, is not a detached process but one that is acquired and internalized. The social identity of 'sportsman' had consequences for all these men's future career pathways and the way in which they positioned themselves in relation to other aspects of their lives. The following comments are instructive in this regard;

I enjoyed most of them, you know I was lucky I was fairly clever so I didn't struggle, at all, I never really was one for the sciences. Obviously, I did biology A level and loved it, it was good but Physics and Chemistry side of science that didn't interest me at all. English, I was always quite interested in that, writing and not so much reading things but I loved the [course] and the fact that I've done a joint honours here with English, especially for teaching its good to have a preference for the second subject. But that's always been you know an interest, the sports is where it all flows, so there was never really anything close. (Paul)

I was good at English so I chose English, History interested me and Civilization seemed like to be very interesting which it was. In the sixth form, very far back down the line, I was smoking a bit and going out a lot, I still played sport still played on a Sunday but not like competitively as much as I used to just like because I had other priorities then. I always knew I was good at PE, I still was at that age, you know what I mean, I was best if not the best in the class like you know I mean a lot fitter than other people in the school, as that was why I chose like ****(university) to come to because it was like the only thing I really enjoyed was sport. (Trevor)

In spite of this Trevor's perception of his body as 'tall and skinny,' his sporting ability is a positive one and based on successful experiences, he comments;

Yes I always used to be one of the best so just because I was good at stuff, I was good at rounders I was good at running I was good at football I played for the football team played in the basket ball team we didn't have any athletics, but we had a sports day at the end of the year which used to be quite good used to do quite well in there. (Trevor).

The entry of athletics into Trevor's lifeworld, began to reinforce and confirm his self and social identity as a physically talented sportsman, confirming his school experiences. The practices of athletics also began to influence the way he lived his life, and his friends and social networks began to change significantly;

A lot, yes a lot because once I got into athletics, because before I was into athletics I started seventeen started getting into it eighteen and at that time my

friends were, some friends from school who I used to knock about with when we used to, we used to go out of a weekend hang about, go clubbing and do various undesirable activities really, but once I got into athletics I started to make friends in athletics that were runners and my friends sort of changed gradually over the next couple of years – and started hanging out more with guys at the track and less with my school friends. I sort of drifted, drifted away from them so on the whole my group of friends changed really over like a couple of years. (Trevor)

As the above discussion highlights, developing a masculine sporting habitus allows these men to convert their physical capital into social identities located within implicit social hierarchies, formal qualifications and open entry to potential career avenues. However, the habitus as constructed over years of practice through these experiences is very specific in terms of the embodied skills and dispositions that are at these men's disposal. There is an unfortunate assumption, that almost all sportsmen and women will automatically have the qualities to make good teachers. Elite sport and PE fields are constructed around very different sets of necessities and assumptions, the practice of which, structures the habitus quite differently. That is not to say there is no overlap, merely that there are a number of possible incompatibilities and gaps of experience/knowledge at the level of the habitus, as Peter hints at in the following;

I'd be confident and I'd be wary, something like that with most subjects, but the two obvious ones are gym and dance. I wouldn't be frightened by it, but it's just that I haven't any knowledge of it at all you know, how to develop in those activity areas so those are the two I have to work on, but at the minute, there's no way I 'd be able to give more than two or three lessons on those. That's the ones that I'm not all confident with. (Paul)

Peter's concerns are shared by nearly all the participants in this study, and I suspect many other men both in, and entering the profession. It is important to stress that we are not just talking about cognitive knowledge here - although that may well be a factor, but deeply engrained physical feelings, understandings, experiences etc., activities like gym and dance quite simply do not appear at all in their experiences of PE and sport. As the following extracts reveal;

Things like gymnastics and dance, if it wasn't for like my gymnastics here I haven't done any. I did a little bit in the first and second year in Upper Hall but that was so long ago, I remember not enjoying it and not really paying much attention to it. I was never really rushing to get around and have another go - didn't do any dance. When we had to go to a high school during our degree for a few days, I'm not sure what course, I asked the teacher, and he seemed a bit of a football man himself and he said he was very worried about it. He was more worried about getting the kids involved and had like Match of the Day music and things like that. And that made me feel a bit more at ease because here was

someone who was actually working and you know and still has these apprehensions. And Basketball and things like that you know, I've done enough of that. (Shaun)

And so it was basically games - they never did gymnastics or dance, did some athletics, it just wasn't the same there, it was like and also very, I don't know because I was one of the better ones so I never saw, but I would imagine like the people who absolutely hated it just because of the set up it wasn't like it is now where we try and deal with everyone it was like the best got better and the worst like didn't really help them at all. (Alan)

It's quite I think I don't know, I try not to think of teaching girls and boys because I haven't got younger sisters or anything also I haven't got any children so, so it's a bit difficult sort of this is how I teach girls as opposed to boys - I just try and teach them. (Trevor)

No my background was totally single sex, at the start it was slightly alien to me the concept, but I totally came round to it. In my gymnastics and dance especially, if I was teaching in an all boys group for both of those I just wouldn't have got the quality. (Derek)

Simon indicates the significance of habitus/identity resources very clearly, commenting 'he seemed a bit of a football man himself and he was very worried about it.' Similarly, Derek's reference to 'quality' is shared by all the participants. Derek was acutely conscious that his single sex background and the lack of experience in subjects such as Dance and Gymnastics are highly problematic, commenting 'that's part of it I wouldn't feel a specialist teacher.' Alan's first experiences of teaching Dance show just how difficult dealing with these gaps can prove to be;

Well they give me advice about just basically where you stand in the class and how you, especially when it comes to dance and gymnastics, at the last school, because when I first went there I hadn't taught a gymnastic lesson I never even come into contact with dance, and they would come and assess me in the first couple of lessons I did and straight away they were very critical and I really resented that at the time, but like looking back on it probably helped quite a bit because I was being really like stand-offish like, like when we were doing dance, there was the whole hall and there was a piano and the tape player was on the piano and I was sort of hiding being the tape player and the piano pressing play, shouting out the orders and instructions and the kids were like, kids were right in the far corner where I had no control over them but I didn't want to go out there because I didn't feel confident then they were like, yes, but you are going to lose it completely if you stay in one corner. The same with gymnastics I was standing right on the outside whereas if it was football or something I would be right in there you know giving it...So you know that's helped that is what I learnt from them. (Alan)

The contrast in Alan's descriptions of teaching football and Dance throw into stark relief the gaps in his *habitus* - he is comfortable standing, shouting orders and getting involved on the football field whereas Dance revealed his lack of *habitus*, leaving him without dispositions to draw on and calling into question his dominantly masculine approach that works in other activity areas. What has been interesting is the reaction to this perceived lack of disposition. Shaun's response was to try to avoid it where possible by getting someone else to teach it;

It's not financially...I suppose you could, perhaps if you had a dance teacher for that area, he or she could come in and some would do gymnastics, some with rugby, some with hockey. (Shaun)

Derek, on the other hand, chose to confront his problem head on and learn how to teach Dance, he was helped by a member of staff with expertise and he felt this helped him to overcome problems presented by his lack of experience. What is interesting to note is that he associates her qualities as a Dance teacher with her wider roles in Pastoral care and so on, 'Yes, I mean that worked on my weakness, did a lot of work on gymnastics, dancing, my mentor was a women she was relatively strong in those areas...and she was, she was Head of Pastoral studies as well.' However, as a physically imposing semi-professional rugby player Derek is aware of the difficulties his *habitus* poses for teaching these kinds of subjects;

DEREK: I think some people see me sometimes and that switches them off perhaps - that's what PE is about.

DAVID: Switches them off?

DEREK: Yes it's because I am quite, I train a lot and things like that. I don't know... Perhaps they see PE for the very able or you got to lift lots of weights or something. The ideas that kids, get in their heads at that age...They thought it was quite funny to see a Rugby player doing it, they thought it was hilarious, but you know they seem to have responded.

Peter, sensed that his limitations lay in these areas and like Derek chose a similar route to challenge the gaps in his teaching abilities, rather than avoid them;

Yes I mean the only problem I can see for me teaching that is that I am not experienced at that, but I've not got any pre-conceived ideas about not wanting to teach dance because it's an athletic sport rather than an art which [is the same to] teach football and ...rugby or cricket or whatever so again the only barrier is that at the moment I'm not particularly qualified to teach dance and hopefully through the [PGCE] course I will at the end be qualified in my own mind to teach it. (Peter)

Here, Peter switches his association with Dance from a physical art to a sport, making it more comfortable for him to deal with, allowing him to draw on sport (scientific) instead of artistic (aesthetic) aspects of his habitus, an observation that corresponds closely with Gard & Meyenn's (2000) work on Dance and masculinity. These experiential 'deficits' further suggest that the habitus needed for the job are not necessarily well matched with those they bring to the profession.

As a composite of engrained social practices, habits, techniques, skills, and attitudes, the habitus is a reflexive construction of sporting masculine life worlds. Furthermore, their habitus is a resource from which these teachers draw, a large part of which is dispositions of hegemonic sporting masculinities where physical skill, ability, competitiveness, strength, self-control (embodied & emotional), control of others (potentially) and success. Each of these act as implicit schemes which inform these men's approaches to teaching PE. Although their responses to situations may differ according to the idiosyncrasies of their habitus, a shared masculinist habitus also strengthens the connections between the social construction of gender in teaching PE and the bodies and dispositions of the teachers. Therefore, the significance of the habitus resource is several fold. Firstly, it is not teachable in a cognitive sense, but must be learned through practice and experience. Secondly, once embedded, these dispositions become quasi-automatic reactions and strong predicates of potential future action, a situation that complexifies the expression of agency in these contexts. Finally, while, as Bourdieu has always maintained, the habitus is modifiable, changes call for adequately practical, pragmatic and purposeful experiences to supersede the dispositions already embedded. Thus we also get a sense of 'dissonance,' where the learned habitus does not match as closely as it might the intended arena - this dissonance is perhaps an under theorized strength in Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus - allowing us to focus on what is happening when reproduction *does not* occur as it should and what happens to individuals when the habitus is found to be lacking in some way. For these men, this latter point seems both an *Achilles Heel*, and the stimulus for change, something which, it would appear, could go either way, in any of these men's cases; a point which I return to later.

5.2 INSIDE THE HABITUS? NARRATIVES OF MASCULINE BODY-SELF RELATIONSHIPS

What is the impact of the habitus on the self? A noticeable element of these men's stories is the consistent use and 'framing' of their embodied experiences around the notion of

'ability.' This is instructive when considered in relation to Arthur Franks' (1995) work on responses to the body's agency. All the participants' narratives show relationships with their bodies constructed around having greater than average physical *ability*, as many of the above comments illustrate. However, these narratives of ability come to the fore when the participants are forced to work through specific body problems such as injury or failure. These problems resonate strongly with Frank's (ibid.) four key areas and their respective responses; control (contingency, predictability) body-relatedness (associated, disassociated), other relatedness (monadic, dyadic) and desire (producing, lacking).

What has become evident is that a masculinized *ability narrative* features strongly in providing solutions to these body problems, furthermore, as other work in this area has already suggested (see Sparkes & Smith, 1999) highly masculinized body-self relationships can exacerbate instead of solve problems posed by the body's agency. Nevertheless, the focus here is on reproduction of embodied forms of masculinities that these student teachers are taking into the profession. Paul's narrative demonstrates that when the body's contingency strikes, in his case through the experience of failure in a key performance and then the failure of his body through injury, it has been, as Giddens (1991) terms a 'fateful moment' in the reflexive reordering of his narrative of self;

Yes it's kind of fallen apart the last year but em I've done a lot of sports, when I was very young, maybe primary level, I did a lot of swimming...Every sport that I did, I've been lucky I excelled at and I was as good as everyone else or even better. After that I reached football which has always been the one love, but eh, a little bit of harsh blow was in, I was in the final training squad for the Northern Ireland schoolboys team, but I hadn't made the final cut of the few players and but after that I was really low, I was really psyched up, so I was a bit disillusioned. I played football for about another year after that, so I was about sixteen and then moved on to athletics, did that for four years, four or five years and then got up to like international level for that, which was a great buzz with myself, for the family as well to do something like that, but then just over a year ago I got a knee injury, which I can't really run for more than five or ten minutes, yeah a progressive injury that leaves damage, so that's em worked actually in favour of me concentrating on my coaching football. So this year's a crunch, I'll try running again, I'd love to get up to twenty minutes, because I'd love to get back to that but if not, I have me football to fall back to. (Paul)

These experiences have robbed Paul of qualities of self deeply embedded in his habitus - control and predictability over his body's function and performance in his chosen physical sporting arenas. The masculine habitus in evidence is constructed around dispositions of a strong, reliable and predictable body. His response to this situation is an example of what Frank (ibid.) refers to as a 'restitution narrative,' where the body-self relationship and the

identity it sustains, is sought to be reconstructed as it was formerly, in order to regain control and predictability - something that resonates strongly with Sparkes and Smith's (1999) work. They comment;

The combined effect of a strong athletic identity, an affinity for hegemonic masculinity and the restitution narrative, diminishes the ability of Mathew, Eamonn, Richard, and Mark to narratively reconstruct the self (Sparkes & Smith, 1999, p. 88).

A similar combination of factors, is at play in Paul's case. The experience of contingency has forced Paul to reconstruct his body self-relationship in ways which moved him away from performance and towards coaching. This shift led him to consider becoming a teacher which developed from his coaching aspirations. However, it is uncertain whether Paul has embraced his body's contingency, as a result, or merely moved to a domain where he can *regain* the predictability and by drawing on his ability narrative.

Like Paul, it is insufficient merely to claim that Trevor's identity is constructed around sport, clearly it is, but his habitus, is constructed around the ability of his body to perform with predictability in terms of athletic performance. Dealing with the contingency of a serious sports injury, represented a loss of control for Trevor, which threw into question his ability narrative and threatened to destabilize his entire body-self relationship, with the consequences emanating outwards;

[It affected me] quite badly actually, well it was a combination of two things. I got injured in April which is hard cause I'd just done all the winter's training, and I'd just come into the season and I'd got a bad injury which, and it was an Olympic year. I really wanted to go to Atlanta I was really focused. I was ranked fourth, top three go and I thought I could do it, I thought I could get into the top three and I got injured ... And then, and that was an eighteenth month injury. I got injured and then six months into my injury, I was engaged, and that broke up as well. So after that I was a bit messed... Well not messed up, but I was just fucked off with life sort of thing, started going out drinking a bit more, partying, not training, doing minimal studying. Just you know I was just fed up with everything... Yes well I mean my life was sort of built around those two things and then they had gone so I just was a bit lost I suppose. (Trevor)

With his ability narrative ruptured, the contingency of Trevor's body forced itself into his consciousness, until this point 'an absent presence' (Shilling, 1993a; Sparkes, 1996a) leaving Trevor reconsidering his future. Like Paul, this event pushed him towards becoming a PE teacher;

Yes well I mean that's probably why my perspectives changed, you know that I want to be a teacher and I want to hand it over with athletics because I am just

not prepared to put, I don't feel at the moment I'm prepared to just say 'sod' everything else I could have just took a year out like [coaches name] said take a year out train and then do your PGCE and then if your PE then you can [spread] that out over three years, but I'm just not prepared to do the three years of athletics. I want to do PGCE and I want to work you know, because the body could go...I mean it's like the fact that it could go wrong at any time, do you know what I mean? (Trevor)

The contingency evident in his comment - 'the body could go wrong at any time' illuminates how, when the body 'acts' and comes into view, it profoundly effects his self identity and his sense of control and agency. Moreover, it demonstrates how once ruptured the 'ability' narrative has to be re-worked. Significantly, however, and like Paul's story above, Trevor's loss of control did not necessarily mean changes to his ability narrative itself, rather he chose a new site or activity that *can* offer him the chance to return to predictability and control. In sense this is where the reproduction of masculine body-self relationships becomes pertinent for teaching PE, as these narratives form part of the resources they take into teaching PE. Trevor's choice of a career in PE teaching highlights how it sits as an alternative, secondary to the fulfilment of what he sees as his physical potential. Andrew's experiences are remarkably similar (albeit not at the same level of performance) his reflections further endorse the dominant ability narrative and the repercussions of its rupture;

I often wonder about [that] because when I was...I broke my leg when I was fourteen. I often wonder about that whether that did, but I don't know perhaps I am just clutching at straws, and I would like to think I would have turned out a better footballer, that it would have happened. But for a year or so yes I think it did because you know all of a sudden, you know, I was starting to think about things like tackling again and when you start thinking about it...I mean that was when I was fourteen and this time, I don't how I'm going to get [on] to be honest. I mean people are saying 'are you going to play again?' Just the fact that they are asking you, whereas before they didn't do it. They just assumed I would play again but now because I am twenty-two twenty-three they say well 'are you going to play again' and when I did it the nurse said 'oh throw these,'[boots]. You know, when I said I broke the other one, she said 'oh throw these away then' - I thought oh smack Put those back, she was going to throw the boots in the bin So I think it could be interesting this time because it was quite nasty [the break] as well. That one was quite a clean break it was painful at the time, but this one I was in hospital for about six days, and you know there is a big scar still down my leg so every time, you know you see that, all the time so you are reminded of it all the time and the only thing is, it's my left foot, so I don't use it anyway Maybe use the other one. (Adrian)

After the masculine 'heroic' narrative has subsided, the forced contingency of his state of embodiment, leaves Adrian to reconsider his sporting and career options. The loss of control of his body, ruptured the narrative of ability that had formed the basis of his body-self

relationship. His reaction is interesting in that his comments focus on regaining control over his body, even if that means with diminished control and predictability - hence a form of restitution. Given this context Adrian began to see PE teaching as a career option that would sustain his ability in a modified form, he had also returned to playing cricket rather than football, he comments;

Yes - I asked, I felt well, if I can run again but can't do certain other things you know can I teach? And thought would I want to teach and the answer I came up with was if I couldn't do everything then I wasn't going to teach. Not because...I think I would have still been able to get the message across and still been able to teach effectively, but I think I would have just felt differently. (Adrian)

As Shilling (1999) contends, our emotions can mediate cognitive, rational behaviour in powerful ways, and here is an example. While he knows he could be an effective teacher, Adrian's loss of control of his body, has ruptured his ability narrative, one of the core dispositions of his habitus and with it his sense of masculine self. Peter's story highlights similar dynamics of an ability narrative, although the key moment for him was not based around injury, but a long term career decision that was imposed upon him, my contention here is that similar 'masculinist' narratives were being employed;

The most probably difficult [decision] was before, when I was actually playing for a professional club and there was almost a choice that had to be made at that stage; Whether you were going to go on to academic life and go that way, or [whether] you are going to branch off the other way and that was probably the only time when the two created a problem. (Peter)

Reflecting on his decision Peter comments;

I feel completely happy about it to be honest because, I saw just in those two years I saw, just what professional sport was like and how you train, you're just a commodity so, it wasn't really a hard decision for me I was ready at that stage to get out anyway and go back to not as serious a level, so there was no real conflict there. (Peter)

From my experience I would prefer to be playing at a lower level and have another life as well at the same time so - that's just my experience I can't say - whether I would not have made it anyway so I might have known in the back of my mind gone the other way so that could have tempered what I thought of the situation. (Peter)

Peter had to face his body's contingency at an early age: Was his body good enough to succeed at this level? Did he have the *ability*? What if it goes wrong and how likely is this? These contingencies formed the backdrop to his decision making and effectively forced him to question his own ability narrative. His decision to leave professional football was, it

should also be noted, also strongly influenced by his traditional working class background, where formal education and a movement away from manual labour are remnants of implicit working class understandings of the transitory and contingent nature of the body when used directly to convert physical into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1979; Shilling 1993b).

In one sense all the above testimonies show considerable insight into their body problems. Agreeing with Giddens (1984) such 'knowledgeable,' reflexive actions are unsurprising given the contextualized understandings that social actors draw on for the basis of their actions. Yet, this in no way undermines the observation that these actions are strongly embodied, emotional, and that there appears to be some structuring of narratives around the presence or absence of contingent ability, and the importance of ability for the maintenance of the masculine self, for men with a sporting masculine habitus.

The narrative of 'ability' then helps to 'solve' the problem of contingency/control by offering predictability, in the form of an ontological level of belief in the body - except of course it doesn't. Especially when combined with the restitution narrative highlighted above. These men are not alone in this. Many traumatically disabled male athletes have enormous difficulty facing the reality of losing control of their body's predictability and seek to regain it through modified sports. In so doing they continue to resist the spectre of contingency, creating modified ability narratives instead of genuinely altered body-self relationships. My contention here is that the triad of control, predictability and ability is inherently a masculinist body-self orientation embedded in these men's habitus. It is also clear at this point that such dispositions lock into wider masculinist discourses in PE and sport, education (presently) and the foundations of Western science, politics and religion (Siedler, 1997). The importance of these dispositions is the level at which they are reflected, represented and reconstructed; a level which draws on, but goes way beyond the cognitive and intellectual.

DAVID: So did you have any injuries or stuff like that.

ALAN: I got walloped in here that done my knee in. So, which has sort of effected like my speed when I am playing sport and that, but other than that not really.

DAVID: Is that sort of long term...

ALAN: Well it has been yeah, because they could either operate on it and it would have affected me later on in life, which would have helped me out now, or just left it and I won't get effected later on, so I have just left it and it like, still it pops out and then, you know then I move my knee and it goes back.

Alan's main dilemma lies with how the injury effects his current performance now, and the prospect that surgery followed *may* lead to a less 'able' body in the future. The uncertain future represents a loss of control, which he would rather trade for the pain of a chronic knee injury now.

The embodied perspective highlights the simultaneously disciplined and dominant aspects of these men's habitus in more detail and gives some form to the consequent body-self relationships and how they become predisposed to respond in certain gendered ways, to the *body's agency*. It is important to qualify that, as both Bourdieu (1990) and Frank (1996) warn, that the habitus and body-self relationships, are not singular, absolute, fixed and unchanging but overlapping, context dependent, and contingent. That said, the dispositions and relationships are deeply engrained and change is not easy. Therefore, it is possible to identify fairly 'stable' tendencies and relationships that are 'core' or 'master' orientations to the self, body and others. These men all display a habitus which exhibits positive attitudes to competition, winning, excellence, meritocracy, individualism along with pleasure and self expression through their physicality - a powerful cocktail of cognitive, emotional and physical attributes. The body self-relationships that such a habitus promotes are strongly orientated to what Frank describes as *disciplined and dominating* body types and that these relationships are at the mercy of the body's agency. In spite of this, their disciplined body-selves, conditioned through sporting practice, pay testimony to the habitus inducing structuring effect of a long term, heavy investiture into the institutions and disciplines in the arena of male sport. Constructing self controlled bodies, makes them clear representatives of a bio-political network of (male) power, quite literally 'living links,' a point alluded to in practical terms by Joe, when he states;

Just because I think nowadays if you are going to get into professional sport if you've got to train hard. Because the four years I really lived it up too much and I think it would be [struggling] to get back into the sort of shape I need to be in to play professional rugby, I would need to devote a couple of years to serious training. I don't think I could do that with teaching and things like that - without taking something away. (Joe)

Gaining embodied legitimacy through self discipline and control in sport, is also expressed through actual and symbolic domination of others on the sports field. The legitimacy of embodied domination in sport, and the experience of it in practice, undoubtedly has a powerful structuring effect on dispositions. But, how is this represented and what does this mean for these male teachers, their teaching and the social construction of masculinity? As sports performers they need others for the maintenance of their sense of self and the

masculine drive embedded towards competition and winning, a disposition that filters through into how they make sense of teaching, as Trevor points out;

Oh yes, I have been criticized for that really, being over competitive, especially the secondary school, which was trying to shy away from competition. But I don't see the point, life's all about competition. At the end of the day kids need to learn that and although there are winners and losers in every competition, [there's] more than one competition to compete in you know what I mean? So you might lose at something, but you might win at something else. It's important for kids to learn that they are going to have to be competitive, they are going to have try and win in some areas because if they don't, then they are going to struggle. Although at the same time you have got to make sure they don't label themselves as losers before they have even started. (Trevor)

It is difficult to disagree with Trevor's well meaning pragmatism, but ideologically the allegiances with social Darwinism are important. Trevor's point also raises the issue of 'transference of desire' from PE teachers to their pupils. These views are not merely cognitive but embedded in their habitus and represented through their body-self-other relationships. The desire they had for professional, top flight sport, competition, enjoyment, and the 'physical way of life' are transferred to the desire for their pupils to acquire these dispositions. This involves valorizing certain types of embodied sensibilities over others and through this building up dispositions in the pupils that the teacher thinks are important - these happen at the embodied, emotional level, as well as cognitively. Trevor's body-self relationship translates directly into the messages he wishes to pass on to children;

I think, I see myself as a PE teacher but hopefully I'm going to be a teacher you know who teaches PE, you know. So I want to go into a school and be someone that kids can talk to, someone that they can learn from, someone that they want to listen to or maybe they can learn a few things about PE, about growing up, about handling themselves, about respecting themselves, about doing what they want to do, and about meeting challenges, which is I mean that's what it's all about, whether its PE or whether its anything else so. I want, I feel quite strongly that I could be a good teacher, and then and sport because I love sport I'm enthusiastic about sport. (Trevor)

I don't know, I don't know where it comes from, I got, not really teaching but there have been one or two people in my life that haven't been my parents that have helped me out a lot you know what I mean like, one's been my coach, one's been a friend of the family, they didn't have to but they did you know what I mean and I just to think what they did was great for me, I could actually do that for someone else that would be equally good maybe it's a little bit idealistic but. (Trevor)

The transference of desire is evident, here as is the embodied emotional quality of what he considers most important to teach. Like Trevor, Derek also wishes to communicate his 'passion' for sport and physical activity through his teaching, many of his professional 'highs and lows' are indicative of this transference of embodied desire, and whether or not it was successful;

I think the 'highs' would be when my lesson went really well sometimes you get a glint in a pupil's eye, they're talking about it...you can see that they really enjoyed your lesson. The 'lows' would be you doing something you really enjoy things like I tried a cricket lesson with some of the boys there in year nine, teaching them something like an off drive and put that into a game and they haven't they're not responding because they don't like cricket at all, first of all, and you have three or four pupils perhaps who are perhaps responding to you and it's frustrating when you got children who don't enjoy what you enjoy that's the biggest difficulty I have had in teaching but overall it's just doing something that the children just don't enjoy and can't understand that you are just trying to get them enthused. (Derek)

Alan's body-self relationships are also influencing his approach to the profession, the desire to pass on the aspects that he himself enjoyed is also strong;

Well, I teach something that the kids enjoy. The reason I do that is because I enjoyed it myself enjoyed learning sport and that's the only thing I can see is how I would teach. (Alan)

Clearly these teachers care about children. What is sociologically interesting however, is that there is a discernable 'transference of desire' from their own body-selves to those of their pupils. Also clear, is the emotional content of these dispositions. To a certain extent these teachers are drawing on aspects of themselves that they see as positive, and attempting to transfer, that part of themselves to the children, but of course these dispositions and body-self relationships have powerfully gendered qualities, for example control, competitiveness, enjoyment of physicality, ability and restitution narratives etc... In this sense then, and at this level, we observe the potential *onto-formativity* of gender relations, through the actions of teachers. Moreover, as we shall see, the transference of these dispositions are powerfully mediated by the 'Interaction Order.'

5.3 ACTING MASCULINITIES: LEARNING A GENDERED INTERACTION ORDER

When you are telling them off for things that you know you did at school and don't really matter anyway and that's acting really, they think you are upset and all...you got to toe the line. (Trevor)

Why do we have to 'toe the line?' The perspective of symbolic interactionism provides insights into the social significance of interactions in everyday life. Everyday interactions often take on strongly symbolic meanings and represent a reflexive interface between the self and the social; on the one hand we observe the individual in the course of presenting the self in ways in which they wish to be seen and concurrently we see those very same individuals absorbing and utilizing a complex set of social interaction patterns, 'rules' or even 'roles' which symbolically lock them into wider social structures, meanings and processes, often reconstructing these in the process. The dramaturgical model appeals because of its foundation in everyday life something most of us can immediately recognize; such as incidences of our acting in accordance with pre-given social scripts, or even breaking them for particular effects. However, the simple dynamic between the self, social and the 'script' that forms the core of this perspective, often also belies the depth of its insights. If we are all actors and the world is our stage, then the key questions become the scripts (or as Goffman called it the shared idiom) and which ones do we choose, when and how do our choices effect the gendered worlds we inhabit?

Like acting, teaching is an interaction intensive phenomenon, requiring highly skilled, refined performances. Like acting, teaching is also an emotional and embodied, as well as intellectual pursuit which correspondingly draws on key discursive and embodied cues from social experience both past and present for its authenticity. Fusing the two, or 'acting teaching' very quickly becomes a pedagogy in itself, where all aspects of the self are foregrounded or back-grounded according to the awareness of a need to represent an appropriate 'front' or social identity. An extreme symbolic interactionist position might maintain that we all act most or even all of the time, with our 'stages' being a complex mix of front and back 'regions' in which we identify and then act out our 'actual and virtual selves.' Such a view is a compelling one with regards to teaching PE. Acting teaching is an expression of individual agency, or is it? Derek comments that he has to, 'put on an act, because naturally I am quite a shy person...I don't tend to mix well with everybody, you know, it's quite, therefore, I have got to act because it's not me so...' Are these teachers merely knowledgeable actors responding to their circumstances with informed decisions or are they somehow also consciously or unconsciously constrained by the script? One of the clearest themes emerging from the data is the dramaturgical model of teaching; as Peter comments;

I've actually got a good insight into how PE departments (can work) because my brother was completely turned off by PE, because he wasn't good at sport, and because he wasn't particularly interested in what they were offering: Team

games, team sports. He was always turned off by that so he was actually a good person to talk to of what a PE teacher should be like, and he says that he wishes that they had been more inclusive and not concentrated people like me who were involved in sport and offered things that they wanted to do rather than team games such as indoor sport badminton and squash, whatever. So I think the PE teacher has so many roles to play to so many different people. (Peter)

It should be qualified at the outset that acting is not something that the participants always feel happy about doing but significantly they all feel it is an important aspect of teaching PE, as Derek continues;

It comes from, I think, a sense of human worth, real presence within the classroom perhaps. Not just going through what you want to teach, but thinking how you can teach that but enthuse the pupils at the same time and little jokes you can bring in it comes with experience really, the acting side of it. I'm putting on an act because naturally I am quite a shy person. (Derek)

Of course, the metaphor of teaching as acting is a long running one in the teaching profession and the social sciences that observe it. Moreover, that educators might choose/feel the need to act as a part of a pedagogical strategy has a practical plausibility about it that resonates with the above comments. However, the critical question that arises when teachers become actors is *what is the script? What are the roles? And do they have agency?* Derek maintains;

If you are playing fairly high level you have to do a lot of training outside of that and I think children, see a PE teacher as a role model. A lot of teachers perhaps aren't always the best role models. I think they can fall into a trap...you can preach one thing and do something else. I find a lot of teachers tend to do that. Even on this course I mean there's a few um, who perhaps, [do] not make time to do exercise themselves, but they are asking other people and I find that difficult to believe. (Derek)

As a Welsh, semi-professional rugby player Derek is conscious of the roles expected of him and he is not entirely at one with these roles, as he sometimes sees himself differently. There is strong evidence that these men's teaching involve considerable degrees of acting and that the script, the role and the available choices are gendered. These men are learning how *to act as male teachers* of PE. In so doing, the Goffmanian notion of the Interaction Order - a society-wide shared vocabulary of embodied and discursive idiom from which actors draw their cues for how to act in given situations in order to maintain a sense of social identity - comes pertinently to the foreground. Of course, the notion of what is a good and bad role model is socially loaded - especially when it comes to teaching an implicitly gendered form

of PE. Peter agrees with the others concerning the need to act but makes the point that his decisions are more contextually judicious;

Yes and then I think different situations require a different role on a one to one situation obviously you don't have to be like that, I mean a small group situation there is no need to be like that so I think it's different roles for different situations. (Peter)

The roles to which Peter refers are clearly gendered, he continues;

It could I think, I think especially for a new teacher a new environment, I think I felt it was important to establish yourself. I suppose that by 'establishing yourself,' I probably mean a masculine PE teacher. And as time goes by, the other teachers then, were able to not need to use that as much because... If they needed to they could use it, but they wouldn't use it frequently and I felt that perhaps I needed to use it a little more, to try and get a kind of distance between the pupils to start with, to establish that role, me teacher you pupil kind of role. Then move closer from there, I actually felt that as I started to be sort of close, without establishing the roles, that didn't work so I had to come out, and go back in again. (Peter)

Even with more experience, the gendered script and role remain an option, and it is difficult to think differently, arguably this may become more difficult with experience as patterns of classroom interaction become increasingly automated. But, what are these men tapping into in the first place? How do the gendered scripts or roles finally find their way into their consciousness and their pedagogies? Peter reflects;

I don't know where it came from probably from a PE teacher I had at school and just the impression... Although I don't actually know where you get it from, the impression you build up of what PE teacher of stereotyping, brilliant at every sport, not show a sign of weakness, being detached from the group and being a pivotal character. And that's, I would work now the completely opposite way to that, if I don't know sport it's best to learn with the children you are teaching and work that way. So I suppose it just came from the stereotypes of PE teachers not particularly one source, but everything you know about PE teachers. (Peter)

Peter's testimonies aren't however just that of a cultural dupe, but of someone exercising gendered agency (Shilling, 1999). Trevor's belief in the 'PE teacher as a role model,' gives him a fairly well defined gendered script, he is very conscious of performing this role in specific ways;

I think whatever people say, I mean you've seen the advert, 'Charles Barclay I'm not a role model,' the basketball player. But whatever people say, anyone who is exposed, say you're in the media, on TV, you're an international athlete on TV, you're a basketball player or a footballer - you're a role model, you're 'there.' Kids are seeing you - they are watching what you do, and are copying you,

because that's what kids are like, that's how they learn, so you're a role model whether you like it or not. You can try and deny it but you are, especially, I mean for me, being a black person. A lot of black people in sport, black basketball players, black footballers, kids look up to them. The black kids identify with them, there are not a lot of other role models in other areas of society. So they'll see them and they will identify with them and they'll copy their behaviour and that's why the reason, like it or not...That is an aspect that they should consider. I think as teachers you are in contact with pupils, kids you know all day, everyday, you will be a role model; a good or a bad one. Whether they like you or loath you, will be a form of role model. So hopefully, you can be a positive one. (Trevor)

The masculine flavour of Trevor's explanation needs little explicit elaboration and comes as no surprise given the compound of his elite involvement in the field of sport and the colour of his skin. To 'toe the line' as Trevor puts it above, is suggestive of some strong structural force underlying their actions, including the contextually selective presentation of, mood, expression, gesture, stance and even words, all of which contain symbolic meanings that may or may not be conscious undertakings of the actor. 'Toeing the line' by acting out the script is, however, an insufficient assessment: The result must be a *believable* presentation where content and interaction merges to convey the intended meaning. However, Derek (and some of the others), already have some misgivings that the social script and the identity he has to portray may not match his own personal identity (how he sees himself as a person);

DEREK: Yes, well it worries me slightly that you have got to conform to many people's expectations, because I am going to a completely new area next year and if you got the whole community, and the parents of all the pupils in that school all the friends of those parents they all know about you whereas I've always been in the background as a student and there are going to be people who don't like you getting used to those ideas, I suppose....Especially interested parents on the rugby side perhaps watching from the touch line or things like that. It's part of the job though.

DAVID: So is that a burden, a pressure, a worry, or how would you describe it?

DEREK: It can be; it's definitely a pressure with me.

Derek pointed out that pressure comes from the previous male role models in the school in which he teaches;

And I suppose to survive teaching single sex PE all the time you are going to get difficult boys to handle perhaps in a big group. I suppose perhaps that is part of the reason why they developed in that way and they weren't trying things because it was more of a challenge. (Derek)

Stereotyped PE teacher - I mean I would just hate to be a stereotype of a PE teacher but will probably end up being one kind of thing. (Adrian)

I don't think so I think you have got to be yourself when you teach otherwise, they will find you out won't they I mean if you start putting on an act they are going to find it out because, yes. (Alan)

Derek, Andrew and Alan's sense of possible identity conflict between the presentation of self as a male PE teacher and the sense of self identity encompasses a variety of social dimensions including class; Trevor's comments;

I don't know really because, I really try and stay open minded about that because people have said to me I'd go into, should get into a public school and that would be good you know, great facilities to work with, the kids would be more well behaved, don't go into an inner city school because discipline is a problem and you'll get this that and the other happening. Initially, I quite fancy going into a inner city school, whatever people want to say because that is where I went to school and I think, I think because I was at a school like that maybe I would be able to relate more to those kids rather than to public school kids. At the end of the day. I haven't got that much in common with them you know, I could teach them but it's a completely foreign environment to what I have been used to so, but I will stay open minded I would like to go teaching somewhere like I went to school, but if it is a hell of a job then maybe I would be better in another school; public school I don't know. (Trevor)

Trevor's reluctance to teach in the private sector is not just ideological, for him a private school is a 'foreign environment,' with a distinctly different dialect of interactions and associated sets of meanings. He would have to present himself differently, and risk separating his *actual and social* identities. Alan feels he faces the reverse situation. He went to a private school, and finds the way of maintaining control in state schools, a foreign pattern of interaction, forcing him to act in ways he is uncomfortable with;

I want to go to a private school simply because of the discipline thing - because when you are in a state school, all the schools I have had experience of, you don't, you got no discipline, they don't respect you. The parents don't help in any way I may be generalizing a bit, but I reckon that in a private school parents are paying money for their kids to go to school and they care a lot more and the kids are going to realize that, and it will rub off. (Alan)

These experiences are not limited to heterosexual PE teachers either, limited, similar, although more acute experiences have been reported by Sparkes (1996), Sparkes & Squires (1996) with regards to lesbian teachers who are forced into the suppression and separation of their identities into public and private spheres. What is emerging is evidence for what Goffman termed the Interaction Order. However, not only is this Interaction Order clearly in

evidence but it is also an implicitly and explicitly gendered Interaction Order. For these men a gendered Interaction Order means learning that being and acting a man as a male PE teacher has certain social scripts, which requires specific actions in specific circumstances;

PETER: I think it does yes, I mean, I think it's difficult really I think in certain situations which may, for the group you've got might need to be masculine. Because I get the impression if you're not masculine with them they will see this as a sign of weakness and that will come back to you so, just in getting them under control perhaps doing registers in a group of about eighty people I think you have to be quite a masculine character.

DAVID: In other words, sort of a typical PE teacher ?

PETER: Yes, a typical PE teacher and then I think different situations require different roles and if you're in a one to one situation obviously you don't have to be like that, or in small group situation there is no need to be like that. So I think it's different roles for different situations, really.

DAVID: And is that something that you saw with other teachers?

PETER: Definitely - yes switch on to masculine right, this is, right I'm going to shout at you now and then on other occasions completely different styles.

DAVID: Do you find them difficult to play with...?

PETER: I did to start with [it was] quite difficult to change between the two at the start. Not wanting to be seen as sort of my old typical PE teacher, but then realizing that at times you have got to be like that as well, when the situation dictates that sometimes you have to be like that, and getting the balance between switching back to a role that perhaps I favour more in teaching.

Peter's comments are typical of the others, but it raises several key points that require further elaboration. Firstly, the pressured environment of the classroom (in terms of interaction) means having to act competently, consistently and quickly. Choosing how to makes an individual draw deeply on their habitus for 'automated' responses, and their habitus, as mentioned earlier, are dominantly configured (as successful, competitive male athletes). Secondly, the script here is that of control which if lost in this situation is a serious indictment of their symbolic masculine prowess as male and a male PE teacher. While most teachers remain preoccupied with interacting in ways which maintain classroom control, the manner of interaction used to achieved this end here is distinctively dominantly masculine, particularly in response to potential threats, from other males. Thirdly, through 'the hidden curriculum of schooling' children also quickly acquire a shared understanding of the script.

even if they are not in a position to perform it themselves. As Peter's comment shows, many children, expect certain patterns of interaction from teachers generally, and male PE teachers specifically. The presence of this triad of social elements together, provides fertile ground for the reproduction of symbolic forms of gendered interactions. These three features are present in many of the comments by the participants. Trevor's comments pay explicit testimony in the following extract;

TREVOR: Well I mean a lot of young lads obviously you know that's what they look up to and that's what they lock onto...I think it does make it easier to teach, and I think especially in a classroom if you've got those lads then you've got the class. You know what I mean if you've got the tools, if you keep them quiet then everyone else is going to be quiet.

DAVID: So you might have to use that stereotype a bit.

TREVOR: Yes...But then again at the end of the day that is me, do you know what I mean that is who I am, and I can't be anything else...Big guy with, athletic bla, bla bla, I am those things...

In true 'Machiavellian' spirit Trevor is responding to the expected interaction patterns of the 'lads' by drawing on his habitus to perform a role that achieves the end of getting and keeping control. Drawing on this though can be problematic if the habitus doesn't provide those 'tools' as Alan found;

Keeping your cool in front of a load of kids, which I failed to do a number of times which made it detrimental to my relationship with them you know what I mean - that was a challenge a massive challenge - that was the main one I think really - discipline. (Alan)

I almost prefer the kids who go to state schools as in...a bit more mouthy a bit more cocky which I like, you can have more of a laugh with them, but I can't be bothered to like struggle the whole time. Like I don't want to have a heart attack when I am about thirty by constantly trying to get kids to do something they don't want to do. (Alan)

For Alan, acting the disciplinarian is a script he feels neither confident nor willing to engage with and learn. Although not the only reason, this was a major factor in his deciding not to pursue a career as a PE teacher after successfully qualifying. Control, and the ways to achieve it are not the only aspects that form part of a gendered Interaction Order and while this study focuses on identifying a gendered Interaction Order rather than producing a typology of all of its features, there is another area that merits further specific attention - this concerns the way in which these male teachers tap into a gendered Interaction Order to

develop their pedagogies for differentiation - differentiation which is based on assumptions of gender. Combining the teaching placements and the help they get from mentors with their previous experiences these men, like all other PGCE student teachers have had to learn rapidly 'what works' and what doesn't for the development of their pedagogies. In so doing these men, doubtless as with many others, find themselves caught up in a double 'bind' situation which draws on a gendered Interaction Order, the following comments about teaching the girls illustrate the point;

Yes, I saw that with my mentor especially, the more caring side, with the girls you would tend to have to be a bit more mothering, um not so macho then perhaps, tone that down. (Derek)

It is nice to see girls who come out of themselves though. Especially in the mixed PE situation, they challenge the boys and they adopt some of the characteristics that perhaps they have got. (Derek)

Derek is aware of the difficulties posed by these situations, and he is, to some extent, stuck in a double bind. Consequently, he feels the need to position his teaching self according to gender - running the risk of recreating the very Gender Order that he personally is committed to challenge. If he succeeds, the girls are having learn more masculine dispositions, and if he fails he facilitates the reinforcement of gender stereotypes. However, either way the invisible dominant masculine 'centre' is still operating and left unchallenged:

I think it is just something that I needed pointing out to me, you know just the way I was thinking teaching that way so my mentor said after the first lesson, no problem but just think about this, she said don't just copy what I say, just think about what you've said in you examples, look at your lesson notes and then looking at the amount of response I had from certain areas of the classroom that highlighted it yeah. (Shaun)

The perspective of interaction clearly shows insights into an Interaction Order in schools and school PE. The interaction scripts are based around assumptions of gender appropriateness and are shared by the actors in the contexts, albeit from different viewpoints and with differing degrees of expertise to perform the particular scripts. The pressure to conform is compelling in some contexts, with children and mentors looking to these teachers to fulfil their gendered roles in ways which conform to stereotypes of what it is to be a male teacher of PE and so on. With the issue of control lying at the heart of these roles these men have little option but to represent themselves as 'strong' teachers; moreover, they must do this in ways which conform to how a man is expected to keep control, i.e., hard on the boys, and softer (more patronizing) towards the girls. A gendered Interaction Order forms a part of the

wider Gender Order with pupils, girls and boys, looking to teachers for cues on how to act, what is legitimate conduct and how they are positioned within this. In the next section the analysis will draw on the this and earlier insights to explore the Gender Order and how pupils and teachers alike are being positioned relative to a central invisible hegemonic masculine norm.

5.4 POSITIONING THE MULTIPLE MASCULINE SELF: TOWARDS COMPLICITY

After a while you adapt to it, and you get used to it and that becomes the way it is so I think at first I didn't like it but after I had been there a couple of months I was alright with it you know I'd, got used to it. (Trevor)

Perhaps the final twist in this analysis is the participants declaring almost unanimously that they wish to 'be themselves' when teaching. It is worth considering some of these comments from the outset;

I think in terms of teaching, to be yourself really that's the main thing, because I was, you have only got to give an impression that the PE Teacher is acting in a certain way and as you go on you just realize you need to be yourself and whatever works for you is the best way to do it basically, it's difficult to do that under the circumstances because you know you are being watched and you know you are being assessed all the time but at the end of the day you have got to just be yourself. (Peter)

I don't think most people do. I got my friend who is teaching this year, and he is aware of all the debates and he understands you know racism, you know sexism that sort of thing the debates on equality and all that sort of thing and I think to a certain extent you take, you know you understand that and you try and be professional at the job, but at the end of the day you are still you, you know with your experiences and you friends outside school, your lifestyle I think you're never going to disguise who you are. I think you probably have trouble if you did try to disguise who you are because kids will soon detect double standards, and if you are that sort of person that's great but if you are not you just got to be yourself in the classroom. (Trevor)

No, I am being myself when I teach, maybe a little bit of performing but it's all about sense of humour and just getting your ideas across - but then I think if you start performing you're doing it for, your doing the wrong thing, you know you've started doing it for yourself you like kind of trying to 'big up yourself' aren't you? You know when you're supposed to be like improving them to a certain extent. (Alan)

The question is, which 'selves' are they wanting be? Once again the dynamic tension between the self and the social reappears. In being themselves when teaching, are they successfully breaking free from the Interaction Order and the specific contextual influences

of the institution, or have they merely reached a point where they have successfully internalized the 'required' displays of habitus, interactions etc. to a point where they have modified their former sense of self when teaching and no longer have to struggle to act, because they have *become that character* (when teaching)? A third possibility would be a combination of the above two; where they simultaneously experience greater freedom but still remain constrained by their teaching roles and the institutional culture.

The obvious tensions between the self and social and the contradictions this throws up are perhaps best explained by the third option in that these men learn to teach within rather than in spite of a Gender Order, a gendered Interaction Order and the institutions of teaching and freedom to be yourself are only freedom to act and present the self within certain gendered (and other) parameters. With the masculine habitus and narratives of the self being subject to constant reflexive re-ordering in light of further experiences, being yourself becomes a problematic activity, especially in light of the pragmatic expediency of 'what works.' Being 'yourself' then, comes to mean an ongoing accumulative fusion of learned practical, embodied and discursive qualities. These are directly influenced by the social contexts of their lives and selectively drawn on and modified by experience, to construct a sustainable and satisfactory identity, particularly it seems, when teaching PE. To reiterate an earlier comment, Peter alludes to this directly when he states;

It could I think, I think especially for a new teacher [in] a new environment, I think I felt it was important to establish yourself. I suppose that by 'establishing yourself,' I probably mean a masculine PE teacher. And as time goes by, the other teachers then, were able to not need to use that as much because...If they needed to they could use it, but they wouldn't use it frequently and I felt that perhaps I needed to use it a little more, to try and get a kind of distance between the pupils to start with, to establish that role, me teacher you pupil kind of role. Then move closer from there, I actually felt that as I started to be sort of close, without establishing the roles, that didn't work so I had to come out, and go back in again. (Peter)

The other stories concur with Peter's. These men's gendered identities are much more contingent, fluid, and flexible, than anticipated, perhaps even more than the participants themselves would prefer. Consequently, the positions they adopt while teaching, take on a specific nature and significance, *vis-à-vis* the Gender Order. The data show their masculinities being highly individualized and multiplicitous, while simultaneously being subjected to constant reflexive re-ordering, in response to real life situations they encounter. Alan's comments are indicative; the position he takes and the self he projects is dynamic;

DAVID: Some people are very...sort of macho

ALAN: I suppose it depends on the situation again

DAVID: Yes

ALAN: If you are out with the lads you are going to be alright, ladn' it up but if you are with the girlfriend or the family or you are with your really close friends it's going to be different - just varies

DAVID: So it can vary a lot

ALAN: Oh I think so yeah

DAVID: In terms of behaviour - and if you act would you use it accordingly?

ALAN: Oh yes I think everyone does

DAVID: Yes I think it is something which you do vary, but to a greater or lesser extent you know what I'm trying to say.

ALAN: I think I am quite laddy because you know quite, I think I'm probably like that with my family as well but not to the extent I am with mates.

DAVID: Yes - so in terms of teaching and stuff it's the same thing is it?

ALAN: Yes - well I think kids respond to you if, not if you are a lad, but if you are a bit more jokey a bit more down to earth, they respond better than if you are like really stand-offish and got nose in the air you know what I mean - all depends on the children as well?

The implicit and almost casual way in which Alan engages with his masculine identities is perhaps a testament to a changing social order, where the representation of the self is bound with a reflexively modernizing social order, in which a higher degree of reflexivity is required for daily life and particularly so, for institutional life. Thus, their masculine identities when teaching are far more tempered and calculated affairs, with these men acting reflexively to fit into social situations or equally to create specific results and effects through using particular facets of their identities. The key point here though is Alan's last comment 'it all depends on the children as well,' which indicates he is reflexively ordering his approach according to who the children are and how they might react. It perhaps also illustrates the pertinence of one of Shilling's (1999) key contentions with Goffman's Interaction Order, that it insufficiently theorizes how the Interaction Order changes over

time and across social location. It is clear from the above comments that these dynamic performances of the masculine self are highly transient sets of scripts.

There is no intended inference that these actions are *entirely* conscious undertakings at the time of their occurring, rather, they made sense of in these terms - *a posteriori*. The acts themselves appear as almost automated engagements with situations, interpreted and modified for subsequent social interactions. The above only makes sense by drawing together some of the basic insights made so far in this analysis. The reflexive selection and ordering of gender identity draw strongly on internalized, dominant schemes of dispositions of the habitus forged from years of successful 'practice' in sport and PE and made sense of by the construction of a prevailing narrative of the self that defines the body-self relationship. These factors are quite literally littered with learned vocabulary from gendered Interaction Order 'scripts,' for how to be a man in different contexts, including teaching PE as discussed above. In the general sense Trevor is conscious and reflective of his masculinity;

It's like, okay I'll give you an example; it's like my friend; one of the ways he sees masculinity, one of them is to be with a lot of women you know what I mean, to go out on the pull and get lots of women like that and another friend of mine his way of being masculine is to go out and drink loads of beer, you know what I mean and maybe get into a lot of altercations. That's two ways that they associate that's two ways they see masculinity so that's, they radiate you know that's part of their image then, part of their self image and tied up with being a man for them. But I'm not quite similar, I don't think the need to go and get drunk or I don't need to go and sleep with lots of women, do you know what I mean, so it's perhaps not quite as forceful as image and I think that is they are two parts of society's image of men do you know what I mean. I mean I think you've got to stand in and be firm and be fair...I got my own masculinity I've said this to ****, I had this argument with **** because he said, because he associates being a man in one sort of way and I see it slightly differently. I think I don't agree with you know like society's idea of masculinity is not quite my idea of masculinity although I think society's (view is) valued but I think it's skewed do you know what I mean? (Trevor)

Trevor definitely positions himself outside of *these* notions of the dominant, hegemonic ideology of masculinity. However, at the same time, as a teacher, he also subscribes to some of the discourses associated with these same forms, pointing out;

TREVOR: Yes I think I'm very competitive, I see that as being good, and I do want to be successful.

DAVID: Would you pass that one on - that attitude, onto children?

TREVOR: Oh yes, I have been criticized for that really, being over competitive, especially the secondary school which was trying to shy away from competition but I don't see the point - life's all about competition. At the end of the day kids need to learn that and although there are winners and losers in every competition more than one competition to compete in you know what I mean so you might lose at something but you might win at something else. It's important for kids to learn that they are going to have to be competitive, they are going to have try and win in some areas because if they don't then they are going to struggle. Although at the same time you have got to make sure they don't label themselves as losers before they have even started.

TREVOR: And I am very opinionated as well I think that was a thing, perhaps quite a masculine thing to get your opinion across and think your PE is the right one.

Trevor's sense of self draws selectively on certain aspects of a hegemonic masculinity that he feels compatible with, where competition and winning are a positive part of himself that he would like to pass on to all children. But there is also recognition of multiplicity, when he says 'and think your PE is the right one.' He also moulds his sense of self around his perceived need for discipline, commenting;

A little bit - because I am a PE teacher, because I am like quite young and got no hair. I got like, I got a jacket that I used to wear to school, I mean so I think you're quite cool sort of thing, which is nice but then again you got to go in the classroom you got to be able to have that discipline as well, you know what I mean, it's good to be cool, but I also realize its weird cos like I was doing the aerobics class and some of the girls are like all giggly and that ...But you are Sir do you know what I mean, they see you as a teacher and it's cool. (Trevor)

In specific teaching contexts these men must instantaneously present a coherent sense of self in response to the particular Interaction Order they encounter. What is of central interest here is that certain forms of masculinity are becoming elevated as key choices while other possibilities become relegated, effectively meaning that they are both able and required to position masculinity in certain ways; Something that Trevor is conscious of;

Everybody teaches differently I think; but it's like continuum and obviously you've got masculine of masculine which would be male, obviously wouldn't be a female, but there would be some women that maybe teach in a more masculine way than some men; you know there's a whole range. You know I put myself towards that end of it but not at that extreme. (Trevor)

From a discursive point of view, these positions converge around what Connell (1995) has referred to as 'complicit' masculinities, and this situation has serious implications for the reconstruction of the 'Gender Order.' In other words, even if they do not consciously set out to maintain a Gender Order or fully subscribe to the set of values inherent with the

ideological discursive forms of hegemonic masculinity they are able to benefit from it, something also referred to by Connell as the 'patriarchal dividend.' Shaun's comments depict how this happens in his teaching;

I suppose at times I am, like every male would be I'd have thought and in fact, probably, looking back on what we've said there's probably quite a few things I would say in an all boy class [that are] things I wouldn't say in a mixed class. So in terms of that I will probably would change. But, I do in rugby you know because you get into tackling you're going to be a bit more aggressive in what you need to say to help to tackle things. (Shaun)

The implicit positioning of himself and his pupils is clearly based around gender assumptions and Shaun makes changes and softens his presentation of masculine self accordingly. Shaun's modifications are not just linguistic but also pedagogical, implicating the way he teaches as well, depending on what gendered qualities are inherent in the activity he is teaching;

Having said that I never taught girls rugby - it is an aggressive part of the game (tackling) and you probably still probably, still deliver it in the same way...Yes so I probably wouldn't, couldn't be different then just because its an aggressive nature that's out of the sport. (Shaun)

The consequences of these practices and positions are that the teacher adopts a position complicit to the Gender (interaction) Order, in which he neither addresses, promotes, nor challenges the assumptions underlying the pedagogy, field of sport, and particular practice utilized. Implicitly, the girls receive a feminized approach and the boys a masculinized approach, according to the activities they are doing. It seems all parties assume and expect this positioning as Derek's experiences pay testify;

It was different, they wouldn't go, I don't know they tended not to go off tasks so easily, as much as mess around but it was more the issue was to get them on doing something and to motivate them. But, yes you had to deal with them a bit more sensitively I think -you had to be quieter in your teaching. When you are talking to them and plenty of praise for the ones that weren't so motivated, it was just and teach in a slightly lower tone perhaps I don't know. That was the impression I got. (Derek)

Yes, I saw that with my mentor especially, the more caring side, with the girls you would tend to have to be a bit more mothering, um not so macho then perhaps, tone that down. (Derek)

Yes but there are boys there who would respond better to the quiet word the quieter approach as well - whereas with others you have just got to get on top of them, you have got to be a bit macho; to get you know. (Derek)

The obvious difficulty is that pedagogies of differentiation include altering your teaching approach (which includes the presentation of the self), however in all these examples the rationale for these approaches is gendered assumptions, subtle yet pervasive affiliations to a Gender Order. It is important to recognize that all these teachers are trying their best to teach all the children effectively in the circumstances. Nevertheless, the positions adopted are complicit to the status quo and even in the last example the difficulty remains where some boys are in danger of being feminized due to 'softer' treatment (even if this is what they need). The symbolic ramifications of these actions are highly significant contributions to the legitimacy of a Gender Order. Conversely, the girls are often encouraged to learn masculine traits;

It is nice to see girls who come out of themselves though. Especially in the mixed PE situation, they challenge the boys and they adopt some of the characteristics that perhaps they have got. (Derek)

For Derek as with Trevor, the motivation is to pass on their valued experiences and understandings. While, this is not consciously gendered, encouragement to all to participate and perform, implicitly position the boys' characteristics at centre stage. Therefore, the Gender Order, through the positions it advocates, have a self-perpetuating quality. Alan's observations further demonstrate this self-perpetuating quality of the Gender Order with his interpretations of gender informing his conclusions and consequent actions;

ALAN: I think it is more difficult to teach girls full stop, because I don't think they are as motivated to do sport as boys are. I had them doing athletics and we had to do timed things for the school I didn't agree with it we had to do timed things, right we are going to do 400 hundred metres and like they all start off, and the lad, you get like best ones which keep going and the best girls like...but I mean and then you get the worst ones which just walk and you couldn't motivate them and girls particularly - just couldn't motivate them I don't know why it was but they just didn't seem nearly as wanting to do sport as lads. (Alan)

DAVID: Can you not sort of gee them up in the same ways?

ALAN: At the time I just found them totally unmotivated, I did like for athletics especially, when it came to tennis which I was doing, girls loved it everyone loved it and because it wasn't, you wouldn't measure yourself against everyone else because they were just playing one to one, or two on two, playing with your mates quite sociable, it was nice, I think that is better to teach them that anyway, doing athletics didn't want to do it, if you did swimming again they loved it so it all depends on what you are doing with them really doesn't it?

Alan positions the girls' gender as the defining reason for their motivation or lack of it, illustrating how the observation of the girls involvement is actually an observation of the Gender Order in operation, in generalizing to the 'girls' and their interests (or lack of them). Alan equally adopts a complicit position towards the gendered nature of interest, motivation and participation. It should be qualified in his defence that he agreed with 'the girls' that some of the activities they found de-motivating were in fact, uninspiring, nevertheless, the dualisms remain and the positioning results as a consequence. Alan's status remains complicit to the Gender Order, although there are signs that his association with their alienation leaves the scope for modification into something more constructive, given the circumstances.

Although as fully qualified teachers they might have less pressure to 'conform' and can experiment with alternative approaches and project other identities, these are fraught with risk. The potential professional identity disruptions of going against the expectations of stereotypes evident in the gender Interaction Order are strong and the resources from which they might draw appear to have limitations imposed by expectations of gender norms. A dominant masculine identity forges itself into and onto the body and self through practice, making identity not only something that one has, but something that one is (Bourdieu, 1984). Derek, for example, is implicitly conscious of the dominantly masculine nature of his own embodiment and its potential impact in confirming expectations of some children; 'I think some people see me sometimes and that switches them off perhaps - that's what PE is about [you need to be like] this.' Therefore, to be yourself is inherently problematic in a gendered sense.

Complicity to dominant masculine forms, whether it is strategic and temporary or more enduring, serves to reinforce and reproduce a Gender Order in PE and sport. The dilemmas highlighted in these extracts raise questions over how we view notions of complicit masculinity in PE and Sport. Other social factors such as class, ethnicity, and ability, appear to make alternative masculine identities possible. However, when these identities intersect with the social context of teaching and the hegemonic masculine dispositions, forged in and through PE and sport, these teachers appear to move towards forms of strategic compliance through the adoption of complicit masculine teaching identities. Therefore in teaching PE, complicity to hegemonic masculine norms appears to be dynamic and context dependent. We need understandings of complicity that can discriminate

between dominant masculine teaching identities that are either strategic (such as with Derek and Joe) or more enduring.

Connell's (1995) framework remains a valuable tool for unlocking the relational power positions teachers adopt, so long as it is individualized, a shift that recognizes how individuals position themselves and get positioned very differently in the Gender Order according to social circumstances. Moreover, the dividing line between marginal, complicit and hegemonic masculinities is a fine one. Male teachers are likely to move between displays of dominant masculinity and other forms. From a poststructuralist position, these men have many alternative masculine identities. This perspective allows us to view the relational dynamics of masculinity with more fluidity. We might then see these men as teachers who are both encouraged and/or choose to exhibit combinations of hegemonic, complicit, subordinated and marginalized masculinities depending on their reading of a specific situation.

However, in spite of their reading of the context, how many choices do these men really have to project alternative masculine identities? There seem to be two social dynamics that create and sustain this dilemma: Firstly, as a result of long term personal investments into the dominant masculine arenas of PE and sport, their identities are strongly ingrained with these characteristics by the time they begin Initial Teacher Education. Although Derek and Joe position themselves as intellectually apart from a hegemonic masculine identity, in teaching, their strongest dispositions are those which guide them strongly towards a complicit masculine teaching identity. Secondly the gendered Interaction Order in evidence seems to demand either 'dominant' or 'complicit' performances from these men. This 'dilemma' will be the main focus of discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION: LIVING LINKS AND GENDER RESOURCES IN TEACHING PE

The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise (C. Wright Mills, 1959, p. 6).

6.1 STORIES OF REPRODUCTION AND CHANGE: LIVING LINKS

Sparkes (1998) contends;

The neglect of the lived body in attempts to understand PE teachers is surprising. This is particularly so given Synnott's (1993) view that the body is both the prime symbol of the self and the prime determinant of the self, which means that as the body changes so does the sense of self and associated identities (Sparkes, 1998, p. 172).

Without exception, all these participant's bodies and selves have been shaped and refined through successful engagement in competitive masculine sporting arenas. These conclusions are consistent with Bourdieu's (1993) own discussions on the development of a gender legitimate sporting habitus through education and sporting fields. While involvement varies, all of their bodies are physically developed to accommodate performance in male oriented sports and are practically skilled in the major male associated sporting disciplines such as rugby, football, basketball and athletics. Despite the variation of level at which they compete (they all compete), a collective understanding of sports participation is of enjoyment, competitiveness, self discipline and control as a means to achieve self-fulfilment, self-esteem, self and social identity. There are strong parallels here with Sparkes' (1998) work on the bodies of PE teachers. Their embodiment symbolically expresses many physical dispositions associated with hegemonic masculinities, male power, masculine aesthetics, rationality, dynamism, ambition, determination, discipline and control. They are conscious of, and mostly happy to be, sporting role models, the *capital* they demonstrate and legitimize

is of dominant male sporting role models. As embodied individuals, these are then strong representatives of a Gender Order that draws on historical stereotypes of the male PE teacher-as-sportsman, for its idealized form.

Unconsciously, all (but one) of these men had positive experiences of PE. They also formed 'special' relationships with one or more of their PE teachers and were members of a physically able peer group, when at school. Elsewhere, Brown (1998) has described this phenomenon as the 'inner sanctum,' she comments, 'they are a revered group who are frequently described as 'the boys' and are equated with a particular hegemonic forms of identity' (p. 83). Here, the reproductive links are stronger than I had envisaged might be the case, stretching back to primary school PE teachers and ranging from the symbolic icon of the strong, knowledgable, competent male teacher to a role model to be emulated closely and to learn specific skills and experiences from. As Salisbury and Jackson (1996) concluded similarly, 'boys' lives and development are undoubtedly influenced by significant men' (p. 283). As the data show, these men, are ontologically linked to 'significant men' in their lives, not just symbolically or via some romanticized, recollection, but in a living sense embodying key features of their habitus and their discourses including such things as how to define and behave with 'good' pupils, 'bad' pupils, how to control a class, deliver 'key skills,' as well as which skills are suitable for boys to learn and so on.

While the specifics of these connections are interesting and warrant further study and 'mapping' in their own right, the focus of this discussion is on establishing that there *are* links reconstructed at the level of the masculine habitus. In the sense that Bourdieu (1993) might have intended, these men have, through practice and more specifically through *mimesis*, successfully internalized the 'body techniques,' dispositions and can engage legitimately in similar masculine practices and performances as their former teachers, mentors, fathers or coaches (significant other sporting males). These experiences echo Jackson's (1990) own in his autobiographical account of how he masculinized his body through school sport;

From my present standpoint I can now see that these brutalized, and brutalizing social relations become naturalized in the male body through years and years of exercise, practice and habitual relations. The assumption of superior strength, aggressive force and competitiveness in some men seems to be a 'natural' expression of warrior instincts until we attend more closely to the social processes that have embedded this compulsive masculinity within the body itself and our taken-for-granted ways of relating to it, and other people's. (Jackson, 1990, p. 210)

Like Jackson, these men have come to possess a masculine habitus that gives them legitimate physical capital in sporting fields. The connection between past generations of teachers and coaches, and the present has been maintained by these relationships and practices through a set of masculine *dispositions* which act as resources that these men bring into teaching PE. The potential, to pass on similar dispositions to their own pupils remains ever present, and highly likely; thereby representing a re-constructive socialization process or living link.

In addition, drawing on Frank's (1995) heuristic of body-self relationships their narrative understanding of their own masculine selves is strongly configured around notions of *ability*, most of which are *biologically* justified. These relationships, when viewed as a part of their masculine sporting habitus, suggest an orientation to the self and others, which, although not exclusively the domains of dominant masculinities are undoubtedly derived from their ontological perspectives. The combination of biological understanding of ability and hegemonic ideologies of masculinity, connects these men's sense of male sporting self identity with wider dominant configurations of masculinity, a way of being in the world, and a way one must be on occasions, to sustain one's sense of self. The core of this body-self relationship revolves *around control and discipline of the body*. This set of relationships between body and self, gives cues of how to react to the problems of the body's contingency in everyday life such as injury or failure - but it is a fragile relationship.

At such times, these narratives are drawn on to *regain control* of the body, instead of accepting its contingency or weaknesses and change the body-self relationship. As the doorways to top flight sports careers begin to close, or are prevented through injury etc., the ability narrative is sustained by trying to regain control in other areas such as teaching, coaching or by taking up other sports. Along with this the living link is reinforced by the *transference* of dispositions and narrative meanings from one experience or social practice to another. Most significantly however, is as Frank (1995) describes, in 'Lacanian' terms, the transference of dominant masculine forms; of embodied desire for performance, control and disciplined self mastery, from themselves onto (and into) their pupils.

In subtle ways then, the life stories of these men, provide clear cases of *structured compliance*, where the interplay between the reflexive self and the social, are also the interplay between the internal and the external. There is clearly a need for these men to 'fit in,' in gender suitable ways during learning to teach and in doing so, they exhibit forms of complicit masculinities (Brown, 1999). The social significance of this point is reflexivity:

On the one hand we see these men confirming those dominant aspects of their teaching identities to comply with the gendered expectations they often encounter - thereby confirming, rehearsing and embedding ways of being into their habitus that are socially legitimate until they can be drawn on seamlessly in social interaction. On the other hand, we see their actions reinforcing a silent and subtle gendered status quo to the students, to other teachers and local communities with whom they engage. In so doing they unconsciously keep alive and pass on hidden intellectual and embodied dispositions, about being a male PE teacher, a teacher, a professional and a man (and by relation, a women).

From a gender relational point of view, the pressure to comply in schools is subjectively real and pressing for these men; the mode of compliance is most often insidious, being unsaid and implicitly embodied. Frequently, gender compliance is very difficult to avoid given the dichotomies posed by meeting gendered expectations with affirmative alternative actions. Even being seen to cause ripples in the institutionalized Gender Order of the school can jeopardize their claim to masculine legitimacy. However, even structured compliance has its limits and allows some spaces for expressions of social agency. The question remains how much, when, where and in what form? Importantly, these men have the dispositional identity resources to comply with dominant modes of masculinity and *can* translate these into teaching approaches and practices. I don't believe this annuls the participants' agency for exhibiting alternative forms of masculinity in teaching, but it does 'narrow' its scope and likelihood dramatically, given their relative lack of embodied identity resources required to explore alternative approaches, a point that has practical implications that I will address in the following chapter.

Several of these men find that the 'fit' between their gender compliance and how they see themselves as men is by no means comfortable. Their response is to employ a divided masculine self. The division means they must learn to act in specifically hegemonic or complicit masculine ways even if they'd prefer to act differently. They all admit presenting a different (masculine) self, when relaxing with friends, with family, coaching, teaching PE and even suggest that they adapt the masculine self they present within different PE teaching contexts. This suggests that these men have *multiple masculinities*, different ontological modes of being, which they reflexively draw on to present the self in different performative contexts of their lives.

Multiple masculine selves are social performances constructed, sustained and legitimized through 'acting.' These teachers are learning a variety of gendered social scripts

during their experiences of being schooled and of schooling others. These are *total scripts*, not just intellectual discourses but gendered patterns of language, body idiom and emotional displays, each of which is infused with performative cues of tone, intonation, timing, use of space as well as content knowledge. Once learned, practised, and 'perfected,' they deploy them automatically to satisfy the 'gender appropriate' expectations of the audience. They learn these scripts through years of 'apprenticeships' in the field of sport and PE, from their own PE teachers, coaches, fathers, from teaching placement mentors and beyond. Because these gendered scripts are also embodied, and emotional, they provide a powerful performative link between past, present and future practice of PE teaching.

Gendered social scripts have important implications for our understanding of the reconstruction and modification of gender in teaching PE. Moreover, it is a key dynamic that requires future research to better understand the *internalization and incorporation of the gendered social scripts into the self*. Most of these men admitted acting teaching while simultaneously claiming to aspire to 'be themselves' when teaching. However given their expressions of multiple masculinities in their lives, it is far from certain *which self this is*. One interpretation of this multiplicity is that the modification of masculine habitus/self is an unconscious internalization of the social scripts mentioned above. With increasing proficiency at 'performing the scripts' they show signs of 'becoming the actor,' the script and the act become naturalized so there is no clear distinction between teaching self and social script they are performing - and with this complicity to the Gender Order and its reconstruction. Such a process has long since been recognized in other embodied disciplines such as the martial arts (see Brown & Johnson, 2000), where the techniques of processes of thought, emotion, and action are systematically modified and internalized until they deliberately become an unconscious part of the self, hence modifying it, but rather less understanding of such processes is evident in the field of PE and sport. Although ironically we all accept that we can 'burn in' physical skills.

Continuing the 'Goffmanesque' sociological metaphor of dramaturgy, the PE class becomes a gendered 'theatre' where masculinities and femininities are rehearsed, played out, reinforced or challenged. However, the acts and the play are 'real' with long term consequences for the actors - especially those who 'haven't learnt their lines.' The environment for performances of the gendered self is not, however, the preserve of the teacher alone. Rather, it is a complex interplay between the expectations of teachers, pupils, mentors, and student teachers that are mitigated by factors such as class, ethnicity, sexuality.

ability and gender. Indeed, both pupils and mentors have a major part to play in providing the impetus and perceived necessity of the gendered acts that these teachers testify to performing. If pupils are both acting out and challenging their own stereotypes, in so doing they are also challenging the teacher to respond, confirming or challenging existing beliefs and practices. As such the pupils might also be seen as *active agents in the social construction of gender*, further evidence for which is suggested by recent research by Light & Kirk (2000).

In addition to the pupils' involvement, connections might also be made to the mentors involvement in these men's professional inductions. It is fair to say that the mentor's involvement has been influential in gendered terms, whether it is through silent complicity to the Gender Order, or through their council, which actively supports or challenges it. As a reconstructed version of the master-apprentice relationship, it facilitates (indeed presupposes) the passing on from one generation of teacher to the next, the implicitly gendered knowledge of teaching PE. Regardless of our dispositions to *what* is passed on through these channels, the transference is an important process, and future work needs to explore this in some more detail. Furthermore, it coincides with research (see Templin & Schempp, 1989) which positions student/probationer teachers as apprentices who absorb the lessons of gendered behaviour in the classroom into a broader discourse of the 'pragmatics' of teaching in specific contexts, such as mixed or single sex PE, where practicalities invariably take precedence.

So, are we back where we started? Have we turned a full circle? Is the conclusion the linear reproduction of the Gender Order? What I am *not* suggesting is a clear-cut Foucauldian style process of internalized gender reconstruction in PE, where these men's selves become invested in the discipline of science, education and PE and then pass it on to their pupils in a straightforward linear fashion. Although the anatomo-politics of the body and its investiture into disciplines, is very much in evidence (i.e. it could be written and read that way), there is also a strong sense of agency and discontinuity.

What *I am* suggesting, is that the Gender Order is both actively and passively reconstructed through these mens' embodied selves via the process of becoming and being male PE teachers inside the evident ontological, structural, limits of social context. The presence of contestation and struggle here suggests that alternative ontologies are not only simultaneously present, but also possible, albeit currently being subdued by dominant gendered social process and gendered forms of professional pragmatism.

These apprenticeships, in my view, have the potential to transform as well as reproduce the Gender Order. Put differently, there is a juxtaposition, and simultaneity in evidence in which, on the one hand, there is largely complicity and reproduction - further analysis of which I have provided elsewhere (see Brown, 1999), and on the other, there are modifications in the nature of gender that these men are reconstructing, and perhaps even the nature of the Gender Order into which they are invested. These modifications involve subtle, but significant, shifts in the intellectual and embodied resources that these men have available to them and draw on to teach the subject. However, I am by no means suggesting any form of *fait accompli* with regards modifying the Gender Order towards a more inclusive and democratic social situation. The shifts are small, but they do represent, conceptually at least, the potential for resistance, challenge and change.

These stories do appear to illustrate the notion that gender reconstruction and change in PE occur concurrently. There appear to be overlapping processes of reproduction and change - mitigated by time, people and context. The interplay between the two suggest that reproduction and change are taking place *through* teachers such as these - but that the choices that they make regarding which sides of their masculinities they draw on in any given situation remain strongly mitigated by the pragmatic context of their teaching. In this environment, reflexivity of self comes to the fore and acting becomes the main medium for constructing a sustainable masculine teaching identity. The alternative resources they are taking into the profession represent change, but it remains insufficiently well ingrained in most cases to provide a real alternative resource to their pedagogical repertoires. To conclude, the thematic, theoretical analysis of the life history data has generated a series of connections and illustrations that might be summarised below;

- These men's masculine identities are strongly influenced by a series of positive embodied experiences of PE and sport - learning key dispositions from significant others/practices in their lives.
- The men here have multiple masculinities and use them reflexively in relation to the context in which they find themselves.
- The masculine identities upon which they draw in teaching lean strongly towards dominant and complicit types, although they often feel themselves to be 'different' - the resources at their disposal facilitate and pre-suppose this course of action.
- By their own declaration these men often lack the necessary alternative masculine identity resources, from dispositions through to narratives of self upon which they might draw to deploy alternative identities when teaching.
- In spite of this, there is evidence for both change and reproduction occurring simultaneously through these men's masculine acts. Although reproduction of masculinity in teaching PE for these men is more likely and change is haphazard and circumstantial.

- As such the men are exemplars of '*living links*' providing a bridge between past, present and future gendered dispositions.
- These links also provide *embodied connections* between the individual and the dominant masculine orientations of institutions such as schools providing the institution with continuity through the embodied identities of the teachers. I have represented the above in model 6.1 below;

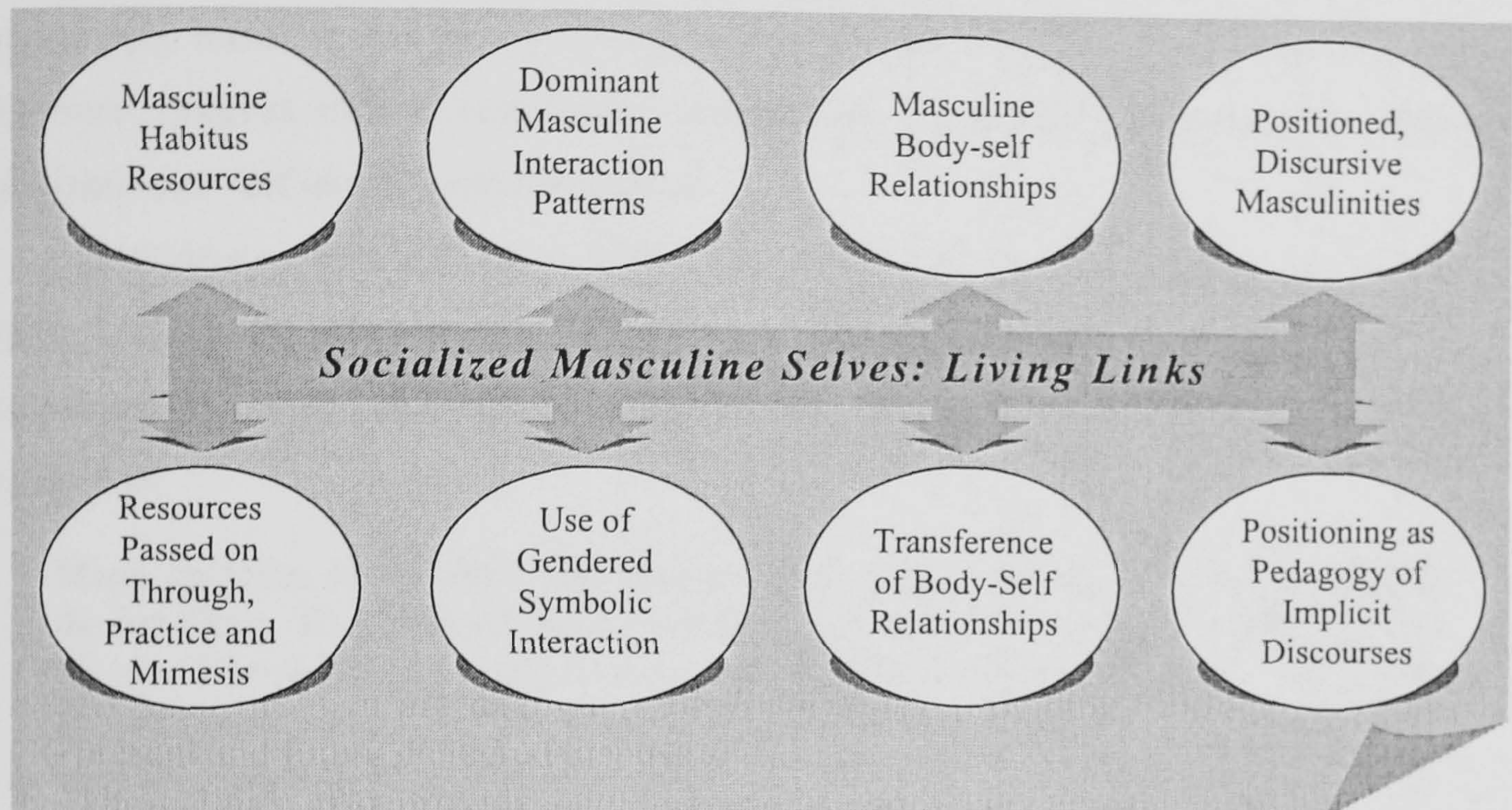


Fig. 6.1

With the above in illustrations and observations in mind the discussion will now turn to making some connections with the theoretical perspectives that were used for the analysis.

6.2 CONNECTING THE MASCULINE SELF, THE INSTITUTION AND THE GENDER ORDER

The institutions of patriarchy are means of men's domination of reproductive labour-powers and their products. Men dominate and oppress women and children through these institutions, yet at the same time by way of them men compete with each other; and in turn oppress each other and are oppressed (Hearn, 1987, p. 89).

In spite of their differences, authors such as Connell, (1987, 1995); Hearn, (1987); Giddens, Beck & Lash (1994); Lash & Urry (1994); Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992), and Foucault (1977), consistently agree there is something fundamentally significant about the relationships between the institution and the individual. All these viewpoints suggest a

dynamic and reflexive relationship between the two - and from here the impacts ripple into wider society, in the form of social reproduction and/or change. Further insights into this connection come to light if we consider, together, Pierre Bourdieu's work on habitus as reflexive and embodied, but ostensibly reproductive in nature and Giddens' notion of macro social processes extending through the institution to the core of individual self and back as convincingly reflexive but overly cognitive and lacking 'affective' dimensions. I sense the data here suggest that a conceptual connection is available through the reflexive mobilization of self identity and the *habitus*.

In Giddens, Beck and Lash's (1995) reflexive modernities we see, in my view, quite rightly, individuals internalizing modernizing processes and perspectives transmitted by institutions. A 'classic' example of this permeates the critical work of Illich (1971) who commented;

Many students, especially those who are poor, intuitively know what the schools do for them. They school them to confuse process and substance. Once these become blurred, a new logic is assumed: the more treatment there is, the better are the results; or, escalation leads to success. The pupil is thereby schooled to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new. His imagination is schooled to accept service in place of value. Medical treatment is mistaken for health care, social work for the improvement of community life, police protection for safety, military poise for national security, the rat race for productive work. Health, learning, dignity, independence, and creative endeavour are defined as little more than the performance of the institutions which claim to serve these ends, and their improvement is made to depend on allocating more resources to the management of hospitals, schools, and other agencies in question (Illich, 1971, p. 1).

When such perspectives are viewed in juxtaposition with the data in this study, these teachers are in many ways exemplars of masculine individuals living within the embrace of late modern, professional, institutional life, in this case the institutions of education, PE, sport, and (sports) science. The 'flows' of reflexive knowledge characterized by scientific fallibilism and circumstantiality are certainly in evidence - transferred into discourses and practices which challenge 'traditional' dominant masculinities, and in so doing, calling into question what it is to 'be a man' in professions like education and PE. The irony is, as Siedler (1997) reminds us, that science (the generative force of institutions), is itself, historically an inherently masculine perspective of the world, and the reflexivity of science is compelled by its own internal logic to call into question its own processes and productions of knowledge. In so doing this challenges the traditional masculine ontologies embedded within science,

(such as the social legitimacy of the implicit dominant masculine perspectives including 'male' notions of controlling the world, and exploiting or 'socializing' nature and the binary dualisms of gender). At a personal level, this tension is, as Giddens (1990) notes, often existentially troubling for many - but perhaps most particularly for men - who are having their previously unquestioned social legitimacy reviewed and problematized by the very 'rational' mode of thought that defines dominant masculine legitimacy.

Furthermore, institutions are by their very own constructions, products of a historically masculine *culture* and that culture remains dominated by certain dominant masculine discourses and practices. It is again somewhat ironic that, as Connell (1987) argues, 'The process of bureaucratization is central here, as conventional bureaucracy is a tight fusion of the structure of power and the division of labour' (p. 129). At the same time, Bourdieu (1993) points out that *the habitus* is, ostensibly, a reproductive social mechanism (see also Shilling 1993a) - one in which individuals come to *embody* the social dynamics of the institution, and in so doing reconstruct it. If individuals become the embodiment of the institution and one of the predominant cultures of that institution is a dominant masculine ontology - then there is tension created between the reflexive processes of institutional modernization, which are largely cognitive (including intellectual understandings of the present and future), and the encultured practical masculine aspects which form the 'traditional' embodied features of institutions (the 'lived' legacy or history of the past). These teachers appear to be living representatives of such a tension. This tension becomes even more pertinent if we entertain Shilling & Mellors' (1996) consideration of the sociological significance of emotions.

The 'ontological' focus of this discussion provides further theoretical confluences, for example, if we contrast notions of the habitus with notions of the nature of identity. In *The Transformation of Intimacy* (1991) Giddens considers the ontological nature of self-identity as a *protective cocoon*. He contends that self-identity is not essentially reality but unreality - it protects us from other forms of reality, (although what kind of social reality is *really real* Giddens says rather less about) this is initiated from basic trust constructed from interaction with carers and the surrounding environment when young, and appears consistent with object relational forms of psycho-analysis (see Edley & Wetherell, 1995). From the basic 'reality testing' practices of early childhood these individuals have learned to establish and differentiate between the self and others in gendered ways, e.g. The 'football party.' Giddens protective cocoon then, is also a gendered one and has a function of keeping away from the

self, other ways of being in the world, that might, destabilize the sense of self, if allowed 'in.' A good example is the disposition of homophobia, as Pronger, (1999) depicts;

For others however, the homo-erotic play of sort poses a terrible threat: It threatens their sense of who they are and their place in the world...They will react with fear, fear frequently laced with hostility (Pronger , 1999, p. 10).

How we protect ourselves, as social beings, needs much more sociological work, to accompany the current propensity of psychoanalytical examination, to make more sense of whether boys and men are keeping something out, keeping something in or indeed putting up a *barrier to prevent the connection between the two*. Consistent with poststructuralist thought, Salisbury & Jackson (1996) contend, language is one such barrier;

Boys use language as a shield to make sure other boys only see and hear what will be acceptable to ensure status as 'one of the boys.' To be seen as strong, cool and hard is very important for peer acceptance. (Salisbury & Jackson , 1996, p. 167).

Many of these gender lessons are strongly learned before the individual can understand what the term even refers to, as with the narratives of the men in his study. Bourdieu has argued in the Logic of Practice (1990) that the masculine habitus forms just such a protective cocoon of self identity, something he refers to as the development of 'belief in the body' - only it is not *merely* cognitive but simultaneously cognitive, embodied and I would argue emotional, providing an ontological security of the self in relation to others in physical terms. Masculine identity, forged through PE and sport serves such a purpose - stabilizing and offering solidarity to a particular way of being, acting, thinking, moving and in so doing legitimizing the symbolic masculine associations between thought, feeling, language and action, *and* significantly the habitus is drawn on strategically in social interaction as a means to create the protective defences to disrupt any other form of gender identity connections that might otherwise be assumed in social practice.

The data in this study show that for these men, the cocoon is distinctively masculine, providing masculine relationships to the world, and to oneself. The active lifestyles engaged in here have a strong sense of masculinity in them...male peers, the fathers, coaches and teachers figure as central supports, and of course the legitimacy of male activities that formed the centre of their life worlds. So the masculine self is constructed by these processes and protected from other possibilities at the same time. However, just as the masculine self is *protected* in an ontological sense, it is existentially fragile not only in the feminist psycho-analytical sense depicted by Rutherford (1988) as the failure to resolve the Oedipal phase,

but also more sociologically, that the self requires routines and practices through which to develop trust and security and these themselves subject to constant modification by the changing proclamations of science, disseminated through institutional modernization.

Change and modification, given these dynamics, is indeed highly troubling, destabilizing and just as likely to lead to resistance, as it is adaption of self. This leaves us with a conceptual confluence and a problematic: The body or rather forms of embodiment, are not readily changed by intellectual understandings, rather they are used protectively and institutions are significantly stabilized by the consistency of emotional and bodily orientations of its members (the issue of sexuality in the armed forces is another example of such reliance). The processes of reflexive modernization, which are taking place via institutions such as education, require change from the practitioners, who although affected by change at the cognitive level, are less able to make the commensurate changes at the embodied level of sensibility, or, *the habitus*. This is the central point of convergence, because the consequent actions of these individuals are caught somewhere between accommodating change and protecting themselves in order to maintain a stable sense of self in a changing world, a situation that leads to resistance and reproduction. The institution of education is fundamentally stabilized by the habitus it develops and passes on through its teachers and successful pupils, but like the individuals, stability acts as a barrier to change - which is also a pressing need. In Bourdieu's own terminology that equates to a rapidly changing *field*, that demands ever changing forms a *Physical Capital* and yet the individuated *habitus* that that generates this capital changes much more slowly - hence a dissonance. Therefore while change is undoubtedly occurring, so is resistance and reproduction of the Gender Order.

Considering these conceptual frameworks in juxtaposition, does I believe allow us to begin to articulate where these resistances are taking place and goes some way to suggesting reasons why at the same time. In spite of an intellectual understanding of gender, the habitus prevents easy and seamless change in the self. It also allows us to consider the nature of intervention that might be necessary in order to facilitate interruptions in the cyclical reproduction of the Gender Order in teaching PE. Clearly interruptions may also be focused on the reproduction of heterosexual emphasized femininities The key focus here is the *masculine habitus* of these individuals - understanding more about how the habitus is developed and modified represents a tangible strategy for the interruption of hegemonic

masculine identity that can rupture the continuity of the Gender Order in disciplines such as PE.

6.3 INSIDE THE MASCULINE HABITUS: BODY SELF-RELATIONSHIPS.

During the analysis, I have come to see another potential connection; between the thinking of Bourdieu's body Habitus and Arthur Frank's heuristic of body-self relationships, while perhaps problematic from the point of view of agency and structure suggested by their respective works - I still believe that a cross-fertilization of these ideas could be productive. The connection being that one's body-self relationship might usefully be seen as a component of the dispositions that constitute the habitus. Furthermore, the narratives within these body-self relationships might aid the stability and seeming intransigence of the habitus. These two points are worth developing a little here, although, I would qualify that at this stage they are not intended to be conceptually 'developed' arguments.

Firstly, the masculine habitus in evidence in this study is made sense of cognitively in the unconscious form of *master or* dominant body-self relationships and these can be seen in the narratives of self which emerge from social practice, interaction, and especially during epiphanies. The dominant schemes of dispositions in evidence, such as competitiveness, authoritarian discipline, physical and emotional control, coincide directly with Frank's (1996) body-self relationships and help to illuminate how individuals such as these teachers might make sense of their habitus - the interpretation of their dispositions takes place through forms of narrativization - clearly not all aspects of the habitus are picked up by Frank's heuristic, nevertheless, in significant ways, there are connections with a gendered habitus that *resonate* very strongly. The relationships between a masculine habitus indicated in the data and the solutions to problems of the body's contingency, which we all face are indicative of a particularly masculine set of solutions - this is most in evidence with the narratives of *control and discipline* that are expressed with regards to the body/contingency problematic. As teachers of PE these men not only fear contingency (perhaps shared by every-'body'), but also they go to great lengths to re-assert narrative control, even if this means instigating changes in their lifestyles and practices in order to achieve it. Similarly disciplined body-self relationships represent strongly masculinized dispositions of the habitus, and provide ontological stability between the masculine self and the emotional body-self-society complex. As a result of such dispositions contingency is an 'unwelcome guest' to the stability of the self - something which draws on wider symbolism of dominant masculine ontologies - the parameters of which do not need reiterating here.

When seen as components of the habitus, these solutions indicate that certain dominant body-self relationships help to define and reconstruct masculinity in teaching PE. The first of these would be the strongly *monadic* body-self relationship through which the individual defines himself as *alone* in confronting and 'overcoming' the problems of embodiment. The stereotypes of the 'distant' or 'detached' male PE teacher, the monadic tendencies, and the learned masculine dispositions are useful indicators not only of masculine pedagogies but also of the core approaches that these men are likely to draw on in their teaching, and perhaps, pass on to pupils.

However, the above connection does not and cannot by itself, explain how the data also show that these men also demonstrate other less significant body-self relationships (e.g. communicativity, dyadism). In response my second connection would be this: Dominant aspects of the habitus result in *primary* body-self relationships, which are then drawn on to provide narrative solutions to the body's contingency: However, at the same time, other body-self relationships are present, just as other forms of habitus are present, as secondary, under developed or 'suppressed' dispositions. In short, *rather than a secular, categorical and oppositional view of these socially constructed aspects of the masculine self we might begin to think holistically in order to acknowledge the presence of repressed/oppressed elements as well as dominant projected ones.*

For example, the strongly heterosexist dominant masculine relationship is clearly one in which we see emotional feelings are suppressed, repressed and discouraged in others through teaching and being taught, but it does not indicate a 'lack' of emotion. Intimacy, in an embodied sense is strongly regulated and reserved for specific activity contexts - this is not hard to see - to ask boys to hold hands during a dance class is risky, whereas, to allow them to come into 'intimate' bodily contact during and after a rugby or football lesson is seen as much less problematic in heterosexual terms. To ask the strongly heterosexual male PE teacher to initiate holding hands in Dance, is to ask the male teacher to demonstrate socially 'feminine' qualities, resistance and the ever present fear from homophobia are likely outcomes. Whereas in rugby, intimacy and strong relationships are fostered through the repression of 'Other' forms of emotional expression. Thus heterosexual bonds of trust and respect, sit precariously closely alongside mutual adoration, love and emotional reciprocity, as Pronger (1999) contends;

At the centre of a world that is supposed to symbolize and celebrate masculinity, and which in fact is supposed to endow men with a powerful sense of

heterosexual masculinity, is a fascinating homosexual paradox (Pronger, 1999, p. 182).

Developing a legitimate masculine habitus through sports and PE practice centres on body-self relationships which favour self discipline, self control and self desire, and being ostensibly monadic in its relationship to others, emotional communicativity are underdeveloped. The tension (and suppression) comes with the recognition that in spite of dominant masculine body-self relationships, there is also the presence and potential for mirroring, dyadism and communicativity (body-for-others). Of course the mirroring, dyadic and communicative body-self relationships are very much in evidence with these teachers - but connections with habitus allows us to consider the nature of what is being passed on and more importantly the relative unimportance that is made of alternative relationships with the self and others, in spite of their presence. If these teachers represent social reproductive living links then it is taking place discretely at this level, differentially passing on to pupils - legitimate masculine *configurations* of body-self relationships through practice.

6.4 THE CONDITION OF INDIVIDUATED MULTIPLE MASCULINITIES

At this point it is worth reflecting on Connell's (1995) work on multiple masculinities. In approaching this study (as indicated at the beginning), I had a clear belief in the condition Connell (ibid.) theorized as *multiple masculinities*, and their differential standings within a Gender Order and in the macro picture; I still do. During the study however it has become increasingly clear that men and women as individuals cannot be categorized unequivocally as marginalized, subordinate, dominant, complicit or authorized and in this I now strongly agree with Peterson (1997) that the fixity of any such categorization is highly problematic. However, as I have argued elsewhere (see Brown, 1999), this does not render the heuristic of Connell's Gender Order obsolete, rather it calls for a modification of how we approach and make use of these categories. The individuation of society and our experience of it (for example, Beck, 1991), is a widely agreed phenomenon in reflexive sociological thought; It should perhaps come as no surprise that what this work suggests, that the condition of multiple masculinities also appears to be individuated. The data from this study indicate that these men *engage with their masculinities reflexively* and according to the context in which they act; in other words at different times they may be dominant, complicit, subordinate, authorized, or marginalized. Indeed it may be argued that at different times in their lives some of these men have experienced all of these positions. The significance and usefulness of these relational categories is not undermined by individuation, rather the fluidity of

gender relations, and the dynamic hegemonic nature of the Gender Order are highlighted and complexified. In many ways this view is commensurate with Gramsci's perhaps overused, thesis of hegemony in which he argues that hegemony, power and those with it, must always adapt and change in order to maintain positions of dominance.

Therefore, it would be misguided to portray these men as being 'jocks' or even 'super jocks,' products of the sporting male arena (see for example Sabo, 1980) - destined to *actively and consciously* re-create that arena and proud of the part they play; it would also be wrong to selectively force the data to demonstrate Brittan's (1989) now popularized thesis of masculinity in crisis (for example see, Susan Faludi's 1999 work in 'Stiffed'), but it is clearly appropriate that any such 'crisis' is dependant on circumstance and individualized. In some circumstances these men do experience crisis in others the same individuals experience positions of dominance and might respond with, 'Crisis? What crisis?' Therefore, it would be a narrow view to have emphasized them as disempowered subjects caught up in a male dominated world in which they are virtually powerless to do anything, but that which is expected of, and conditioned into them, thereby recreating a Gender Order they neither acknowledge, nor have any control of. To pursue any one of these possible courses of analysis in isolation would be to oversimplify the way in which these men make sense of and engage with their masculinities and to make the mistake of categorization, while removing contextualization to make data and theory to 'fit.' Even a cursory look at the interview data reveals evidence of all of the above interpretations in each and every story. We are left with a complex, in which dominance *and* subordination, certainty *and* insecurity, agency *and* structure etc., coexist - as series of gendered dualities.

Following the changing conditions of gender relations instigated by numerous waves of feminism in society, these men, it seems are far more context conscious and implicitly accept that displays of masculinity need to be managed according to the impact it may have for how others see them. This accords with Giddens' (1984) structuration theory that promotes the view that most individuals (especially highly institutionalized ones) are not cultural dupes, but highly skilled social actors operating within the confines of their knowledge and contexts *and* I would add *habitus*. Changing institutional structures have led to the gradual reform and re-configuration of overtly dominant masculine social and cultural structures, practices and rituals, as Connell (1987) contends;

Conventional bureaucracy is itself under pressure, the huge contemporary bureaucracy is itself under pressure...Demands for more efficiency, for decentralization, even for more democracy, can un-hinge parts of this

mechanism...this did not eliminate other masculinities. What it did was marginalize them: and this created conditions for new versions of masculinity that rested on impulses or practices excluded from the increasingly rationalized and integrated world of business and bureaucracy (Connell, 1987, p. 130).

Connell's account has strong connections with what Giddens (1998) has termed the 'democratization of democracy' - the superficial justifications of democracy in everyday life are increasingly subject to discursive scrutiny in institutional practice and pre-suppose, through their suggestion, the curtailment of dominant masculinities in institutional life. Nevertheless, while overt forms of dominant masculinity have (quite rightly) been rendered problematic, even anti-social, the suggestion here is that there remain other, more insidious forms of dominant masculinity in professional institutional life.

The perspective of individuated multiple masculinities brings to the fore how these men manage with their masculinities in ways which still allow them to draw on the *patriarchal dividend* (gaining social benefits from the legitimacy of masculinity). Therefore while alternative forms of habitus, body-self relationships and ultimately masculine positions and identities are *potentially* available to them, in order to benefit as men in this social situation they seem orientated towards either complicit or dominant masculine approaches when teaching. Theoretically at least, this suggests we take seriously the confluence of the Gender Order and Goffman's (1983) *Interaction Order*.

Indeed it would seem the two heuristics overlap in significant ways. In essence the Gender Order can be seen to encompass the Interaction Order in that gender power relations in society, sport and PE find their everyday expressions through the specific modes of communication embraced within the Interaction Order. Alternatively, Goffman's Interaction Order is broader in focus than the Gender Order encompassing the entire range of interactions in everyday life. What locks the two together, I sense productively, is the way in which each framework informs the other - consequently I would now consider these to be mutually *inclusive* frameworks. These men's stories have demonstrated that, in their understanding, they are not just social actors but *gendered* social actors drawing on gendered 'vocabularies' and 'scripts' to achieve and promote certain self and social identities, however in so doing they would appear to be predominantly reconstructing the Gender Order when teaching. This convergence raises a few further points.

Firstly the 'scripts' derive directly from the hierarchies of the Gender Order, showing signs of the silent yet dominant forms of masculinity outlined earlier (for example control, detachment, strength of 'character' and so on). Consequently, the Interaction Order becomes

a specific and important *channel* for the social construction of the Gender Order. From this point of view we might begin to trace linkages between the relative positions in the Gender Order (i.e. dominant, complicit, marginalized etc.) that these people adopt and their concomitant interaction performances in the classroom and elsewhere.

Secondly, as indicated earlier, my interpretation of the men's stories, is that condition of multiple masculinities is a prominent feature – but how might this be viewed in terms of the Interaction Order? In the Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1963b) Goffman took care to differentiate between the *regions* of performances, pointing out two clear distinctions; front and back regions. In context, these come to mean personal and professional lives or overlapping public and private domains. However this a simple split may not be enough to encompass the complexity of gendered action in reflexive modernity. Connecting the Gender Order with the Interaction Order, it seems does not need to undermine these fundamental public /private dichotomies, rather it suggests we consider adding others (or sub-set them). For example there seems to be a range of personal/professional situations that these men would seek to act differently in gendered ways, such as the all boys' class or the mixed class, coaching extra curricular sport, participating in their own physical pursuits, relaxing with friends or spending time with their family, partners and so on. In each of these situations the data show different understandings of the performances of the gendered self which are offered (and expected to be offered). Once again the variety of social arenas in which gendered acts take place need to be mapped to see how these correspond with positions adopted in the Gender Order.

Thirdly, the above connections suggest competent social actors expressing their agency in specific conditions mitigated by the social and cultural structural frameworks of their lives. Perhaps the strongest limitations on their agency, is that they select action choices on their perceived ability to carry them out successfully. This point brings back in the social and emotional body and *its* agency. The gendered interactions available to an individual would appear to be linked to range and nature of what Goffman termed 'body idiom' has been internalized at any given time and this point of course is suggestive of a masculine habitus and body-self relationships as a set of resources for the actor to draw upon. There is a dynamic tension between, on the one hand, the freedom to act in 'gender-less' ways and the constraints that society, and more importantly social and cultural institutions place upon any such action. But this tension is not played out merely in a cognitive sense but also in a strongly embodied one. In terms of agency and structure the

Interaction Order like the Gender Order, it seems, constrains as it enables, demands predictability at the same time as creativity, and presents identity security alongside identity risks. The opportunities for social reproduction and change coexist, but for individual gendered action, it would seem that institutional conformity and 'peer pressure' place strong limitations on interaction possibilities. Significantly though, whilst constrained by these orders, actors are *aware of alternatives*, and constantly modify their actions according to their understanding of what they can 'get away with' in ways which assert their self identities and satisfy their emotional response to feeling constrained in any given social context. Moreover, institutional reflexivity demands new forms of communication, very often laying these down in practical policy innovations, which further develop mediated types of interaction (Shilling, 1999) the 'code of conduct' being one example. Some of these connections suggest avenues for thinking about how it is that the Interaction Order in PE might change over time? For example what might be the long term consequences for the gendered Interaction Order, of women's increasingly legitimate participation in contact sports? Boundaries of 'acceptable' body idiom, use of space etc. are constantly being 'pushed' through people exercising the agency available to them, to express themselves as individuals through social interaction. Clearly, the above discussion implies much future research to develop relational perspectives of gender power and masculine construction in PE.

However, as Maxwell (1996) contends, one of the intended consequences of qualitative research is its 'practical purposes.' The practical discussion that follows implicitly draws on the premise of Giddens' (1984) 'double hermeneutic' in that theory drives our orientation towards the practical. Future observation of these changes then might modify our understanding of the theoretical and legitimization of the practical, in an ongoing and reflexive process. It is, therefore, an appropriate point in the study to suggest certain courses of action that might be considered in the practice of teaching PE as an outcome of the conceptual observations developed above. However these suggestions come with some important qualifications that I address below.

CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS: TOWARDS AN ONTOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The critical poststructuralist concept of 'subjectivity' has a greater critical potential for provoking inner and outer change in men than the liberal humanist notion of the innate, essential self (Jackson, 1990, p. 268)

7.1 SOME STRATEGIES FOR 'ONTOLOGICAL LEVEL INTERVENTION' IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHER EDUCATION

The final chapter makes some 'practical' suggestions that logically flow from the reflexive dialectic between conceptual consideration and empirical illustration. The 'practical' suggestions are not practical in sense that they deliver a cookbook style series of procedures applicable in every context and for every male and female teacher, rather it is a further exploration of how we might use some of the insights generated in the study to suggest possible connections between the subjective realities of teachers and the institutional world of teaching and teacher education. No claim of validity via empirical representativeness to a broader population is made intentionally, although I accept that the limitations of language when discussing reflexive process does often imply just this, especially in regard to the unavoidable use of the passive voice to express how individuals may be acted upon, and how the reference to the subject often implies a broader scope than the sample. Therefore, I attempt to follow Smith and Deemer's (2000) advice and avoid the language of discoverer, as it implies I have somehow tapped into some *really* real reality. Rather I engage in what might be more accurately termed reconstructions or interpretations. In defence of this 'act of reconstruction', I would contend that the discussion here be judged in terms of a series of empirically informed conceptual conclusions and as such could said to be conceptually rather than empirically driven. From here it is perhaps less problematic to state that the

discussions do indeed suggest a generalized conceptual *extrapolation*, conceptualising what Goodson (1995c) terms 'stories of action in theories of context' (p.74), and how we might draw on this understanding in order to encouraged change that might considered desirable in gender terms. That said I would in no way describe these suggestions as *fait accompli*, or worthy of employing uncritically without further empirical work. Indeed the nature of the suggestions are in my view best considered in terms of being a set of possible starting points for future study in this area, perhaps through the evaluation of a pilot implementation of some of these strategies. Indeed, I acknowledge, and would anticipate, that future empirical work would necessarily throw up many questions over the extrapolations of this work and prompt revisions to the perspectives, positions and practical suggestions forwarded here.

As an overview of the practical implications, I will argue for an *ontological perspective* to the treatment of masculinities in initial and in-service teacher education: By this I am referring to how we might address the gendered nature of reality as experienced by these and other male student PE teachers in ways that facilitate change at personal, and interpersonal levels and how these individuals interact with institutional structures and processes. This focus appears all the more pertinent given Williams and Bedwards' (2001) recent findings that there is a gendered generational and cultural gap between the perspectives of PE teachers and pupils with regards to desirable practices and activities that can be delivered through the framework of the NCPE.

Like Fernandez-Balboa (1997), I agree that there is a need for concerted efforts to change the prevailing culture of dominant masculinities in PE and school sport. I also agree that an approach, based around 'linking personhood and pedagogy' as he puts it, is broadly appropriate. Fernandez-Balboa's agenda, that the principled pedagogical processes in the three part form of dialectical reasoning, sociological imagination and moral action might feature strongly in any such intervention strategy. My qualification is that such a view needs to embrace more explicitly and centrally, the aesthetic embodied and emotional understandings of the self and their influence on gendered social realities. As Prain (1998) holds, 'the materiality of bodies (and their effects) also needs to be considered in any agenda for change' (p. 63).

More specifically, these strategies need to be pursued in the form of targeted habitus and narrative re-constructions developing real alternatives to those that have been socialized and normalized in these individuals through their life experiences to date. Social awareness/change campaigns of empirical rational types - largely fail (when they are *seen* to

fail), do so precisely because they neglect to account for the importance that should be placed on embodied, experiential dimensions of the self and self identity through which individuals make sense of cognitive abstractions, such as gender in terms of their own ontological understanding of the world. Classical Durkheimian structuralist sociological accounts of a 'collective consciousness - a collective body of ideas, values and norms' (Walsh, 1998, p. 19) remain important overviews in any attempts at social change, but potentially too functionalist, utilitarian and reproductive to provide significant empowerment at a personal, subjective level. If change is to be more subjectively meaningful than the acquisition of what Sparkes (1990) refers to as merely the acquisition of 'strategic rhetoric' and 'coping strategies,' merely 'being aware of,' knowing, or even 'understanding' intellectual/cognitive constructs is insufficient to engender change in PE, especially if those issues are taken up and interpreted by individuals because of a sense of alienation; i.e., 'not to do with me' or even more frustrating, forms of disempowerment 'what can I do'? The subjective approach advocated here addresses an ontologically approached series of *strategic interventions* and are underpinned by Sparkes' (1990) work of the 'subjective dimensions of change'; the viewpoint being that real change happens only at the *deep level* of the subjective self and this *critically* includes taking the sociology of embodiment seriously.

Approaching change from an ontological perspective means addressing deep level subjective changes and are more likely to help individuals accommodate and instigate change in public life, rather than resist and prevent as is so in evidence with the progenitors of anti-feminist backlashes (see for example, Bly, 1990; Lyndon, 1992; Thomas, 1993). Therefore, embodied, dimensions of the self need to be addressed, to aid the interpretation and application of sociological insights by individuals. Furthermore, I would add that epistemologically and pedagogically, the process of innovation is not sufficiently addressed by fragmented or 'compartmentalized' approaches (for example a small unit of work or a solitary gender focused 'module' on a degree course), for reasons that Wright (1998) points out;

Gender becomes isolated and rarely raised in relation to teaching practice. It particularly becomes the province of women and the feminists on staff and so further marginalized (Wright, 1998, p. 17).

An ontologically *holistic* approach might begin at the outset of Higher Education courses and PGCE ITE and permeate all aspects of its own structures and practices. As Morgan (1992) reminds us academic communities in higher education including sociology, and even

the sociology of education community (Delamont, 2001), do not always practice what they preach in gender terms, with forms of discrimination and dualistic thinking still very much in evidence in institutional practices and discourses on gender. Similar concerns need to be raised with ITE and in-service training as well. In practice, an ontological strategy means addressing systematically how male PE teachers as individuals, *make sense* of the world in dominantly masculine ways and inculcate this understanding through their own PE practice. Such an approach, I contend, concerns recognizing PE teachers as Living Links and then targeting the reproductive elements of these linkages through *personalizing and subjectifying* Teacher Education with alternative, complimentary ontological perspectives. Three areas flow from this understanding: The first is the *personification of abstract knowledge and discourses* - where the delivery of educational knowledge needs to be subjectified to promote personal positioning and engagement; Second, is to address 'states of embodiment' by viewing the masculine *habitus* as a *gendered resource* and develop strategic interventions to modify it practically. Third, concerns facilitating the construction of alternative personal and professional *masculine self narrative resources* which might facilitate the transition of self instigated by the first two strategies into the identities of male student teachers (See Fig. 7.1).

In summary an ontological approach to teacher education might seek to develop an

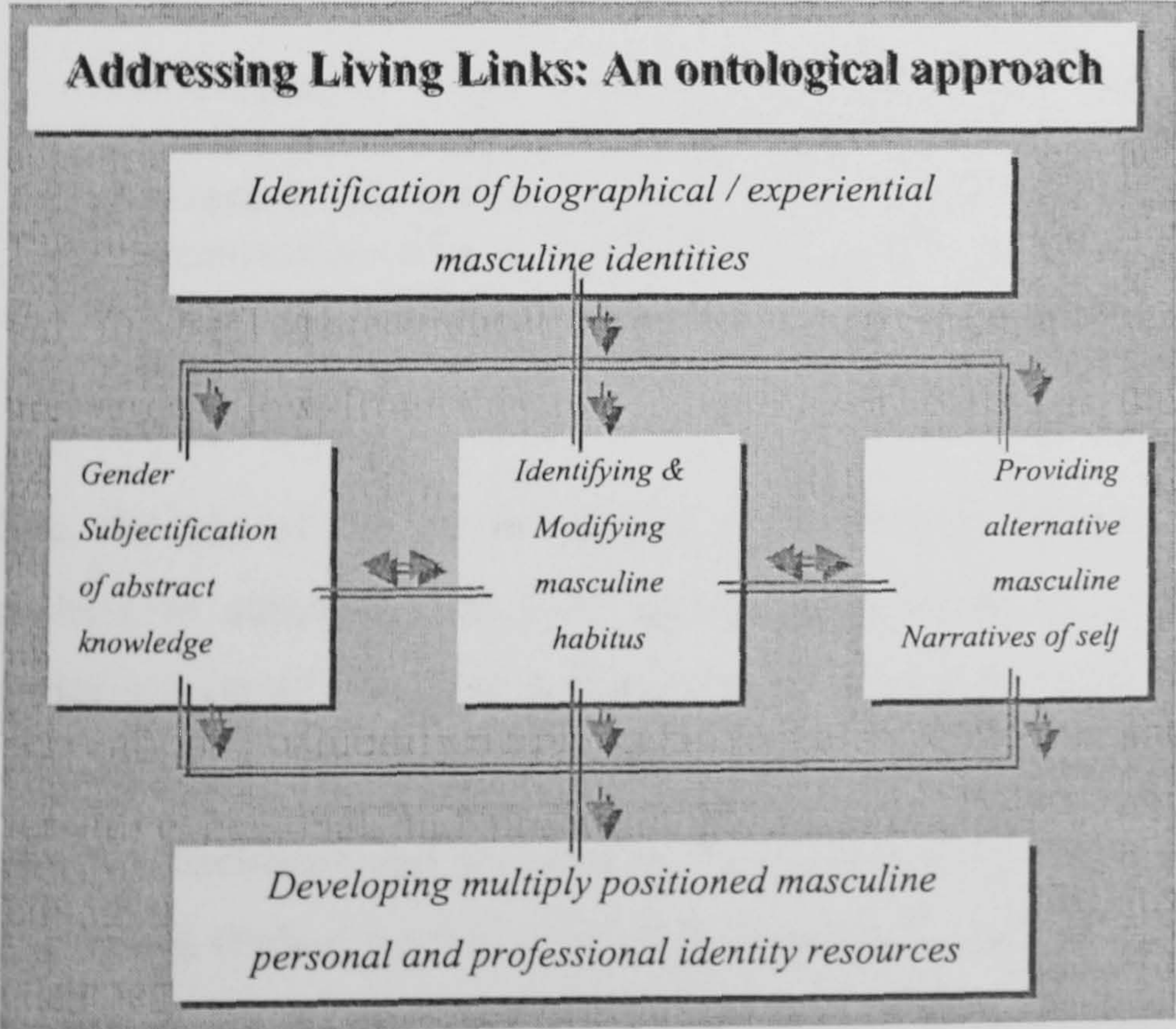


Fig.7.1.

awareness of the self as a *dynamically pedagogically positioned agent* in combating the insidious gendered processes of teaching PE and to provide strategies for action. Finally, as a 'would be' academic, I am conscious of the fact that many, if not all, of these implications have been addressed elsewhere in various forms (see for example Wright,

1998; Fernandez -Balboa 1997; Kirk, 1999; Sparkes, 1999) and that nothing suggested

below is claimed to be 'new thought,' merely a 'synthesis' of practical suggestions that emerges from this work.

7.1.1. Connecting Abstract Knowledge and Personal Experience: Positioning the Masculine Self

Reinforcing critical poststructuralist perspectives in Teacher Education might help to raise these students' awareness of the reproductive cycle of which they are a part and to render more transparent and less abstract, the discourses of gender, sexuality, power and oppression. As student teachers, they need structured encouragement to think critically about their own and others' modes of resistance, adaptation, adoption or contestation, in relation to hegemonic masculine norms they have come to embody, symbolize and employ. I am in agreement with Sparkes (1999b), that Knowles' (1984) suggestion for using life history work to promote critical reflection has much to offer here; Knowles contends that ITT courses might use applied life history approaches that focus on gendered life experiences to subjectify and personalize, what sometimes seem abstract gender issues. Elsewhere, Plummer (2001) agrees pointing out that 'life histories also have a strong affinity with education, teaching, learning...the life history provides an ideal vehicle for the educator to sway to and fro between life's specifics and theory's generalities' (p.246). More specifically and with specific regard to developing a situated awareness of one's own masculinities Jackson (1990) considers;

Autobiography stops being seen as individual self-expression and starts to become a part of a personal and social transformation in a critical-interrogation approach to life stories...At the centre of this interrogative approach is a critical deconstruction of how we were historically and socially formed as masculine subjects in a patriarchal/capitalist society and how that can lead to conventional masculine relations and identities being changed and reconstructed (Jackson, 1990, p. 263).

Here, the use of life stories would allow teacher educators to prompt student male PE teachers to contextualize their gendered teaching identities and establish when their identities become marginal, subordinate, complicit or hegemonic. Similar to the conclusions of Hickey and Fitzclarence's (1999) work with pupils of PE and sport, these forms of narrative disclosure and positioning may help to heighten sensitivity and extend the choices of positions student teachers consciously adopt in relation to hegemony in different contexts they encounter. As Jackson (1990) considers, intellectual interventions of the narrative kind can make considerable advances in raising awareness about the social significance of our

gendered selves in teaching. They can also help provide principles for decision making about alternative courses of action.

The nature of the Gender Order, and our own involvement in it, is such that cognitive awareness alone is only part of any such recognition. When abstract knowledge like that of 'the social construction of Gender identity' the Gender Order and theorized accounts of pedagogical strategy are delivered, it needs to be approached through the gendered subjective dimension. At each step of delivery, students need to be prompted to position themselves amid the plethora of educational discourses and practices and attempt to identify which positions/dispositions they hold currently, how this connects with teachers' life experiences, their beliefs, and how they approach teaching at practical as well as conceptual levels. Perhaps the most systematic way this might be achieved is through the accumulative use of a *professional induction journal* - in which students are prompted to reflect on the knowledge and experiences of the induction phase, with the specific remit to position

themselves in relation to it - thereby making these connections. These journals can then be the source of an analysis with peers, tutors and mentors, at specifically chosen times during the induction period and focus on a range of levels, from the technical, procedural, to the contextualization of abstract knowledge. The content of these journals might usefully include the foci outlined in Fig. 7.2.

Connecting the abstract to the everyday, cumulatively in the journal would also function to identify personal strengths and weaknesses that lead to a gendered pedagogy, uncovering gaps, weaknesses, trends and tendencies that will effect

Auto/Biographical Journal - focal themes

- Examining own beliefs concerning the nature/nurture debates in relation to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, class and ability through the writing of a short auto-biography.
- Reflecting on positions: The taken, the given and the assigned and making connections between gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, class and ability.
- Identifying problems with gendered 'activities,' teaching approaches and deconstructing theirs and others' gendered pedagogy.
- Identifying complicity in reproductive moments; e.g., instances of the gendered interaction.
- Dealing with the Interaction Order/recognizing the double binds of gender dualisms and reflecting on alternative courses of action (formulating alternative interaction scripts).
- Exploring their own *habitus* to highlight master dispositions and competencies and identify gaps and weaknesses.

Fig. 7.2

professional practice. This would serve as a basis for self-evaluation of 'remedial' work on the habitus leading to interventions in the form of additional 'targeted' practical and cognitive experiences, with a view to adding additional dispositions to the habitus. A point that leads to the second area discussed below.

7.1.2. Modifying the Gendered Habitus Resource: Depositing Dispositions through Practice

The gendered expectations placed upon PE teachers appears to remain pervasive. There is a very real concern for controlling classes, and trying to fit into strongly gender regulated institutions such as schools and PE departments. Children, other teachers (including mentors) and parents often demand strongly masculine displays from male PE teachers if they are to be considered legitimate and worthy (see also MacDonald & Kirk, 1996). Given this combination of factors, male educators are likely to be drawn towards demonstrating complicit masculine teaching identities, and so remain living intermediaries in the construction of the Gender Order existing in PE and school sport. How might alternative course responses and action be developed?

Dominant perceptions in teaching and PE and sport currently centre around 'pragmatism,' offering what is asked by schools and their consumers - parents, while simultaneously being seen to fulfil the requirements of the NCPE, TTA and OFSTED. Such pragmatism panders to the status quo, implicitly prompting regeneration rather than change of the Gender Order in the profession. PGCE programmes recruit those with specific (gendered) forms of social, cultural *and physical capital*. In the PE profession, this actively revolves around recruiting gender 'skilled' candidates. Successful recruitment requires prospective student teachers to be able to demonstrate skills in at least some of the gender appropriate areas such as Dance, netball and hockey for females and football, rugby and cricket for males on the logical basis that this is what they will most likely teach when in schools and the ITE process is so short there is little time for the development of whole new skill areas.

Therefore PE teaching attracts individuals because they can and do fit the 'model' of the NCPE, indeed in many cases, they are the successful products of it. The model (including mentoring) is essentially a reproductive, rather than transformative one and as an institutional structure, relies on the embodiment of individuals for its inherent social stability. The 'fit' between gendered habitus, physical capital and the 'field' of PE makes professional induction a more stable, certain, efficient process. From this 'living links' viewpoint, alternative forms of habitus and physical capital are of subsidiary importance. The practice of recruitment around skills brings with it traditional gendered socio-cultural 'baggage' in the form of experiences and lack of experience, and it is these gaps in experiences that give most cause for concern, if we are to instigate processes of change. Politically, there is no reason to believe why the above situation can or should change by

itself, although it may slowly evolve, after all in Bourdieu's (1990) terms what we are witnessing is the 'logic or practice' typified -successfully recruiting and developing a new cohort of students into consummate professionals - desired and successful forms of reproduction. The dilemma is that this process is one that favours social reproduction over innovation and draws implicitly on the living links of a gendered sporting habitus in so doing.

Ontologically, more change in habitus has probably occurred with regards to female teachers, with many female student teachers now being recruited with considerable experience in soccer, rugby union and other traditionally male associated practices - thus giving some female PE teachers a broader range of embodied experiences and understandings to draw on. Ironically, however, and this shift is typically from the traditionally feminine to traditionally masculine fields of ontological experience, doing little to challenge the underlying qualities of the ontological legitimacy of dominant heterosexual masculine ideology, nor, I would add, does it appear to challenge seriously, the generalized biological arguments for 'male superiority,' that continue to dominate the curriculum (see Brown & Rich, in press). By contrast, and in support of the above observation, the men tend to have experienced rather less innovation and remain 'framed' with more gender 'traditional' experiences - in spite of the *possibilities* of interpreting the National Curriculum for PE differently, in terms of what 'activities' might be important to have expertise in and experience of (Penney, 2000). A shift in this, could be a very positive step towards ensuring that the next generation of teachers has the kind of habitus, - a broader range of embodied, emotional dispositions and experiences on which they can draw and develop as they learn to teach.

Central to my argument has been the observation that without addressing the embodied, experiential dimensions of gender identity, cognitive changes to attitudes of gendered discourses and practices are likely to remain insufficient interventions, important though they are (see also Armour, 1999; Rossi, 1997). This is particularly so given the current time and resource limitations of the revised PGCE route into PE teaching in England and Wales (Piotrowski & Capel, 1996). Experiences of teaching practices are piecemeal and *ad hoc* - with some people not getting any experience of Dance and gym etc. prior to receiving their professional qualification. There needs to be the targeting or 'profiling' of individuals' habitus in order to ensure identified experiential 'gaps' are addressed both in university based sessions and on teaching practice placements. The current picture that

emerges with these men is that 'chance,' and choice, play a more key role in what student teachers actually experience; OFSTED preparation, mentor/student preferences, single sex school structures, collectively meant that a number of these men, did not get the opportunities to address the gaps in their habitus. I suggest that we cannot rely on the school placement scheme to deliver such experiences.

The gendered habitus is difficult to modify in ways that lead to certain outcomes. However, if we recognize the collective insights of theory, empirical work and the common sense observation of history (social rituals, lifestyle practices and so on) we might come to recognize that the habitus is constantly in the process of modification and constantly being moulded by social institutions such as schools, through the hidden curriculum. The ontological practice based perspective I am developing here is of a considered, individualized and strategic intervention that first seeks to identify missing dispositions in male physical educators as a result of gendered socialization patterns. The next step involves meaningful practical experiences that address these specific dispositional gaps.

The most obvious example is that of Dance - for many men of English ethnicity, Dance is stereotypically an effeminate practice and through a lack of experience, they have no dispositions on which to draw in approaching the activity, no gendered identity resources whatsoever. Expressive Dance, and more importantly the body-self/other relationships it constructs and draws upon, are quite simply 'alien' dispositions. In other words, aesthetic and symbolic uses of the body and expressions of the self, are not a part of the men's habitus. Consequently - such experiences need to be had in ways that allow men to deposit and modify the habitus sufficiently to establish dispositions that include the aesthetic dimensions of the body in movement. Of course, the term Dance, is, in many ways, a misnomer because as Gard & Meyenn (2000) have argued, Dance, 'all too often becomes masculinized and made 'safe' through association with athletic or sporting performance. Gard and Meyenn are quite right, but we do an injustice to the social significance of the body, if we consider these appropriations of Dance as merely cognitive forms of resistance to perceptions of effeminacy, although this may be so at the level of rationalizing one's emotional reactions.

At the level of the habitus, reappropriating Dance to centre on 'athletic' qualities allows men, teachers and pupils alike to 'physically understand' the activity, in terms of the dispositions they already possess. Therefore, extra Dance classes for male teachers that are based around sport and athletic performance may help to appreciate the athletic qualities of Dance, but will do little to effect the aesthetic gaps in their habitus - the real challenge is to

develop a habitus in male PE teachers that includes aesthetic and emotionally expressive dispositions towards and through human movement. Ironically, Dance or even gym might not be the most appropriate medium to achieve this, rather, the already masculinized activities such as football, rugby, and other competitive sports may provide better starting point to begin looking at the aesthetic qualities of refined movement performances, thus adding a more communicative dimension to the practice and understanding of these physical activities.

Similarly, other key dispositions might be identified and developed for their lack of significant presence in these men's habitus. These would most obviously include dispositions relating to control, empathy, intimacy, cooperativity and communicativity. Control of the body, the self, and of others, is a disposition strongly socialized with many dominant men (and women with a strongly masculine orientation). The need for control is an embodied disposition that varies hugely in its significance to different individuals. For some of these dominantly masculine men, loss of control embodied, emotional, intellectual, symbolic is a constant fear that leads to closing down 'open ended situations' in teaching. Such dispositions lead to forms of pedagogical authoritarianism that construct the enduring stereotype of the male PE teachers as 'strong' (see Whithead, & Hendry, 1976; Armour & Jones, 1998). What these men require in their teacher education is a greater awareness of the 'problem of control' as situated in their own and others' bodies and that they draw on their deeply engrained dispositions to address this issue. As a result alternative strategies; for example, negotiation, delegation, and developing networks of responsibility need to be articulated and practised to provide viable, alternative gender resources to draw on when teaching.

The dispositions of empathy, intimacy, cooperativity and communicativity can all be understood in terms of relating to others, expressed by Hochschild (1983) as 'emotional labour.' As I have argued, dominant masculine dispositions can be seen to develop monadic associations with others' bodies and selves, sealing and protecting the individual from the emotions of self and others. As a consequence, there is little evidence of an explicit disposition towards emotional labour in dominantly masculine PE pedagogy, although it clearly forms a major part of the daily process of gendered interaction. Male student teachers need to be prompted to consider their use of physical space and gesture when teaching, how they pay attention to the needs of their different students and whether they pay differential attention to these needs according to students' sex, gender or their individual requirements.

Once this disposition has been identified, the development of alternative habitus forming practices might be sought. For example, the use of critical distance, symbolically and physically, between teacher and pupil as a safety net, the acknowledgement of physical discomfort, pain or difficulty in pupils and the use of alternative interaction techniques in the classroom to communicate more empathetic, transformed relationships with pupils (similar to Giddens 1991, who argues for a new form of intimacy, in the sense of more democratic interpersonal relationships in social life). Such forms of empathy require transformations of habitus because with relatively narrow ranges of masculine ontologies, male teachers cannot hope to seriously appreciate, let alone, give value to, ways of being male or female that fall outside the traditional binary dualism of dominant masculine, subordinate feminine. This issue leads to the final practical area I wish to discuss which is the construction of alternative, new and flexible narratives of the self which are needed in order to change at the deep, subjective level.

7.1.3. Narrative Resources: Developing Reflexive Multiple Masculine Narratives of Self.

The third suggestion is more concerned with how these men might accommodate and integrate their newly acquired knowledge and dispositions at the level of self identity, so that they are comfortable with their revised gendered dispositions and positions. This involves addressing the narrativization of self identity in these men; the way in which self identities are constructed and displayed through the stories they tell about themselves. Further, the process of constructing narratives (through the re-ordering of life experiences) is seen as an important part of the process of constructing a self identity (Hatch & Wisnieski, 1995). In light of newly acquired practical dispositions and subjectified understandings of the social world, this re-ordering takes on renewed significance for ITT.

The suggestion here is that while these men, like many men, appear to have an openness towards gender equality and equity they have limited narrative resources *through* which to construct revised self identities (see Sparkes & Smith, in press). They rely heavily upon biologically based narratives of ability, as well as heroic and restitution narratives, to make sense of the self. Without alternative narrative resources - even carefully crafted, learning experiences in ITT are likely to be re-appropriated into masculinist frameworks of self narrativization, as the Dance example above depicts.

Newly acquired dispositional resources embedded into the habitus, will only truly become *resources* when the individuals have a framework through which to recognize, re-order and integrate these, adding new dimensions to the self. In some cases, this process of

re-ordering may well happen by chance; Peter's empathy for his brother's PE experiences, is a good case in point, but it remains an arbitrary and unpredictable epiphany, that needs specific attention if subjective change is going to be facilitated.

The principle approach here is to again make use of the personal journals outlined above to develop alternative understandings of the masculine self through learning to teach and encourage critical reflection on the way in which these men make sense of their relationships with themselves and others around them. This work would follow theoretico-empirical observations, suggesting the following areas of focus: 1) Contingency narratives and 2) Multiply masculine narratives of self.

In a profession that draws so strongly on the individual's own state of embodiment, resolving the changing condition of the body with self and social identity is a key concern (see Sparkes, 1999). This appears to be a particularly acute concern for men as the positive presentation of self in society is stereotypically bound with being able to present a stable and able masculinized physical presence. The narrative of self that cannot accept the embodied contingency is one which struggles to accept change and the very powerful narratives of ability on display signify such a fixity. Therefore, a re-framed narrative that begins to accommodate the changing states of embodiment that all people face is an essential, if difficult task for these male student teachers to address seriously, especially given the evidence here that as 'living links' they have a direct and intended influence on the body-self relationships of their pupils.

Contingency might be addressed by biographical reflection (through the journal /discussion approach) that focuses on *key or fateful* moments; that is, instances in the individuals and important others' lives where the body's contingency forces itself upon their ontological perspectives. The main objective here, is for these individuals to recognize the inevitability of their body's contingency in *positive*, rather than negative ways, and to appreciate that shifts in identity will be required throughout their lives and careers, as a result of the interplay between their bodies and the social contexts in which they find themselves. I would qualify that this is not an issue purely for dominant masculinities, but for everyone, but that it appears to be a particular problematic for those who are defined and define themselves (personally and professionally) around their physicality (i.e. male PE teachers/athletes etc.).

Embracing contingency, and multiple masculinities may also help to offset the other commonly observed phenomenon of *mirroring*, that is when the PE teacher, transfers their

own embodied desire onto their pupils, literally constructing the pupil's embodiment in their own image, and taking pride in their embodiment as in some way their own. Mirroring not only accounts for the PE teacher in these studies but also, fathers, coaches and key others and I now sense it is intimately bound with the individuals body-self/others relationships. The transference of embodied desire is bound up with an implicit domination of others and is a characteristically masculine response to the problems of the body's contingency - a form of transference of denial where the narrative of self becomes invested in others.

De-centring 'control' as a central component of the self narrative framework may help to rupture the links between notions of being an effective male PE teacher, being a good performer and related to this an 'adequate' and important male. Subscribing to the notion of living links therefore, the narrative of contingency in males, is a very important one to pass on to pupils. It can de-stabilize the myth of dominant masculinity as being associated with invulnerability and with this acknowledged, possibilities open for the reconstruction of flexible, multiple masculine identities that no longer draw on innate notions of physical ability, excellence and dominance as their defining characteristics.

The second narrative resource follows from the first and concerns the re-framing of masculine teaching identities around a multiple rather than a singular masculine identity. What is important in ITE for men like the participants is to be offered the insight that there are multiple ontologies available to them as men and as male teachers, and that alternative 'ways of expressing masculinity' can and should be legitimate in a reflexively modern society. Simply put, this involves the negotiation of masculine identity as a fluid and flexible part of an individual's identity, instead of a fixed, binary and negatively defined ideal.

Constructing a multiple masculine narrative involves de-centring dominant masculinity and recognizing as legitimate, alternative identities that they have suppressed because they are stereotypically subordinate or marginalized by the dominant masculine narrative that they were previously locked into. Perhaps most importantly is the recognition that masculinity is contextually reflexive: Coming to realize that through the presentation of self in everyday life, many men adopt *different* masculine identities that they feel are appropriate to the social situation. In many ways this is more a process of recognition than of 'reconstruction' as the data here show that these men are doing this already. Recognition of the fluidity and flexibility of the ways in which we might deploy our gendered identities allows for a more conscious and creative presentation of self in contexts that might otherwise be considered 'masculine identity threats' and provoke defensive, complicit, or

dominantly masculine displays. The process of recognition again involves structured autobiography and discussion with a focus on identifying moments when as men they adopt varied masculine personae for a conscious or hitherto unconscious social effect, to bring these to the level of the conscious self, and then begin to work on alternative actions in given scenarios. A reflexive, multiple masculine ontological framework allows men to be aware of, and experiment with, alternative forms of habitus, narratives and masculine performances.

7.2 REFLECTIONS ON A METHOD: DEVELOPING THE LIFE HISTORY APPROACH FOR FUTURE STUDY

As I have mentioned previously, conceptual focus of this explorative work requires empirical development. Nevertheless, as a result of this study I have come to appreciate the potential of the life history strategy in qualitative work. It has proven a powerful technique for gaining access to lived experience in socio-cultural work where we can observe the dynamic process of deconstruction and reconstruction of self and social identity and its points of connection to wider society. Additionally, it allows the possibilities for 'giving voice' perhaps like no other qualitative strategy. I am now in a position to develop life history work in several directions; that can be summarized as follows;

- Develop longitudinal and inter-generational dimensions to the life history strategy.
- Address the inherent limitations of text and voice.
- Explore life history and subjective change from the 'double hermeneutic' perspective.

Firstly, I will begin to explore *longitudinal network* life history approaches. The value of the strategy might be best illustrated by considering the concept of living links: With long-term longitudinal approaches we can trace the social construction of masculinity over periods of years instead of months, this would be likely to yield whole new frameworks of understanding, new levels of authenticity and glean greater insights into the reflexive processes of change rippling backwards and forwards between individual and collective patterns of embodied consciousness and subjectivities.

The approach might be further enhanced by *inter-generational networking*. Considering living links is again illustrative; by systematically sampling new participants (assuming they will take part), I would follow up on influential figures that emerge from the developing life history of individuals, and then bring these people into the study. We can then begin to build up a network of cross-referenced social linkages, that include, but go beyond, peers of a particular generation. This would allow for a detailed examination of

what is or is not passed on as dispositions and practices etc., when, how and why? Such an approach would open up the possibility of developing empirically based *genealogies of embodied masculinities*, and begin to observe them being passed on and modified between generations of people. In this way life history work represents a simultaneously fascinating and flexible strategy for gaining access to the 'social construction of reality' as it is experienced by individuals.

As a result of the above focus it would then be possible to conduct meaningful life history group interviews among groups of individuals whose life histories overlap at key moments. The key moments itself would be the prompt regarding the composition of the group and when it is to be conducted in the process of data collection. In this way the dynamics of the group interview could be brought to the life history strategy and are likely to facilitate powerful contextualized stories and collective reminiscences. The rationale is 'naturalistic' in that it would draw on the everyday phenomena of what often happens when a group of individuals who share key life experiences come together. The resultant social ritual of disclosure and collective reminiscence can provide dynamic and authentic insights into how such experiences are sustained and/or get re-worked among a group of acquaintances. It also has the potential to expose alternative 'angles' on any single story elicited by an individual participant as it is difficult to 'hide' a particular identity from friends or colleagues. Most importantly however, it would generate strongly contextualized data through the telling of shared stories.

The second area I will now be seeking to develop pertains to the inherent limits of text and voice. Goodson (1995b) cautions that any research strategy that has the giving of voice as its goal is fraught with the political problems, and that these voice giving research approaches are 'policed' in a whole variety of ways from funding opportunities, to openings for academic dissemination. More seriously, the publicized 'voice' might mean further disempowerment if these voices are seized upon by the status quo, and used against the very people such disclosure is intended to empower. Positioning participants' voices for public consumption is an uncertain and highly political process. New ways need to be found to allow these people to 'answer back,' to the texts that are written about them as well as collaborate with the ongoing analytical interpretations of the researcher. This is a difficult issue as many contemporary mainstream journals are still very wary of letting in such 'un-academic' practices. Nevertheless, I would be keen to explore this avenue of respondent

interpretation alongside the researcher's interpretation. The positioning of the individual in the life history process at least makes this a possibility in many cases.

Along with these challenges there are also other limitations of a more experiential kind. One evident weakness is that life history interviews cannot gain access to direct social action and so do not allow the researcher to compare reported, narrativized experience with experience as it happens, thereby creating a critical interpretation gap between representation and action. While the focus of life history and of narrative investigation is not directly concerned with capturing versions of experience as they happen (the value of which is a contested issue), there are instances where the comparison between what is said and what is done might be exploited to reveal more researcher based insights into reflexive masculine teaching identities, and how they are deployed in context. Teachers' practice is one such example, where the parallel use of life history and ethnographic approaches would be useful, moving this kind of work much more into a social anthropological methodological framework.

Moving on, I am in agreement with Sparkes (1995) who considers we might explore, 'telling different tales' as a medium of representation of our social enquiries. I now see this as an opportunity waiting to be explored. This work is, in a limited sense a modified realist tale, as it exploits the realist medium, with myself appearing and disappearing as author throughout, and on occasion, I have allowed the participants to speak for themselves (see appendix 1) hence invoking some limited narrative of self. Methodologically there is the potential for developing life history study in genuinely alternative ways, moving the boundaries of literary convention currently employed in the social study of sport and PE. I do not advocate the rejection of realist or modified realist tales such as this because they remain important mediums for the construction of social scientific knowledge. But, the rationale is simple; alternative tales can convey experience in powerful ways not possible through the medium of the realist tale; for example, an impressionist tale might be included, that disturbs the implicitly assumed unity established here between the author, participant and reader, and could usefully be employed to show shifting identities in the practice of teaching PE.

Equally more detailed narratives of self might be built up over time with participants to provide far more focused 'first' hand accounts of life history epiphanies. I might also extend the use of confessional tales to highlight my authorial imprint on the text I am producing. Similarly, I might have written myself into the data as another participant,

thereby including my own life history in the analysis, (see Brown, 1997). The opportunities to represent experience are numerous and need constant exploration and innovation. The interplay between the realist and alternative forms of storytelling can only help to evolve the strategy of life history story telling in the social sciences.

Besides the above, we need to recognize the difficulties of expressing embodiment through word and text alone. These feelings are clear to anyone who has stumbled, when trying to articulate an emotion, or sensory experience of their own, let alone representing those of others. However, does life history have to mean purely textual representation of the participants ontology? With the benefit of hindsight, I now consider that the incorporation of other media could enrich life history work. Consequently, I wish to begin to explore the integration and representation of other types of data such as imagery and sound that may help to articulate a key moment in someone's life experience. For example a song, poem, photograph or collage may add to the expression of a particular frame of mind at a given juncture in a participant's life - these could be powerful forms of additional data and representation of ontologies.

These approaches would invariably require the adoption of evolving ICT technologies for research and analysis processes. Using ICT, to 'capture' and retain participant's life histories can add to a more authentic and holistic sense of the whole of a person's life. There is not the space here to detail the technical aspects of such an approach, but an overview is possible: It requires the digitalization of all collected data; a process that will allow the researcher to collect, compile, analyse, reconstruct data from various media and then represent it through digital media, as well as through text. The digital medium of representation at seminars, lectures, conferences, on CD, DVD and the Internet provides potential for capturing and representing a more holistic sense of life history that includes video, audio, photographic, textual analysis alongside biography, something Pink (2001) refers to as 'visual ethnography.' Visual ethnography is commonly used in anthropological work and we might learn much from these disciplines about how to use such techniques and media in the sociological study of sport, education and PE.

The final methodological issue I wish to comment on is the effect of storytelling and life history work on the self and its potential for promoting subjective change thus putting it in line with what poststructuralist feminists consider a vitally important in built feature of our work - which is to facilitate change. This is, as Giddens (1984) has long argued, a conscious form of the 'double hermeneutic' effect: On the one hand we observe society and

provide analytical comments upon its nature, processes and so on and in so doing we facilitate change in society as a result of the dissemination of these observations (in intended and unintended ways). The double hermeneutic, I now believe is applicable at the personal and interpersonal level of the life history process: In reconstructing their stories, many of these men volunteered their view that they had never contemplated many of the issues addressed in our interviews and that it has prompted them to entertain a greater sensitivity towards the issues surrounding gender and also the nature and positions of their own multiple masculine identities. These shifts are not only personal but also 'social' as they have the potential to 'ripple' outwards by effecting how these men begin to approach others in their teaching situations, and as teachers, the potential impact of these changes on others can be quite widespread. If, as I have argued above this double hermeneutic effect can be replicated through ITT processes then the potential for change from the individual outwards is worth pursuing.

At an academic level I believe it demonstrates that interpretive forms of social science can and do effect social life in small but meaningful ways, especially when consciously addressed. Influential sociologists such as Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu have long argued that being politically active, means harnessing the double hermeneutic effect (or reflexivity in Bourdieu's case) through empirical and theoretical work. We can only posture as passive observers of the social world because our involvement in studying it, inevitably contributes to its reconstruction.

7.3 CLOSING COMMENTS

The study has focused on the social construction of masculine teaching identities in male student PE teachers. It has achieved only a little in terms of saying exactly what dominant masculinities *are* except that they are constructed within, rather than separate from, a set of gender power relations. What I have tried to do in this study is to make visible, in a qualitative way, some of the networks of power that Rutherford (1988) considers 'subordinate women and produce male bodies and masculinities organized around self-control and domination' (p. 40). The product, through engaging with the range of conceptual frameworks, has been to provide an account of how the individual self identities of these males get constructed by, and contribute, to the reconstruction of masculine ontologies in PE: How teachers draw on their gender as a pedagogical resource; and the broader realization of the inter-generational linkages of masculinities and some of the significant continuities between them. As a result, I have attempted to present a picture of this process

and some of the key features and moments within it. I have also suggested ways of challenging this process in subjectively meaningful ways.

Taken holistically (simultaneously in a cognitive and aesthetic, embodied sense), these men's gendered selves both actively and passively *contain* the Gender Order, not in any hermeneutically socially sealed manner, but in a living, dynamic and reflexively organized relationship between themselves and the gendered aspects of the outside world. Put differently, I would now position the dynamics of a Gender Order *inside as well as outside* of these individuals. If there were one important overview that I would like to draw attention to as a result of the study, then this latter point would be it. All other conclusions and implications follow from this perspective. For example, in the context of these men's lives, the potential to reconstruct the Gender Order or indeed change it - is largely dependent on the consciousness and embodiment of these men (and to speculate, other individuals like them). It is of no coincidence, in my view, that the many radical historical changes in social ontologies have been driven by the dynamism, commitment, persistence and sometimes bravery of individuals and small collectivities of individuals in challenging the status quo. Although the social imprint of our actions may vary greatly in scale and scope, the importance of them remains similar - the ontologies that result from our actions, links living individuals to the social order, connecting the past, to the present and to the future.

Notions of active agency call into question many popular and academic modernist conceptions of quasi 'innate' or socio-biological processes that might lead to, or hamper ever 'improving standards' in social life, and modes of social conduct in which individuals unconsciously tap into pre-existing enlightened social instincts towards the treatment of our fellow human beings. Alternatively, historical examples of human agency demonstrate that the existence of a Gender Order is a socially and culturally constructed reality (in the Parsonian sense of 'collective consciousness'), fought for, won and lost by individuals and conglomerates of individuals, who struggle against other individuals for a primacy of belief and practice, any relativism inferred here is intended - and whilst I agree with postmodernist perspectives that there are indeed relative ontologies concerning gender, it does not follow that they are all equally valid or equitable in a modern democratic society and this is precisely why the struggles continue, and why they must continue. The search for social and ethically justifiable forms of social organization that embrace as valuable, a range of gendered ontologies, means that the enlightenment and its metanarratives should not be discarded, but constantly challenged, deconstructed *and* re-worked. If there is a shared

consciousness and inter subjectivity - there will be metanarratives, and as long as there are people, there will be history (and different versions of it).

The suffragettes, for example, had to suffer and sacrifice themselves to plant the seeds of a new ontology which embraced women as 'equal' members of a society - hitherto virtually absent in Western societies. However, *their actions weren't inevitable*, nor were they entirely coincidental with changing social relations at the time - the two conditions of social context and individual agencies coexisted and merged almost seamlessly to create *opportunities* for change, albeit at a price. Nevertheless, the protests and their messages were quite literally contained within these individuals, while their legacy has been to pass on, alternative visions of being gendered, through discourses and practice, for future generations of women and men - an ontological epiphany? Perhaps the more focused example for this study and PE, is as Hargreaves (2000), and Gilroy & Clarke (1997) note, the living influence of those *few* powerful individuals responsible for developing documents like *Raising the Game*. Politicians such as John Major and his council so clearly drew on their embodied gendered ontologies and in so doing successfully tapped into a populist consciousness. The result of Major's embodied beliefs and actions turned back the 'clock' on gender relations in school PE and sport and reinforced essentialist, biological views.

Similar observations are made by Pratt & Burn (2000) with regards to the recent TTA's slogan of 'Every good boy deserves football' (pp. 1-2) and the use of football to encourage boys to 'learn' and in doing so promote the legitimacy of hegemonic masculinities that invariably accompanies the game. It is important not to forget the sociological perspective here that behind such policies are individuals, who, driven by their own lived gendered experiences of the world can be seen to combine these with 'external' intellectual and epistemologically situated understandings of gender, with a commitment and passion to change the social landscape. However misguided we may feel these actions are, they remain instructive, and must serve as a constant reminder that social ontologies are struggled for, gained *and lost*. Within this, we must recognize the nature of the influence, the interpretation of embodied and experiential links with the past and their use as a resource for making sense of the present and for shaping the future. Indeed, my view would now be that we ignore analysis of our own and others' ontologically based living links at our peril. In addition, if we are to be more than mere social commentators observing passively from the ivory towers of academe, then we must also be prepared to do more than continually deconstruct, we must also continually reconstruct and take responsibility for our constructions.

The contemporary context also provides further evidence of a resurgence of gendered epistemologies in education in the England and Wales. Many 'well meaning' politicians in the Labour party, OFSTED inspectors, parents, governors and professional educators are extolling the virtues of single sex education for the pure ends-led purposes of improving examination results for boys and girls. We are witnessing an attempt (unconscious?) at the nostalgic reconstruction of a gendered ontology in education that uses as its framework, innate, dualistic epistemological understandings of gender, sex and sexuality, relegating discourses and solutions of the social and cultural dimensions of existence to an inevitable outcome of such underlying 'fixed' biological 'realities.' These are dangerous and potentially regressive times for gender relations. The obsessive modernist pursuit of 'efficiency' is so often blind to the social consequences of its own conclusions - do we really believe that foundations for future society are best laid by boys and girls who spend their education in gender isolation? Are we not really evading the real issue that needs addressing that is the consequence of dominant masculinities?

The work here is neither a start, nor an end point, in the ongoing endeavour to understand more about gender construction in the social world. The work here, as elsewhere, therefore, is on-going and constantly under revision. What is more, the the notion of living links requires a good deal more empirical work than has been possible here. What is clear is that PE and schools are prime sites where the Gender Order is actively struggled over. Moreover, it would seem to be a site where the forces of reflexive modernization and the transformed gender ontologies it pre-supposes, meet head on with those of traditional habitus and its often biologically based binary logics of sex, gender, sexuality, race, class and ability.

A perspective of living links makes important connections between the masculine self and the institution. It makes possible the focused exploration of a number of social 'sutures' as Hall (1996) describes it. This work develops some foundations, by identifying some of the sutures and the reflexive process of change and exchange of the 'social' that takes place across them. The sutures (points of self - social connection) are for me, clearly inter-linked reflexively modifying each other in an on-going open-ended process, the boundaries of these self and social sutures are increasingly difficult to identify as they are constantly shifting. However, the life of the institution *is* the conglomerate of dispositions of its members, their affiliations and their life histories, if the two match up well, then there appears to be a recognizable functionalism leading to elliptical forms of social reproduction.

We need to know more about the ontological 'glue' that binds these sutures together and what forces them apart occasionally, encouraging rupture and radical change - these aspects will form the undercurrent of future work. The following table illustrates some possible future projects that would logically stem from this perspective;

Explore embodiment and habitus of male PE teachers	Explore in depth <i>what</i> constitutes the masculine habitus and forms of masculine embodiment: This would develop the focus and detail of the current study. In so doing it would add an ethnographic, interactionist perspective to augment life history material to explore the body and habitus in practice.
Construct and analyse a genealogy of masculinities in PE and Sport.	Trace the transference of masculine dispositions and narratives of self between individuals and across generations: This would begin with the sampled Physical Educator and extend backwards and forwards in time and outwards in terms of contemporary social networks, necessarily including, family, peers, pupils, mentors, former teachers and university teachers. It would be longitudinal/inter-generational in nature.
Examine the <i>process</i> of transference of dispositions and masculine narratives of self.	Needs to consider the key moments between the above individuals and the practices and discourses they actively share to try to understand <i>how</i> masculine dispositions are passed on. This would necessarily involve a greater focus on the emotions than undertaken here and would include observational as well as life history work
Explore alternative masculine teaching identities.	Sample alternative practices and dispositions in teaching PE and analyse their nature and effect on the Gender Order in PE and how teachers acquire, make sense of and deploy these.
Develop, employ and evaluate the ontologically based intervention strategies suggested in this work.	Construct and evaluate a pilot project that would take a sample of male student teachers through a process of intervention (i.e. subjectifying knowledges, identity habitus resources/provide alternative experiences and develop alternative masculine narrative identity resources to male PE teachers).

Fig. 7.3

The above areas ideally would be seen as integral parts of a whole - the conclusions of which might develop over time a broad as well as a detailed understanding of masculinities, their reproduction, and change in PE practice. It is worth qualifying this type of project with the reiteration that studies such as these should never really *finish*, rather once they are set up they might ideally remain ongoing, tracking changes in masculinities over time and suggesting conceptual and strategic alterations and interventions as a result of new data/theory as society changes. The picture presented is of an ideal situation, but I now believe that social science work has often suffered from a 'short-termism'. This is partly because of the overwhelmingly individualistic nature of the academic research culture, in which researchers must make their own name and be seen to succeed as individuals, a situation that ruptures the continuity of development. Secondly, I sense that the legacy of positivist paradigms still sometimes linger in our researcher psyche's (or is it just me?), in which the temptation to declare knowledge known, an area 'mapped' or explored brings a strong influence to bear on much social science work, leaving conceptual areas 'timeless' in their application and the relevance of this work constantly being undermined by its static

'snapshot' insights in a dynamic and changing society. Thirdly, the culture of accountability and funding also pays its part, encouraging the closure of projects, rather than accept the on-going reflexivity of society as something that requires constant monitoring, all of these mind sets present difficulties for long term on-going projects that are crucially needed, they also indicate perhaps another more profound shift in consciousness with regards to research that indicates a fixity with the present, a paradoxical mistrust and nostalgia of the past and an angst for the future - in my view, none of these factors serve the social sciences particularly well.

The logic underpinning this study centres on the sociological dichotomies of continuity/change, structure/agency and equally evident has been that my stance has sided more strongly with conflict and agency approaches. However, I have also tried to embed the realization that structure and agency, continuity and change coexist. As Giddens' (1990) structuration theory concludes, such a view means we must recognize the unintended as well as intended consequences - leading to a situation where the identification and manipulation of cause and effect on a macro scale are made highly problematic, if not impossible, because of the constellation of factors to be considered. As Tonkiss (1998) argues, these viewpoints of change /continuity mean that the whole logic of linear change is disrupted, and replaced by a non-linear perspective, she continues; 'change might be thought of in terms of discontinuity...Social change, in this conception, is seen as arbitrary, accidental or unpredictable' (p. 45). Such discontinuity is very much in evidence in the data used for this study. But what does it mean for my conclusions and prescriptions? Are not the practical suggestions offered above subject to the same criticism of aspiring to linear progress?

When I look out over the socio-theoretical landscape there is one thing that dominates the view; the grand narratives of social progress are in a state of deconstruction, fragmented, in intellectual pieces and yet individuals are still living with them and by them, in a state of ontological doubt. As Giddens, Beck & Lash (1994) contend, the story of modernity is in many ways the story of the macro to micro social effect of the institution, and the disciplines of science that legitimizes them - yet so many of these are dominantly masculine in their ontological frameworks and retain their meta narratives which are centred on dominant, white middle class, heterosexual views of the world. Equally if modernity has now become a modernity of the 'reflexive' institution then the link between this reflexivity and evolving processes of masculine dominance are strong indeed and need constant relational sociological study. Schools, education, PE and its teachers are just one part of the larger

mosaic of masculine power. The Gender Order and the ordering of gendered identities in PE through the teachers are nonetheless a significant part of the 'consequences of high modernity.'

The undeniable strength of the reflexively modern/postmodern perspectives lie in acts of social deconstruction, but it is an act that remains all too often incomplete, because the act of reconstruction is epistemologically so problematic. If we cannot claim that these actions are themselves 'truthful' but merely interpretations, tensions such as whether as social scientists, we can just observe and comment or whether we take part in change, remain as continuing intellectual discomforts. In this I find agreement with Bain (1997) who comments;

The problem for critical theorists and feminists committed to change remains: if we are to take seriously the arguments of the postmodernists, how do we ground our efforts for social transformation? Can we create a more just society without simply substituting a new meta narrative for the old one? Can we describe oppression and identity alternatives without slipping into essentialism; that is, without assuming all men or all women (or all members of any group) have the same basic nature? Can we do more than criticize the status quo? In addition to our language of critique can we find what Giroux (1998a, p. 132) has called the 'language of possibility'? Can we develop self-conscious and self-critical practices that create change? (Bain, 1997, p. 188).

These questions of deconstruction/reconstruction take on an even greater pertinence if we apply them to ourselves, if we take stock of how we draw on and deploy our own multiple gender identities in our academic work. The pieces that are left after such an intellectual exercise are, not in my opinion, very reassuring, but they are necessary. Why? Because they identify a symbolically masculinist ontology through practice and shared by a section of the academic community. Morgan's (1992) commentary suggests that such ontological dispositions are endemic;

What I am referring to was a set of practices exemplified by the academic seminar. Here, characteristically, the speaker 'defends' his or her argument or thesis; the listeners are called upon to 'attack' after the presentation. The attacks might be conducted with genuine wit or heavy sarcasm, with sceptical appreciation or withering scorn...Academic gossip might recollect the time when Joe really wiped the floor with Mike, when Ken really got the knife in, tales of past battles, demolitions, academic prize fights (Morgan, 1992, p. 165-166).

Is not the profession of research about developing understanding, empathy, furthering knowledge and providing well thought through alternative viewpoints of the social world? Such dispositions of masculinized, institutionalized individualism as cited above suggest that

the intellectual community is by no means immune from the Gender Order, but a part of the 'dynamic.' While I know, like the male teachers in the study know, that alternatives to dominant masculine ontologies are possible - changing them is bound with the personal and practical irony of having to adopt them in order to put oneself in a position to change them. The *angst* returns as a question, will I remember the self that was myself that came into this arena to instigate changes when having succeeded in accumulating enough 'power' to make re-action possible? Do I not now embody and regularly employ the same type of dispositions, or *habitus*, I most criticize? My conclusion is that the adoption and deployment of dominant masculinities as a means to acquire the power to change it, is a dangerous strategy, because it becomes a learned disposition that shapes and changes the self.

The above double bind is not an intellectual evasion, but an ongoing ontological dilemma. Similar to the paradoxical narrative of the Heller's (1961) satirical novel, Catch 22, this dilemma sits comfortably with the institutionalized process that promulgates the status quo and closes down acts that may lead to significant change. It is hard to overemphasize the significance of the double bind logic in relation to the individual action and the Gender Order: To change the establishment we must be a part of the establishment, in order to be a part of the establishment we must demonstrate legitimacy and come to embody it, once legitimate, we have become part of the problem represented by the establishment. There are always individual exceptions, to my scenario of course, but little space is given for shows of weakness, sensitivity, vulnerability and uncertainty in the institutions of reflexive modernity. Where such alternative sensibilities appear, they are invariably closed down by those with the social power to dominate; a masculinist iron cage of rationality (to deliberately mix my metaphors). These aren't just legitimacies, they are dominant masculine perceptions of legitimacy embedded in the body politic of the institution. Like Morgan, (1992), I am stimulated by the question, 'Do we need to think more profoundly about the whole business of doing sociology?' (p. 164). By way of a partial response it is worth retaining Bourdieu's (1993) contentious opinion that we need a sociology of the social sciences which investigates the power structures embedded within this arena.

The postmodernist response of rejecting a masculinist universalism and replacing it with particularism is intellectually desirable and even sustainable so long as we don't actively consider which forms of particularism we allow to rise to the fore to fill the vacuum, justified by even less explicit ideological apparatus, thereby creating an even tighter intellectual fortress around which the 'de-centred' metanarrative of masculine dominance,

control, and the applications of Darwinian ideologies may be asserted. So it is not just a question of whether and how we tackle the evolving ontologies of masculinist domination *out there* - but how to do it in 'our own back yard' as well.

I hope my point is clear, if annoyingly circular; if we attempt reconstruction, as I have done here - we need to question constantly what it is that we are reconstructing in gender terms, and in terms of the Gender Order, and what vision/version of the future we are working towards. In PE, how do our reconstructions fit with the aspirations for social change in wider society? I believe that we need visions and versions, and that *these need to be phenomenological/ontological in focus*. If the social sciences cannot reconstruct any grand narrative in the future due to the success of arguments pertaining to the 'end of history' then the result is surely an ontology that is as Beck (1992) describes, 'locked in the eternal present' with disempowerment, lack of agency and nihilism being the ultimate outcomes. In such a scenario hegemonic masculinities will merely adapt to retain supremacy in the Gender Order. Therefore, I believe future grand narratives are necessary, but 'linear progress' in epistemological or materialist terms can no longer be an authentic promise. Reconstructed metanarratives are more usefully going to be those which help people learn to live with ontological uncertainty of a reflexive modernity, as one of the consequences of scientific fallibilism, and circumstantialism and for this we need to be looking at fluid, dynamic, transparent and democratic ontological frameworks of gender.

In my view the risk is worth taking: Life without our gendered straitjackets can be more dynamic, interesting, liberating, fulfilling and enriching - we don't have to disregard the past/ our pasts or what we are presently, but we do have to find ways of developing our embodiment and social consciousness beyond the confines of singular states of being. There is a potential for embracing the fluidity in gender relations through PE, the form of which I have only glimpsed at momentarily in my time as a teacher. No one knows exactly what it will look like or feel like to be gendered in the future, but I agree with Moore's (1993) anthropological view;

We have to begin to recognize how persons are constituted in and through difference. Multiple forms of difference - race, class, gender, sexuality - intersect within individuals, and identity is therefore, premised on difference (Moore, 1993, p. 204).

This difference is not just between people - but within them, in the form of multiple selves. Therefore, difference as a sociological perception, needs turning inwards as well as outwards. Such ontological flexibility as Giddens (1996) has consistently argued, can only

happen with the ongoing process of the 'democratization of democracy,' where a shared consciousness embraces the replacement of structuralist binary logics with an ontologically dynamic gendered pluralism. The evidence in this study contributes to the view that traditional gender ontologies are changing from singularity to pluralized forms, but that at present the alternatives, although present, are suppressed and underdeveloped within individuals. If flexible, fluid, identities, individuation and democratic relationships are the substance of reconstructed metanarratives, then institutions such as schools and PE might more usefully be promoting rather than restricting them. As Morgan (1992) argues the 'critique of men' 'will play its small part in the development of human freedom' (p. 208). If this critique can be acted on, then we might take a step towards emancipatory forms of human movement articulated by Fahlberg and Falhberg's (1997) vision for future practice;

The emphasis in regard to human movement is not to get people to behave - to adhere or comply - in the manner in which we dictate. Rather the emphasis is on facilitating freedom and enhancing the conditions by which this freedom may be maximized (Fahlberg & Falhberg, 1997, p. 86).

In gendered terms, this is one metanarrative worth holding onto.

REFERENCES

ADAM, B., BECK, U. & VAN LOON, J. (2000) *The Risk Society and Beyond: Critical Issues for Social Theory*. London: Sage

ADORNO, T. W. (1973) *Negative Dialectics*. New York: The Seabury Press.

ALASUUTARI, P. (1995) *Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies*. New York: Sage.

ALEXANDER, J. C. (1995) *Fin de Siècle Social Theory: Relativism, Reduction, and the Problem of Reason*. London: Verso

AMBROSE, P. (1996) Modest proposals? Teacher education and the Education Act 1994. In J. Furlong & . R. Smith. (eds.), *The Role of Higher Education in Initial Teacher Training*, pp. 23-34. London: Kogan Page.

ANDRIEU, G. (1990) *L'Education Physique au XXie Siecle: Une Histoire des Practiques*. Paris: Editions libraires du sport.

APPLE, M. (1990) *Ideology and Curriculum*. London: Routledge.

APPLE, M. (1996) *Education And Cultural Politics*. Buckingham: Open University.

ARMOUR, K., & JONES, R. (1998) *Physical Education Teachers' Lives and Careers: PE, Sport and Educational Status*. London: Falmer Press.

ARMOUR, K. (1999) The case for a body-focus in education and physical education. *Sport, Education and Society* 4 (1) pp. 5-16.

- ARMSTRONG, P. F. (1987) *Qualitative Strategies in Social and Educational Research: Life History Method in Theory and Practice*. University of Hull, School of Adult and Continuing Education.
- ATKINSON, R. (1998) *The Life Story Interview*. London: Sage.
- AVIS, J. BLOOMER, M. ESLAND, GLEESON, G. & HODGKINSON, P. (1996) *Knowledge and Nationhood: Education, Politics and Work*. London: Cassell Education.
- BALL S., & GOODSON, I. (1985) *Teachers' Lives and Careers*. London: The Falmer Press.
- BALL, S. (1990) *Politics and Policymaking in Education*. London: Routledge.
- BAIN, L. (1997) Transformation in the postmodern era: A new game plan. In J-M. Fernandez-Balboa (ed.), *Critical Postmodernism in Human Movement, Physical Education and Sport*, pp. 183-196. New York: Suny.
- BECK, U. (1992) *Risk Society*. London: Sage Publications.
- BECK, U. (2000) The cosmopolitan perspective: Sociology of the second age of modernity. *British Journal of Sociology*, 51 (1), pp. 9-105.
- BERGER, L, BERGER, B. & KELLNER, H. (1973) *The Homeless Mind*. London: Pelican Books.
- BERGER, P. & LUCKMANN, T. (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- BERGER, P. & BERGER, B. (1976) *Sociology: A Biographical Approach*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- BERNSTEIN, R. J. (1983) *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- BEST, S. & KELLNER, D. (1997) *The Postmodern Turn*. London: Guilford Press
- BLY, R. (1990) *Iron John: A Book About Men*. New York: Element Books Ltd.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1979) *Distinction: Critique Sociale du Judgement*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit
- BOURDIEU, P. (1993) *Sociology in Question*. London: Sage.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1999) Scattered remarks. *European Journal of Social Theory* 2(3), pp. 334–340.
- BOURDIEU, P., & WACQUANT, L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- BRITTAN, A. (1989) *Masculinity and Power*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- BROD, H.K., & KAUFMAN, M. (1994) *Theorizing Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- BROWN, D. (1997) *The Social Meaning of Muscle: A Life History Analysis of Bodybuilders*. Unpublished Mphil Thesis, School of Education, University of Exeter.
- BROWN, D. (1998) Relative Responsibilities - A reaction to John Smith. In P. Hodgkinson (ed.), *The Nature of Educational Research: Realism, Relativism or Post-Modernism*. Research Monograph: Crewe School of Education, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- BROWN, D. (1998) Book review: Fernandez-Balboa, J-M. (ed.), *Critical Postmodernism in Human Movement, Physical Education and Sport*. *Leisure Studies*, 18 (1), pp. 76-77.
- BROWN, D. (1999) Complicity and reproduction in teaching PE. *Sport, Education and Society*, 4 (2), pp. 143-160.

BROWN, D., & JOHNSON, A. (2000) The social practice of self defence martial arts: Applications for Physical Education. *Quest*, 52 (3), pp 246-259.

BROWN, D., & RICH, E.J. (in press) Gender positioning as pedagogical practice in learning to teach Physical Education. In Penney, D. (ed.), *Gender & Physical Education: Issues and Directions*. London Routledge.

BROWN, L. (1998) 'Boys' Training': The inner sanctum. In C.Hickey, L. Fitzclarence & R.Mathews, (eds.), *Where the Boys Are: Masculinity, Sport and Education*, pp. 13-27. Deakin: Deakin University Press.

BRUBAKER, R. (1984) *The Limits of Rationality: An Essay on the Social and Moral Thought of Max Weber*. London: Routledge.

CARR, W., & HARTNETT, A. (1996) *Education and the Struggle for Democracy: The Politics of Educational Ideas*. London: Open University Press.

CARRINGTON, B., & WILLIAMS, T. (1988) Patriarchy and ethnicity. In J. Evans, (ed.), *Teachers, Teaching and Control in Physical Education*, pp. 83-96. London: Falmer Press.

CASHMORE, E. (1982) *Black Sportsmen*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

CASELL, P. (1993) *The Giddens Reader*. London: MacMillan Press.

CHANEY, D. (1996) *Lifestyles*. London: Open University Press.

CHAPMAN, R., & RUTHERFORD, J. (1988) *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*. London: Lawrence & Wishart

CHITTY, C. (1990) Central control of the school curriculum 1944-1987. In B. Moon (ed.), *New Curriculum - National Curriculum*, pp. 3-14. Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton.

- CLASSEN, C. (1997) Engendering perception: Gender ideologies and sensory hierarchies in Western history. *Body and Society*, 3 (2), pp. 1-20.
- CLEMON, D. (1996) Initial teacher education policy and cultural transmission. In McBride, R. (ed.), *Teacher Education Policy: Some Issues Arising from Research and Practice*, pp. 86-94. London: Falmer Press.
- COFFEY A., & ATKINSON, P. (1996) *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complimentary Research Strategies*. London: Sage
- COHEN, L., & MANION, L. (1981) *Perspectives on Classrooms and Schools*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CONNELL, R.W. (1987) *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- CONNELL, R.W. (1989) Cool guys, swots and wimps: The interplay of masculinity and education, *Oxford Review of Education*, 15 (3), pp. 291-302.
- CONNELL, R.W. (1993) Disruptions: Improper masculinities and schooling. In L. Weis, & M. Fine (eds.), *Beyond Silenced Voices: Class, Race, and Gender in United States Schools*, pp. 63-82. New York: State University of New York Press
- CONNELL, R. W. (1995) *Masculinities*. London: Polity Press.
- CONNELL, R. W. (1998) Masculinities and Globalization. *Men and Masculinities*. 1(1) pp. 1-23.
- CONNELL, R.W. (2000) *The Men and the Boys*. Cambridge: Polity
- CONNOLLY, P., & NEILL, J. (2001) Boys' underachievement, educational aspirations and constructions of locality: Intersections of gender, ethnicity and social class. Paper presented to *The International Sociology of Education Conference*, 2001.

- CROSSET, T. & BEAL, B. (1997) The use of 'subculture' and 'subworld' in ethnographic works on sport: A discussion of definitional distinctions. *Sociology of Sport*, 14 (1), pp. 71-85.
- CROSSLEY, N. (1997) Corporeality and communicative action: The renewal of Critical Theory. *Body and Society*, 2 (1), pp. 17- 46.
- CURTNER- SMITH, M. (1997) The impact of biography, teacher education and organizational socialization on the perspectives and practices of first-year Physical Education teachers: Case studies of recruits and coaching orientations. *Sport, Education and Society*, 2 (1), pp. 73-95.
- CURTNER-SMITH, M.D. (2001) The occupational socialization of a first year-Physical Education teacher with a teaching orientation. *Sport, Education and Society*, 6(1), pp. 81-106.
- DAY SCLATER, S. (1998) Creating the self: Stories as transitional phenomena. *Auto/biography* 1(1&2), pp. 85-92.
- DELAMONT, S. (1998) 'You need the leotard': Revisiting the first PE lesson. *Sport, Education and Society*, 3 (1), pp. 5-18.
- DELAMONT, S. (2001) Social exclusions, the indoor sport and politics of sociology. Paper presented to the *International Sociology of Education Conference*: Sheffield.
- DENSCOMBE, M. (1983) Interviews, accounts and ethnographic research on teachers. In M. Hammersly (Ed.), *The Ethnography of Schooling*, pp.105-128. London: Routledge.
- DENZIN, N. (1989) *Interpretive Biography*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.
- DENZIN, N.K., & LINCOLN, Y.S. (eds.)(2000) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL HERITAGE (1995) *Sport - Raising the Game*. London: DNH.

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION (1995) *Physical Education in the National Curriculum*. London: Department for Education

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1992) *National Curriculum Physical Education: Draft Statutory Order*. London: Department for Education and Science

DERRIDA, J. (1981) *Positions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

DODDS, P. (1993) Removing the ugly 'isms' in your gym: Thoughts for teachers on equality. In J. Evans, (ed.), *Equality, Education and Physical Education*, pp. 28-39. London: The Falmer Press.

DUNNING, E. (1999a) Sport, gender and patriarchy in the Western civilizing process. In L. Allison (ed.), *Taking Sport Seriously*, pp. 105-134. Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport

DUNNING, E. (1999) *Sport Matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence and Civilization*. London: Routledge

EDLEY, N., & WETHERELL, M. (1995) *Men in Perspective: Practice, Power and Identity*. London: Prentice Hall.

ELY, M., VINZ, R., DOWNING, M., & ANZUL, M. (1997) *On Writing Qualitative Research: Living by Words*. London: The Falmer Press.

ESLAND, J. (1995) Knowledge and nationhood: The New Right and the global market. In J. Avis, M. Bloomer, J. Esland, Gleeson, & P. Hodgkinson (eds.), *Knowledge and Nationhood. Education Politics and Work*, pp. 11-39. London: Cassell Education.

EVANS, J. (1992). Research, pedagogy and reflective teaching. In L. Almond, A. Sparkes, & T. Williams, (eds.), *Sport and Physical Activity*, pp. 40-51. London: Human Kinetics.

- EVANS, J. (ed.)(1993) *Equality, Education and Physical Education*. London: Falmer Press.
- EVANS, J., & DAVIES, B. (1993) Equality, equity and physical education. In J. Evans,(ed.), *Teachers, Teaching and Control in Physical Education*, pp. 11-27. London: Falmer Press.
- EVANS, J., PENNEY, D. & BRYANT, A. (1993a) Physical Education after ERA? *British Journal of Physical Education*, Research Supplement, 22(1), pp. 38-42.
- EVANS, J., PENNEY, D., & BRYANT, A. (1993) Improving the quality of Physical Education? The Education Reform Act, 1988, and Physical Education in England and Wales. *Quest*, 45, pp. 321-338.
- EVANS, J., & PENNEY, D. (1995) Physical Education, restoration and the politics of sport. *Curriculum Studies*, 3(2), pp. 183-196.
- EVANS, J., PENNEY, D., & DAVIES, B. (1996) Back to the future: Education policy and Physical Education. In N. Armstrong (ed.), *New Directions in Physical Education: Vol. 3: Change and Innovation*, pp. 1-18. London: Cassell.
- EVANS, J., DAVIES, B., & PENNEY, D. (1996) Teachers, teaching and the social construction of gender relations. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1(2), pp. 165-183.
- FAHLBERG , L., & FALHBERG, L. (1997) Health, Freedom and movement in the postmodern era. In, J-M. Fernandez-Balboa (ed.), *Critical Postmodernism in Human Movement, Physical Education and Sport*, pp. 65-86. New York: State of New York University Press.
- FALK, P. (1994) *The Consuming Body*. London: Sage.
- FEATHERSTONE, M. (1982) The body in consumer culture. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 1, pp. 18-33.

FERNANDEZ-BALBOA, J-M., (ed.) (1997) *Critical Postmodernism Human Movement, Physical Education and Sport*. New York: State University of New York Press.

FERNANDEZ-BALBOA, J-M. (1998) Transcending masculinities: Linking personhood and pedagogy. In C.Hickey, L. Fitzclarence and R.Mathews (eds.), *Where the Boys Are: Masculinity, Sport and Education*, pp. 13-27. Deakin: Deakin University Press.

FALUDI, S. (1999) *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*. New York, NY: Putnam.

FINE, M, (1997) (In) Secure times: Constructing white working - class masculinities in the late 20th century. *Gender & Society*, 11(1), pp. 52-68.

FLETCHER, S. (1987) The making and breaking of a female tradition: Women's Physical Education in England, 1880-1980. In J. Mangan. & R. Park (eds.), *From the Fair Sex to Feminism*, pp. 145-160. London: Frank Cass.

FLINTOFF, A. (1993) Gender, Physical Education and initial teacher education. In J. Evans, (ed.), *Teachers, Teaching and Control in Physical Education*, pp. 184-204. London: Falmer Press.

FLINTOFF, A., & SCRATON, A. (2001) Stepping into active leisure? Young women's perceptions of active lifestyles and their experiences of school Physical Education. *Sport Education and Society*, 6(1), pp. 5-22.

LA FOLLETTE, H. (1991) The truth in ethical relativism. *Social Philosophy*, pp. 146-54. (<http://www.etsu.edu/philos/faculty/hugh/relative.htm>)

FINLEY, S., & KNOWLES, J.G. (1995) Researcher as artist/artist as researcher. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(1) pp. 110-142.

FOUCAULT, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Allen Lane.

FOUCAULT, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality: Vol. 1 An introduction*. London: Allen Lane.

FOUCAULT, M. (1986) *The Care of the Self: Vol. 3 The History of Sexuality*. London: Penguin.

FRANK, A. (1990) Bringing bodies back in: A decade review. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7, pp. 131-62.

FRANK, A. (1995) *The Wounded Storyteller*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

FRANK, A. (1996) Reconciliatory alchemy: Bodies, narratives and power. *The Body and Society*, 2(3) pp. 53-71.

FRY, J. M. (1997) Dealing with the powers that be. *Sport, Education and Society*, 2(2) pp. 141-163.

FURLONG, J., WHITTY, G., MILES, S., BARTON, L., & BARRETT, E. (1996) From integration to partnership: Changing structures in initial teacher education. In McBride, R. (ed.), *Teacher Education Policy: Some Issues Arising from Research and Practice*, pp. 22-35. London: Falmer Press.

FURLONG, A., & CARTMEL, F. (1997) *Young People and Social Change: Individualization and Risk in Late Modernity*. Buckingham: Open University.

GAME, A. (1991) *Undoing the Social: Towards a Deconstructive Sociology*. Milton Keynes: Oxford University Press.

GARD, M., & MEYENN, R. (2000) Boys, bodies, pleasure and pain: Interrogating contact sports in schools. *Sport, Education and Society*, 5(1) pp. 9-34.

GERGEN, K. J., & COLLEGE, S. (1999) *Social Theory in Context: Relational Humanism*. <http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/kgergen1/text9.html>

GERTH, H.H., & WRIGHT MILLS, C. (1997) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. London: Routledge.

- GIDDENS, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GIDDENS, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- GIDDENS, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GIDDENS, A. (1994) (with Ulrich Beck and Scott Lash), *Reflexive Modernization*, Cambridge: Polity Press; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- GIDDENS, A. (1995) *Politics, Sociology and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GIDDENS, A. (1996) *In Defence of Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GIDDENS, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GILROY, S., & CLARKE, G. (1997) 'Raising the Game': Deconstructing the sporting text - from Major to Blair. *Pedagogy in Practice*, 3(2) pp. 19-37.
- GODENZI, A. (1999) Style or substance? Men's response to feminist challenge. *Men and Masculinities*, 1, (4) pp. 385-392.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1963) *Stigma : Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1963b) *Behaviour in Public Places*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1969) *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*. London: Allen Lane.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1971) *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. London: Allen Lane.

GOFFMAN, E. (1983) The Interaction Order. *The American Sociological Review*, 48, pp. 1-17.

GOODSON, I. (1990) Curriculum reform and curriculum theory: A case of historical amnesia. In B. Moon (ed.), *New Curriculum - National Curriculum*, pp. 47-56. Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton.

GOODSON, I. (1992) Studying teachers' lives: An emergent field of enquiry. In I. Goodson (ed.), *Studying Teachers' Lives*, pp. 1-17. London: Routledge.

GOODSON, I. (1995a) Basil Bernstein and aspects of the Sociology of the curriculum. In P. Atkinson, & B. Davies, & S. Delamont (eds.), *Discourse and Reproduction: Essays in Honour of Basil Bernstein*, pp. 121-136. New Jersey: Hampton.

GOODSON, I. F. (1995b) The story so far : Personal knowledge and the political. In J. Hatch & R. Wisniewski (eds.), *Life History and Narratives*, pp. 89-98. London: Falmer Press

GOODSON, I. F. (1995c) The story so far, personal knowledge and the political. In T., Tiller, A. Sparkes, S. Karhus, & F. Dowling Ness, (eds.) *The Qualitative Challenge: Reflections of Educational Research* (pp. 55-76). Landas: Caspar Forlag

GRADY, K.A., & WALLSTON, B. S. (1988) *Research in Health Care Settings*. Newbury Park CA: Sage

GRAMSCI, A. (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wish art.

GRIFFIN. P. (1989) Gender as a socializing agent in Physical Education. In T. Templin, & P. Schempp, (eds.), *Socialization into Physical Education: Learning to Teach*, pp. 219-234. Indianapolis: Benchmark Press.

GRIFFIN, P. (1991) Identity management strategies among lesbian and gay educators. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 4 (3), pp. 189-202.

- GUBA, E., & LINCOLN, Y. (1989) *Fourth Generation Evaluation*. London: Sage.
- HALL, M. A. (1996) *Feminism and Sporting Bodies: Essays on Theory and Practice*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- HALL, S. (1992) The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held, & T. McGrew (eds.), *Modernity and its Futures*, pp. 273-326. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- HALL, S. (1996) Who needs identity? In S. Hall & P. Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, pp. 1-17. London: Sage.
- HAMMERSLEY, M., & ATKINSON, P. (1983) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London: Routledge.
- HAMMERSLEY, M. (1998) A defence of realism. In P. Hodgkinson (ed.), *The Nature of Educational Research: Realism, Relativism or Postmodernism*, pp. 7-24. Crewe, School of Education, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- HAMMERSLEY, M. (1990) *The Dilemma of the Qualitative Method: Herbert Blumer and the Chicago Tradition*. London: Routledge.
- HARGREAVES, A. (1994) *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: Teachers Work and Culture in Postmodern Times*. London: Cassell.
- HARGREAVES, J. (1986) *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- HARGREAVES, J. (2000) Gender, morality, and the national Physical Education curriculum. In J. Nansen & N. Neilsen (eds.), *Sports, Body and Health*, pp. 133-148. Odense University Press.
- HARVEY, D. (1991) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

HARVEY, J., & SPARKS, R. (1991) The politics of the body in the context of modernity. *Quest*, 43, pp. 164-189.

HATCH, J. A., & WISNEISKI, R. (eds.) (1995) *Life History and Narratives*. London: The Falmer Press.

HEARN, J. (1987) *The Gender of Oppression: Men, Masculinity and the Critique of Marxism*. New York: St. Martins' Press

HELLER, J. (1961) *Catch - 22*. London: Simon & Schuster.

HICKEY, C., FITZCLARENCE, L., & MATHEWS, R. (eds.) (1998) *Where the boys are: Masculinity, Sport and Education*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin Centre for Education and Change, Deakin University.

HICKEY, C., & FITZCLARENCE, L. (1999) Educating boys in sport and Physical Education: Using narrative methods to develop pedagogies of responsibility. *Sport, Education and Society*, 4(1), pp. 51 - 62.

HOBERMAN, J. (1992) *Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport*. Oxford: Macmillan.

HOCHSCHILD, A. (1983) *The Managed Heart*. Berkely, CA: University of California Press.

HUMBERSTONE, B. (1990) Warriors or wimps? Creating alternative forms of Physical Education. In M. Messner, & D. Sabo, (eds.), *Sport, Men and the Gender Order*, pp. 201-210 Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Press.

HUMBERSTONE, B. (1993) Equality, Physical Education and outdoor education -ideological struggles and transformative structures? In J. Evans (ed.), *Teachers, Teaching and Control in Physical Education*, pp. 217-232. London: Falmer Press.

- HUSSERL, E. ([1936] 1970) *The Crisis of the European Sciences, and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy*, (D. Carr, trans) Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- ILLICH, I. (1971) *Deschooling Society*. New York: Harper & Row.
- JACKSON, D. (1990) *Unmasking Masculinity: A Critical Autobiography*, London: Unwin Hyman
- JARY, D., & JARY, D. (1991) *Dictionary of sociology*. London: Harper-Collins.
- KAUPPI, N. (2000) *The Politics of Embodiment: Habits, Power, and Pierre Bourdieu's Theory*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang
- KELLE, U. (1997) Theory building in qualitative research and computer programs for the management of textual data. *Sociological Research Online*, 2 (2)
<<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/2/2/1.html>>
- KELLER, E. F. (1985) *Reflections on Gender and Science*. London: Yale University Press.
- KELLNER, D. (1995) *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics Between the Modern and the Postmodern*. London: Routledge
- KELLY, P., HICKEY, C., & TINNING, R. (2000) Producing knowledge, performance, and Physical Education pedagogy: Problematizing the activities of expertise. *Quest*, 52 (3), pp. 284-296.
- KIRK, D. (1992a) *Defining Physical Education: The Social Construction of a School Subject in Post-war Britain*. London: The Falmer Press.
- KIRK, D. (1992b) *The Body, Schooling and Culture*. Deakin: Deakin University Press.

- KIRK, D. (1999) Physical culture, Physical Education and relational analysis. *Sport Education and Society*, 4(1), pp. 63-73.
- KIRK, D., MACDONALD, D., & TINNING, R. (1997) The social construction of pedagogic discourse in Physical Education teacher education in Australia. *The Curriculum Journal*, 8, pp. 271-298.
- KIRK, J., & MILLER, M. L. (1986) *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage
- KLEIN, A.M. (1993) *Little Big Men: Bodybuilding Subculture and Gender Construction*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- KLEINMAN, S., & COPP, M.A. (1993) *Emotions and Fieldwork*. London: Sage
- KNOWLES, G. (1984) Life-history accounts as mirrors: A practical avenue for the conceptualization of reflection in teacher education. In I. Goodson, & S. Ball, (eds.), *Teacher's Lives and Careers*, pp. 71-92. London: Falmer Press.
- KUHN, T. S. (1970) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- KVALE, S. (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage
- LASH, S. & URRY, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage.
- LAWTON, D. (1989) *The Education Reform Act: Choice and Control*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- LAWTON, D. (1993) *Education and Politics in the 1990s: Conflict or Consensus?* London: The Falmer Press.

- LIEBLICH, A., TUVAL- MASHIACH, R., & ZILBER, T. (1998) *Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis, and Interpretation*. London: Sage
- LIGHT, R. (1999) Regimes of training, Seishin and the construction of embodied masculinity in Japanese university rugby. *International Sports Studies*, 21(1), pp. 39-54.
- LIGHT, R., & KIRK, D. (2000) High school rugby, the body and the reproduction of hegemonic masculinity. *Sport Education and Society*, 5(2), pp. 63-176.
- LINCOLN, Y. S., & GUBA, E. (1985) *Naturalistic Enquiry*. Berverly Hills: Sage
- LINDE, C. (1995) *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- LYNDON, N. (1992) *No More Sex War: The Failures of Feminism*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson
- LYON, D. (1994) *Postmodernity*. Buckingham: Open University
- MAC AN GHAILL, M. (ed.) (1996) *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations And Cultural Arenas*. Buckingham & Philadelphia: Open University Press
- MACDONALD, D., & KIRK., D. (1996) Private lives, public lives: surveillance, identity, and self in the work of beginning Physical Education teachers. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1, pp. 59-75.
- MACLURE, S. (1989) Parents and schools: Opting in and opting out. In D. Lawton, (ed.), *The Education Reform Act: Choice and Control*, pp. 5-26. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- MACNEIL, C. (1990) The National curriculum: A Black perspective. In B. Moon (ed.), *New Curriculum - National Curriculum*, pp. 81-90. Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton.
- MAGUIRE, J. (1994) Sport, identity politics, and globalization: Diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11, pp. 398-427.

- MAGUIRE, J. (1999) *Global Sport; Identities, Societies and Civilizations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- MANGAN, J. A. (1981) *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MANGAN, J. A. (1987) Social Darwinism and upperclass education in late Victorian and Edwardian England. In J. A. Mangan and J. Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, pp. 135-159. Manchester: Manchester University Press .
- MANGAN, J. A. (ed.) (2000) *Making European Masculinities: Sport, Europe, Gender*. London: Frank Cass.
- MANGAN, J., & PARK, R. (eds) (1987) *From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post Industrial Era's*. London: Frank Cass.
- MANGAN, J. A., & WALVIN, J. (eds) (1987) *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press .
- MAXWELL, J. A. (1996) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- MCBRIDE, R. (1996) *Teacher Education Policy: Some Issues Arising from Research and Practice*. London: Falmer Press.
- MERLEAU-PONTY, M. (1962) *The Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- MESSNER, M., & SABO, D. (eds.) (1990) *Sport, Men and the Gender Order*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Press.

- MESSNER, M. (1997) *Politics of Masculinities: Men in Movements*. University of Southern California: Sage Publications
- MILES, M. B., & HUBERMAN, A.M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Second Edition. London: Sage.
- MORGAN, D. (1992) *Discovering Men*. London: Routledge
- MORGAN, D. (1993) You too can have a body like mine: Reflections on the male body and masculinities. In S. Scott & D. Morgan (eds.), *Body Matters*, pp. 69-88. London: Falmer Press
- MOON, B. (1990) *New Curriculum - National Curriculum*. Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton.
- MOORE, H. L. (1993) The differences within and the differences between. In T. Del Valle (ed.), *Gendered Anthropology*, pp. 193-204. London: Routledge
- MOUSTAKAS, C. (1994) *Phenomenological Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- PATTON, M. Q. (1987) *How To Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation*. Newbury Park CA: Sage.
- PATTON, M. Q. (1990) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Newbury Park CA: Sage
- PEASE, B. (1997) *Men and Sexual Politics: Towards a Profeminist Practice*. Adelaide: Dulwich Centre Publications
- PENNEY, D., & EVANS, J. (1999) *Politics, Policy and Practice in Physical Education*. London: Routledge, E & FN Spon.

- PENNEY, D., & CHANDLER, T. (2000) Physical Education: What future(s)? *Sport, Education and Society*, 5 (1), pp. 71-88
- PENNEY, D. (2000) Physical Education, sporting excellence and educational excellence. *European Physical Education Review*, 6(2), pp. 135-150.
- PETERSON, A. (1998) *Unmasking the Masculine: Men and Identity in a Sceptical Age*. London: Sage.
- PFaffenberger, B. (1988) *Microcomputer Applications in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage
- PINK, S. (2001) *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media and Representations in Research*. London: Sage
- PIOTROWSKI, S., & CAPEL, S. (1996) Recent influences on the training of Physical Education teachers in England and Wales. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1, (2), pp. 185-201.
- PLECK, J. (1995) Men's power with women, other men, and society: A men's movement analysis. In M. Kimmel, & M. Messner (eds.), *Men's lives*, pp. 5-12. New York: Allyn & Bacon Press.
- PLUMMER, K. (1983) *Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of the Humanistic Method*. London: Routledge.
- PLUMMER, K. (1995) *Telling Sexual Stories*. London: Routledge.
- PLUMMER, K. (2001) *Documents of Life 2: An Invitation to Critical Humanism*. London: Routledge.
- PRAIN, V. (1998) 'Playing the man' and changing masculinities. In C. Hickey, L. Fitzclarence & R. Mathews, (eds), *Where the Boys Are: Masculinity, Sport and Education*. pp. 13-27. Deakin: Deakin University Press.

- PRATT, S.D. (2000) Teenage kicks: A study of the construction and development of adolescent masculine Identities in organized team sport. In J. Horn, and S. Flemming (eds.), *Masculinities: Leisure Cultures, Identities and Consumption*, pp.22-31. Eastbourne, LSA Publications.
- PRATT, S. & BURN, E. (2000) Every good boy deserves football. Paper presented to the *British Educational Research Conference*. Cardiff 7-9th September 2000.
- PRONGER, B. (1999) Fear and trembling: Homophobia in men's sport. In P. White, & K. Young (eds.), *Sport and Gender in Canada*, pp. 182-196. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- REYNOLD, E. (1997) All they've got on their brains is football: Sport, masculinity and gendered practices of playground relations. *Sport Education and Society*, 2 (1), pp. 5-24.
- RITZER, G. (2000) *The MacDonaldisation of Society*. London: Pine Forge Press.
- ROBBINS, D. (2000) *Bourdieu and Culture*. London: Sage publications
- ROBERTS, K. (1996) Young people, schools, sport and government policies. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1(1), pp. 47-58.
- ROSE, N. (1996) Identity, genealogy, history. In S. Hall. & P. de Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, pp. 128-150. London: Sage.
- ROSSI, T. (1997) Seeing it differently: Physical Education, teacher education and the possibilities of personal construct theory. *Sport Education and Society*, 2 (2), pp. 205-221
- RUTHERFORD, J. (1997) *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire*, Lawrence & Wishart
- RUTHERFORD, J. (1988) Introduction: Avoiding the bends. In R. Chapman, & J. Rutherford, (eds.), *Male Order: Unwrapping masculinity*, pp. 3-20. London: Lawrence & Wishart

- RUTHERFORD, J. (1992) *Men's Silences: Predicaments in Masculinity*. London: Routledge.
- SABO, D., & RUNFOLA, R. (1980) *Jocks: Sports and Male Identity*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.
- SALISBURY, J., & JACKSON, D. (1996) *Challenging Macho values: Practical Ways of Working with Adolescent Boys*. London: Falmer press
- SARAH, E. (1982) Towards a reassessment of feminist history. *Women's Studies International forum*, 5.
- SARUP, M. (1996) *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- SCHWANDT, T.A. (1988) Three epistemological stances for qualitative enquiry. In Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative research*, pp. 189-213. Thousand Oaks, C.A.: Sage
- SCOTT, S. & MORGAN, D. (eds) (1993) *Body Matters*. London: Falmer Press.
- SCRATON, S. (1993) Equality, coeducation and Physical Education in secondary schools. In J. Evans, (ed.), *Equality, Education and Physical Education*, pp. 139-153. London: Falmer Press.
- SEIDLER, V. (1997) *Man Enough: Embodying Masculinities*. London: Sage.
- SHILLING, C. (1991) Educating the body: Physical capital and the production of social inequalities. *Sociology*, 25, pp. 653-672.
- SHILLING, C. (1993a) *The Body and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications.

- SHILLING, C. (1993b) The body, class and social inequalities. In J. Evans (ed.), *Equality, Education and Physical Education*, pp. 55-73. London: Falmer Press.
- SHILLING, C. (1997) The undersocialized conception of embodied agent in modern Sociology. *Sociology*, 32 (4), pp. 737-754.
- SHILLING, C. (1999) Towards an embodied understanding of the structure/agency relationship. *British Journal of Sociology*, 50 (4), pp. 543 -562.
- SHILLING, C., & MELLOR, P. (1996) Embodiment, structuration theory and modernity: Mind/body dualism and the repression of sensuality. *Body and Society*, 2(3), pp. 1-15.
- SILVERMAN, D. (1998) Qualitative/quantitative. In C. Jenks, (ed.), *Core Sociological Dichotomies*, pp. 8-95. London: Sage
- SKELTON, C. (2000) A passion for football: Dominant masculinities and primary schooling. *Sport Education and Society*, 5, 1, pp. 5-18.
- SMITH, J. (1993) *After the Demise of Empiricism*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- SMITH, J. (1997) Learning to live with relativism. In P. Hodgkinson (ed.), *The Nature of Educational Research: Realism, Relativism or Postmodernism*, pp. 24-36. Crewe, School of Education, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- SMITH, J., & DEEMER, D.K. (2000) The problem of criteria in the age of relativism. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln, (eds.), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 877-896. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- SPARKES, A. (1990) *Curriculum Change in Physical Education: Towards a Micropolitical Understanding*. Deakin: Deakin University Press.
- SPARKES, A. (1991) Exploring the subjective dimension of change. In N. Armstrong & A. Sparkes (eds.), *Issues in Physical Education*, pp. 20-35. London: Cassell Education.

- SPARKES, A. (1994) Life histories and the issue of voice: Reflections on an emerging relationship. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 7, pp. 165-183.
- SPARKES, A. (1995) Writing people: Reflections on the dual crises of representation and legitimation in qualitative enquiry. *Quest*, 47, pp. 158-195.
- SPARKES, A. (1996a) Interrupted body projects and the self in teaching: Exploring an absent presence. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 6, pp. 167-187.
- SPARKES, A. (1996b) The fatal flaw: A narrative of the fragile body self. *Qualitative Enquiry*, 2(4), pp. 263-494.
- SPARKES, A. (1996c) Physical Education teachers and the search for self: Two cases of structured denial. In N. Armstrong, (ed.), *New Directions in Physical Education*, pp. 157-178. London: Cassell Education.
- SPARKES, A. (1997) Ethnographic fiction and representing the absent other. *Sport, Education and Society*, 2(1), pp. 25-40.
- SPARKES, A. (1998) Athletic identity: An Achilles heel to the survival of self. *Qualitative Health Research*, 8 (5), pp. 628-648.
- SPARKES, A.C. (1999) Understanding physical education teachers: A focus on the lived body. In M. Mawer & C. Hardy (eds.), *Learning and Teaching in Physical Education*, pp. 171-85. London, Falmer Press,.
- SPARKES, A.C. (1999b) Exploring body narratives. *Sport, Education and Society* 4(1), pp. 17-30.
- SPARKES, A.C. (2001) Myth 94: Qualitative health researchers will agree about Validity. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11 (4), pp. 538-552.

- SPARKES, A.C., & SMITH, B. (1999) Disrupted selves and narrative reconstructions. In M. Silvennoinen & A. Sparkes, (eds.), *Men's Bodies*, pp. 76-92. University of Jyväskylä: SoPhi.
- SPARKES, A., & SMITH, B. (in press) Sport, spinal cord injuries, embodied masculinities and the dilemmas of narrative identity. *Men and Masculinities*.
- SPARKES, A., & TEMPLIN, T.J. (1992) Life histories and physical education teachers: Exploring the meanings of marginality. In A. Sparkes (ed.), *Research In Physical Education and Sport: Exploring Alternative Visions*. Lewes, U.K.: Falmer Press
- SPARKES, A., TEMPLIN, T. & SCHEMPP, P. (1990) The problematic nature of a career in a marginal subject: Some implications for teacher education programmes. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 16, pp. 3-27.
- SQUIRES, S., & SPARKES, A. (1996) Circles of silence: Sexual identity in Physical Education and sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1 (1), pp. 77-102.
- STEDMAN-JONES, S. (1998) Relativism/absolutism. In C. Jenks, (ed.), *Core Sociological Dichotomies*, pp. 123-137. London: Sage
- SWAIN, J. (2000) 'The money's good, the fame's good, the girl's are good': The role of playground football in the construction of young boys' masculinity in a junior school. *British Journal of Sociology*, 21(1), pp. 95-109
- STAUTH, G. & TURNER, B. (1988) *Nietzsche's Dance: Resentment, Reciprocity and Resistance in Social Life*. London: Blackwell
- STRAUSS, A.L. (1987) *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. London: Cambridge
- SYNNOTT, A. (1993) *The Body Social: Symbolism Self and Society*. London: Routledge.
- TALBOT, M. (1993) A gendered Physical Education: Equality and sexism. In J. Evans (ed.), *Teachers, Teaching and Control in Physical Education*, pp. 74-89. London: Falmer Press.

- TEMPLIN, T., & SCHEMPP, P. (1989) An introduction to socialization into Physical Education. In T. Templin,. & P. Schempp, (eds.), *Socialization into Physical Education: Learning to Teach*, pp. 1-12. Indianapolis: Benchmark Press.
- THOMAS, D. (1993) *Not Guilty: In Defence of Modern Man*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- THOMAS, H., & WALSH, D. F. (1998) Modernity/postmodernity. In C. Jenks, (ed.), *Core Sociological Dichotomies*, pp. 363-390. London: Sage
- THOMAS, W.I., & ZNANIECKI, F. (1958 [1917]). *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* New York: Dover Publications.
- THORNE, B. (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- TIERNEY, W.G. (2000) Undaunted courage: Life history and the postmodern challenge. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln, (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 537-553. London, Sage Publications.
- TINNING, R. (1991) *Ideology and Physical Education: Opening Pandora's Box*. Geelong: Deakin University.
- TONKISS, F. (1988) Continuity/change. In Jenks, C. (ed.), *Core Sociological Dichotomies*, pp. 34-48. London: Sage Publications.
- TOZER, M. (1986) Imperial manliness: E.W. Hornung and the 'Game of Life.' In J. Mangan & R. Small (eds.), *Sport, Culture and Society*, pp. 76-83. London: E & F.N. Spon.
- TURNER, B. S. (1984) *The Body and Society*. Oxford: Blackwell Ltd.

- WALSH, D. (1998) Structure/agency. In C. Jenks, (ed.), *Core Sociological Dichotomies*, pp. 8-33. London: Sage Publications,.
- WEBER, M. (1992 [1904-5]) *The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Routledge.
- WEISS, R.S. (1994) *Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interviewing*. New York: Free Press.
- WEITZMAN, E. A., & MILES, M. B. (1995) *Computer Programs for Qualitative Data Analysis: A Software Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks; London; New Delhi: Sage.
- WHITE, P., & YOUNG, K. (eds.)(1999) *Sport and Gender in Canada*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WHITHEAD, N., & HENDRY, L. B. (1976) *Teaching Physical Education in England*. London: Routledge.
- WHITSON, D. (1990) Sport in the social construction of masculinity. In M. Messner, & D. Sabo (eds.), *Sport, men and the Gender Order*, pp. 9-30. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Press.
- WHITTY, G. (1990) The New Right and the National Curriculum: State control or market forces? In B. Moon (ed.), *New Curriculum - National Curriculum*, pp. 15-22. Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton.
- WILLIAMS, A., & BEDWARD, J. (2001) Gender, culture and the generation gap: Student and teacher perceptions of aspects of the National Curriculum Physical Education. *Sport Education and Society*, 6(1), pp. 53-66.
- WILLIAMS, R. (1977) Structures of feelings. In R. Williams (ed.), *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- WILLIS, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. London: Saxon House.
- WILLMOTT, R. (1999) Structure, agency and the sociology of education: Rescuing analytical dualism. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20(1), pp. 5-22.
- WINCH, C. (1996) *Quality and Education*. Trowbridge: Blackwell.
- WOODS, P. (1986) *Inside Ethnography and Educational Research*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- WOODS, P., & TROMAN, G. (2000) *Primary Teachers' Stress*. London: Routledge.
- WRIGHT, J. (1997) The construction of gendered contexts in single sex and coeducational physical education lessons. *Sport Education and Society*, 2(1), pp. 55-72.
- WRIGHT, J. (1998) Reconstructing gender in sport and Physical Education. In C. Hickey, L. Fitzclarence & R. Mathews, (eds), *Where the Boys are: Masculinity, Sport and Education*, pp. 13-27. Deakin: Deakin University Press.
- WRIGHT-MILLS, C. (1959) *The Sociological Imagination*. London: Oxford University Press
- VON DER LIPPE, G. (1997) Gender discrimination in Norwegian academia: A hidden male game or an inspiration for postmodern feminist praxis. In J-M. Fernandez-Balboa (ed.), *Critical Postmodernism in Human Movement, Physical Education and Sport*, pp. 27-38. New York: Suny.
- YOUNG, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princetown, New Jersey: Princetown University Press.

APPENDIX 1:

INTRODUCTORY LIFE STORIES

The following stories are entirely compiled from excerpts of the life history interviews conducted with the participants. As such they are recompositions of the participants own descriptions of their lives, in their own words. These stories not intended to be comprehensive representations of these men's lives but an introduction to their life worlds and their initiation into sport, schooling and a career in Physical Education.

1. Alan's Story

I've grown up in *** London and I when I went to primary school, and went to private secondary school, we didn't have National Curriculum, [did] GCE's A Levels, all that sort of stuff and went and joined a few youth clubs sort of thing, and so never really did much teaching or coaching or anything like that. That is about it really, nothing particularly stunning. [My parents are] teachers, one teaches accountancy the other teaches...used to teach law a bit, and now she sort of like works for the parole board, stuff like that. I've got two brothers -younger, one's at ****University just started a Politics degree, I think the other is doing his GCSE's this year.

My parents always tried to get us involved [in sport], we did like the Hyde Park fun run, we used to do that every year, and like they used to go to the field sports days and they used to try and get us involved with everything playing football, swimming....never like got to do it, but we always enjoyed it anyway so we just did it....Yes not nothing serious just like recreational sport.

[I remember] playing football in the playground with a tennis ball, cos we weren't allowed footballs, and just playing kiss-chase with the girls and just having a laugh you know what I mean, it was just a good laugh. [We] used to have sports days every year and they were 'crap,' about one race and that was your sports day and the youngest class had to run about 20 metres and you got longer distances as you got older and I remember winning every year and that was it really...Oh yes and then they had a high jump competition which I won every year as well which was like, they never had a mat, it was just on sand, so you had to like straddle it instead of like flopping over it, it was a laugh really. We always had quite a big garden at home so you used to, like just take your football out and just get on with your mates and play football in the garden and just like have football parties for birthday parties, and I had a lot of sport when I was younger because I was a very active kid.

As soon as I got to secondary school I thought, oh I'm not going to be playing football much here because like all the big kids had the playground, but it got to the point when they were playing every break time, every lunch time, so I didn't really try for the teams as much as I should have done because, just I just got lazy, I mean I was in the swimming team I was in like the cross country team - but football teams were always like really 'cliquey,' so that never appealed to me because they were cliquey even though that was like my main sport I suppose. So I played outside school...and that got on my nerves and just like, didn't really enjoy school either because of the cliques and in the sixth form everyone grew up a bit. I always felt I was a bit like older, not older like a bit more mature up there [points to head]. I remember the first year I come in [to the classroom], and everyone was doing Country dancing, all these lads dancing round right - just lads, know what I mean, dancing around in circles holding hands, and like the whole class was doing it. I was just standing there, just remember thinking you 'wankers' and it was like that up until the Sixth form.

Well I did eventually [play school football] because it was the choice between that and rugby and I wasn't built for rugby, so I played football anyway and got into the teams that way just by doing it Wednesday afternoons - so I was never like in the clique...Originally I went in there that's why I never got involved in the first team because my mates weren't in the first team, and I went in the second I was captain of the second. More football than rugby - the rugby was like 'piss poor,' but basically it was swimming because there was a swimming pool we used to win the [local] championships every year and I was in the water polo team a few times as well - nothing really serious. It was all sport - never really came first it was just like an extra curricular thing as it is here it is like a hobby rather than a lifestyle you know what I mean, which I, [is] how I reckon it should be you can't let it take over your life can you.

If you are on the outside and you see the cliques it is just like I never be bothered to get into the clicks because it always seemed like they were all following one person and it was like being - cliquey generally - you know what I mean and it doesn't appeal to me, same here the cliques/creeps are in all the teams and it doesn't appeal to me in any way because they all just love each other and like they seem to go out and make lots of noise and basically be 'ass holes' and that doesn't appeal to me....Strange opinion for this place you know.

[In the sixth form] I tried like to get back into that sort of thing but I didn't because of the cliques again I went to the football trials and it was like if you played for someone if you'd been like in a team then you were going to get in immediately if you'd played for like Tottenham under eighteen's you going to naturally get in, but if you were good enough, and you hadn't played for a team then they wouldn't consider you - that was the way I saw it - and like I just it didn't appeal to me so I went and played up for *** Town, the Old English Gentlemen and that and I'm still playing. I got walloped in here on my knee so which has affected the speed when I am playing sport. They could either operate on it and it would have affected me later on in life which would have helped me out now or just left it and it won't effected later on so I have just left it and it's like still it pops out now and then I move my knee and it goes back.

I was good at English so I choose English, History interested me and Civilization seemed like to be very interesting which it was. In the sixth form, very far back down the line, I was smoking a bit and going out a lot, I still played sport still played on a Sunday but not like competitively as much as I used to just like because I had other priorities then. I always knew I was good at PE, I still was at that age, you know what I mean, I was best if not the best in the class like you know I mean a lot fitter than other people in the school, as, that was why I chose like *** (university) to come to because it was like the only thing I

really enjoyed was sport even... [I] didn't think I would be good enough to do a degree. [My academic standard was] middling, I didn't think I was going to pass the GCSE's I was ready to go college to do a BTECH like. I passed them then I didn't think I was going to pass my A levels, I did and come here - so it was all like a surprise really.

[My University career was] maybe a bit wasted - yes because I think I should have joined more societies and clubs and basically tried to stay in shape a bit better because this is the top sport University and I managed to like loose all of my fitness on the beer. So, yes a bit of a waste really...At the end of it when I realized that I've finished I thought, I look back on it I thought well I haven't really done that much you know I've just got my degree you know, I got an alright degree but nothing great, but I wasted my three years a bit. Like I say coming back here this year I going to try and change it, but whether I can or not we'll see.

I don't know maybe it's just because like the clique thing again - maybe it's just been like going to follow me around for the rest of my life, you know just kind of stay out of the mainstream. The people who I like hang around with aren't exactly the sporty people they are like more people either 'townies' or people who go clubbing and do drugs and shit and it's just like I got more in common with them like just as people, as opposed to the going out and being hammered on Friday night. You know I mean like ...it doesn't appeal...Even the friends I've got at home I'm never like, I'm not like with one set of friends, I've got loads of different friends and I'll go and see them all for like short periods of time and move on sort of thing.

[I don't know what to do] other than travelling not really no - I didn't want to get a job yet. I will get travelling after this [PGCE] I think just that I want to get some more qualifications before I go off. Well I don't know it's not really my main choice it's really because I wouldn't mind going into life being a fitness instructor or something like that and you need an Education Degree or Post Graduate Degree to get into that, to get into like the really big bucks or there - so that sort of thing but also doing the primary school thing I realized I actually do quite like children - like some of them are alright- and you do get a slight bit of a feeling when something goes well, so a few reasons you know what I mean. I sort of fell into it you know what I mean because I didn't really have anything else to do so I thought I'd do that, but then when I actually did the thing [school placement] I realized like you actually have quite a laugh with the kids and that, that's what I'm worried about as well because if you have too much of a laugh you get you know I mean discipline issues. [I was] 'never really a classroom sort of sit at the desk sort of person I mean, more like up for doing things.

My parents were pushing me to try and do it like, to be a teacher because they knew that in life you need to get something under your belt and I was like yes I will give it a go, but now I've actually decided to do it...[they are] all very positive about that they have always been positive supporting you know what I mean, in everything I've ever wanted to do and I have enjoyed and they would like push me towards it. They are very positive about it, because my mum was very worried that I was going to go off and just drift somewhere you know and be like just a - not a loser - you know, just go off and travel for the next 20 years and no proper qualifications and she is well happy that I have done this and my Dad is like with her as well I suppose. They are a bit dubious about it because they know me quite well and they don't think I've got the patience for it, they were all like going 'oh you're not going to be able to do it and all that' I'm like 'yeah we'll see.' Yeah they took the piss to start with, but they can really say anything yet cos I haven't even started. I know I haven't got any patience but we'll see how it goes in the classroom maybe... it will be interesting. 'I am a bit worried - but nothing that like is going to stop me trying to do it - I will do it.' This is like the biggest sort of step I've taken to do something for myself - this is like a proper step so I wouldn't mind trying to make a proper go of it.

I don't think I like all this National Curriculum stuff, I think once it is too formulated. I believe they should learn how to play the sports but if they don't enjoy it there is no way there are going to learn is there....Yes to try and make it enjoyable for as many kids as possible, obviously not everyone is going to enjoy it because it is not like that - if you can get the majority in the class enjoying it then I think you are doing a good job. Make it enjoyable, that's it. [Also] a sense of humour, patience, which I haven't got - but we will see, a bit of sensitivity I suppose and obviously you've got skill in sport, and like a variety of sports you know what I mean you can't be like a one sport player, which is alright for me because you need quite a few sports.

I just see it as a job, maybe that's the wrong view but that's...I would just see it as a job and I wouldn't see it as permanent either, cos no one tends to stick around in any job for that long. I've seen like what old teachers are like and they're all nutters...I've seen teachers like that like you got no respect from the kids, what's the point doing it if you can't get respect...because you don't listen to them, because you're too caught up in your own thing, because you don't have any sense of humour because you've got no control over them. I think all teachers should be young anyway because you've got far easier to relate to the kids if you're like the same generation which we will be then...

Alan fulfilled his promises to himself and completed the course successfully, he then decided to fulfil another aspiration - travel, and he left for Canada soon after the course ended.

2. Peter's story

I originate from a village just outside *** and been in the state school system all my life through from infant school through to high school. Stayed on at the high school to do A levels after my GCSE's two years and came to *** I think it was, 1994 straight after my A levels, no year out and been there ever since basically. My mum is a shop assistant, works in office work as well but dad is a service technician basically they are both from working class backgrounds really, the place I mean I don't suppose I can call myself working class, but my roots are definitely working class background, the place we live is semi rural village that could be, really again got to be described as working class . [I have] one brother who is two years older than me who is twenty three or he is a year and a half older than me he is a graduate as well. My grandfather used to play almost professional rugby, my dad has always been interested in sport, all different various types of sport and that's really all on my fathers side. The other side are not particularly sporty at all ...I think that was slightly to do with because mum's side of the family has got osteoporosis, so they've always shied away from sport.

I've been in the state school system all my life through from infant school to high school stayed on at the high school to do A levels after my GCSE's two years and came to **** in 1994 straight after my A levels, no year out.

The infant school - it is a semi rural place so they are quite small schools fed completely by the local village so the infant school was a very, quite ..a.. modern school modern buildings that made it feel like a modern school, quite a small school as I say with maybe 200 people. The Junior school was an old school which gave it a traditional feel I suppose it was really in that when I was there it was definitely a traditional school we did English and Maths and reading, we just done the three 'r's [and] playing games basically - it was a really traditional school.

I 've got definitely early memories outside school - I always played for teams or whatever at football, in different sports I suppose my earliest memory of PE as such in school was at infant school which is gymnastics really. We used to get the ropes out and

mats out and boxes and things and I can remember walking through the foot showers and all the towels and things ... so just, just general really, vague memories, at infant school and then through the junior school, it's gets a lot clearer to me at junior school...It was just a very traditionally games based school basically, the PE lessons were actually concentrated on rounders and football and out of school activities were just again based around football and team games like that, so really just games based. I played a lot of cricket, athletics a lot of sports basically a lot of squash. I always enjoyed, still enjoy football...I do really enjoy playing sports not to any high standard.

As when I first, when I first started playing most of my friends would have been involved in sport but I carried on playing while my friends fell away and I would say when I first started playing most of my friends, circle of friends, were involved in sport but now only very few of my friends are still involved actively in sport...Take my brother for example because he's the complete opposite of me he is very sedentary not into sport at all really so he contrasts the two of us probably. As far as I remember I was lucky I was quite good at the sports. I always enjoyed it and always took part and always involved so for me it was great. But all through High School definitely yes I mean again I was always taking part, captains of the side you know, so you always get involved and always close to the PE circle. I suppose the relationship you have with PE teachers taking you for out of school games and activities is different. [It] is a lot different to just a normal subject teacher. It was more like a out of school athlete coach relationship you support more on a similar level, not teacher up there pupil down there, so that was the difference. It's a different relationship to every other teacher, so it's the similar relationship, cause you play for footballs teams it's a similar relation to the manager there, so I suppose it is...it's less formal so that's probably a better thing yes.

I was lucky in that I was...not lucky, but I was quite bright and good at sport, so I was always involved, I suppose because I never really gave the teachers any trouble, I just got on with the work and then enjoyed the outdoor activities so probably a pupil they enjoyed teaching, I suppose - if that doesn't sound too big headed. I never really hated any subjects, I was always, really favoured the English and History and subjects like that, less maths and science, but never hated any subjects.

Originally I started playing the local team that dad was involved in. He was actually coach and then I was...I progressed. He always followed me around followed my career and still does today basically. My mum has always been the same as well. My dad would be at nearly every game my mum didn't miss many either so there always really good parental support. It's just something I grew up with, I didn't know at the time anything different - it's changed now, but at that time it was just natural...that's the way it was - I liked the fact that they wanted to be involved and wanted to come and watch me, I did enjoy that. [My parents] were very involved.

I was signed for two years with a professional club for the schoolboy level and as you get towards the end of that two year contract there is a split then you go to either YTS or you go back into not professional football. It was made quite clear at the time if you weren't 100 percent committed to football you would struggle an awful lot to carry on at that level. So I suppose I always knew that I wanted to carry on with school and go to University...or...that was in the back of my mind, so I had to make a choice at that age of 16/15 and a half 16 to go away from professional sport and go toward academic. The most probably difficult one was before then I was actually playing at a professional club and there was, almost a choice that had to be made at that stage whether you were going to go on to academic life and go that way or you are going to branch off the other way and that was probably the only time when the two created a problem, but at A levels it was always...I managed to fit it quite easily.

I feel completely happy about it because I saw just in those two years, I saw just what professional sport was like and how you train...your as a commodity, so, it wasn't really a hard decision for me I was ready probably at that stage to get out anyway and go back to not as a serious a level so there was no real conflict. I would always say get the education first have something you know you can come back to because its a very fickle, very fickle thing to be involved in but I wouldn't discourage everybody completely from doing it. I wouldn't completely say 'oh don't go anywhere near it.' But from my experience I would prefer to be playing at a lower level and have another life as well at the same time so - that's just my experience I can't... whether I would have i probably would not have made it anyway, so I might have known in the back of my mind gone the other way so that could have tempered what I thought of the situation.

GCSE's - I actually considered...Well I felt I wanted to get a job and not go into higher education then I felt I wanted to go into a Law Degree - and then I just tack completely and always had this background that I wanted to be involved in sport and thought that would be a good way to involved and the more I came through the A levels the more I came into the Degree that became a became a lot stronger.

Because of the tradition that **** [university] has even with people who aren't involved in higher education, it is a place to go to do sport at, a gym-sport related degree so when I decided to make my choices, that was always going to be the top of my list and if I got there that was brilliant but even then I would go to somewhere else underneath that, but that was the main reason. Well obviously they [my parents] were proud I think definitely they were happy that I got there I wanted to go and proud that I actually got there and everything goes with doing well I suppose. They were... I think they were of the opinion that they wanted to give their sons as much as they could and get them as much higher education as they didn't have they were denied from their school and they were fully just as bright as we were but just denied through circumstances - so they wanted to push their sons through - there were no pressure - if they didn't want to go to higher education there was no pressure to do that but if they wanted to go there - there was full support. I think again they were just happy for me to do what I wanted to do and in fact if it had been to go through football they would have supported me in that but again there was, they were definitely happy that I chose to come to university - so they were really happy either way - I mean that there was never any pressures to follow any particular route. I would say, the opportunity - I got the chance to play sports I hadn't played for a while and actually branched out a bit more but still played football and that was always my main sport.

I enjoyed every aspect of [my undergrad.. years] I enjoyed all, ninety nine percent of the work and definitely enjoyed the social side as well, plus the sporting side when I look back I haven't any regrets about anything or wish I had done something differently, just a really good experience. I think it [sport] has provided, especially in the latter years, it has provided a good escape from, basically academic work has been a nice way to relax and unwind and meet new people and meet lots of friends and have a really good time - I mean I'm obviously taking the sports very seriously, but there again it's a nice relief from actually studying that's what I would say basically.

I wasn't completely resigned to the fact that I wanted to be a PE teacher I was looking into going into marketing at one stage - I actually found when I expressed a preference to go in PE teaching a lot people in teaching said it was a very silly choice, not a silly choice but you should think very carefully before you go into it so at that stage I probably thought I will keep my options open and that's when I started looking at marketing. But I would say always I wanted to give it a go if I could, try and give it a go and see if I liked it and ...And hopefully I would carry on and take it from there.

I think it was because the urge to do teaching was getting stronger and I never really been particularly been motivated by money anyway so that wasn't really a factor. I just felt at the it might be a quite interesting thing to look at and maybe get involved in. But like I say, as I went through the undergraduate course I just got more into the idea of thinking that I'd like to do teaching and thinking that I could have something to give in PE teaching, so that's basically from then on what I concentrated upon...it's always been her I would imagine but it just got more gradually stronger, as the undergraduate course went on.

I think I was already decided before I filled in the application form obviously I was decided then but I don't think I can actually name a point when I actually said right this is what I am going to do and that is it - I think it's just gradually and I thought yes I really want to do this and through the applications and then decided where I wanted to go and what subjects I wanted to study and enthusiasm built and built as I was going through this and then I just really wanted to get started this year.

I've had really such a good experience with all the PE teachers I have known perhaps because I was quite talented and was keen to do it but right throughout my school career the PE experience has always been happy experiences and I have got so much out of sport, I mean its probably the stock answer but I've got so much out of sport that if I can just get more people to get involved, not at competitive level just at social level as well as a competitive level, then I think that would be of benefit to their lives as it's been to mine. As I was going, through the undergraduate course you get to see the physiology grounding that people need to be active and you can have more people being active, then this can only be good for society...I suppose looking back you looked at the PE Teachers job and you thought that would be a nice job to do but that's just from a child's prospective and I suppose you knew that you were good at sport and you knew you were respected by a lot of people so you...probably sound a cliché but you probably ...the PE teacher - obviously my dad was still playing sport at the time so I definitely, he was definitely an influence - basically people....

I think my parents wanted me to get to do something that I basically wanted to do, but they did have the...they expressed the opinion that perhaps teaching financially couldn't could give me as much as other some other areas could so I suppose from their point of view wanted to make sure I wasn't, sounds daft but, under selling myself to an extent - but that was never really, it was never really serious thing, they just mentioned it and friends it is quite interesting because again they are of the opinion that a teacher is a quite a low thing to aim for...quite a low target to aim for so from their point of view I'm not probably not stretch myself as far as I could - from family and friends point of view.

[Friends] were going in the private sector so I would imagine they would be earning more than I will be earning. Yes well its definitely I think that's how they see it they will be earning more than I will and I will be stuck in the - the public sector and not earning as much - but that again like, it's never been a deciding factor really for me, that's definitely the response from my friends. It's difficult from actually peers at **** because a lot of my friends are actually on the PE course or on the undergraduate PE course so a lot of them have come through into teaching or if they haven't got into teaching they know that it is a valid subject to go in to doing and they respect that so there's been no dissenting voices from my peers at university. I think they have seen and have a respect for the subject and they realize that PE teaching is not just an easy subject to go into - I think I was a another impression with my friends [from home] not that I was just going into teaching, but I was actually going into PE teaching, which they didn't value as an academic subject so they just saw it as a...me taking the easy route, and not wanting to stretch myself. I wouldn't like to think that people have got the impression of PE as being just a waste of time and an easy thing to teach I would regret it if they had that opinion...if they express that opinion to me it

doesn't actually bother myself, but if they were attacking the subject as a whole I'd have to try put them straight on that.

At the moment I've got no reservations at all, I'm I think I am, quite open-minded, I know that it is going to be hard work and I've not any illusions that it's going to be easy course to do, but I am ready now I think to go actually and do something more vocational and it's something like say that I've been quite enthused throughout a number of years, so I'm actually looking forward to in the workplace.

I think the PE teacher has got to be, the danger of PE teachers is to get cut off from the rest of the staff room and the rest of the teaching staff and to be just a PE teacher it gives them the sports side of the school, I don't agree with that. In my own experience I mean I got quite close links with my old school and the teachers there it is one particular case I think, he has become distanced from the rest. Always on a social basis he is very close and all that stuff I think on the academic side he has been distanced from the rest of the staff. It [PE] should be involved with all aspects and completely integrate with the staff and the other teachers which I think is a good reason to have a subsid. subject. I think the PE teacher should try and get an active PE department not just for competitive side of the sport which I think is important, but not as important as getting everybody involved because like I say when I was at school I was involved in everything I've actually got a good insight into how PE departments...because my brother was completely turned off by PE because he wasn't good at sport and because he wasn't particularly interested in what they were offering team games team sports he was always turned off by that so he's actually a good person to talk to of what a PE teacher should be like and he says that he wishes that they had been more inclusive and not concentrated like me who were involved in sport; offered things that they wanted to do rather than team games, such as indoor sport, badminton sports whatever and so I think the PE teacher has so many roles to play to so many different people.

I think I am learning now through the course that we're doing the gymnastics, the dance, that actually I would be I would really want to teach those because you get, well I think you have got a problem in games that you have quite a few guys who want to or girls who want to do it [but] the people who don't want to do it, I don't see how you can motivate them there are ways you can motivate them but you have got to go outside and it could be cold and it could be you could be a turn off to some people who might associate football or rugby with just doing games and playing a game and not with other aspects such as learning skills or whatever or getting to know the game not from a playing side but from other sides I think you could have a big you could turn off from team games simply because they are team games so I think through gymnastics cause it's new to them and it's new it would be new to me I think I would be more enthusiastic in motivate them to do more through dance gymnastics and although I've got no experience in that I think having been taught, the ways of teaching I think that would be I think I would enjoy teaching gymnastics, just as much as I would enjoy teaching any team game - I just thinks its, I need to begin the knowledge of how to teach and that's the only barrier I think in my mind...I mean the only problem I can see for me teaching that [Dance] is that I am not experienced at that but I've not got any preconceived ideas about not wanting to teach dance because it's an aesthetic sport rather than / or I should teach football and ... rugby or cricket or whatever so again the only barrier is that at the moment I'm not particularly qualified to teach dance and hopefully through the PGCE course I will at the end be qualified, in my own mind to teach it.

I think, I would try and get away from the fact that you have got to be good at it I mean I wouldn't say I was completely terrible at gymnastics and I'd probably at a higher standard than a lot of the children I would be teaching, so that wouldn't be a problem I don't think - in those situations I would rather get the kids enjoying what they are doing and actually be enthusiastic to do it and then to learn skills and then to get back to them. Rather

than saying right were doing gymnastics were going to do a vault there, I don't think that's the way to go.

I don't really think that I will be changed personally in a great amount. I don't think and I supposed the change from a student life to a teacher that is quite a big change but I think I will be prepared to do that anyway because I have talked to people who have done the course before so I think I was ready for that change anyway - but no I can't really see - obviously my behaviour in the school in that situation will be more conservative... than it would have been conservatively than it would have been if I had of been just going to lectures as a student I would think so it probably will change in that respect in the school time my image might be different to that what it is outside of school like. Obviously I will pick up skills that perhaps they expect from a PE teacher or a teacher in general but I think in a year it would be sort of unbelievable to think that I'm going to change it's going to mould me so much that I become a completely different person in that year and that my background has not had any affect I think it will have a big affect on what kind of teacher [I will be] .

Paul was not only successful in his PGCE year, he was immensely positive about it and keen to begin teaching immediately after it, he is now teaching PE in the Midlands.

3. Derek's story

Well I'm Welsh, my name is [Derek James], I'm from *** Wales near *** about fifty miles outside of *** and I came to *** because of it's reputation and professionalism and this teacher training course this year and I have been very impressed with how professional it is so far the induction and the outline of what we are going to do over the next year - very impressed. My father is a farmer, but that industry has gone through bad times recently, I think he's selling up now because he has only got a small farm and he can't really earn a lot, a big living on that so he is a farmer, and my mother... they've separated, so my mother works for a parcel delivery firm. She was working in the vans but that's quite heavy work lifting the parcels and everything. So she is now in the office working part time. I have a sister - she's eighteen and she is training to be a chef - she's training at a local college nearby.

My family really isn't sporting at all perhaps, my uncle on his side is quite sporting and one of my other uncles is quite sporting as well. But I basically got into sport because of my friends and peers, it was the 'in' thing to do I guess in school and then once you get into it you start enjoying it, that's where you go forward then. Football is my real main sport and I have played for the county and I had my trial to go on further to the... Play for my country and unfortunately I had a really bad trial in that and things didn't work out, at the start I wanted to be a professional footballer I guess, but then I switched to rugby knowing that's the main sport area if I'm going through the avenue of teaching it would help a lot it's got to the extent now I prefer the sport I am really enjoying it. I played my first fifteen at school then and recently I've joined one of the top clubs in my area - second division side, they're pretty much, almost professional - semi-professional and I hope when I, after this year to get in one of their main sides and I've played for the University for the last two or three years - second team level.

I remember in our early years we had a PE teacher who was reasonably enthusiastic, he was a big rugby man and I was soccer player and in those days and it just wasn't the done thing, some of his lessons were very poor you know up till form three he was like our teacher, he started, because the National Curriculum, the govt. started getting onto teachers a lot more, I think he had arguments with the headmaster and he left then. And a new PE teacher came in very forward looking more progressive, recently qualified and that's when I

started developing more interest in PE and he was a lot better at this job, that helped a lot, yes I always enjoyed PE. I was a late developer physically, I was a lot smaller than my friends up until about sixteen perhaps that was another thing shied me away from rugby, a little bit and then sixteen to eighteen, I sort of shot up and I started doing a lot of weights because I went into rugby more and then my friends see me about town now when I come home and they don't recognize me sort of thing - completely different.

It was a state school my high school about 800 pupils and it was quite rural and quite a large catchment area 20 miles perhaps. I started getting in with the wrong crowds from one to three and it certainly came home to me that if you don't start working you need to get on and to get a good career - from three onwards I got into it. I enjoyed history, basically that's my subsidiary subject now. We had a very good teacher in maths as well I was quite lucky with my teachers and economics was the other, I did them in GCSE and A levels those three, PE I did at A level as well, and I followed those through, yeah my favourite subjects, I had three A's at a level, I couldn't believe it when I had them and a lot of that was due to good teaching.

I finished my A levels and well I went out to get a job in the summer, I joined Princes Trust volunteers and that was a personal development course mainly, fund raising - a lot of fund raising, help in the community the first week was in outdoor adventurous activity centre - team building - a lot of that and then half way through it was August we went to Romania and painted a school, went in the bus mini bus that our also fund raising company and then as soon as I finished that I came straight to ***.

The first year, it wasn't too bad I found at all I found levels almost similar to A level so I had no problems there the second and third year I found time management difficult it's not one of my skills my skills, it's going to have to improve, you'd play your game you'd be out in the evening perhaps with your friends in the team or whatever and certainly an area I have to improve I found myself cramming a lot of work in before the exams, towards the end - it's started to get better certainly the third year got better with me.

I am a bit injury prone, I got a pulled muscle inside the shoulder or I've felt a bit of knee trouble twisted knee or something. It was very frustrating more than anything because you would find yourself getting on, you would be doing well perhaps an opportunity to move over to the seconds or firsts you know consolidate and that would come along and you find yourself going backwards...I'd lose fitness more than anything, you come back, take a week or two to get back into it and you'd find because *** there are so many good players around you find you'd lost your place perhaps...that was the main thing. You tend to lose a bit because you only know the people in your team for three years certainly at the start, if you have an injury at the start of the second year or first year you tend to have to work harder to get inside the group then because you have out for a while you tend not to go watch training or not training or not because you don't want to sit on the sideline, if anything in terms of academic studies the injuries were a bonus you know you find...oh I'll catch up yeah, you know that was the only plus of it yeah.

My main intention was to go to *** for three years and then go back to Cardiff because I'd like to teach in that area, but it didn't quite work out but that was what I was thinking of at the time. I considered I have a deep interest in exercise physiology and training I've had quite an interest in that. I considered the avenue of fitness adviser for a top sports organization or something like that or even a gym I considered then you might be working weekends and a lot longer hours and perhaps working with adults who have let them self go certainly in fitness, really it didn't really appeal to me a heck of a lot so - that's always a second avenue, I went for a job when I was still deciding whether to go to Cardiff or *** before that you know just for a year out, so it's still something to fall back on I think, certainly given the Degree I have done - a second avenue I suppose.

My mother's side were quite supportive they thought that it was a good profession to go into to it was a good, perhaps my Gran on my father's side thought well what do you want to spend the rest of your life doing that for but she didn't really understand PE because there was not any sport in her background my father is not very sporting either so they found it a bit difficult because they thought because I had done quite well at A levels and what have you they thought why not be a bank manager and then get low interest rates all that comes with that but no I wanted to do something I enjoy doing so...yes generally supportive. I found my college peers here and my friends at home they did a similar course at Cardiff or elsewhere and they were either for or against teaching I think, it was one of those careers when you got to be for it or against it. And they were a lot of my friends were against teaching they didn't want to do it.

I am very excited of what's ahead, but a bit daunted as well about the workload be able to cope. Certainly when I finish hopefully if I pass then go to teach and fit in the rugby as well - time management is going to be hard, got to have professionalism but I think whatever you do I think it's going to be, you got to put your mind to it. I think to play perhaps semi-professional level, I think you can't really compete with professionals, to do your job well in both of them I don't think you can do it no - I think the level I'm looking to play at you could probably just still manage it. The training demands and to do the teaching well as well, I mean I know a lot of teachers cos it's quite a rugby they wanted to stay in sport, there was no career in rugby at the time so they are teachers now and they are still trying to combine the two, well perhaps the teaching is suffering but there still a lot of bad teachers around in *** I won't say that they are bad intentionally but perhaps they are not doing the job as well as they could be - and that I think professionally I think it is difficult to combine the two.

I think what it needs to be is to be able to work with children I always get a great buzz working with, passing on all the knowledge and experiences I have had in PE, you know reflecting on the negative ones and perhaps trying to shape those into the way I teach and try and think about those as you do teach and you know, think about the sport for all especially participation, and I want everyone to have positive experiences in my classes. Perhaps focus extra curricular on the better players or the better sportsman of whatever sport because there is a temptation to focus on those even in the PE class and I think that is wrong sort of focus onto the PE more than the sport we conceptualize it as sport sometimes too much.

I would like to work in a state school and (11-13) I would like to teach GCSE and A level PE if possible and in my personal suggestion I would like to teach nearer home if I could in South Wales or nearby and near a quite good rugby club. I suppose that's a personal view, but yes I would like to work in a state school I think. Yes I think I would like to work in a school where the resources where you could deliver good PE I mean we did this last year (...a year 3 module) about some schools which just haven't got the facilities and there is two comprehensive schools near me who haven't got a track or a swimming pool between them whereas my old school had swimming pool, a track it had all the facilities and it made it a lot easier for a PE teacher because it is resource intensive, you do need resources to deliver PE as well as, you can but I guess that's a problem that would come round anyway that wouldn't bother me too much.

I think it's impossible to develop into a very good teacher in one year I think it's got to be a gradual process. You develop skills of varying your teaching styles classroom management and that, it comes with experience a lot of it I think. Yes I think this media image it is not helping of what PE has been conceptualized as you know I think its going to be very difficult but the profession ought to get away from this conceptualization of PE as sport as you know focusing on Rugby the main sports of the school and because there are

still a lot of schools not implementing the National Curriculum as well as it could be, perhaps, you know. PE is seen as, well a chance for children to get release from their studies, just for them to enjoy themselves and you know perhaps be given a ball to play with it sometimes happens as well I saw that at my primary school to a certain extent the PE is getting less important I think it's important for the PE department to work against that and try and work with their colleagues and reinforce that PE is important.

For what I've heard about the National Curriculum there's positives and negatives about it. I think, from my point of view, I think it's given a context from which you can teach and it's given there is schemes of work that need to be delivered for each activity area and it's broad and it gets a bit narrower as it go to stage four which. I think the PE curriculum in the past could be criticized for not doing that, you know teachers spent too much on games they wouldn't deliver they would shy away from aspects such as perhaps, dance, gymnastics slightly.

I hope to carry on well up close to retirement age, I think if you keep yourself healthy and fit and you have luck with your health and what have you I think it is possible to still be a good PE teacher well up until retiring age almost and perhaps I can develop my subsidiaries subject history well enough to be of use in the school as well that would help me as well. Perhaps, as I get on I might consider a further avenue working in the Sport Council or if some Sport Development Officer a job that specifically suited me and my strengths and perhaps I would consider a change mid-way through perhaps - yes.

Derek successfully completed his course and got a job in Wales in the area he wanted to work in. He now teaches in a state comprehensive and continues to play semi-professional rugby.

4. Shaun's story

My name is Shaun Pring and I have come from ***, [in the North of England]. I did my A levels in Geography and PE. I come here and done Geography and PE, got a 2.2 and now I'm doing Geography and (PE) during my PGCE. My dad's a solicitor and my mum's a teacher she's always been qualified as a teacher since she left university. As soon after she left university I was born and she didn't work for quite a while and then I've got twin sisters who are now eighteen so she didn't work for quite a while and before she went into teaching she did something with the YTS and the post office something like that and then she did of supply and my brother who is now nine came along and then, when he was about three or four she started looking into teaching again and that's what she is doing now .

My sisters have just gone to...one has gone to Cardiff and one's gone to Bangor, they've both gone to Wales so there must be something wrong there □They weren't going to go this year, but they have had to with it being next year with [the imposition of fees]. One is doing, well they weren't particularly sure what they wanted to do so they've just done something interesting really - one just a language and communications type thing and the other one has a done tourism and leisure type course.

My dad used to play a lot of rugby dad was born in Bath, I was born in Bath my dad was brought up in Bath so he played a lot of rugby (but it's all been football for me). My sisters had it rammed down their throats, they used to play hockey and netball teams at school as soon as they left school that was it they stopped. Mum doesn't do much, my brother plays a lot of football so we're quite sporty but... I've always been very, not been pressured to do it, but if we ever need lift or a pair of boots it's not been a problem -it's very supportive yeah.

I lived in Gloucester before I moved to ***, and even though I played football in Gloucester you weren't allowed to play football until your third year at Primary school, so we weren't really given that many opportunities. But when I arrived in *** it was, I think I was about Junior One something like, that and that was, I made friends straight away and they all played all the time and I did.

I fell into a group and that's what they were doing - you know I loved it and I think it is because we were all Man. United fans as well. So like it sounds a bit daft but I was used to like Bryan Robson and he was great. If I could have swapped shoes with anyone it would have been Bryan Robson. I went to his first game - I wasn't very old - I know the game, we beat West Brom. at home three nil ...Just great, brilliant, there were two bits to the day I remember the first bit when we were parking our car outside of Old Trafford - its all been developed now, it was about a mile from the grounds and there was some waste ground I don't know if you know the area but Kellogg's has just bought a big thing there now and they're their offices and dad was parking his car and some, and shall we say, local young lads, nice way to put it, said you know, we'll mind your car for you, because they always do, they were outside of Main Road more because there is more terraced housing, my dad said we've only got a tenner, and I remember them shouting back, 'that will do' and that was my first memory that - just being outside the ground with ... where we sat after that...I was lucky enough to get season tickets a few years later.

Well I used to do swimming mainly, I used to do everything at school, and then but by the secondary I had to start to make some choices, of what I wanted to do because I couldn't do everything, so I dropped swimming and just did football and I've have always been part the school teams and I had (played for *** team for boys and *** Town Youth) and I went on to *** County as well and since I came here I have done seconds mainly. I probably didn't have, shall I say as many social experiences, as a lot of others who weren't playing sport. Because I was, you now it was all the time. Like a typical weekend I'd play school football on Saturday morning and then I'd go and watch United in the afternoon, which was great. And then I had a least one game on Sunday, and that went on for quite a while, it was a lot. Any family gatherings we had...it would be considered a black mark almost if you don't turn up. It is not been uncommon for us to go and me dad to bring me back on my own, and then for me dad to go back and pick me up some time ...And it's like and hours drive to *** but he's been there, I've been there with him and he's come back and watched the game (Shaun playing football) then we both go back. I don't think at the time I realized it, it's just what dad's did, but now, when I look back, I'm really very grateful of it yeah. Not all dad's do that...I didn't really realize that till perhaps now. Because at the moment I help my brother's team...I do a lot of coaching anyway. I've been coaching my brother's side and not all the parents, the same sort of football teams that I'm into even within the same sort of teams the same sort of area and you can get, not all your parents there are so committed. They may be committed in other areas you know but perhaps football isn't their number one.

The school was a comprehensive - quite a big one it was about 1500 people when I was there and I think it's nearly 2000 now and I think probably because the positive things I had from that, which is why I'm not it doesn't bother me like going into schools teaching for a while anyway. At school, there was about five or six of us who literally had a practice... at lunch time and after school as well that's what was the main reason for going to school, in the winter it was rugby and football that was what it was then if the football team didn't have a game we were drove into playing rugby and then in summer it was we had a very keen tennis teacher and we used to go before school and at lunch time and after school but since then I have not had the opportunity to do it really there wasn't at college [Further Ed.] and when you don't play for two years it's hard, frustrating because you know you are doing

wrong, it just annoys me. I was always big - I was always one of the biggest in the class. I never really thought of it much I wasn't one of these people who, because there was always quite a few big lads in around the school I was at, so I didn't really stand out - to me at the time I didn't really stand out it wasn't really it didn't really affect me at all.

This very keen tennis teacher for boys and he was also our football bloke so we got to know him very well I haven't seen him for quite a while - but there's lads who have just arrived here from ***, a couple of freshers and they were saying they live nearer the school than I do and they see more of this particular PE teacher. And he is still there now - apparently they were asking that I should go and see him - so. If I wanted to talk to him I would feel I could just pop in and say hello...I would be quite happy to go back and teach in my old school if the opportunity arose it would be great - if I could stay in the area I would go back to my old school.

I'd find it easier to go and speak to him during school than perhaps someone else [other teachers] on certain matters, he was more relaxed - we had sort of um in practice he was a different person to what he was in lessons. I mean, I didn't lose any respect for him, liked was still your PE teacher. He was always someone that I would listen to if he had anything to say about football or tennis or anything I would take his word as gospel really - that's what happened really. My PE teacher once told me in about the third year, he said you should try and work really hard and get to *** which was the best place to do PE he said and that was always in the back of my mind but at times it didn't really mean much to me like but then I'd never heard of it really, and then a few people I know the years previously said it was good.

Academically, I always got on alright, I was never really over worried - I got worried when it comes to exam time and things like that but never had any other problems it was good. I did Geography for my GCSE as well - I worked quite hard for those you know fairly hard. My dad is a very, was very, shall I say encouraging, when it comes to revision and so I did those - I got five A's two 'B's and a 'C' so I was more than happy, and when it came to A level I couldn't decide which ones to do, I did six in the first two weeks and then I settled down to just the three - so it was alright. The six I was did was obviously were the Geography, PE, Economics, all the way through, and then the other three I tried were History, Chemistry and Sociology - cos there was all these new subjects that I hadn't really heard of, so I thought I'd give sociology a try and after the first lessons thought this isn't for me. I was just following the path of Geography and PE really those are the things I enjoyed before I did my A levels I thought I would carry on and then it seemed ideal to come here and do it. Also - well just one or two - also the main thing is that I wanted to do Geography and PE and I didn't want all PE or all Geography and *** is one of the few places that did fifty- fifty split. It seems silly to stop now when I can get a proper career out of it, not necessarily I may not, even though I am doing a PGCE I may not actually use it although I probably will. I will probably use it all my life I mean my degree doesn't actually lead to anything specific which is why I think I should go on to PGCE.

In the last couple of years perhaps because I always been around school and I have done a lot of football for them and things like that and the boys/pupils say oh you should do this - but I think I was always going to do a PGCE anyway [...](when I arrived here). To be honest...I think, about a year ago, I didn't like the baggage the coach carried with them, I'd seen some coaches and the way they acted, it was almost as if some did it for an ego trip a little bit, because in coaching you tend think that everyone there wants to do and in teaching you may not have that so can't afford to be that show off type of thing. I've worked in America for nine weeks this summer and I loved it...I worked in England as well...and I enjoyed that but not as much as America and I said to my mum I said, I'm not sure whether I'm getting a false picture of coaching because the families I stayed with looked after me so

well. The Americans know so little anyway [about football]. I don't think its teaching rather than coaching I think it's teaching as a part of my coaching, I think I will teach, but I think part of the reason I'm going into it is because I'm, I think I will throw myself into the extra curricular. I also think that I can perhaps at a later date go to America to teach and then coach on the side and there's a lot of opportunities there. And with a teaching qualification just, well it just makes you that extra, gives you that extra dimension - even if I wasn't a teacher I think I would improve my coaching because it would give me so many ideas, anyway. But I think I will teach. Put it this way this time next year I would hope to be in a job. I'm not doing this to just get the qualification, and leave it for a few years and come back to teaching...I think if you get it you've got to use it straight away. I'd imagine it would be harder to come back after five years when you've had no experience.

Well the teachers I 've seen... I think the PE teachers have quite a harder job than other teachers from what I've seen in the course so far I've done Geography and to be honest this may sound a bit daft but I think I can probably do I can go in and give a few Geography lessons straight away now anyway just from the amount of jobs I have done. I think it's because ...The large numbers doesn't really worry me it's more the content of all the different that we haven't spent so much time on. Football worries me a little because I would want to do really well on that and the way I coach doesn't necessarily fit the National Curriculum, the drills have and that may not...all the things I do coaching I couldn't possibly envisage doing, even the way I speak to players and things like that.

I would hope that rugby and things like that, or so I've been told by other people, you can just adapt... it's not too, it's not a million miles away as long as you just keep calm. Things like gymnastics and dance, if it wasn't for my gymnastics here, I haven't done any. I did a little bit in the first and second year at *** Hall but that was so long ago. I remember not enjoying it and not really paying much attention to it - I was never really rushing to get around and have another go - didn't do any dance - when we had to go to a high school during our degree for a few days on teaching studies - I asked a teacher, he seemed a bit of a football lad himself, and he said he was very worried about it. He was more worried about getting the kids involved and his used like Match of the Day music and things like, and that made me feel more at ease because, he was someone... He was actually working, you know still has these apprehensions. I think specialist is the way to go, the way our school did it, they did do that like, we used to be grouped in ability in the PE classes things like games...and like one of the PE teachers was more of a footballer and the other one was a rugby lad, so the footballer would take the top class and the..more rugby orientated took the bottom class and that's the way it should be done. It'd be nice if you could just have a football teacher, a rugby teacher and a dance teacher obviously that's not financially... You could perhaps have a Dance teacher for that area, he or she could come in and do the dance and gymnastics and everything...

Shaun did pass his course and kept his promise to himself to go into PE teacher immediately, he found a job teaching within the state school system and moved to a new area with his girlfriend who is also a PE teacher who also found a job in the same area in a nearby school. He still fully intends to pursue his coaching ambitions in the USA in a 'few years' when he has more experience.

5. Joe's Story

[I grew up] in the country near **** which is on the edge of Wales [English side], My mum is a home help my Dad is a shepherd who works on a farm - quite a rural background really. I have got an older brother he went away to college as well but he is quite lazy and he didn't

get his course [Astro Physics] - he didn't even apply anyway, they asked to come because he was doing sciences and they were really on sciences at that time...so I don't think he really wanted to go to college but he wanted to get away so he went and did that and lived up there and worked up there. I've got a younger sister as well and she's fifteen and she's doing her GCSE's now. My Dad likes watching sport but he only ever played minimal amounts of sport himself and it varies, my Dad is in a very big family so is my Mum and I've got fourteen uncles and aunts, and so about half of them play sport and half of them don't so it's a mixture.

I always enjoyed school really, very much so always looked forward to going there seeing everyone, perhaps even the work I looked forward to as well. Yes I suppose I have to say sport in the first secondary school and then just the sociability of the Sixth form I went to. I was in two different primary schools both quite local to each other though they were quite similar it was quite a small primary school about 24 pupils including infants and juniors so there were only 2 other pupils in my year... the teaching was all female it was mainly dominated by traditional things like maths and slightly R.E. and a bit of sport not a lot and not much English they really were very keen on their maths. Then I went to an all boys school for five years, and sport was very strong obviously it was very academic, got on quite well there enjoyed it, then I decided to change to a mix comprehensive sixth form, just for a change, it was still in the same town and I knew a lot of people there anyway, and changed to that, and enjoyed that as well, I found it a lot more social and got into things like helping out in the special needs department for two years, working on a one to one basis with a boy who had hearing disabilities, worked through with him his work, then came here.

[I remember] football in the yard I suppose at Primary School just kicking the ball about with a mixture of children all different ages because we all played together it was such a small school. PE lessons I suppose would be the teachers stood not in PE kit with a whistle, directing us what to do with hockey sticks. I often enjoyed sport myself at primary school and then secondary school I went [to] was very sporty, well, heavily into rugby anyway, which was what I got into and they said if you're good at rugby you can play rugby. In a sporting context, the school was quite elitist it called the lower half the sporting group - the Dregs which is quite derogatory really in secondary school - but... then when I went to the sixth form there was I didn't notice any difference with those who did and those who didn't.

I matured quite early, so between the ages of eleven and sixteen I was reasonably big very sporty and I suppose stronger than the average person so I supposed I was probably physically in an elite group. In secondary school the teachers did [take my sport seriously] straight away from the off. For the first three or four years at secondary school the teachers were like if you know if you are going to play for the team you must play for the team and if you don't then you will be put in detention or whatever it was, very compulsory even extra curricular training was, you were expected to play. My parents were quite relaxed about it for the first few years...they always came and picked me up after training, that sort of thing - take me to [games]. Then about fifteen my parents, well my Dad especially...always came and watched, he started to enjoy me playing and I had national trials and I was sixteen I wasn't sure whether to want to go in or not so I was deciding whether to invest more of my social life and go and see my girlfriend more and he said you should really go you know and make the most of it, and so he helped me to go. Yes, Yes it was nice always spurred me on made me want to play better because they were always very supportive you know they won't jump up and down and be silly but...

[I mixed with] lot of the club friends obviously peer group, most of them were friends played in the same team as I did and I did most of the same sporting activities as they did. I had a friend who played squash and I played squash after school with him. Then

another friend went on the weights quite often, I would go down and do weights with him and things like that, and that is how I got into rugby really as well. The person who really turned me on to PE and sport were the whole PE group and the staff in the sixth form, because I went there specifically to do PE and they really got me into it, and really got behind me, said that I had real potential. I basically asked my sports teacher where was the best place to go and he said *** and I said I will apply there then, and then I went down to Cardiff as well and I loved Cardiff really thought that was a fantastic place and I was thinking about going to Cardiff or here I wasn't sure which and then *** gave me a lower offer and so I went to ***. I enjoyed it very much I mean a fantastic course and socially. I mean a lot of places are catching up with *** now in the sporting context but I still think it's got the best year course as such, around from speaking to my friends. I don't think they [my parents] were really aware of how good *** was so to speak, or where I should be going, they were kind of just trying to show concern and asked where I wanted to go and was that good and then they found out from a few people that it was suppose to be quite good also - they were quite encouraging really. I always took a kind of back role because they didn't really know that much about what I was doing so to speak, they are not academic themselves.

[Teaching is] always something I had really fancied, I have always enjoyed the academic side of things in school and went back in school and enjoyed helping out younger pupils and those around me and then in the sixth form I got into helping out in the special needs department with lower school lessons helping with the PE lessons and because I had done maths a year early I knew a lot more than the pupils in my class so I was asked to help as well as the teacher he would encourage me to do that as well. The first time I started going back into schools and helping out was when was eleven really, the first year I left primary school, I did that for three years then stopped then and then did some more things like that in sixth form. I was never really sure which I wanted to teach really - what age, but I knew I wanted to get into that kind of thing, I always fancied coaching or something along those lines.

I wouldn't mind coaching an elite rugby team, something like that or coaching in general - I always did fancy that - I always wanted to be a professional sportsman as well though...it's a bit late I think for that now - over the hill at 21□Because I think nowadays if you are going to get into professional sport if... you've got to train hard a lot earlier, and because the four years I really lived it up to much and I think it would be...to get back into the sort of shape I need to be in to play professional rugby I would need to devote a couple of years to serious training I don't think I could do that with teaching and things like that - without taking something away.

I was going to take the teaching course but I thought just to be on the safe side I will do a Degree so that I still have got something in case I decide that teaching isn't what I want to do when finish my degree - in case I make another choice - but then I still wanted to do it and so I applied and got on - there were a variety of reasons for doing a PGCE, mainly that I wanted to teach and I enjoyed the thought of being a teacher and some of the things that entails and I supposed partly because I couldn't think of anyway else I'd rather do, and I was looking forward to another year here although saying that I would rather be able to start work as a teacher now [student life] is a good life and enjoyable but i think its time to earn some money and things like that now.

I think it is going to be enjoyable for a long period of time because there is diversity in it something to get your teeth into. I don't know if I will be a PE teacher for ever but I can see it if you like in the 'short long' term as being very viable I mean I am not sure if PE teachers these days can afford to be just PE teachers and so perhaps you will need something else with it to make yourself a marketable product.

You're constantly being assessed how you behave, when you're, you're almost up on stage while you're in front of children so the way you behave is going to be reflected in the way they behave, you can't tell them one thing and act in another way...Professional, approachable, courteous, strict well not strict but disciplined, strict if necessary, someone who is into sport but thinks of other things as well and not just sport all areas of physical activity though and can offer a variety of experiences... rather than just set into their sport. I think [of] the stereotypes of traditional rugby teachers who just sit in their offices smoking and kind of inciting the kids to run round. I think a lot of people think that they say oh PE teacher, that's the best one so do you will be all right you can go outside all day and I think a lot of people still don't think about physical education in terms of a theory subject or anything academic about it or the involvement that goes behind the planning a lesson and getting the kids to think about what they are doing in a physical sense. It is just the same as an academic sense, but a lot of people don't realize that. I am a little bit apprehensive that I include everything that I am supposed to but I don't see a problem with being able to teach anything as long as I am confident and knowing what I need to know but I think that the National Curriculum is something that can be very good. I don't know how limiting or enlightening this year is going to be, I'll just have to see. I don't think it would affect me as a person I think I will still, will be me I don't think you will be able to say [Joe], he is a teacher - I don't really view the title as such.

Joe gave up the course shortly after his first teaching practice took a year out and went to another institution to train to be a primary school teacher, he thought he had made a mistake in choosing the secondary age range...

6. Paul's story

[I grew up] in Northern Ireland. [My parents are] teachers, mainly music - they are both mainly music. My mum, she's kind of part time at the minute...she's nearly full time, almost - with myself and my sister having both moved away, she had more time on her hands. My dad used to work in a, not sure what you call it, like a Borstal or correction school with young offenders, so he worked there and most of his life he done a bit of work in a secondary school as well but now he has moved into working in a specialist school for between naughty and disabled kids, but they're teachers...my sister, she has been now two years a teacher herself, she was music and R.E. [trained].

I used to be quite shy and probably... and I, we did a lot of sport and stuff like that at secondary school, but other than I would never have thought of myself as being doing anything like teaching. I was not going to do it at all, that's the reason I'm doing it [undergrad.. studies here], they all stayed in Northern Ireland for education and everything, and that was one of the reasons why I wanted to get away. I thought it was pretty different, but it's just the way it turns out I guess [...]. Like I wouldn't have thought of [teaching] first at all, then as we go on and on, then I guess like other people do, you become more confident - teaching English and that yeah - actually I find that in end, I like working with kids you know [...] so far I'm not saying I'm brilliant but I certainly found things that work so far. So as it's gone on and on I've obviously become more confident.

I was lucky I was fairly clever [at school] so I didn't struggle, at all, I never really was one for the sciences. Obviously I did biology, A level and loved it, it was good, but the Physics and Chemistry, side of science, that didn't interest me at all. English. I was always quite interested in that, writing and not so much reading things ... I've done a joint honours here with English, especially for teaching its good to have a preference for the second

subject. But that's always been, you know an interest, the sports is where it all flows from, so there was never really anything close...

At primary school I don't remember too much on the PE side, I more just remember the actual sport, playing football, I have some good memories of secondary school, and actually they are all good memories cos eh you know I was good at sport and any sport I tried, I could turn my hand to so...you know it was good and especially the first year at [secondary] school, you know a new, huge place and if you were good at PE you know you were accepted, which is nice. So good memories. I saw the [PE] teacher last year, this very old guy he was always on the verge of retiring, and every year you thought he was going to go, so he was he was probably over it [retiring age] but like he was just fun, you know so it was a very relaxed atmosphere. It was just a lot a fun rather than classes that would have benefited us in a sporting sense, we just enjoyed them and then we all, in order to excel, we went outside of school, and had a really good experience as well.

It's kind of fallen apart the last year, but I've done a lot of sports, when I was very young, maybe primary level, I did a lot of swimming...Every sport that I did, I've been lucky I excelled at and I was good at everyone else or even better. After that I reached football which has always been the one love, but a little bit of harsh blow was in, I was in the final training squad for the Northern Ireland schoolboys team, but I hadn't made the final cut of the few players and after that I was really low, I was really psyched up, so I was a bit disillusioned. I played football for about another year after that, so I was about sixteen and then moved on to athletics, did that for four years - four or five years and then got up to like international level for that, which was a great buzz with myself, for the family as well to do something like that,

The family aspect, they were obviously very proud of what I was doing, which for any kid it gives like an enormous boost having a big family support, especially my father - we grew extremely close due to the sport, that brought us very close together...he is very into sport himself but he never really would have excelled, you know so it was unanimous, he was so happy for me because, he's made something out life for himself, so yes a lot of support.

The one thing about that, that I realize now was it kind of effected my social life, you know I was training, you know like most folk, [in sport] every day and nights and stuff, I had to travel a little bit sometimes to train so its not the same, like I didn't get into drinking at all, you know it didn't really interest me because I had something that appeared to me much better than any of that. So I got a lot of good friends and that but it wasn't normal, you had other things on your mind rather than going out and having a good time. Because you can have a better time doing stuff that are - more worthwhile.

Yes it was good - growing up in sporting circles, you hear so much about *** [the university] and to finally get into it...it's a good boost to the ego. I actually made...my second and third choices where straight English courses. Well it was - 'if I didn't get PE here, I don't want go anywhere else.' Its the best place to go, it's as simple as that, study that also there's no where in Northern Ireland that will do sports science.

[I enjoyed the course it] very much... I was only talking about this to somebody yesterday about doing the PE course, you know you don't really want to miss lectures obviously cos its summer now and its the most exciting time so its a bit of a drag with those but a lot of it you know you'd be fool if you didn't enjoy them, if your doing sport, you get so much out it and the PE side was great especially the practicals themselves - fantastic, but the English side took a while to get going. The first year I didn't really enjoy it, it was too much theory, but then the second and third year you choose your modules, you choose what you like, so I enjoyed learning here.

Just over a year ago I got a knee injury, which [means] I can't really run for more than five or ten minutes, yeah a progressive injury that leaves damage. I got a lot of treatment for it from different specialists and nobody could put their finger on what it was or find cures, which more frustrating than anything, I think what one of the worst things was you were always you know, cos I'm the type of person that who would go on without treatment or the one thought that really bugged me was that people are going to think you know its just a knee injury you can't see anything. You know and they're going to think, he's just he harping on, em and I say the worse bit other people maybe not realizing what it was. It hard to say if I coped, it was my last year here doing my degree so I could fully concentrate on that you know I 'd be going out having, you know, a larger social life, whereas with athletics you can't so much.

So that's em worked actually in favour of me concentrating on my coaching football. So this year's a crunch, I'll try running again, I'd love to get up to twenty minutes, because I'd love to get back to that, but if not, I have me football to fall I back to - I can play football, it's only sore at the start, it's not the continuous stress, the twisting and turning is a problem but eh, as far as what I want to do, it'd really be nice to run for the family like and for the team here but I've something to fall back onto. I can always take every positive you know, I wouldn't say I got over it quickly, it was too big a blow for that but, you know I just occupied myself and didn't think about too much, there's not point.

[The idea of becoming a PE teacher] just evolved like, maybe it would be, when in the second year maybe...when we started...we were all doing modules such as teaching studies, coaching studies, and then like the idea...if I think this is my future, and its here, no job...can't take this job without exercise stuff, physiology and thought, okay I'll do this and see what it's like ...um and really enjoyed these courses, and then I got into a bit of football coaching as well, working with kids, so this year and the past year and a half...the past two years... its become more concrete now with the end of the course. Now its definite. I had good PE teachers but nobody that really, made me say oh I want to be like him. You know I found myself see people doing things and I think you lets see if I can do that better, you now and that's more of an urge myself to try do better than I see other people do, but I'd say almost nobody...

I'd been toying with idea of maybe the Army, even the Psychology side of it, but that just didn't interest me at all through the course. This what made me interested...it'll be nice to be a teacher, but that's not my ideal thing - to be qualified in coaching... Yeah, obviously this would be the correct path to go through for coaching anyhow, but eh you know I'd love to end up, to be a full time coach of football or something, the opportunities aren't great but I'd have thought that you know its... its possible, with developing later in life after teaching...Somewhere like out in America with the soccer camps and I studied it myself out there but em the college that was I near, they've got like full time coaches for soccer as its called out there. And the obvious thing I'd love to do, get out there and go and America is the place the other one, I would go to work other than back home. So, maybe in the future...I definitely think, of this degree, it [sport] was my strongest point - my degree was sport, and my knowledge about sportSo no, no reservation at all [about PE teaching].

As far as the Curriculum goes I think its great for the kids you know...but from what I've seen its just too much paperwork taking away from your time from what your there to do. I guess its everybody's view, but certainly from my side of it that's the view I take as well that your going to have to do this, your going to have to say this and that, and I think its almost mocking, you know the people who are already qualified, saying you know you can't your job, you got to do it this way. And I'd rather people get used to their own individual ways of doing things. So that's one thing that I'd say that takes out the individuality, you know can't just focus on actual you know teaching people...

I'd be confident and I'd be wary something like that with most subjects, but the two obvious ones are gym and dance. I wouldn't be frightened by it but it's just that I haven't any knowledge of it at all you know, how to develop in those activity areas so those are the two I have to work on, but at the minute, there's no way I'd be able to give more than two or three lessons on those. That's the ones that I'm not all confident with.

I'm not sure how it's [life] going to change...but I think I'm prepared for it, in the past three years, one term always felt like two years, partly cos I was enjoying it so much, it didn't feel like work, until the final exams then you have to really pin it down - the normal slog, but I'm prepared to work as hard as I have to...to make some sacrifices if I have to get this and then after that things will develop. I don't how its going to change, but whatever it is I will be able to handle it.

Paul completed his PGCE year and enjoyed it, he got a PE teaching job in Northern Ireland, although he is still determined to try coaching in the USA after he has gained more experience.

7. Adrian's story

[I'm] from *** Yorkshire ***. My Dad is a teacher as well...originally PE, he hasn't taught PE for years, he's still really into it. He then taught Physics and Chemistry and is now a teacher in a junior school. My mother had been a teacher as well for a short time, she was a nursery teacher for about ten years up to when my brother were born, but then she left, she's now an occupational therapist. I have got an older brother. My mum's fairly sporty....all three of us are really, Yeah generally all round. Especially my Dad has always been...I mean my dads 51 and still playing football. He goes like training on his own when he goes doing shuttle runs and things like this twice a week and goes down the gym, my Dad was really a quick runner, but he never because Open University, I think he always feels he missed out on it, you know if he'd have been somewhere like this...It has its down sides at times, mum says we're always too competitive and everything, when he's getting older you get a bit worried about him you know, you think he's going to have an heart attack one day. My uncle's just turned sixty last week and he still plays five-a-side. My older brother...of the two of us he is probably the more natural sportsman but he just can't be, he is just not bothered kind of thing, he's a left 'footer' he plays football and you know I've never seen a guy who could hit a football as hard, and then at other times he'd fall over the ball because he just can't be bothered, so he doesn't play week in week out, he will go training you know go and play five-a-side . He works in a factory, makes suits for Next and people like that. Yes and also my Dad's brother... my uncle's just turned 60 last week and he still plays for five-a-side.

I used to play cricket quite often, I played cricket for the same club for years you know since, I was about eleven and when they were short in the second team they said, you know, do you want to play. I have never really had any other particular interest or been perceived as anything else by other people I don't think, I have always been like really fairly sporty. [I was] average [physically]. I was always fairly good at all of them [sports] but never I mean, football at the time was probably my best sport, kind of thing but the school where I went to you know, the guys who played football they were just phenomenal footballers anyway. I mean regularly two or three a season when I was there. from each year group, two or three a season would have been taken from YTS (for professional contracts). I mean I wasn't the best footballer by a long way.

I often wonder about [a professional career] because when I was, broke my leg when I was fourteen, I often wonder about that, whether that did, but I don't know perhaps I am

just clutching at straws , just would like to think I would have turned out a better footballer if it wouldn't have happened. But for a year or so yes, I think it did because you know I was sort, you could be start thinking about things like tackling again and when you start thinking about it I mean that was when I was fourteen.

I played so much football at school and like I say it affected my decision which school I went to at one time. I enjoyed it so much there in my first year because they played football and the *** schools didn't. I carried on going to that school. My GCSE's weren't that stunning no - I think the thing is I have always felt confident in my own ability and I always realized I never really thought when I think about, it I never really thought about doing A levels because I just, I don't know I was probably so happy in just doing what ever I was doing at the time. I went to the sixth form there and took Politics, English, and Economics and didn't have a clue what I wanted to do and basically I applied to do PE Sports Science because I thought well if I don't really know I may as well do something I am going to get a qualification in and I know I enjoy doing.

I had a great three years the people and that were fabulous really I was a bit disappointed with the course yes I think some of it was, I think because I went to a sixth form rather than a sixth form college and I think sheer size of the place. The main thing that which really (edged) me was the sport here, playing sport, but I couldn't get in any university team. Not that I really tried when I really think about it now in hindsight I just sort of went to the football trials and basically that was it, and obviously you know unless you're exceptional then they're not going to look at. You know things I have learned since whereas if I had of gone training for a few weeks afterwards, then maybe I'd have got game in then fourths or the fifths or whatever.

In a way, in that respect probably I was out of my depth - although like I say, it's an inner confidence kind of thing and I, you know most sports. There's not many that I'm really bad at, not brilliant at anything really. Um it's probably a better balance to have, sometimes. I don't know, sometimes when you come here and from the group that I have seen you know doing their teaching they seem more down to earth than when I was doing my undergrad.. course here and some of them they were just, they were so good at their particular sport it was just like an arrogance - it almost rankled me kind that it was yes okay you might have got it but it doesn't mean you can't be nice to people, I used to get this impression, well I think people still do, people who visit or..there are certain aspects of *** but it'll always be like that because, that's the way it has to be sport to a certain extent, but I think in terms of my teaching it will stand me in good stead really. So I think that was difficult and it took me a year or two before I was...It was always something, I think that was one thing I struggled to come to terms with because it played such a large part before when I left school. I enjoyed, you might say I enjoyed the social side of it, I made great friends and there is no way I would swap it but it was not, you know playing on a Friday night with a hall side, was a different kettle of fish than when I had been playing two or three times a week. Yes, difficult - and when I left and went home and was playing again every weekend you know it was great because I missed out for three years.

Because I had done the three years and I had done all this sport here and everything I wasn't sure if that was what I still wanted to pursue I wanted to have a break from it because it is all I have ever done....And my Dad is a teacher as well and I just thought I don't want to go down the road as for ever being in Education.

I always remember the first time, a parent's evening I suppose, he said I would make a good PE teacher...it's just like stigmatized me for life, because I just think, I can't do it, because if I ever see him again, he'll go I told you were going to be a PE teacher. So I remember that well, I remember even further ...When he said that I must have been ten - I think the reason he said it was because we did tennis one day and well it wasn't just that it

was a few other things but, but I played tennis well I mean, I had never really played tennis before just messed about but not properly really - we had this tennis lesson kind of thing and because I was like only one of a few who could return every time to him when he was doing these demonstrations. He was a because he was really a great guy. And obviously being in the middle school I think he was PE teacher trained, although he had teach all these other subjects and he was really good because he used to, in the summer, we used to have this inter school athletics competition and he used to get us out of the lessons you know like an hour before kind of thing just so that by practising these relays and every year we almost used to win this competition because we used to win all the relays even though we weren't good because we had just practised these changes - so I can remember him you know he actually, I went back and played for their, this football team that he used to run but he had actually moved on since then so I just missed him kind of thing, it was a shame because I would like to see him again.

I went back [home] struggled to find a job you see because I didn't know what I wanted to do still. So I struggled and got a couple of interviews with some companies here you know that advertize - some of the big companies like **** (banks) - basically like that, I seemed to do quite well on them and got through to the second stage, by which time I actually picked up that even that I wasn't sure about it, you know so by this stage they really wanted some kind of, this is what you want to be doing...and they were so thorough when they interviewed me and everything it's not the interview the way everything is structured by that time I think they picked up on it and although I wanted to step back from the sport side of things, I didn't really want a job where I was selling somebody...basically it was trainee management thing, just selling insurance and things like this and I thought...I realized that wasn't me and I couldn't do that so I sort of backed off that a little bit so for a month after I left I was in a bit of a rut.

So I started and basically applying for all kinds of different things just to give me some kind of idea. And I ended up getting a job funny enough in the Education Department at (***) city council...nearly two years. [I was] basically a pay roll-clerk dealing with personnel issues as well and it was through those two years...I mean I enjoyed the job I really did and at the time as well because I was working in ***, actually moved out and was lodging with somebody for about a year and a half whilst at work there. So it was a good job I enjoyed doing but it just wasn't going anywhere basically. So obviously I realized I should start thinking about doing other things when you are sat behind a desk for 37 hours, I realized that I'd got to listen to my heart really and go out and do something that wasn't stuck indoors all day.

In my first year the first year I applied [for a PGCE PE course] and at that stage still I wasn't sure what I wanted to do and I'm still not sure now whether I didn't want to do it because a lot of people I know are teachers and as I said my Dad was a teacher and that I got this feeling, 'don't do it' just because it's there it's easy to do you know, I want to be sure I was to going for the right reasons so the first year I applied really late, I didn't apply *** was like my third choice and they were the only ones I thought about applying to that offered an interview I actually turned the interview down because I still wasn't quite...I spent another year and by which time it came around to apply again and I was dead set on it. Yes and just the week and a half I have spent back here is the whole thing just seems spot on - really glad I did the two years thought to have stepped back.

You know I had done some coaching kind of thing and taken a real pleasure from doing it and I thought well the next step is to go on at least do the course if I don't like it after I have done the course kind of thing then okay but I knew that the course was like nearly two thirds hands on kind of thing so at least you will know after that year and I thought I was getting to the stage where if I am going to do it I am going to have to do it

now kind of thing so it's more a case of doing the course and learning from that. The pay is not great but the holidays aren't bad - I mean that's it's sounds like I'm joking but it is a serious consideration... But compare that with a job where you only get 20 days holiday a year and that doesn't increase at any stage until you have been there about six years....So that was one factor the money has never really been important to me as long as I have got enough to you know live reasonably comfortable like, I don't think I would be a person who was always striving for more cash, I think it is more of a lifestyle thing than a actual materialistic thing. I wanted to be outdoors again and I wanted to, cause I've loved doing my sports.

[I] broke this leg just before I came here broke the leg and me ankle on this leg...I've still got a metal plate in it. I was playing football and I broke that leg and that ankle playing football...the left leg was last year, the last football game of last season and that one was when I was about fourteen and so I am still trying to get, you know, get ready to play football. This time, I don't know how I'm going to get on to be honest, I mean people say are you going to play again just the fact that they are asking you. Whereas before they didn't do that they just assumed I would play again but now because I am twenty two twenty, three they say well are you going to play again and when I did it, the nurse said, you know when I said I broke the other one, she said oh throw these away then - I thought oh smack□Sort of things she was about to the boots in the bin.

So I think it could be interesting this time because it was quite nasty it was, well that one was quite a clean break it was painful at the time, but this one I was in hospital for about six days and you know there is a big scar still down my leg so every time you know you see that all the time, so you are reminded of it all the time. The only thing is, it's my left foot so I don't use it anyway□Just use it to stand on□Still go and tackle with the right foot I never tackled with my left anyway so I'll probably be alright□Yes I have had a few other injuries but nothing too serious - I broke my nose - some guy head butted me last year playing football and splattered my nose over my face - so that was nice.

I was a bit worried that, at the time [of the leg break] when I did it. I felt well, if I can run again but can't do certain other things you know, can I teach? You know would I want to teach? And the answer I came up with was if I couldn't do everything then I wasn't going to teach. Not because... I think I would have still been able to get the message across and still been able to teach effectively but I think I just would have felt differently. It makes you think what if?Kind of thing, if anything really bad happens, I mean I think if anything really bad happened, I think I love sport that much that I would find something else to do - I'd like to think I would...you know when you see the guys playing wheelchair tennis and things like I think its fantastic...

I would just hate to be a stereo type of a PE teacher but will probably end up being one kind of thing. I think just like any other kind of teacher, you have got to know your stuff and you have got to know your subject I think may be to a greater extent you have got to be always aware of frightening kids off doing PE... I think because of it's physical nature there is always, you know the 'micky' take can go too far or whereas in other subjects because it's more formal you know it's maths, it's sit down do this, this and this, you know with PE there is a lot more to it than that so I think you always have to be aware it's probably a lot easier to upset people being a PE teacher. That scares me to be honest...Yes, just become a typical teacher...because your job is such a major part of your life there is always going to be some kind of reflection. I hat to think you know that I'd shout and start telling my girlfriend what to do all the time, just being a complete idiot□

I don't think you have to be a role model. I think again you have to be careful how you conduct yourself and go about things but no more than any other teacher - and I think you have got to be careful not to upset people but I don't think for one minute that you've got

to be brilliant at every sport and every kid has got to aspire to you at that particular sport because I think if you start from there you have got no chance. I think you've got to be careful.

Adrian succeeded in the PGCE course and has now 'excepted his fate' and teaches PE.

8. Trevor's story

I'm from *** [in the North of England], I lived with my mum before I came here - Mum and Dad got divorced about seven - Dad's from Jamaica originally - I got seven half brothers and sisters, but no full brothers and sisters - went to a... inner city comprehensive in **** stayed on to the Sixth form, but got rubbish 'A' levels - got a part time job for a while. I'm quite into athletics, so I spent a lot of time just training and stuff like that. I really didn't have a clue to be honest [what I was going to do] - I had no plan I had no focus - I done my GCSE's about four GCSE's tried to do 'A' levels but I wasn't really focused I never really worked for them I was just messing about and I didn't, I know thinking back I really didn't have a plan about what I was going do. Then I went back to college and did another A level did alright in that. Got asked if I wanted to come to *** [my coach] got me in on sort of minimal requirements so I came here which is like three years ago.

[At school] I always to be one of the best so just because I was good at stuff I was good at rounders, I was good at running, I was good at football, I played for the football team, played in the basket ball team, we didn't have any athletics but we had a sports day at the end of the year which I used to be quite good - used to do quite well in that. So I always naturally good at sport something that I gravitated to because I was good at it really, more than anything else. I used to enjoy PE, I used to go PE, that was about it, because I was at school at a time when there's was you know, no teams [after effects of the teachers strike], cos I'm twenty five now so, I never really had much involvement with the PE teachers to be honest. There wasn't really anything, (extra curricular) - we had sport, say in the first year and that was about it.

My Mum is not really sporty at all, so she didn't...If I enjoyed it she like - she didn't mind me doing it if I enjoyed it...but she has always been concerned that I'd find something that I could do that would pay the rent as well - this was what - she has not always seen sport as being able to do that, which it never has to be honest, it could do one day but it's unlikely. My Grandad was quite, my Grandad was quite, I'm must admit he was the first person that took me down to the track and he used to take me down to the track and wait and take me home again and he always encouraged me he always said I was a fast runner because...seventeen is quite late really, I'd left school before I got into athletics and he always said I was a fast runner he said I should go and do some running and I was sort of keen on it but I wouldn't have been bothered to you... so he always saying you could do this you could do that he was a bit like that with me he always saying you could be a dancer or you could be, you know he could see possibilities in everything, so it was quite nice to have someone like that - and he did encourage me a lot.

I was about seventeen, just got into it [athletics]. A couple of mates [and I] used to go down to the track and used to do decathlon which is ten events. My idol was Daly Thompson at the time, so I wanted to be like Daly sort of thing, so I was quite good at that, I managed to get into the Junior Internationals which was you know it just came quite easy so I was quite pleased with that and then after that sort of thought I can't be the top of the tree at this, but I was quite good at running four hundred's and I was quite a good hurdler so I had a go at four hurdles. I then it seemed to click straight away got to the top ten first year, senior top ten and got to be ranked fourth in 95 before I got injured, went to the World student

games and came fourth in the trials stuff like that. When I was unemployed...well was unemployed, I was signing on doing a bit of part time work, I put a lot into athletics. I saw that as a...you know I could be an athlete, I'll be successful sort of thing.

[It changed my life] a lot because before I was into athletics I started, seventeen started getting into it at eighteen and at that time my friends were some friends from school who I used to knock about with. We used to go out every weekend hang about, go clubbing, various undesirable activities really. But once I got into athletics, I started to make friends in athletics that were runners and my friends sort of changed gradually over the next couple of years - started hanging out more with the guys at the track and less with my school friends, I sort of drifted...drifted away from them. So on the whole my group of friends changed really over like a couple of years. Yes we, I mean I started going out with them and go to different places, we used to like meet down at the track spend quite a lot of time down, after the track we used to go, say to MacDonald's and spend a couple of hours there you know with different people. I began to see myself as an athlete I suppose. When I started getting good at athletics when I did the four hurdles and I was starting to like get into the British Championships and Internationals and that she [his mum] would come like in the *** three A's match I'd compete a couple times a year before I came to *** and she would come down and watch that and she enjoyed that she enjoyed watching me run - she enjoyed you know a day out more than anything else. I used to enjoy her coming down.

[University] was difficult actually, because I was engaged at the time and my girlfriend rather, I didn't [go], although she didn't say don't go, just rather I didn't, my mum on the other hand was fairly keen for me to go because she thought it was a good University and get a Degree, it'll help you out a lot so, she was just glad I was doing something good. I am not a natural academic, I mean I couldn't sit down and reading and working you know doing five or six hour in the library. I find it very difficult. I would say I am quite bright and actually pick things up very well. I noticed with a lot of friends, that I pick things up a lot quicker than them - I'll pick it up and if I'm not careful I'll just leave it and then lose it, so I'm bright but I'm not very good at applying myself - I'm easily bored by things.

I was on the verge of being an international, being a good international and then I got injured. [I] Hurt my back pretty badly which kept me out eighteen months. So that was a bit unfortunate...yes I got injured in April, which is hard cause I'd just done all the winter's training and I'd just come into the season and I'd got a bad injury which, and it was an Olympic year and I really wanted to go to Atlanta, I was really focused on it. I was just a ranked fourth, [the] top three go, I thought I could do it but had to get into the top three, and then I got injured and that was an eighteen month injury...and then six months into my injury, I was engaged and that broke up as well so after that I was a bit messed up really, well not messed up but I was just fucked off with life sort of thing you know I mean I started going out drinking a bit more, partying, not training, doing minimal studying, just, you know I was just fed up with everything. My life was sort of built around those two things and then they'd gone so I was a bit lost I suppose. That's probably why my perspective's changed, you know that I want to be a teacher, to hand it over with athletics because, I am just not prepared to put, I don't feel at the moment I'm prepared to just say 'sod' everything else, I could have just took a year out like *** was saying take a year out train, then do your PGCE then if you want another year you can here that over three years...I'm just not prepared to do three years of athletics, I want to do the PGCE and then I want to work, you know because the body could go, I mean it could go wrong at any time do you know what I mean, it sort of knocked it out of me really.

[I am] quite committed to being a teacher I've always liked the idea of being a teacher although I didn't think I would be a teacher because you have to do a lot of studying but now I find myself in a position where I am nearly there so quite looking forward to

doing PGCE quite looking forward to teaching PE which I love most sports, play basket ball, football, as well athletics enjoy cricket and a couple of others. Now I sort of want to be a teacher, I want to do my athletics, as more of a hobby. I enjoy doing athletics and I'll be good you know if I keep training but I want to be a teacher as well that's as important as athletics itself - I'm trying to balance the two hopefully I'm going to balance the two and see how it goes this year.

There's not many people who have said oh great that's a really good thing to do, although my mum is really for it. On the whole I think I would say it's fairly negative really because the ones that are really in athletics like *** and a few of the athletes like *** have said why do want to do this, its really hard work load which will interfere with your athletics, and you 've got to be careful, you could take a year out you could MSc part time like ***'s doing [a peer], you won't miss out. And then there are the others who aren't athletic at all that I hang around at all and they're saying ' oh what do you want to be a teacher for, it's hassle, you could get money, you know, working sales...this that and the other you know, so they were against it for that reason, there's not many people that have said oh great that a really good thing to do you know, although my mum's really for it, she thinks I'll enjoy it and be a good teacher so, my family are quite proud. I did weight them up very carefully at the time (the different opinions]. They will see me as a less committed athlete, although I don't feel that I am because I still do the same amount of training, perhaps it takes a bit more time management. But I think in their eyes I was a less committed athlete because I wasn't prepared to go down the athletic only road.

I was a little bit apprehensive at the start of the [PGCE] course because I thought, what is it going to be like, people saying how hard it is it's this that you know teaching stand up in front of people and tell them what to do - because I'm not the most, I'm a fairly laid back person, so I'm not that up front which is maybe something I'll have to learn to do, now I'm really excited about the challenge. The couple of weeks in junior school I really enjoyed it at the start of the course, its all about being a professional and I really am looking forward to it now so. The primary school was fantastic the kids were great. For me it will be a challenge I suppose, because I don't know that much and gymnastics really, whereas I know a lot about games, I'm an athlete so I know a lot about athletics passable swimming, I think the variety will perhaps be a challenge. In a way its good its there [The NCPE] despite what people say there is a little bit of flexibility in the system...that the PE departments have to consider all the parts and where they are going to put it in even if its only for a minimal period, hopeful teachers in the PE department you will have a teacher that maybe does focus on two or three parts of it and another one that does other bits, I mean no one is going to be strong in everything, which is fair enough.

I think I see myself as a PE teacher, but hopefully I'm going to be a teacher you know - who teaches PE. So I want be a teacher, so I want to go into a school and be someone that kids can talk to, someone that they can learn from someone that they want to listen to or maybe they can learn a few things about PE, about growing up about handling themselves about respecting themselves, about doing what they want to do, and about meeting challenges which is I mean that's what it's all about really whether it's PE or anything else. So I want... I feel quite strongly that I could be a good teacher and then sport because I love sport I'm enthusiastic about sport. There have been one or two people in my life, that haven't been my parents that have helped me out a lot, do you now what I mean, like one has been my coach, one's been a friend of the family...didn't have to, but they did and I just think what they did was great for me. If I could actually do that for someone else that would be equally good, maybe it's a bit idealistic but...

I really try and stay open minded about that [where I will teach] because people have said to me I'd go into, should get into a public school and that would be great facilities to

work with, yes the kids would be more well behaved you know don't go to any inner city school because discipline is a problem and you'll get this that and the other. Initially I quite fancy going into a inner city school because that is where I went to school and I think cos I went to school there maybe I'll be able to relate more to those kids rather than to public school kids who I haven't got that much in common with I mean I would teach them, but it's a completely foreign environment to what I have been used to so. So, but I will stay open minded I would like to go teaching where like I went to school but if it is a hell of a job then maybe I would be better in a school, another type of school I don't know.

I think whatever people say, I mean you've seen the advert Charles Barclay 'I'm not a role model,' the basketball player but whatever people say, anyone who is exposed say, you're in the media, your an international athlete on TV, you're a basket ball player, footballer, your a role model you are there. Kids are seeing you - they are watching what you do and are copying you because that's what kids are like. That's how they learn so whether you like it or not you can try and deny it but that's what you are. Especially I mean for me, being a black person a lot of black people in sport, like basket ball players, like footballers kids look up to them the black kids identify with them, there are not a lot of other role models in other areas of society so they'll see them and they will identify with them and they'll copy their behaviour that's why the reason, whether like it or not that is an aspect that they should consider. I think as teachers you are in contact with pupils, kids you know all day every day you will be a role model a good one or bad one, whether they like you or loathe you. So hopefully you can be a positive one. Your personality is fundamental to your teaching, you have to teach the way you are, you find a way for you to be a good teacher, your personality so the way you've been brought up, where you've come from, how you are that's...a basic tenet of your teaching.

Since this time Trevor has successfully finished his course and become a PE teacher. His athletic career is however, far from over and a year after he qualified he ran his fastest ever time, prompting him to reconsider having one more 'all out' effort to make it in athletics, his future career as a PE teacher is on hold - for the time being at least...

APPENDIX 2:

EXAMPLE INTERVIEW THEMES AND QUESTIONS

General/Family Background

- How old are you?
- Where did you grow up?
- What is your marital status?
- What do your parents do for a living?
- Do you have any brothers or sisters ? If so what occupations do they have?
- What type of family do you come from? How would you describe it?
- Was it a sporting family?
- Who were the main influences in the family?
- What did you think about girls when you were growing up?
- Did they play a large part in your social life?
- Would you say you respected girls?
- Did you ever play sport or do PE with girls?
- How did your PE teachers refer to sex and gender in the PE in sport environment you grew up in?
- How would you describe your local area growing up?
- Do you think your sport has influenced the way you view your own and other people's bodies?
- Does your active lifestyle influence the way you view that of others'?

Schooling, Sport & Physical Education

- Can you remember about your junior school days? Good / bad?
- What's your earliest recollection of sport and PE?
- What about secondary school?
- What kinds of schools were these? Did do you like it there ?
- What kind of pupil were you?
- What were your favourite / most hated subjects...why?
- What kind of relationships did you have with your fellow pupils / teachers?
- How did you feel about school exams and their results?
- What did you consider doing after school?
- As a school kid how would you describe yourself physically, in your early years up until about 15 - 16 ?
- Can you summarize your involvement in P.E. / Sport

- Did your parents or family support you sporting interests? What was their involvement?
- Were there any influences during this early period? And later?
- How would you describe yourself academically?
- During school days was there a time when you considered using weights? If yes then when and why? (probe for context and influences)
- Why do you think it is that other friends and fellow students didn't go in for sports and physical education and you did?
- Were there difficult times/ decisions with regards to your sporting/ PE involvement?
- When did other people begin to take you seriously in this area of your life? What people?

Undergraduate Career

- When and why did you decide to apply to **** to do a degree in Sports Science?
- Did this decision receive family, peer support?
- Was this your first choice degree, if not what would this be?
- Were there any key people, icons, role models that got you into it, or focused your attention?
- Were these good times?
- Did you relate to or enjoy the academic work?
- Did you continue to play the same sports?
- How did this sporting involvement effect other aspects of your life? (personal, family relationships, social life, self image, habits etc.)
- Have you suffered from sports related injuries? How did you, do you feel about this?

Deciding to Become a PE Teacher

- Why teaching?
- What career ideas or aspirations did you have as an undergraduate? Did they change over the period?
- Can you think of a specific instance when you decided you were going to be a PE teacher?
- What does your family & friends think of this decision?
- What was the response you got from your college peers when they discovered you were going to train to be a PE teacher?
- Did/ Do you have any reservations about this decision?
- Were there any key moments or people that influenced you to become a PE teacher?
- Do you think its possible to combine a high level of sporting involvement with a teaching career?

Views About Physical Education

- What does it mean to you personally to be a teacher of physical education?
- Can you describe the ideal monitor/ supervisor for you (not a specific person)?
- What you consider the ideal school in which you would like to teach PE and Sport?
- How do you view the role of PE teacher?
- What qualities, skills do you think you need for this profession?
- How do think PE is viewed by other teachers?
- Do you consider being a PE teacher to be a status enhancing job? (Why?)

- Did you see changes in your body? How did you feel about this?
- Do you feel that you as a person have changed as a result of your sports involvement? (probe for reflections on Personality, lifestyle, outlook, ambition?)
- How do feel about the prospect of teaching the National Curriculum? Is this you opinion of an ideal curriculum if not what you include/ leave out/ emphasize?

Teaching Practice

- What was your own experience of the National Curriculum?
- How do you think about teaching now?
- What have been the highs and the lows so far?
- What personal challenges has the course presented you with?
- What kind of knowledge and skills do you think its important to instill?
- Do you get any dissenters, non - willing pupils, what's attitude towards them?
- Does your view of PE differ from that of the other PE staff you have had to work with?
Would like to elaborate?
- What about other members of staff in general?

Additional

- How important is your body in teaching?
- What's your vision of the ideal PE teacher ?
- How would you describe your background?
- What was your best/worse moment in your sporting career?
- Would a career in sport be your first choice profession?
- What if you hadn't been injured?
- How do you feel you relate to those who aren't interested in sport or PE?
- What about those people who just aren't very good at it?
- Is PE a viable long-term career proposition?
- What do you consider to be your strengths and weaknesses as a PE teacher?
- Have you taught or coached before? How did this feel?