

AN AUSTRALIAN CO-EDUCATIONAL BOARDING SCHOOL AS  
A CRUCIBLE FOR LIFE:  
A HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF STUDENTS' ATTITUDES  
FROM THEIR OWN MEMOIRS

by

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the School of Education, Faculty of the Professions, University of Adelaide.

October 2004

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## ABSTRACT

The aims of this study were to define an Australian boarding school, provide a summary of international and Australian boarding school literature, and complete a small-scale qualitative investigation of students' views in a co-educational boarding school. At first glance, it appeared that contemporary Australian boarding schools were a reproduction of the influential public boys' schools of Great Britain. Although there have been a number of histories of Australian independent schools, the boarding element has often been portrayed as Dickensian and remains an overlooked area of educational research. In particular, the literature available about Australian residential schooling over the past 20 years has been limited to a handful of significant studies by Cree and Trimmingham Jack.

In this study 45 Australian and overseas students were asked to write memoirs of 4-5,000 words about their boarding experience emphasising their thoughts, feelings and aspirations. The limitation was that all respondents were full-time boarders for at least one year when the questionnaire-survey was completed. The memoir-based humanistic approach of the Polish-American sociologist Florian Znaniecki, as developed for the analysis of personal and group social systems in the culturally diverse context of Australia by J. J. Smolicz, was employed to interpret the memoir data.

The memoir method has been well documented in Australia, as a means of collecting and analysing concrete and cultural facts, mainly in relation to the study of minority ethnic groups and their cultural actions. The humanistic approach emphasized that the researcher must accept cultural phenomena from the viewpoint of its participants and not from that of an outside observer. In the present study, this approach permitted the researcher to understand the experiences and attitudes of individual students towards an Australian co-educational boarding education through their own eyes.

The memoirs analysed were generated from 26 concrete questions, which revealed place-of-birth, ethnic identity, and languages spoken at home. This provided the researcher with verifiable information about the everyday lives of the respondents. The second half of the memoirs required response to 23 questions – these yielded cultural data. These questions required students to reflect on their situation, attitudes and experiences of boarding as a

system of education. This information could only have been provided by the participants themselves and gave the researcher direct access to the memoir writers' individual and group consciousness.

The study discovered that a number of the students were in the process of re-evaluating and re-interpreting the advantages and disadvantages of boarding school as a social system transmitted to them by parents, friends, family, and teachers. The respondent's personal statements revealed that the relationships among students and among students and staff in the boarding House tended to be primary in nature, in that they were personal, informal, and involved the entire human personality. From these data, it appeared that the success of a boarding school was determined by the personal atmosphere, support, and comfort of the boarding House.

Consideration of the empirical data found that 43 of the 45 respondents' memoirs believed that their overall experiences at the research boarding school were positive. Negative observations stressed the pressures of homesickness, tedium of school life and a lack of freedom thereby supporting Goffman's view of a "total institution". The majority of students' memoirs were ambivalent towards religion at the research school. Nevertheless, 11 stressed its significant implication in their day-to-day lives. The memoirs suggested that an education at the research boarding school was a crucible that forged students through a variety of experiences, positive and negative, individual and collective, for life.

Overall, the memoirs support the observation that boarding school acts as a social system for the acceptance of new cultural values, such as the cultural diversity respondents' experienced in their lives at boarding school. The study revealed an attitudinal shift in the group that welcomed the cultural pluralism of the school and recognised the cultural monism of the home. These memoirs revealed that boarding school was a significant factor in fostering independence and embracing cultural diversity as experienced in the crucible of the boarding school. These findings challenged the popular maxim that an Australian residential education was an anachronistic, inflexible, colonial-British model and suggested that it has the potential to act as a system of education that prepares its students for the challenges of life.

### STATEMENT OF DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or any other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in this thesis.

### PERMISSION TO LOAN AND PHOTOCOPY THIS THESIS

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

Mathew A. White  
School of Education  
Faculty of the Professions  
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Date:



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Professor J. J. Smolicz, A.M. my Principal Supervisor (Director of the Centre for Intercultural Studies and Multicultural Education at the University of Adelaide) and Dr Margaret Secombe (Deputy Head of the School of Education at the University of Adelaide). Professor Smolicz and Dr Secombe's guidance was invaluable in helping to crystallise new possibilities of theoretical approach and thereby enhanced the thesis significantly. It has been a privilege to study and to collaborate with such inspired and inspiring educationalists. This thesis owes much to their judicious evaluation.

The staff of the University of Adelaide's School of Education have been very supportive. In particular, I thank Professor Kevin Majoribanks (Head of the School of Education at the University of Adelaide) who has maintained a scholarly interest in this research project from its inception in late 1999.

In addition, the evaluation of anonymous journal reviewers, delegates at three conferences and frequent post-graduate research seminars have helped to clarify the theoretical implications of the study.

The act of writing this thesis has confirmed my view that education is a collaborative process. Consequently, I acknowledge the support of my colleagues who helped with data gathering: Jon Apted, Margaret Bennetts, Kerrie Cook, Debbie Clingeffer-Woodford, Stuart Davis, Bruce Harvey, Lister Hannah, John Hendry, Nicholas Sampson, and Helen Seymour.

Justin Corfield and Michael Collins Persse's willingness to share numerous books from their extensive personal libraries helped to refine chapters 2 and 3. The encouragement of Hartley Mitchell from the start of this project and over the past year has been pivotal. Alistair and Michelle Roland's belief also encouraged me considerably. The head and deputy-head of the research boarding school also deserve recognition for their commitment to this research. This thesis has also benefited from Theresa Janssen's editorial sagacity and first hand knowledge of boarding school life.

Katherine Thornton's (Historian of St Peter's College) interest in this undertaking and advice has fuelled new areas of potential collaborative research. I thank Bernie Dean (Head of Boarding at Adelaide's Rostrevor College) for the opportunity to present a paper at Boarding Colloquium II to a significant cross-section of staff from Australian and New Zealand residential schools. At this conference, I was fortunate to meet and receive the encouragement and advice of Professor Emeritus Ewan Anderson (former research officer to the British Boarding Schools Association 1973-2000).

I acknowledge the pivotal rôle played by the girls and boys who took part in this study and the trust they placed in me to discuss their hopes, fears, and aspirations as seen in their memoirs. A study of this nature would have been impossible without their participation.

Finally, I thank my family for their constant support during the time it has taken to write this thesis.

Mathew A. White - 1 October 2004

*To my parents*

## MINOR AMENDMENTS TO THESIS

- p. 3, line 9 up: Kym Beazley **read** Kim Beazley
- p. 4, line 1: Labour Party **read** Labor Party  
line 10 down: predominately-untouched **read** predominately untouched  
line 18 down: Productions' **read** Productions  
line 5 down: Wining **read** wining  
line 2 up: Australian educated **read** Vice-Chancellor
- p. 5, line 2 down: Western Districts **read** Western District  
line 9 down: rôles **read** roles
- p. 7, line up: writers' **read** writers
- p.9, line 5 up: students' **read** students  
line 2 up: research **read** researcher
- p. 12, lines 8-10 down: This approach provided the respondent with a guideline for their memoirs **read** This approach provided the respondent with a guideline for his or her memoir  
line 9 up: who **read** which
- p. 22, lines 5-6 down: Lambert purported **read** Lambert argued  
boarding school was **read** boarding school is
- p. 23, line 7 down: juxtaposed the stance **read** paralleled
- p. 25, line 3 down: Hughes' **read** Hughes's
- p. 27, line 4 down: *The schoolboy's mask: a play in five acts* **read** *The Schoolboy's Mask: A Play in Five Acts*  
line 10 up: *Incidents of youthful life, or The true history of William Langley* **read** *Incidents of Youthful Life, or The True History of William Langley*  
line 4 up: *The world of school* **read** *The World of School*
- p. 28, line 11 down: there was a watershed **read** there was a revolution
- p. 31, line 5 up: set at Eton set **read** set at Eton
- p. 35, line 7 up: was the growing and influence and wealth of the middle and upper classes For example **read** was the growing influence of the middle and upper classes. For example [...]
- p. 36, lines 3-4 down: was history **read** was a history  
line 5 down: Honey **ready** Honey's
- p. 37, line 2 down: Clarendon commission **read** *Clarendon Commission*

Mathew A. White  
29 November 2004

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**CHAPTER 1**

**CONTEMPORARY ISSUES FOR AUSTRALIAN BOARDING EDUCATION**

As I look back across the years I can recall my feelings exactly – a sensation of strangeness, a half-conscious wondering whether the various stories of school life, which I had read so eagerly were really true or just entertaining travesties. Even if they did portray the real life, it was doubtful whether they could be expected to apply to the altered conditions which would naturally exist in an Australian public school, however, closely it might be modelled on its English pattern (Jennings 1924, p. 11).

Since 2000, widespread interest in the national standard of Australian boarding care has been rekindled. This debate was fuelled initially by a sexual assault case that took place in the boarding House of a Sydney Independent School. The school was the first of its type in this country to have successful allegations of sexual assault and harassment in a boarding House brought before a court. In one instance, a 14-year-old-boy was grabbed and placed between two bunk beds with his arms and legs bound with school ties.

Noonan and Doherty's article (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 June, 2002) reported that four students, aged 15 and 16, pleaded guilty to various charges, which included aggravated indecent assault and intimidation of two boarders, and were placed on good behaviour bonds. Noonan and Doherty observed that the school denied that there was a culture of bullying and insisted that these were "isolated incidents".

Because of these assaults many Sydney and inter-state boarding schools immediately reviewed their boarding-House supervision and procedures. For example, the New South Wales Department of Education and Training reviewed the pastoral care structures offered at its three agricultural

boarding schools, Yanco, Hurlstone and Farrer in Tamworth. Noonan and Doherty's article noted that "these changes included the installation of electronic alarms in dormitories at Yanco, the employment of a night supervisor from 10pm to 6am at Farrer, and the introduction a new discipline policy at Hurlstone developed by senior students and teachers".

### **National boarding standards in Australia**

Immediately after the sexual assault cases a "residential care certificate course" was established by the headmaster of a leading Sydney Independent School for his boarding staff which was embraced by a number of schools in Australia and New Zealand and the foundation of *The Australian Residential Schools Association* (TARSA) followed soon after. It was argued that there was a need for a professionally recognised Diploma that established a minimum standard of training as a "legal prerequisite to employment – in any capacity – in a boarding school".

The Australian Residential Schools' Association website launched in March 2001 revealed more specific details about the Association:

One of the aims of TARSA will be to work with both Federal and State Governments in Australia to put in place national boarding standards. This will also involve working with appropriate authorities to identify the minimum standards that must be reached by boarding schools and hostels, and to then evaluate whether these standards are being met. Given the national and international trends for greater accreditation and greater accountability, it seems that the introduction of boarding standards into Australia will be inevitable. It will be crucial that the task of determining these standards be done in partnership with government authorities and the boarding industry. As TARSA is the only national body that includes principals and staff, administrators and practitioners, it is uniquely well placed to assist governments, schools and hostels by writing appropriate boarding standards. TARSA also has close connections with the Boarding School Association of Great Britain who have recently put in place a system of accrediting schools. This system may serve as a useful starting point for establishing boarding standards in Australia. (TARSA website)

As part of the establishment of TARSA, the chairperson recommended that it was important for teams investigating residential schools to test boarding school existing welfare policies were being carried out and if those policies were effective.

The chairperson hoped that the motivation to establish a minimum standard for boarding schools in Great Britain would be duplicated in Australia. Some of the other boarding schools and smaller Independent Schools with boarding Houses have alleged that TARSA dominated the debate as noted at the Australian Boarding Staff Conference *Now Boarding* held at Kooralbyn, Queensland September – October 2001.

Simultaneously, in the October 2001 and again in the 2004 Federal election boarding schools were specifically targeted by the Australian Labor Party's education manifesto *Knowledge Nation*. Labor's stance appeared to parallel the viewpoint of the British Labour Party in 1964, which was part of the formula for its re-election in Great Britain. In a Media Statement issued on 10 October 2001 the Federal Labor Leader, Kym Beazley stated, "the Howard Government favours elite Category 1 schools over schools in need. Its decision to award \$150 million to elite Category 1 private schools like Geelong Grammar School and The King's School funds privilege not education. These schools already have facilities that public schools [...] can only dream of and charge fees that most parents simply cannot afford [...]".

The Headmaster of Geelong Grammar School asserted, "this is unworthy and insulting rhetoric which smacks of outdated confrontationalist politics. I have no wish to become involved in party political debate but to remain silent in the face of such overt and specific attack would be to acquiesce to the picture of us painted through statements such as these." After the defeat of the

Labour Party by the Coalition in 2001, the funding given to Geelong Grammar School was used to broaden the access of the current scholarship scheme at the School (cited in email correspondence with the researcher).

### **Australia's awareness of boarding: from the opaque towards the transparent**

Adrian Underwood, the National Director of the British Boarding Schools' Association, advised the delegates of the 2001 Australian Boarding Staff Association Conference, that "greater transparency" was essential if residential schools hoped to flourish in this country (Underwood 2001a, 2001b). Given the considerable rôle that Australian boarding has played as a preferred system of education for rural, urban and Asia-Pacific elites in the past two decades it is intriguing to discover that this was a predominately-untouched area of sociological investigation.

For many boarding is an English-style of education, "the very seats and nurseries of vice" as described the Victorian "moralist" John Bowdler, or a type of schooling that evokes a sense of melancholy reinforced on Australian television as recently as 2002 by the screening of SMG Television Productions' version of *Goodbye, Mr Chips* starring Martin Clunes (Strachey 1921, p.181). Even so, an attitudinal shift towards this type of education has emerged in Australia.

An unusually high proportion of prominent Australians have been boarders at independent schools. For example, an analysis of the entries in *Who's Who* revealed that former Prime Ministers Sir Robert Menzies, Harold Holt, Sir John Gorton, Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser, Liberal Party President Sir Robert Southey, politician and pastoralist Charles Hawker, Booker Prize Wining Novelist Peter Carey, Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, the Head of CARE Australia, Phoebe Fraser, the Nobel Prize Winning novelist, Patrick White and the recently retired Australian educated Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, Lord Broers, were boarders. Media mogul dynasties such

as the Packer, Murdoch, and Fairfax families have also favoured boarding schools. Generations of squatter families from the Western Districts of country Victoria who included the Mann, Armytage, Fairbairn, Manifold, and Bailieu families have attended boarding schools (Cree 1991, 2000; Corfield and Collins Persse 1996; French 1965, p. 17).

Some contemporary attitudes challenge the British stereotype and claim that today's Australian boarding schools are "no longer Dickensian visions of cold dormitories, communal showers, and bad food" (Stewart, *The Weekend Australian*, 1-2 September 2001, p.19). This recent stance has implied that an Australian boarding school education is a system that has the potential to act as a crucible for life. Moreover it is a system which prepares individuals to participate in their given rôles in a pluralistic society as they face a "social world at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century [which is] increasingly one world, but at the same time remains fragmented, conflict-ridden, hierarchical and unequal" (Martinelli 2003, p.291).

French (1965) and more recently, Finkelstein's (1992) appraisal of "educational historiography" support the proposition that Australian independent school histories, in general, have played a significant part in educational research and interest. However, as Trimmingham Jack (1997a) suggested these histories have chosen to concentrate on school politics and structures, such as Bate and Penrose's (2002) history of Melbourne Grammar and Burley's (1992, 2003) analysis of convent school life, rather than study the "lived experience" of every-day school life at grass-roots level. French (1965 p.v - vii) observed that "from the works of C.E.W. Bean, F.W.D. Butler, R. J. Nicholas and Rev. Bro. Ronald" the researcher "will obtain an idea of the development of the independent secondary schools" but "the knowledge that he will gain [about boarding] will be fragmentary and unsystematic".



These different pathways - the analysis of the structural and the study of memoir-based-history - provided the compass point to appreciate the state of boarding school research in this country. For example, fewer than 10 of the 140 extracts chosen for *The Oxford Book of Australian Schooldays* provided "grass-roots" accounts of Australian boarding (Niall and Britain 1997). This coupled with the lack of recent research on residential education, suggested that this was an overlooked area.

White (2004a) recognized that there have been some distinguished unpublished theses concerned with Australian residential education including:

- Brockhall's (1979) examination of The Armidale School in New South Wales;
- Burns' (1988) history of Roman Catholic boarding schools for boys in Victoria 1878-1985;
- Edmont's (1986) study of boarding as an educational philosophy;
- Fairbairn's (1993) call for boarding needs to be examined in the early 1990s;
- Gillen's (1994) study of boarders perceptions of residential school life;
- Lynch's (1993) analysis of pastoral care in a boarding school;
- Patterson's (1979) study of "an authentic catholic" boarding school education and
- Rowling's (1984) study of The Armidale School in New South Wales.

However, only two extensive studies of Australian residential schooling have been completed since 1990: Cree's (1991, 2000) ethnographic survey of year-nine boarders in Victoria and Trimmingham Jack's (1997b, 2003) *Growing Good Catholic Girls: Education and Convent Life in Australia* which investigated boarders' and nuns' experiences at a rural convent boarding school run by The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus from the mid 1940s to 1965 in New South Wales.

### **The present study**

This study aimed to fill part of the gap discovered in this area of research. It focused upon an investigation of the views of a group of Anglo-Australian and overseas students who were enrolled at a co-educational boarding school in Australia (hereafter referred to as the research boarding

school to respect anonymity of the school and its respondents). These respondents were asked to write memoirs of 4-5,000 words in 2000 that described their learning experiences of boarding life in a variety of contexts at the research boarding school. In particular, they were asked to write about their thoughts, feelings, aspirations, and evaluations of boarding.

When this set of memoirs was considered, the rationale adopted was the humanistic sociological approach for the analysis of autobiographical documents, such as questionnaire-surveys, personal letters, and statements as developed by Znaniecki (1968). The humanistic approach stressed that the researcher must accept cultural data as facts, just as the human agents who take part in a given cultural system.

In order to test the accuracy of another individual's memoirs, it was essential that an investigator had an understanding of the environment or cultural milieu from which the data were collected. Ideally, this was achieved by the investigator being in an ethnographic position or that of a participant within the social system itself, as was the case of this study. Consequently, this gave the investigator the opportunity to verify that the material collected was from the social system being analysed (Smolicz 1999). This study aimed to reconstruct, as authentically as possible, the school milieu as seen by the writers' who lived and acted in it through their own eyes.

The rationale of this study as a whole was threefold:

- First, it outlined systematically the development of boarding overseas and in Australia thereby establishing a definition of an Australian boarding school for the purpose of this thesis.
- Second, it aimed to establish the impact the research boarding school had upon a student's life.

- Third, it applied Smolicz's (1979, 1999) conceptual grid of personal and group social systems to identify the value of boarding House relations.

The researcher agreed with Smolicz's (1999, p.258) view that "educational systems can be seen as concerned to transmit the cultural heritage of the group" for the purpose of this study. This position supported Znaniecki (1998, p.46) who believed that "educational circles" such as boarding schools were "those whose explicit or implicit intention is to prepare the individual for active participation in other social circles".

Smolicz and Moody (1978, pp.1-66) found in their study of the Australian independent school as a cultural system that many of these institutions encouraged the characteristics of confidence, self-discipline, and the ability to articulate one's thoughts. When Znaniecki's (1998) observation was placed in the context of the number of leading Australians who were boarders it appeared that boarding provided a fertile area for sociological research.

Hopper (1971) believed that "where one goes to school can be very important in determining his or her life-styles and life chances". Collins (1979) agreed and asserted that the purpose of education was to prepare students for positions in society. This was also supported by Baltzell's (1958, 1964, 1979) analysis of the elite American boarding school's rôle in creating a "Protestant Establishment". On the other hand, Paul M. Sweezy, an alumni of Exeter College and Harvard, wrote that these schools starved the revolutionary nature of the working classes by "sucking upwards the ablest elements of the lower classes and this performing a double function of infusing new brains into the ruling class and weakening the political leadership of the working class" (cited in Baltzell 1964, p.344).

Sociologists' attitudes towards boarding school pointed at the considerable potential for research in this area. Hays argued:

All of the relationships and events that make up boarding-school life can be studied productively. Classroom interactions, student cliques, teacher factions, problems of discipline, tensions between administrators and teachers, pressure from parents and school-board members, dormitory life and roommate problems, team sports, such school ceremonies as assembly, alumni weekend, and graduation: a sociologist could focus on any of these and learn a great deal about school life and the process of moral socialization [...] (Hays 1994, p.9).

Mills supported this stance:

As a selection and training place of the upper classes, both old and new, the private school is a unifying influence, a force for the nationalization of the upper classes. The less important the pedigreed family becomes in the careful transmission of moral and cultural traits, the more important the private school. The school – rather than the upper-class family – is the most important agency for transmitting the traditions of the upper social classes, and regulating the admission of new wealth and talent. It is the characterizing point in the upper-class experience (Mills 1959, p.64).

Because English and American residential education has been the source of rigorous historical and sociological investigation for more than a century, boarding practice in these countries was more transparent and accountable. This present study did not attempt to examine “all of the relationships and events that make up boarding-school life”. It did not seek to pass judgement on boarding as a system of education, portray a rose-tinted picture, or to act as a vilification of the boarding system. Instead this thesis considered one Australian boarding school, in detail, through the eyes of the students' themselves.

### **The memoir approach**

Chapter 5 will outline more fully the specific theoretical method and implications of the memoir approach adopted for this study. However, the memoir method stressed that when the research considered the data collected from the respondents it was necessary to reconstruct as authentically

as possible their school milieu as seen by the writers who lived and acted in it through their own memoirs.

The memoir technique of humanistic sociology was first documented in Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, which was published immediately after the Great War in 1919. In *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Thomas and Znaniecki developed a theoretical technique for the analysis of personal documents. In the case of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, they analysed letters, which were exchanged between family members in Europe and those who had emigrated to America. Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, pp.305-06) classified these letters according five subjects: ceremonial letters, informing letters, sentimental letters, literary letters, and business letters. The cultural data collected from the personal documents complemented background information taken from newspapers used to verify the authenticity of the letters.

Between the First and Second World Wars a number of extensive surveys were completed which used the memoir approach under Znaniecki's direction. Secombe (1997, pp.82-84) recorded that Golebiowski and Jacubczak (1964-72) repeated Thomas and Znaniecki's study twenty-five years later and "organised a second competition to collect a whole new set of peasant memoirs". More recently, Latoszek (1988) completed a memoir study of those involved in the Solidarity strikes at the Gdansk shipyards in 1980.

As Secombe (1997) established over the past twenty years, the Polish sociologist Kłoskowska has emerged as one of the prominent supporters of Znaniecki's memoir approach who has used this technique in her own research. Over this time, she has analysed the autobiographies of eight

Polish leaders of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries using Znaniecki's technique (Kłoskowska 1982). Secombe (1997, p.84) summarised Kłoskowska's research on "national conversion" and "cultural polyvalence" of those who lived in the Polish borderlands and her analysis of the memoirs of Wojciech Kętrzyński, and the artist Joseph Czapski completed in the mid-1990s (cited in Secombe 1997 and Kłoskowska 1994).

Currently Kłoskowska has interviewed students who were enrolled at Polish Universities from diverse cultural backgrounds and analysed these data in comparison to the level of cultural valence they showed (Kłoskowska 1996). In a discussion of the memoir method Smolicz and Secombe (2000, p.270) quoted Kłoskowska as asserting, "personal documents are important in revealing the extent of individual variation within a cultural group" and the best method for "grass roots level research" which concentrates upon "the personal experience of individual, ordinary people".

Kłoskowska's research has since been translated into English as *National Cultures at the Grass Root Level* (2001). Her study analysed the balance between the phenomenon of globalisation and national identity through the experiences of a group of young intellectuals from German, Ukrainian and Belarusian ethnic backgrounds. Recently, Hałas (1998, 2000, and 2002) has played a pivotal rôle in highlighting Znaniecki's significance in "mainstream" sociology as a forerunner for "symbolic interactionism" and publishing a selection of Znaniecki's writings on education previously "lost" to the public sphere.

In Australia, Znaniecki's method of collecting and analysing memoirs has been used to study the experiences of various ethnic groups (Smolicz and Secombe 1981, 1982); for investigating the nature of core values in minority ethnic groups (Smolicz and Secombe 1986; Smolicz, Lee,

Murugaian and Secombe 1990); cultural becoming among university graduates (Hudson 1995); for the analysis of oral taped interviews of respondents' from Ethiopia (Debela 1996), Welsh (Hughes 1994) and Armenian backgrounds (Milosh 1995); a study of the cultural interaction in the experience of "mainstream" Australian graduates of Anglo Celtic cultural background (Secombe 1997); and a study of language and identity in the Asturias region of Spain (Arnold 2002).

As in this study, some of these South Australian researchers modified the memoir method, in that participants were not required to supply full-scale life histories, but asked the respondents to complete an extended questionnaire-survey. This approach provided the respondent with a guideline for their memoirs that may ask them to consider specifically ethnic identity or the respondent's experiences at school and in the home.

The analysis of the cultural data collected for this thesis was achieved by the examination of the attitudes and experiences through the students' own memoirs, who reflected the cultural diversity of multicultural Australia, and its rôle as a country of choice for education among students and their families from the Asian-Pacific region. Therefore, the spirit of this study paralleled Lambert's analysis of English boarding school life in which he argued that his work was "not an objective evaluation of boarding education," but presented "one consistent viewpoint – that of the children in their writing" (Lambert 1968a, p.6).

## **Overview**

Given the recent successful case of sexual assault brought against boarders in a boarding House of an Australian independent school state and federal parliamentary interest in boarding has

emerged as an issue which has the potential to polarise educational debate. This chapter identified Australia's attitude towards residential education as anachronistic.

This chapter noted that Australian research in boarding has been restricted to a handful of significant studies that have not considered the rôle of boarding in the multi-ethnic context of Australian culture. The thesis aimed to fill part of the gap of research in this area. Chapter 2 will review the development of boarding overseas. It will identify the important researchers, research groups, authors, which have particular implications for this study.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOARDING OVERSEAS

It was early each morning when the great bell from the tower boomed out its slow full notes as half-awakened boys tumbled out of bed. It was half-past six, and there was not much time to lose if one was to be in time for morning study. Very soon, groups were issuing from the different houses and streaming across the playing fields to the swimming baths. Most of the boys were clad merely in pyjamas with towels hanging loosely round their necks, for, being a community or our own, and cut off from the rest of the world there was a delightful sense of freedom, unbound by any exacting restrictions (Jennings 1924, p.58).

The origins of boarding education are ancient. Given Australia's boarding school system was only 150 years old and was weaned on the ambition of the colonial rural and urban elite it was necessary to first understand the cultural milieu of boarding overseas. Chapter 2 considers the difficulty faced by the researcher when defining an Australian boarding school and outlines the development of boarding overseas before and after the nineteenth century. This provides the prologue to chapter 3's examination of boarding in Australia.

The structure of this chapter incorporates a summary of important researchers, research groups, authors, and reflects upon the significant part boarding school fiction has played in creating a boarding school stereotype. The English researchers identified in the literature review provided the best source of primary and secondary literature. However, a handful of significant American, Israeli and Soviet studies have been consulted.

It was found that British boarding research spanned over 130 years of scholarship. 1965-1980 was the most prolific period for research in residential education in Great Britain. This research was primarily stimulated by Labour government initiatives, or proposed legislation initiated in the late 1960s and early 1990s. The *Clarendon Commission* (1864) identified the "seven" boarding schools

of England in the nineteenth century; The Public Schools Commission 1968 (1970) considered the possibility of integrating the existing elite residential schools into the mainstream government education system; and *The Children Act 1989* (1994) established the core standards of care for contemporary boarding. These commissions looked to statutory bodies including the National Core Standards for Boarding and the British Boarding Schools' Association to help in the collection of data. The review identified Anderson; Bamford; Kalton; Lambert; Morgan; Wakeford; Weinberg as the seminal English authors and Cookson and Hodges Persell from the United States whose work was pivotal in understanding the complexity of residential education from historical and sociological perspectives.

### **Defining a boarding school**

The present study proposed that given Australian boarding was a derivative of an English structure it was appropriate the history of English residential education was considered to establish a definition of Australian boarding. Despite the widespread analysis of English and American students' attitudes, frank deliberation about and investigation of boarding in the Southern hemisphere has failed to reach its adolescence.

One of the main problems facing Australian research in this area was that the term "boarding school" has been used in diverse and in many instances ambiguous ways. Some believed that a school with a minority of residential students was a "boarding school". In contrast, others argued that only a handful of schools existed in this country with a significant residential population large enough to claim that they were boarding schools (Trimingham Jack 1997b, 2003). Cree (1999, 2000) alleged that there were no boarding schools in Australia at all and that it was an educational philosophy rather than a specific system of education.

Therefore, it was necessary to clarify exactly how the term “boarding school” was to be used in this study. In order to establish a clearer definition of Australian boarding this chapter will systematise the definitions used in previous research from overseas. However, the definition that is put forward in this study at the conclusion of chapter 3 challenges the immediate assumption that contemporary Australian boarding was a copy of an English model of education and argues that an Australian boarding school was:

- a derivative of an English structure;
- a system that corresponded with the hopes and aspirations of the powerful rural and metropolitan plutocracy that created it for the education of their sons and daughters in the Australian context.

### **Boarding before the nineteenth century**

#### *The monastic origins of boarding*

Austin (1995), Barnard (1961), Broady (1972) Chandos (1984), and Gathorne-Hardy (1977) agreed that boarding schools were generally known as “public schools” in Great Britain. Nevertheless, the exact meaning of a “public” school has been the cause of some debate. A clearer definition of these schools did not take place until after the Battle of Waterloo. Bamford (1967, pp.x-xi) observed that the expression was first used in the 1820s. Eventually “seven” boarding schools were linked in “ethos” or “tradition” and came to epitomise the characteristics of residential education. These schools were Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Westminster, and Winchester. Eventually two day schools: Merchant Taylors’ and St Paul’s were added to this list.

These institutions were “endowed schools of some historical significance, with an education based on antiquity, in particular on Latin, and to a lesser extent, Greek language and literature. They were patronised essentially by the aristocracy and landed gentry, as well as by many who did not exactly

fit into either category but who were rich enough to adopt the gentry's way of life and manner, and even to intermarry with them or mix with them occasionally at receptions and hunt-balls – without being full acceptable to the uppermost of stratum of society.”

Barnard explained this further:

Public schools were guardians of the old tradition. For geographical and social reasons they lived in closed worlds, ignoring the significant developments in middle-class education being brought about by the numerous private day and boarding academies (Barnard 1961, p.xii).

Armytage (1964), Bamford (1967), Chandos (1984), Dunning (1975), Gardner (1973), Gathorne-Hardy (1977), Honey (1975, 1977), Mangan (1975, 1981, 1998), Martin (1979), Rich (1989) and Seaborne (1971, 1975, 1977) understood that boarding was as old as Christian England itself and was embedded in the tradition of the monastic schools founded well before the Protestant reformation. From these monastic communities, many based on the rule of Saint Benedict, flourished the great choir and grammar schools.

When the pattern established by the identities of the founders and the dates of schools was considered the monastic heritage of these institutions was clear:

- The King's School, Canterbury, was founded in 600 AD by Saint Augustine when Pope Gregory the Great sent him from Rome to Britain.
- William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, founded Winchester College, in 1382.
- King Henry VI founded Eton College, in 1440.
- St Paul's, London, was founded in 1509 by John Colet, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral.
- Sherbourne School, was founded in the 8<sup>th</sup> Century and re-founded in 1550 by King Edward VI.
- Christ's Hospital, was founded in 1552 by King Edward VI.
- The Collegiate School of St Peter at Westminster, London, was re-founded by Queen Elizabeth I in 1560.
- Lawrence Sheriff founded Rugby School, in 1567.
- John Lyon founded Harrow School in 1571.
- Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, founded Uppingham School in 1584.

Some schools attached to monastic communities during the volatile period of the early English protestant Church, such as Westminster and Sherbourne, were “re-founded” after the dissolution of the monasteries (Armytage 1964). However, The King’s School, Canterbury, claims an “uninterrupted” link with the monastic community of Saint Augustine.

Gathorne-Hardy (1977) asserted that the popularity of residential education was not exclusively associated with the Anglican Communion. The European Roman Catholic Church also supported it. For example, because of the division between the state and church during the bloody period of the First Estate in post-revolutionary France (1778-1791) a number of Roman Catholic colleges established residential communities “in exile” across the Channel in England. The history of the great English Roman Catholic boarding schools of Stonyhurst (1794), Oscott (1794), Downside (1795), and Ampleforth (1802) support this observation. However, it was not until Napoleon I that a number of boarding schools were founded in France once more. Other religious groups started their own boarding schools during this period-included Kingswood in 1748 founded by John Wesley and Mill Hall in 1807 (Bamford 1967).

Davidson (1990, pp.119-120) stressed the “monastic” or the “religious” rôle of these residential communities. This was highlighted when various schools’ mottos were consulted.

- Clifton College: *Spiritus Intus Alit* (The Spirit Nourisheth Within).
- Colfe’s Grammar School: *Soli Deo Honor et Gloria* (Honour and Glory for God Alone).
- Dean Close School: *Verbum Dei Lucerna* (The Word of God is a Lantern).
- Epsom College: *Deo Non Fortuna* (Not through Luck but through the Help of God).
- Haileybury and Imperial Service College: *Sursum Corda* (Lift up your Hearts).
- Merchant Taylors’ School: *Homo Plantat, Homo Irrigat, sed Deus dat Incrementum* (Man Planteth and Watereth, but God giveth Increase).
- Rugby School: *Orando Laborando* (By Prayer and Work).
- St Benedict’s, Ealing: *Laborare est Orare* (To Work is to Pray).

What bound these residential academic communities together? The students who lived in these scholastic communities were away from their parents, under the guidance of a community of expert adults where students were able to devote their lives to learning, prayer, and worship.

### *Rousseau and boarding*

Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.31) challenged the monastic origins of boarding and proposed that the “originator of the boarding school idea was not an English gentleman, or even a right-thinking clergyman, but the radical philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau” (1712-1778) and used excerpts from Rousseau’s (1779) novel *Émile* in order to support this hypothesis. The plausibility of this thesis was debatable as Rousseau expounded the education of a student in total isolation of his or her peers as well as his or her mother and father, rather than being a member of a residential community.

## **British boarding in the nineteenth century**

### *The influence of the industrial revolution and the rise of the middle class on English boarding*

Gathorne-Hardy (1977, pp. 68 – 93) understood that with the rise of the middle-class during the industrial revolution and the demand for a better quality of education for the sons of the aristocracy in the nineteenth century these schools started to demand fees. Bamford (1967, p.xv) noted that by the mid-nineteenth century, as the non-government schools of Australia were founded, three types of British boarding schools emerged simultaneously as the concepts of “adolescence” and “boarding school” emerged (McLachlan 1970). These three systems of boarding school:

- the “seven” boarding schools of Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Westminster and Winchester, which catered for the upper classes;
- a handful schools for non-Anglicans;

- Christ's Hospital a boarding school of great renown, but its students were drawn exclusively from the ranks of the poor.

The American sociologists Cookson and Hodges Persell (1982, 1985a, 1985b, 1991), Hillman and Thorne (1991, 1996), the English historian Honey (1975, 1977), the English sociologists Broady (1972), Kalton (1966), Lambert (1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1969d, 1970, 1975), Rae (1981), Wakeford (1969), Walford (1983, 1984, 1986) and Weinberg (1967, 1968) concurred that two elements appeared to be essential to these boarding schools:

- the school was a largely organised residential student and academic staff population who worked together in order to achieve the academic, physical and social wellbeing of its population;
- the architecture and tone of the institution have aesthetic qualities, which expressed the religious, cultural, and ethical values of the institution.

In America Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.22) thought that "the difference between a public school [a government-funded school] and an elite private school" was "the difference between a factory and a club". They alleged, "to be accepted into a private school is to be accepted into a social club [...] a social group that is defined as a group of people who feel a sense of social similarity". On the other hand, Lambert (1975) believed that boarding schools had four objectives:

- the transition of mental, physical and social skills or the acquisition of useful attributes such as social poise and physical fitness;
- a place where students were taught about appropriate codes of behaviour, belief, taste and expression, religious, moral and cultural awareness and intellectual interest;
- a place which was concerned with the reputation of the school and its respectability;
- that boarding school intergraded individuals into various groups of society beyond their original social allocation and claimed that these schools perpetuated a ruling class.

This was certainly the case of St Paul's School of Darjeeling at the base of the Himalayas where the sons of the Brahmins were transformed "into brown sahibs" and the Kamuzu Academy in Lilongwe, Malawi, which was established to educate the "future ruling class of superior but

incorruptible administrators" (Alexander 1982, p.36; Hennessy 1969, pp.135-192 and *London Times*, 2 July 1983, p. 8)

Quigly's (1982) authoritative study of boarding school literature observed that the English:

[...] public school in its heyday lasted for about a century, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth. Of course it existed before that and it still exists today, but not in the form made familiar by school stories to many who had never been there. In the first half of the nineteenth century and the second half of the twentieth century it was a different place, in ideas and motives, different above all in its effects and in the emotional response it aroused. When confidence was high, and a particular kind of training was needed to produce a particular type of man, it was as functional and energetic as a powerhouse. When this confidence waned, and the training it gave, the men it produced, almost suddenly seemed irrelevant to the world as it had become. Its manner changed, its ethos faded, and it ceased to be the sort of place people understand (with approval or disapproval, affection or dislike) by the term 'public school' [...] As the subsoil of adult life, or what C. Day-Lewis called 'an invisible compost', boarding school feeds adult feeling of all kinds (Quigly 1982, pp.1-2).

Quigly argued that there were fifteen types of boarding school stories. These ranged from the school story as moral tale, the school story as imperial manual, the school story as allegory and the school story at war and that from these narratives the broader community has established its imaginative reconstruction or picture of boarding school life.

However, the majority of "academic" studies about boarding schools in Great Britain appeared to have been generated from 1963-1978 and more recently in 1993 and 2001. The seminal British writers included Kalton (1966), Lambert (1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1969, 1970, 1975) and Weinberg (1967) who were initially connected with *The Public Schools Commission 1968 (1970)* which was instigated by the Labour Government as a central aspect of the educational reform policy for the "New Britain".



Lambert (1968a) observed that the English were fixated with boarding schools. This obsession was fuelled by the apparent inequality in the English class system rather than any particular resentment towards the educational philosophy of boarding *per se*. Many of these schools maintained high academic standards. However, they were often criticised for their divisive rôle as factories that perpetuated the “ruling class” of English society. Second, Lambert purported that any sociological and historical examinations of boarding schools was connected with the educational stance of an individual Government, either Tory, or conservative, who appeared to support the *status quo* of boarding schools or the Labour Party, who attacked these schools as elitist and conformist (Baron 1981).

Lambert observed that “other countries have boarding schools too” and “some have more children in them but they attract no [...] interest or discussion. The reason is that only in England has boarding rather than day school been the style of education long favoured by the governing classes.” Lambert concluded that because the aristocracy and the upper classes favoured boarding school it provided a source of significant sociological examination (Lambert 1968b, p.1, 1970, 1975).

Lambert’s hypothesis concurred with the work of Dancy (1963) and was later supported by Baron *et al* (1981) who identified the political motivation, which he believed to be central to the British sociological literature about boarding. As with the public schools of England, many Australian independent schools required their students to wear a specific uniform that made them readily identifiable. Davidson (1990) completed a pictorial history of the school uniform in England which

was an excellent introduction to the significance that uniform played in the residential schools in Britain and hinted at its implications in the “colonies”.

*Memoirs and histories about British boarding school life*

Clark (1991) believed that an Australian boarding school did not form a significant part of the development of the overall broader Australian identity in the early years of the colony. However, it did have a pivotal and real influence amongst the privileged “gentry” of the new colony. Clark’s observation juxtaposed the stance of Davies (2000, pp.363-364, 414-15) who declared that the influence and development of the great boarding schools of England such as Eton and Winchester were an integral part of the British educational tapestry.

Until the conclusion and beyond the final submission of the *Public Schools Commission* in the 1960s there were a large number of historical texts and memoirs published in Great Britain, which provided important background data to the ethos, structure, and purpose of boarding school philosophy.

Bean (1950), Hansen (1971, pp.21-77) and Rich (1989) argued that boarding schools and Houses in Australia were a colonial reinterpretation of an English public school ideology dominated by the ghost of Tom Brown and Thomas Arnold. Nevertheless, Quigly believed that:

[...] of the three Thomases who moulded the Victorian public school (two real and one fictional: Arnold, Hughes and Brown), two were known as Tom and the third seems to have no first name at all, certainly no abbreviation of it. A hint that domestically he was Tommy seems almost profane, for it is as Arnold of Rugby, a name with an imperial or at least imperious ring, that he is remembered (Quigly 1982, p.26).

It was believed that the popular Australian and overseas stereotypes associated with boarding found their roots in the world of *Tom Brown's School Days* and the frightening landscapes of Dickens' novels (Honey 1975, 1977; Scott, P 1975). Gathorne-Hardy (1977) argued that because English boarding schools were linked intrinsically with the aristocracy and the upper classes it was natural that much of the literature associated with boarding was intended for the entertainment of that class. Quigly (1982) concurred with this position in her definitive study of boarding school literature and cited the large number of quasi-autobiographical writings on boarding school life that formed the "cannon" of boarding school myth. This point appeared to be true of the writings of Matthew Arnold, Farrar and Kipling.

Gathorne-Hardy and Quigly mooted that the upper classes created this literary genre for those who attended boarding school. This was contrasted by the more "realistic" writings on boarding school life by English novelists P. G. Woodhouse and Alec Waugh. Accounts that were more negative were also found in a collection edited by Graham Greene (1984), which included accounts of boarding school experiences by W. H. Auden, H. E. Bates, Anthony Powell, Steven Spender, and L. P. Hartley.

The majority of this residential literature appeared to be the source of Australian contemporary society's anachronistic misconception of boarding education. As Davidson (1990, pp.16-17, 69) suggested many of these fictional narratives emphasised the difference of the idiosyncratic uniforms of some English schools, such as the tails worn at Eton and the "housies" at Christ's Hospital which illustrated, cultivated and recapitulated an image foreign to those outside of these schools social systems. The consequence was that the literature dealing with boarding schools mystified embellished and reiterated this image of school life.

### The influence of *Tom Brown's School Days*

Honey (1975, 1977) believed that the most famous account of boarding school life, but not the first, was Hughes' (1885) *Tom Brown's School Days*; it was used by Walford (1986) to frame his sociological study of two public schools. As Kirkpatrick (1990), noted *Tom Brown's School Days* was credited as being the first text of its type. However, Kirkpatrick named at least 40 other texts, which preceded Hughes' cult novel that remained relatively unknown to the vast majority of people. *Tom Brown's School Days* has been made into three different film versions: a silent film in 1916, for RKO in 1939 and by Renown Pictures in 1951. It was serialised on BBC Television in 1971; and produced as a stage musical (at London's Cambridge Theatre) in 1972, which has perpetuated the boarding myth. *Tom Brown's School Days* dramatised the experiences of Tom's journey as a young student at Rugby School that culminated in his triumphant last year. Fundamentally, this novel was sentimental in tone but importantly incorporated the character of Dr Thomas Arnold (1774-1837) as the archetypal public-school Headmaster (Kirkpatrick 1990, pp.10-11; Newsome 1961, pp. 1-2, 6, 33-34, 58-59).

Hughes's text was "homage" to the legendary Headmaster of Rugby School who was credited with inventing the House system in boarding schools. This system was where a single master was Housemaster and responsible for the guidance of a group of up to 70 boys. It was Tom's struggle with homesickness, the new and strange world of Rugby School, the domination of the infamous bully Flashman and Tom's rise to become school captain, which made this novel the quintessential representation of boarding school life. At the time of publication in the 1850s, Hughes' novel was an enormous success. Hughes followed *Tom Brown's School Days* with the sequel in 1861, *Tom Brown at Oxford*, however this novel failed to achieve the same level of popularity of its predecessor.

*The significance of a boarding school literature*

The impact of these novels should not be overlooked. Hughes caught the sentiment of the English public schools in his description of Tom Brown's plight at Rugby and satisfied the imagination of an era. For the first time this novel offered the middle-classes of Britain a description of a public school. It also elevated Dr Arnold's rôle from master educator to educational myth. However, Hughes' novel provided the best point to appreciate the struggles that boarders still experience today but not necessarily the conditions (Honey 1975, 1977; Newsome 1961).

Kirkpatrick (1990) believed that the origin of the school novel was older than asserted previously. In particular, Kirkpatrick noted that the rise of the school novel challenged Honey's (1977) stance. Kirkpatrick asserted that the earliest description of boarding school life in English prose was a "dialogue" by Aelfric, a novice-masér and teacher at the monastery of Cerne Abbas in Dorset. Aelfric became Abbot of Eynsham, Oxford, and was one of the most celebrated writers of prose in the Anglo-Saxon period. In his prose piece, *A Colloquium* written around 995 CE, a scene was set in a monastery school that described an aide learning Latin. Kirkpatrick believed that there were extensive passages, which suggested that Aelfric's school was a boarding institution and the text referred to students willingly accepting corporal punishment for slackness in their studies.

Kirkpatrick observed that school and school boys were a regular subject matter in much Medieval prose and poetry, including Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* and then, later, in the Elizabethan period when Shakespeare described in *As You Like It* the "whining schoolboy, with his satchel and shining morning face, creeping like snail unwillingly to school". Gardner (1973, p.10) observed that King's School, Rochester, claimed to be the oldest public school in Britain and traced its origins to

a comment made by the Venerable Bede who “referred in 631 to a school founded by Sigbert, who presided over the kingdom of the English East”.

The first major portrayal of school life was realised in a play written in the eighteenth century by Thomas Spateman (1742), *The schoolboy's mask: a play in five acts*. This play was the “first major appearance of a boys’ school in prose – a play in five acts, the first set in a school, the second at Cambridge University”. It was believed to have provided the mythical subject matter for *Tom Brown's School Days* and *Tom Brown at Oxford*. Kirkpatrick argued that whilst these examples had schools and school children as their subject matter the first real publication devoted to school life was Richard Johnson's (1771) *Juvenile trials for robbing orchards, telling fibs and other heinous offences*. It was a novel about a tutor and a governess who hatch a scheme for self-government amongst their students (Kirkpatrick 1990, pp.1-15).

Beloe's (1790) *Incidents of youthful life, or The true history of William Langley* was the first novel to include a public school setting where the protagonist attended an unidentified public school before going to Westminster. Gathorne-Hardy (1977, pp. 84-87) stressed the importance of F. W. Farrar's (1909) *Eric or Little by Little Eric*, published soon after *Tom Brown's School Days* in 1858 which portrayed a boarder's life dominated by an unusually high level of Christian morality. The Anglo-Catholic piety of Farrar's characters placed it in stark contrast to the unashamed muscular Christianity of Hughes' text. Following the success of *Eric*, Farrar then wrote *St. Winifred's, or The world of school* based upon his experiences at King William's College, Isle of Man, and his time at as a master at Marlborough and Harrow where he taught for more than 20 years (Newsome 1961, pp.35 - 36).

Concerned by the portrayal of a violent boarding school culture the publishing arm of the non-conformist Evangelical movement, the Religious Tract Society, launched its own "boarding school propaganda" called the *Boy's own paper*. The purpose of this publication was to "counteract the supposedly depraved influence of the penny dreadful, which it did by its mixture of solid Victorian idealism and use of popular authors such as G. A. Henty, R. M. Ballantyne, Conan Doyle and Jules Verne" (Kirkpatrick 1990, p.19). These were complemented by novels published by the Society, which included: Charles (1874, 1877, 1878, 1884), J. Johnston (1885, 1920), Malan (1898, 1904), Millington (1883, 1899), Prosser (1879), Pugh (1879, 1887, 1900, 1903), Reed (1883, 1885, 1887a, 1887b, 1889, 1893, 1894a, 1894b, 1894c, 1897, 1899) and Sargent (1880, 1887).

#### *The penny dreadful series*

After Farrar published *St Winifred's* there was a watershed in British boarding-school literature. Novels and short stories about school life were sold as part of the "penny dreadful" series. These texts were published in the later half of the nineteenth century in weekly periodicals and later reissued in weekly parts and complete volumes. Secondly, Kirkpatrick (1990, p.19) believed these stories painted contradictory pictures of schools life, from the "farical" to the "melodramatic and violent".

Kirkpatrick also observed, "the stories were typified by an over-use of melodrama [...] the fashionable use of onomatopoeic names such as Ned Nimble, Tom Wildrake, Dick Lighthouse, Dr Bircham, Mr Hackchild...they were also frowned upon by many people and were originally published alongside lurid and violent stories". Kirkpatrick recalled their origin and wrote:

The first "penny dreadful" serial was George Emmett's "The Boys of Bircham School", which began in *The Young Englishman's Journal* on June 8<sup>th</sup> 1867. It was followed by W. T. Townsend's "The Captain of the School", published by Emmett's rival, J. Brett, in *Boys of*

*England*, beginning on July 20<sup>th</sup> 1867. The Emmet brothers continued the trend with "Tom Wildrake's Schooldays" (written initially by George Emmett and then continued by E. Harcourt Burrage), which began in *Sons of Britannia* in 1871. Brett countered with Bracebridge Hemying's "Jack Harkaway's Schooldays" in *Boys' of England*, also in 1871. There then followed an intense circulation battle between Brett, the Emmett brothers and other publishers, with over 80 weekly or monthly boys' periodicals launched in the period up to 1900. Most of these were fairly short-lived, either disappearing after a few issues or being absorbed by other periodicals. Nevertheless, in 1900 there were still 23 titles being published simultaneously.

The school story serials published in these periodicals are now long-forgotten, although the school story genre perhaps owes more to them, as the true progenitors of the popular school story, then has previously been recognised. Copies of the complete volumes are now very rare, and dates of first publication are often impossible to determine. So, too, is the authorship of many of the stories – several purportedly written by George Emmett, for example, were actually the work of other writers, and many others were simply anonymous. Further confusion is caused by different publishers issuing the same titles – Charles Fox, for example, issued reprints of the Emmett brothers' publications (and eventually took over their publishing company of the Hogarth House) (Kirkpatrick 1990, p.19).

As *The Clarendon Commission* revealed to the public some of the anachronistic conditions of boarding schools in the United Kingdom there was still a significant amount of romanticised literature about boarding schools. Although Hughes began this revolution, the heirs of Tom Brown's universe refined it. It was possible that the majority of these works of fiction may have been responsible for the myths about English boarding schools (Shrosbee 1988).

#### *Manliness, honesty, sportsmanship, loyalty, and chivalry in boarding school literature*

Mangan (1975, 1981, 1986, 1987, and 1988) and Rich (1989) noted the themes of "manliness, honesty, sportsmanship, loyalty, and chivalry – which was the ideal upon which the Empire had been built (and on which the First World War had been largely fought)" were a superlative source of boarding school fiction. Kirkpatrick (1990) outlined Gilkes's three novels *Boys and masters. a story of school life; The things that hath been or A young man's mistakes*, and *A day at Dulwich* all based upon Gilkes's personal experiences. The first was set at Shrewsbury, where Gilkes was educated, and a master before he moved as a master to Dulwich College. On the other hand, *The*



*thing that hath been* criticised the indignities suffered by a schoolmaster appointed to teach in a public school who was from the “wrong” social class in comparison to his colleagues.

This theme of social inequality complemented Griffith's (1854) *The life and adventures of George Wilson a foundation scholar*, which opposed the way the public schools betrayed their original endowments and were no longer committed to educating the poor. These stories were contrasted with the moral tone of Weldon's (1896) *Gerald Eversley's friendship: a study in real life*, which was set at a “fictionalised Harrow, with Weldon the Headmaster”. Like the “penny dreadful” series the “pocket-sized paperbacks” that were published on a monthly, twice-monthly, or four times a month basis from 1890s-1940s and included stories that were more “adventure narratives” and included elements of public school life that cemented in our popular consciousness stereotypical attitudes towards boarding.

These publications included: Arrow Schoolboy Series, Boys' Ace Library, Boys' First Rate Pocket Library, Boys' Friend Library in two series, Boys' Own Library in two series, Boys' Pocket Library, Boys' World Pocket Library, Briton's Own Library, Captain Library, Diamond Library, Garfield Library, Lloyd's Boys' Adventures, Lloyd's School Yarns, Nugget Library first and second series, Schoolboys' Own Library, Schoolboys' Pocket Library, Schoolboys' Short Stories, School Yarn Magazine. It appeared from the hundreds of these short stories extant in the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century that these narratives contributed to the popular stereotypes of boarding school life (Kirkpatrick 1990).

*Memoirs of boarding school life*

Some important semi-autobiographical, biographical, or narrative texts included Bely's (1931) portrayal of a public school as an institution of cruelty and indifference. This tone was similar to Benedictus's (1962) novel, which was a critique of Eton and painted it as a landscape dominated by a brutal upper class. Birch (1931, 1932) set his novels at a loosely veiled Shrewsbury and investigated the experiences of a new student getting used to his surroundings. Brown's (1915) novel *Years of plenty* was similar to *Tom Brown's School Days* in that it was set partly in a public school and partly in a university. It was also one of the first novels to criticise openly the public school system in Great Britain.

Buckley (1918) wrote a fictional narrative about the choices that faced an Etonian once he had completed school and which complemented Connell's autobiographical account of his time as a student at Loretto in Edinburgh. Forster's (1907) *The Longest Journey* was the first significant criticism of the public school and its rôle in the Empire by a major author of the twentieth century. On the other hand, Fox's (1908) *Follow Up!* was a sentimental and nostalgic narrative of his protagonist's experiences at Harrow, which was sharply contrasted by Fuller's (1959) excellent novel *The ruined boys*, which traced the negative experiences of a "bad" public-school.

However, Hall's (1934) *The senior commoner* was an autobiographical novel about his time at Eton and paralleled Fox's tendency for nostalgia. Heygate (1930) also wrote a novel set at Eton set immediately after the First World War, the tone of which caused quite a stir at the time because of its open portrayal of upper-class snobbery. Like Hughes, Hilton (1934, 1938) was responsible for writing two quintessential boarding school novels, but from the perspective of the academic staff rather than the students, they were *Goodbye, Mr Chips* and *To you, Mr Chips*.

Based on Hilton's experiences as a school master at the Leys School, Cambridge, Kirkpatrick (1990, p.84) noted that *Goodbye, Mr Chips* "has been filmed twice: firstly by MGM in 1939 (screenplay by R. C. Sheriff, Claudine West and Eric Maschwitz, directed by Sam Wood – Robert Donat won an Oscar for his performance in the lead rôle); and again by MGM in 1969 (screenplay by Terence Rattigan, directed by Herbert Ross, with Peter O'Toole in the lead rôle) it was serialised on BBC Television in 1983". In 2002, SMG Television Productions again made *Goodbye, Mr Chips* into a television series with Martin Clunes as Mr Chips.

Hopkinson (1939) wrote a more conventional boarding school novel and portrayed the building of a boy's character at a preparatory and public school in Oxford. This was similar to Ingram's (1912) novel *Basil Verely* which was based on the all-boys' residential school Charterhouse and contrasted with Leslie's (1922) alternate view of Eton in *The Oppidan*. Marlow's (1932) *The puppet's dallying* was set at a fictionalised Radley College and was elucidated by Marshall's (1934, 1946) novels set in a public school, possibly based on the writer's own experiences at Glenalmond and with elements of satire. However, Motion's (1989) *The pale companion*, which was also set at Radley during the late 1960s, examined a boy's experiences in his final year after his sister's death.

Murdoch's (1957) *The sandcastle* examined the emotional turmoil of a young Housemaster who fell in love with an artist who was commissioned by the school to paint the portrait of the former Headmaster. While Nichols's (1920) *Prelude* was a famous portrayal of decadence and indulgence set at Marlborough and was similar to Parker's (1922) novel set against the playing fields of Eton. Pearson's (1960) novel was a curiosity amongst boarding school literature in that it was a series of

letters written between two boys, one at Eton and the other at Harrow and partly revealed the rivalry and camaraderie distinctive of these schools.

However, a large amount of boarding-school writing was intended for an adult audience. In particular, E. M. Forster's (1907) *The longest journey*, Ivor Brown's (1915) *Years of plenty* and the famous *The loom of youth* by Alec Waugh's (1955). After these publications, boarding school literature followed three distinctive paths: "those that openly criticise the system, those that praise it, and those that use it simply as a vehicle for genre fiction, be it crime, romance, family saga or comedy". Kirkpatrick (1990, p.2) noted a number of literary critics as well as champions of the school genre. For example, Michael Croft's *Spare the rod* and E. M. Braithwaite's *To Sir, with love* and John Wile's *Asphalt playground* contributed to the public perception of residential secondary education (Kirkpatrick 1990).

Kirkpatrick asserted that girls' school stories were in a "league of their own". Nevertheless, there were few adult novels except for Agatha Christie's *Cat among the pigeons*, Elizabeth Lemarchand's *Death of an old girl* and Muriel Spark's *The prime of Miss Jean Brodie* as examples of this genre. Kirkpatrick asserted that school stories were not only an English (or British) phenomenon. Nevertheless, the Commonwealth produced a large number of school novels, which were "direct descendants of their English counterparts, a natural development of colonialism and the building of the Empire".

From this English heritage, Australian novels outlined in chapter 3 such as McInnes (1965) *The Road to Gundagai* and R. G. Jennings (1924) *The human pedagogue* emerged. The stories of the bully Flashman and the fagging system at Rugby, which were the imaginative axis of boarding

school folk lore, found their way into an Australian equivalent. Flashman's legacy has the potential to exist in modern boarding schools and boarding Houses; the case of sexual abuse in Sydney demonstrated Flashman cannot be dismissed as the mere fantasy of Victorian fiction.

Apart from *Tom Brown's School Days* Britain has produced a number of other works about the public and boarding school system. For example, Gathorne-Hardy's (1977) *The old school tie: the phenomenon of the English public school* described the historical evolution of a public school ethos in England. Of particular interest were Gathorne-Hardy's chapters associated with the rise of the public school during the Victorian era and an increase in amount of boarding school literature.

Gathorne-Hardy (1977) and Newsome (1961) asserted that there was a revolution in boarding school pedagogy during the nineteenth century. Arnold - the Headmaster of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* - was the main contributor to the propagation of the public school ethos in the colonies: Arnold's writing on "muscular Christianity" shaped a boarding school structure and ethos throughout the English-speaking world. For the first time in boarding history this style of education had a popular voice and was immortalised in Hughes' novel; Tom Brown's life was admired and represented to Hansen an era of "godliness and good learning" (Hansen 1971, p.21, Newsome 1961).

Simon and Bradley's (1975) *The Victorian public school. Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution* complimented Gathorne-Hardy's extensive work. Simon and Bradley's work recapitulated Gathorne-Hardy's development of a public school ideal a classical education with community-based sport (in particular Rugby) and residential learning, which promoted *esprit de corps* and was essential to achieve the level of independence and resilience desired by the

Victorian ideal of manliness. As Simon and Bradley noted Arnold's contribution to the development of this curriculum was central.

Broady (1972), Wilkinson's (1964a, 1964b, 1969) *The prefects: British leadership and the public school tradition*, Bamford's (1967) *The rise of the public schools: a study in boys' public boarding schools in England and Wales from 1837 to the present day* and Bishop's (1967) *Winchester and the public school élite* complemented Lambert's work as part of the *Public Schools Commission*. These historical works were the most influential published during this period. Each of these works, but in particular Wilkinson's analysis of the correlation between the prefect system and boy graduates who became leaders of industry and parliament appeared to have been influenced by the left-wing politics that existed towards the public schools in Britain from the mid-1960s.

Bamford's (1967) *The rise of the public school* referred to in the first Volume of *The Public Schools Commission*, and documented the development and growth in the number of boarding schools throughout England in the nineteenth century. Bamford (1967) noted that part of the reason for an increased demand for this type of educational system in Britain was the growing and influence wealth of the middle and upper classes For example this was one of the factors, which lead to the foundation of schools such as Haileybury College in the United Kingdom as a school established by the British India Company for the education of potential Civil Servants across the Empire.

Kirkpatrick's (1990) *Bullies, beaks, and flannelled fool: An annotated bibliography of boys' school fiction 1743-1990* was an indispensable guide to the literature associated with boys' school life. Kirkpatrick noted "the school story is generally regarded as a very quaint, very English literary

genre [...] Its heyday was, roughly the period from 1880 to 1940 – the era of *The Boy's Own Paper*, the *Magnet* and the *Gem*'.

Honey's (1975, 1977) *Tom Brown's universe: the development of the Victorian public school* was history of the development of the public schools based on the life and influence of Dr. Arnold and Hughes' novel *Tom Brown's School Days*. Honey text draws the attention of the reader to the significance of *Tom Brown's Schools Days* as an accurate representation of boarding school life – in comparison to the largely sentimental writing of Stanley (1880) in *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, which established a popular myth of Thomas Arnold by one of his former students (Bamford 1961, 1970; Newsome 1961; Percival 1973, 1975).

Hickson's (1995) *The poisoned bowl: sex, repression and the public school* owed its publication to Lambert's (1968a, pp.301-358) frank chapter on sex in *The Hothouse Society*, which made it possible for a text of this nature to be published. Hickson's text recorded the sexual adventures of a number of boys at various public schools throughout Britain. Hickson wrote to various alumni from different schools and asked if they had experienced any homosexual encounters as students. In many instances, Hickson received a number of very short and abusive replies. However, he was also sent a number of anonymous replies that included detailed descriptions of the sexual encounters of various men whilst they were at public schools including Winchester, Eton and Harrow.

#### *The Clarendon schools*

The first extensive report on school life described the structure of the great "seven" boarding schools of Britain: Eton, Harrow, Westminster, Rugby, Winchester, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury,

and two London day-schools, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylor's, which were defined as "public schools" in the 1860s by the educational Clarendon commission was completed from 1861-1864 (Honey 1975, 1977; Chandos 1984).

Originally, these schools were maintained by private endowment and not established for profit. The *Taunton Commission*, found that only eight per cent of male children (after the 1870s there were growing numbers of girl's public schools) received any sort of secondary education, later the Commission took all endowed secondary schools into consideration, and attempted both to redistribute endowments and to create uniform statutes to maintain the standards of teaching, discipline, and organisation.

Following the tabling of the report, the 1868 *Public Schools Act* was passed. The recommendations was that the "nine" should have more representative governing bodies and that they move away from a purely classical curriculum and adopt a more flexible curriculum, which paralleled contemporary educational practice. Today these recommendations appear minor, but it was the first time that these institutions were publicly accountable and asked to defend their ethos, curriculum, and governing structure. The significance of *The Clarendon Commission* for boarding school literature and future studies was that it defined the aims and objectives of these schools and became the benchmark for schools in the antipodes that intended to emulate the achievement of the "nine".

Because of the Clarendon Commission, Thomas Arnold's Rugby School with its competitive scholarships, a non-classical course of study, the House system, which encouraged a greater



sense of school spirit or *esprit de corps* and Arnold's "muscular Christianity" emphasising games such as football and cricket as means to improve character, finally became the model for other Victorian public schools. Upon his appointment as the Headmaster of Rugby in 1828, Arnold wrote in a letter to the Reverend John Tucker:

My object will be, if possible, to form Christian men, for Christian boys I can scarcely hope to make.

Students from the Clarendon "nine" provided Oxford and Cambridge with nearly all of their undergraduates, and the graduates of those Universities dominated the British and Colonial political and administrative elite of the Empire until at least as late as the 1960s.

### **British boarding in the twentieth century**

#### *The English boarding school and its rôle in cultural reproduction*

Hobsbawm (1999) considered the rôle of the public school in the context of the British Empire's rise and decline:

The assimilation of the British business classes to the social pattern of the gentry and aristocracy had proceeded very rapidly from the mid nineteenth century, the period when so many of the so-called "public schools" were founded, or reformed by finally excluding the poor for whom they had originally been intended. In 1869 they were more or less set free from all government control and set about elaborating that actively anti-intellectual, anti-scientific, games-dominated Tory imperialism which was to remain characteristic of them. (It was not the Duke of Wellington but a late-Victorian myth, which claimed that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton, which did not exist in his time.) Unfortunately, the public school formed the model of the new system of secondary education, which the less privileged sectors of the new middle classes were allowed to construct for themselves after the Education Act of 1902, and whose main aim was to exclude from education the children of the working classes, which had unfortunately won the right to university primary education in 1870. Knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, therefore took second place to the maintenance of a rigid division between the classes. In 1897 less than seven per cent of the grammar school [academic secondary school] students came from the working class. The British therefore entered the twentieth century and the age of modern science and technology as a spectacularly ill educated people (Hobsbawm 1999).

Despite the recommendations of the *Clarendon Commission*, these reforms strengthened the place of the "nine" as upper-class bastions of privilege, because the competitive scholarships that were offered inevitably favoured boys who attended good prep schools. The final recommendations of the tabled report were not put into place (Baron 1981).

During the social upheaval of post Second World War Britain there was resurgence in the hope of greater social and economic equality between the public schools of Britain and mainstream schooling (Dancy 1963, p.16). The Labour Party believed that the key to greater social equality was educational reform – and the type of education that was believed to be the best was at a boarding school. Rather than being disillusioned of by the concept of boarding school, Labour education reform argued that boarding was the best possible system of education for students of all social classes.

The President of the Board of Education, Mr. R. A. Butler, recommended that there was a need "to consider means whereby the association between the public schools and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended". Based on the findings of academic inequality of the curricula taught in government-funded High Schools and Grammar Schools and supported by the findings of the *Spens Report* the *Fleming Report* first introduced a proposal for the integration of students from non-public school backgrounds into the public-school boarding system.

The Fleming report interviewed 54 statutory bodies and 170 individuals and concluded "things cannot be left as they are". The proposal was dismissed during the post-war climate as too controversial a scheme as it attacked the "tradition" of the public school ethos. The debate over this

matter was lead primarily by the then Minister for Education, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who stated that she wished, "to see a progressive development of full-time boarding-school education, not only for those whose homes are for one reason or another unsatisfactory" but also because she argued "boarding is desirable". However, the possibility of this projects becoming a reality was "stillborn", as Dancy (1963, p.21) observed, due to Wilkinson's resignation and the lack of interest from her successors.

### *The Fleming Report and its consequences*

From 1930-1950 there were few publications in Great Britain that examined the public school ethos. Rae (1981, p.3) believed that that the 1964 British election, which installed Harold Wilson's Labour Government and coincided with Dancy's (1963) *The public schools and the future*, was the first significant step towards the evolution of a "school" sociological method, which formed the core recommendations of *The Public Schools Commission* (1968).

The *Public Schools Commission* defined boarding schools as the independent schools that were aided by local and/or central grants. The commission highlighted two problems to be considered:

- associating the wholly independent schools (mainly but not entirely boarding schools), with the general system of grant-aided day and public-controlled schools;
- extending and developing the association between a number of grant-aided day and boarding schools and the general system of schools, which are in administrative relation with the local authorities.

Witnesses called to the commission were antagonistic to the continued existence of the independent public schools and wanted the endowments and premises appropriated by public authorities. Other witnesses advocated that the public schools should be brought wholly under the control of the local authorities. This situation did not suit the circumstances of those schools that

drew students from all over the country and abroad. A third suggestion was that these schools did not possess qualities worth securing for the general system and they should be left to work out their own future, and given no financial aid. But while rejecting proposals to abolish or absorb public schools, it was equally agreed that they could not be left entirely outside the public system of education.

*A solution to economic inequality in boarding*

The Board of Education compiled a list and the terms of admission of schools to such a list. There were to be two schemes.

- Scheme A should be open to those schools recognised as efficient and not conducted for private profit; the local authority or authorities should have the right to reserve a number of day or boarding places, and the number of such local places should be settled between the Governors and the local authorities with reference to the Board, if necessary. In boarding schools the Board should nominate as many students as agreed upon by the Board and the governing bodies. The schools would be required to abolish tuition fees, or if they are retained, to grade them according to approved income scales.
- Scheme B should be applied to boarding schools, or schools taking a substantial number of boarders, which were recognised as being efficient and not being conducted for private profit and in which the system of private profits in the management of boarding hostels was or would be abolished. The Board granted bursaries to qualified students who have spent 5 years in a grant aided primary school. The schools admitted should offer in the first instance up to 25 per cent of their annual admissions to students from grant-aided primary schools. Parents or guardians through the local authorities should make applications for bursaries at ages 11 and 13 to the Board. There should be no competitive examination for bursaries tenable under the schemes. The Board should have the assistance of a central advisory committee. Local authorities should be encouraged to provide boarding schools and boarding hostels.

However, these schemes were not fully realised. Dancy (1963) summarised the “public school phenomenon” for the *Fleming Report* and the historical significance of the debate up until 1946. In his study of the public school, Dancy outlined the “public-school type” and the “academic” and “social purpose of the public school education”. Dancy incorporated primary and secondary

sources and provided a concise background to the political and educational point of view at the time. However, his methodology was more the description of a social system rather than an attempt to collect data from the participants in the social groups themselves.

Dancy (1963, p.73) understood that the advantages of a boarding school education included:

- boarding school was a purpose-built community to benefit the adolescent;
- teachers were a group of expert adults, whose emotional involvement was removed from the child;
- students were with peers their own age – which they would seek out naturally in other schools;
- the “plant” or the physical and mental facilities of a boarding school offered a wide range of facilities that would interest most students.

Initially, it appeared Dancy’s observations were sympathetic to boarding as a system of education. However, he noted that, “the combination of day school and home is *prima facie* more natural than boarding school; and this appearance is borne out by the fact that in the civilised countries of the world boarding education has, until very recently, been the exception rather than the rule everywhere outside of England. Consequently, the onus rests upon the supporters of boarding school to establish its advantages” (Dancy 1963, p.73).

#### *The Public Schools Commission 1968 (1970)*

When established by the newly elected British Labour Government in 1964 *The Public Schools Commission* (1968 vol.2, p.1) was the catalyst for groundbreaking research into boarding-school life. Rae (1981, pp.38-50) believed that the Commission was the heir to the 1944 *Fleming Report*. Education reform was the central part of the *Labour Government’s Manifesto* (1964, p.3) for a “New Britain”. The manifesto professed the integration of the public school ethos into mainstream

government-funded education in Britain and *The Public Schools Commission* was the first step towards achieving this aim.

Unlike previous investigations, the Commission's terms of reference called for firm qualitative and quantitative inquiry. The Government commissioned a number of academics to study the sociology of a boarding school system in the United Kingdom with the brief to consider how to recommend the integration of the public and government school systems. The results, which formed the final report, were written from economic, historical, and sociological perspectives.

For the purpose of the Commission, the definition of a public school was those schools "now in membership of the Headmasters' Conference, Governing Bodies' Association, or Governing Bodies of Girls' Schools Association". The list of these public schools included the original Clarendon "nine". Ironically, these schools were also the source of the majority of the members of Parliament in particular the House of Lords.

For the first time in a parliamentary-led investigation, all aspects of life in the public school system were scrutinised and described with the expressed aim of smashing class boundaries. In particular, the Commission seriously examined the cost and possibility of the integration of students from non-public school backgrounds into these institutions. The Commission challenged the assumption that these schools should to remain as Arnold described them "play-pens" of the upper classes and the wealthy plutocracy (Newsome 1961).

*The Public Schools Commission: a case in support of boarding*

The Public Schools Commission identified twenty arguments supporting boarding in Britain. In the *Public Schools Commission* (vol. 2, p.266) then asserted that these categories could be isolated into four groups.

1. Inadequate family supervision.
2. Educational and health needs of child.
3. Inadequate neighbourhood unit.
4. Parental mobility.

Woolfe isolated these as being relevant in the following cases:

- The child was subjected to frequent unsettling influence at home; for example, the father's work often took him away from home for long periods.
- The parent(s) were too old or too ill to make adequate companions for the child.
- The child was often in a state of conflict with his parents or guardians.
- The child was often in a state of conflict with his brother(s) and/or sister(s)
- The child's home was overcrowded, or physically undesirable with insufficient space to "think" or do homework.
- The child was fatherless/motherless – needed a suitable form of male/female influence. (This might have resulted from death or divorce/separation).
- The child was neglected.
- Both parents worked and child did not receive sufficient care or attention.
- There was a degree of psycho-neurotic anxiety in the home that adversely affected the emotional development of the child.
- The child had brothers or sisters in a boarding school and wanted to join them.
- The child's health (for example he or she has asthma) made it desirable that he or she received some form of education where his physical and emotional well-being were more closely integrated with the formal structure of the school, than was normally possible at a day school.
- The child had a particular gift, wanted to study a particular subject, or needed special teaching, the resources for which were not available at the school at present.
- The child was unable for some reason to settle satisfactorily at a day school.
- The child particularly needed a more intensive type of education.
- The child needed a change of environment, for example, his or her home area was starved of social facilities – child needed stimulus – or to get away from undesirable influences – or to be exposed to social intercourse with his peers.
- The child had an excessive distance to travel, in order to go to school. The result was that he or she was often physically tired and schoolwork was retarded.
- The distance, which the child travelled to school and/or combined with poor transport, facilities precluded his or her participation in the normal extra-curricular life of the school.

- The isolation of the child's home made it difficult for him or her to develop sufficient leisure time contacts with people of his or her own age (for example outside of school hours).
- Both parents lived abroad.
- Both parents were in the U.K., but the family was liable to frequent moves from one area to another (HMSO Vol. 2, pp.265-266).

*Tension and politics of the Public Schools Commission*

Rae (1981, pp.38-50) argued that the initial opposition to the Commission came not from the public school sector but the hard left of the Labour Party itself. This political faction argued hard that it was necessary for the public schools to remain intact with the hereditary seats for peers in the House of Lords as a symbol of class repression, thereby maintaining the Labour Party's traditional stance of opposition against class inequality.

Rae identified Michael Young, the Director of the Institute of Community Studies, and a member of the Central Advisory Council for Education as one of the significant members of the committee involved with the initial draft of the Commission's terms of reference. Rae criticised Young's appointment to the committee as his educational background suggested that he may be biased towards the dissemination of the public school's position due to his "far-out" education at the progressive Dartington Hall which had the reputation for producing a reactionary type of "public school boy" (Rae 1981, p.42).

Controversy dogged *The Public Schools Commission* (1970 vol.1, p.v) and this was reinforced when three members of the Committee refused to sign the final report, instead they agreed to sign a general note of dissent. One other member of the Committee sent a general note of reservation, but signed the report when it was tabled to the Secretary of State in 1968. The Commissions



findings involved the first extensive sociological study of the public school tradition, and lead to the rise of the seminal author in this area, Royston Lambert.

*The 1960s and the genesis of the sociology of residential education in Britain*

Duffell (2000, pp.20-21) believed that Lambert was the seminal researcher on British boarding. As the terms of reference for the Committee for the *Public Schools Commission* was finalised, Lambert had completed research sponsored by the Department of Education and Science because of largely forgotten *Martin* and *Newsom* Reports into boarding (Rae 1981, p.43).

Kalton (1966: xi-xxxii) also acknowledged Lambert was a key researcher in this area. Lambert had already written an analysis of boarding schools at the invitation of the British Headmasters' Conference. Because of this work, the Government invited Lambert to continue his research under the aegis of *The Public Schools Commission*. The Commission's (1970 vol. 1, p.vii) briefed Lambert "to advise on the best way of integrating the public schools within the State system of education".

Over a ten-year period Lambert and his co-authors, John Hipkin, Susan Stagg, Spenser Millham and Roger Bullock revolutionised the British qualitative and quantitative approaches to the study of a boarding school as a social system. This was achieved by the use of a wide range of methodologies, which included ethnographic research, the analysis of written material and interviews with students, staff, and parents. Nevertheless, it was Lambert's publications from 1965-1975 that lead him to become recognised as the seminal author in this area of educational sociology. The defining difference between Lambert's work and that of other sociologists was that

he used the writings of girls and boys at a boarding schools investigated to form the vast majority of his data on these sociological systems.

*Kalton, Wakeford, and Weinberg*

One of the major tasks of the *Public Schools Commission* was to define a boarding school. The most valuable contribution towards a defining a boarding school was the work of Kalton, Wakeford and Weinberg who completed their research during the 1960s. Wakeford (1969, pp.11-12) believed that the defining feature “of these schools is that although most admit some day students the schools are predominantly boarding”. Kalton (1966, p.13) believed that an institution where “over 50 per cent” of the students resided was a boarding school. On the other hand, Weinberg (1967, p.xii) challenged this and believed that a residential population of at least 75 per cent was more appropriate.

*Criticism of studies in residential education*

Lambert’s publications about boarding have been heavily criticised. The majority of critiques have stemmed from the boarding school sector itself. The most vocal was Rae (1981), who was the former Head Master of Westminster School, London, and at the time of *The Public Schools Commission*, a junior master at Harrow School. Rae (1981, p.43) observed cynically that the “research being carried out by Dr. Royston Lambert, a young sociologist, who made his name as an expert on boarding education – which he had never experienced [...] who in the seventies passed from a position of educational prominence to one of almost total obscurity”. Rae’s criticism of Lambert’s work was based on the premise that Lambert had not been a boarder in a public school, nor had he taught in any such institution.

Although a legitimate observation, Rae's condemnation of Lambert's was interpreted as a desperate attempt to maintain the integrity of the public school. Rae's position more importantly suggested that he might not have read closely enough Lambert's (1968a, p.6) publication *The hothouse society* where he noted, "this book is not an objective evaluation of boarding education. It is not the whole truth. It presents one consistent viewpoint – that of the children in their writing." It was possible to deduce that Rae's rejection of Lambert's work may have been based on the potentially alarming data Lambert collected from the students themselves, rather than his attack on the public school.

Nevertheless, despite Rae's criticism, Lambert's writings provided an unparalleled source the researcher could examine in order to understand boarding school life in Britain. Lambert's (1968a) *The hothouse society: an exploration of boarding-school life through the boys' and girls' own writings* published his observations of boarding life primarily based on the qualitative and quantitative data collected for *The Public Schools Commission* on the experiences of a number of boys and girls in boarding schools in Britain.

By adopting the rôle of participant-observer in over 86 schools, Lambert and his collaborators attempted to reconstruct the experiences students between the ages of 12-18 years. Lambert investigated the students' experiences on a range of topics including: homosexuality, emerging sexual identity, masculinity, leadership, academic pressure, parental expectation, peer-pressure, school expectation, class and core values and bullying to name a few.

The achievement of this body of writing was that for the first time the students themselves described their lives in these schools as they saw them, rather than it being presented by a

researcher's description of the school structure alone. Lambert's research captured vividly these students' experiences and the social systems of the various public schools in a sensitive yet critical manner. Lambert prefaced his work with the statement that "this book is different. It neither puts forward a case nor describes the experiences of any adults. It simply presents the lives and aspirations of the Hothouse society in the words of the boys and girls who belong to it." He also stated, "there are many books about boarding schools, but they are almost all written by adults presenting their individual experience or arguing their particular case" (Lambert 1968a, p.1).

Because of Lambert's publication of *The hothouse society, New wine in old bottles? Studies in integration within public schools* (1968b) was published as part of a collection of occasional papers that provided the short-term results of the sociological work undertaken by Lambert for the Department of Education and Science. The significance of *New wine in old bottles? Studies in integration within public schools* was the documentation of the "Swindon-Marlborough Scheme" funded by the Department of Education and Science and coordinated by Lambert's Research Unit of Boarding Education at King's College. This project scrutinised the potential viability of the integration of students from non-public school backgrounds into a public school (Bradley *et al* 1923).

*The Swindon-Marlborough Scheme: a radical experiment in residential education*

The "Swindon-Marlborough Scheme" analysed the experiences of a group of students from non-public school backgrounds, who were given the opportunity to attend a public school. The study investigated how these students did or did not integrate at an English boarding school. The "Swindon-Marlborough Scheme" commenced in the spring of 1964, concluded in 1967, and was

arranged with the cooperation of Marlborough College, an all boys' boarding school and member of the Headmasters' Conference.

Twenty-one male students from the local Swindon area gained admission to the College. The criterion for the selection of candidates was that all students had to demonstrate that they had the capacity to obtain at least four "O" levels and two "A" levels. The parents were also subjected to a means test. This research project was made possible by the significant contribution of the Department of Education and Science who subsidised the fees paid by the parents. The purpose of the scheme was to investigate to what extent these boys could succeed as members of the College's sixth Form (16+ years of age). The design of the research project tried to ensure that the incoming boys from the Swindon area also maintained their social identity.

The College community was made aware of the project, so that they did not automatically assume that these students were Malburians. The boys were also encouraged to maintain links with home as much as possible. Lambert requested that the school did not make deliberate changes to buildings or any systems to accommodate the arrival of these boys. It was considered important that the incoming students did not lose their social identity and the boys were placed into different Houses (in-groups of four) where the Housemaster had expressed a desire to be involved in the project (Lambert 1968b, pp.129-131).

Some rules, which controlled the lives of other boys in the school, were relaxed for the students from the Swindon area. For example, the Swindon boys were able to go on exeat more often; their parents were encouraged to come to the school to watch rugger matches and to join the compulsory Chapel services on Sunday mornings with their children. Overall, the project concluded

that the majority of the boys from the Swindon area who took part were socially ambitious and expected to undertake professional careers when they left school.

However, it was established that these students performed at a significantly lower academic level than their counterparts who were educated the preparatory school system before attending Marlborough. Lambert found that there was growing hostility between the Swindon boys and the Malburians towards the conclusion of the project in 1967 because the Malburians believed the Swindon boys received preferential treatment from academic staff.

Lambert's findings from the "Swindon-Marlborough Scheme" were tabled in the final report of *The Public Schools Commission* (1968 vol. 2, Appendix). It seemed that because of the negative findings in this project, integration between the two systems failed to proceed as educational policy in Great Britain. Another negative finding asserted that there were the substantial financial obstacles associated with the integration of students. This was because the majority of public schools relied on their schools fees for income to meet the running costs. The "Swindon-Marlborough Scheme" found that of the 21 students offered positions over the period of the investigation at the school, four of these students withdrew from the scheme because they failed their "O" levels. The project ceased in 1967 once the remaining students matriculated.

#### *Dartington School – Lambert's boarding theory into practice*

After the Swindon experiment, Lambert's *The hothouse society* and *New wine in old bottles* formed the most important works in this area and have not been equalled in scope and in content until Morgan's (1993) analysis of 2,600 students' attitudes towards boarding standards in England. However, Morgan's study was not presented from the point of view of the children themselves, as

were Lambert's studies. Connected with these publications were two key publications that helped to crystallise Lambert's theoretical approach. Lambert's (1970) *Manual to the sociology of the school* provided one of the first detailed accounts of the public school as a social system. In particular, reference was made to the public school and the relationship between the teachers and taught and how Lambert collected the various forms of data from his respondents.

Nevertheless, Lambert's (1975) *The chance of a lifetime? A study of boys' and co-educational boarding schools in England and Wales* represented a follow-up study to his previous publications and confirmed his status as one of the most significant scholars concerned with residential education. Once more, the methodology of this study critically reflected on *The Public Schools Commissions* initial question about the apparent advantage that public schools appeared to offer their students.

*The chance of a lifetime?* was written after Lambert's appointment as Head of the Dartington School – a progressive co-educational boarding school. Lambert was faced with the practical challenge of putting into place many of his findings presented to the commission. Lambert remained as Head of the School from 1968-1973 and detailed three educational goals:

- instrumental;
- expressive;
- organisational.

Lambert asserted that instrumental goals were concerned with the transmission of mental, physical, or social skills or the acquisition of useful attributes such as social, mental, and physical skills. He noted that expressive goals were defined as the behaviour of students, their beliefs, taste, religious and moral awareness, and cultural and intellectual interests. Finally, he argued that

a boarding school was also concerned with organisational goals, such as the school's reputation, financial position, and respectability.

In *The chance of a lifetime?* Lambert reaffirmed his previous studies and once again noted that he believed that boarding school acted as a system of cultural reproduction that polarised the class structure of individual communities. When *The Times* criticised the accuracy of his methodology Lambert retorted and wrote:

Many claims have been made about the good or ill of boarding upon those who experience it. But there has been no conclusive evidence on the matter. It is doubtful if there ever will be such evidence because of the difficulties in isolating and then controlling the effects of the variable of residence from hosts of others (Lambert 1975, p.197).

In a similar approach to the sociology of the school to Lambert's, Maurice Punch (1976) published an examination of Dartington Hall School, *Progressive Retreat. A sociological study of Dartington Hall School 1926-1957 and some of its former students*. Punch (1976, p.vi) noted the funding for this research project which formed his Ph.D, "was sponsored and financed by the Emigrant Trust of Dartington commenced at a time when the Public Schools Commission was breathing down the independent schools' necks". This study linked its methodology with Lambert's work of the 1960s, although it is not as extensive and broad ranging a study as Lambert's original work.

Punch's study was concerned with a long-term sociological analysis of the progress and development of Dartington Hall School as an institution and some of its students. Unlike Lambert's school used as part of his studies, Dartington Hall was not a member of the Headmasters' Conference. Punch did not confine himself to the results of various questionnaire completed by former students at the school for the data of his study. Alternatively, he adopted a socio-historic point of view and was a participant-observer for a significant period. Punch attempted to place the



individual respondent's writings in an historical context with clear and detailed analysis of the school and its structure.

In contrast to Lambert's work, Punch provided a far more detailed account of the development of students throughout their time in one institution, rather than arriving at conclusions of the overall public school ethos from a number of shorter questionnaires completed by students at a range of Schools, as Lambert did. The text was divided into two sections. Part One examined the historical origins of the School and provided a "historical sketch" of one of the "Progressive" Schools, which was thought to be experimental in structure and approach to the Curriculum. Punch analysed the School's genesis, but also the socio-economic backgrounds of the parents and the staff. In Part Two Punch analysed "life after School" of a group of students and their life-styles (Punch 1976, pp.19-98, pp.99-176).

#### *Other studies of residential education in Britain*

Unlike Lambert (1968a) and Punch (1976), Fox's (1984; 1985, pp.191) publication *Private schools and public issues the parents' view* was an account of the attitudes of 190 sets of parents toward public-school education. For the purpose of this study Fox interviewed these parents in 1978 chosen at random whose sons attended the stratified sample of 122 English schools that were "traditionally independent Headmasters' Conference (Public) Schools".

The interviews took place in the parents' homes and followed a "semi-structured interview method". All interviews were tape recorded, except for seven where the parents did not give consent. Fox's work considered the parents' attitudes towards: class, parent-to-parent friendship as established by the social network of boarding school, and the public school as a "ladder" towards a life of privilege.

Fox's writing did not consider the experiences of students whilst they are at boarding schools. Overall, her text introduced the aspirations of a sample of parents who chose a residential education for their children.

On the other hand Bishop (1967) and Walford's (1986) study *Life in public schools* followed the pattern of Lambert's research methodology. An empirically based and ethnographic work Walford's investigation was carried out in two public schools. Walford referred to his rôle as an "open researcher" who was provided with accommodation on site during his time at the schools. Initially, Walford interviewed eight respondents from the staff of each school, and conducted a survey of 200 lower form students. From these data, he analysed public-school life, and his findings complemented much of the other ethnographic and historical works outlined.

As cited, Rae (1981), the former Head Master of Westminster School, London, in *The public-school revolution Britain's independent schools, 1964-1979* provided detailed memoirs of the "threat" that the public schools faced during the political upheavals brought about by various successive Labour Governments in Britain. Rae's description was an excellent summary of the political milieu during this period and helped to establish the importance of the *Public Schools Commission*.

Rae (1981, p.11) believed "my account is a personal view, not a definitive history. I hope that some time in the future, the history of the independent schools during these turbulent years will be written with greater detachment." When compared with *The Public Schools Commission* (1964), Walford (1986) and Lambert's (1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1970, 1975) work Rae's perspective provided a different stance on the place of the public school that was neither sociological in methodology nor purely historical.

Rae (1981, pp. 31-32) found that certain myths about English boarding school were particularly strong during the 1960s–1970s, myths that such schools were:

- a refuge for the brainless and the philistine;
- consecrated to Latin and taught no science;
- uninterested in sending boys to the new and Redbrick universities;
- had privileged access to Oxbridge places, for example, through closed awards;
- fostered bullying and sadism, particularly through corporal punishment and fagging;
- had barbaric living conditions;
- promoted homosexuality.

### *Sections 63 and 87 of the Children Act 1989 for British Boarding*

In 1989 the British Parliament passed the *Children Act*. This legislation covered a vast array of legal material concerned with the overall welfare of children at home, in schools and the broader context of society. In particular, sections 63 and 87 set out the primary legislation that influenced the welfare duty of schools towards their boarders, this legislation forged a new generation of researchers into residential education. The Chief Inspector of the Social Services Inspectorate, Herbert Laming emphasised that:

The Children Act 1989 for the first time gave those running boarding schools the statutory duty to safeguard and promote the welfare of boarding students, and social services departments the duty to satisfy themselves that this was adequately done (Morgan 1993, p.iii).

This legislation confirmed the power that local school investigation authorities held which eventually led to the setting up of the National Care Standards Commission and defined the terms of reference for a standard for boarding in independent schools. Section 63 outlined the primary legislation requiring all independent school that accommodated (or intended to accommodate) four or more children (under the age of 18) for 295 days or more a year, to register, with the local social service authorities as a children's home. The key references to boarding in Section 87 noted:

It shall be the duty of the proprietor of any independent school which provides accommodation for any child, and any person who is not the proprietor of such a school but who is responsible for conducting it, to safeguard and promote the child's welfare. (Subsection 1).

Where accommodation is provided for a child by an independent school within the area of a local authority, the authority shall take such steps as are reasonably practicable to enable them to determine whether the child's welfare is adequately safeguarded and promoted while he is accommodated by the school. (Subsection 3).

Where a local authority are of the opinion that there has been a failure to comply with subsection (1) in relation to a child provided with accommodation by a school within their area, they shall notify the Secretary of State. (Subsection 3).

From the start of 2002 the wording of these sections were updated altered to read:

Subsection (1) does not apply in relation to a school or college, which is a children's home or care home. (Subsection 2).

Where accommodation is provided for a child by any school or college the appropriate authority shall take such steps as are reasonable and practicable to enable them to determine whether the child's welfare is adequately safeguarded and promoted while he is accommodated by the school or college. (Subsection 3).

Where the Commission are of the opinion that here has been a failure to comply with subsection (1) in relation to a child provided with accommodation by a school or college, they shall:

- (a) in the case of the school other than an independent or a special school, notify the local education authority for the area in which the school is situated;
- (b) in the case of a school which is maintained by a local education authority, notify that authority;
- (c) in any other care, notify the Secretary of State. (Subsection 4).

Where accommodation is, or is to be, provided for a child by any school or college, a person authorised by the appropriate authority may, for the purpose of enabling that authority to discharge its duty under this section, enter at any time premises which are, or are to be, premises of the school or college. (Subsection 5).

Other subsections of the Act gave inspectors the right of access to premises, students, and records relevant to boarding. The consequence of the *Children's Act 1989* was the "National Minimal Standard for Sound Boarding Practice in Boarding Schools" which was agreed by the National Boarding Standards Committee.

After consultation with over 590 Independent Schools Council accredited boarding schools and 36 accredited state boarding schools, the final version of the Standards were adopted by the Department of Health and the Department of Education and Employment. The recommendations were compiled and written by Roger Morgan, Chief Inspector for Oxfordshire Social Services. The criteria and standard were constructed from the standards developed by:

- the Office for Standards in Education;
- the Independent Schools Council;
- HQ Services Children's Education;
- Local Social Service Authorities.

They also drew on the following Government documents:

- Department of Health Children Act Guidance and Regulations;
- Department of Health Practice Guidance;
- Department of Health Local Authority Circular LAC (95)1;
- The Education (School Premises) Regulations 1999 (DfEE);
- DfEE boarding accommodation design guidance (Building Bulletin 84);
- School Life – boarders' views on boarding (Department of Health);
- DfEE Circular 9/93 (Protection of Children);
- Department of Health Guidance "Working Together to Safeguard Children" 1999.

The standards established were made consistent with the guidance and requirements related to boarding welfare issued under the *Children Act 1989*. Hence, the standards covered three main areas of good boarding welfare practice: policies and practices; people; premises. The National Boarding Standards Committee, which comprised the following representatives, established the standards (Holgate 2001a, pp.245-246):

- Boarding Schools' Association;
- Department of Education and Employment;
- Department of Health;
- Girls' Schools Association;
- Governing Bodies' Association;
- Governing Bodies' of Girls' Schools Association;
- Headmasters' and Headmistresses Conference;
- Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools;
- Independent Schools' Association;

- Independent Schools' Bursars' Association;
- Independent Schools' Council;
- Independent Schools' Inspectorate;
- Maintained boarding schools;
- Medical Officers of Schools Association;
- Office for Standards in Education;
- Oxfordshire County Council;
- Services Children's Education;
- Society of Heads of Independent Schools';
- Scottish Council for Independent Schools.

The fifty-three Core Standards recommended by the committee have set an international benchmark yet to be adopted in legislation in any other country outside of Great Britain. The recommendations included:

- 1 A suitable statement of the school's boarding principles and practice should be available to parents, boarders and staff.
- 2 The school should have, and follow, an appropriate policy on countering bullying, which is known to boarding and staff and is effective in practice.
- 3 The school should have, and follow, an appropriate policy on child protection and response to allegations or suspicions of abuse, which is consistent with the local Area Child Protection Committee procedures, and is known to staff and as appropriate to older boarders in positions of responsibility.
- 4 The school should have, and follow, a fair and appropriate policy on discipline and use of punishments, known to boarders, staff and parents.
- 5 The school should have, and follow, an appropriate policy on responding to complaints from boarders and parents, known to boarders, parents and staff.
- 6 The school should have, and follow, an appropriate policy on countering major risks to health, including substance abuse, which is know to stag and is effective in practice.
- 7 Adequate records should be kept in relation to individual boarders' health and welfare needs and issues.
- 8 There should be clear management, leadership, and development of boarding in the school.
- 9 The school should be capable of satisfactorily managing crises affecting boarders' welfare.
- 10 The organisation of boarding Houses or units should operate satisfactorily and provide appropriate protection and separation of boarders by age and gender.
- 11 There should be an appropriate range and choice of activities for boarder outside teaching time, with adequate free time.
- 12 Boarders should have opportunity to contribute view to the operation of boarding provision.
- 13 Any prefect system (or equivalent) should give prefects (or equivalent) appropriate specific duties and responsibilities, with adequate staff supervision and measures to counter possible abuses of the rôle.
- 14 Each boarding House should have one or more members of staff to whom he or she can confidently turn for personal guidance or with a personal problem.

- 15 Appropriate first aid and minor illness treatment should be available to boarder at school, with access to medical and dental services as required.
- 16 Boarders who are ill should be regularly checked by a member of staff and be able to summon staff assistance readily and rapidly when necessary.
- 17 Significant health and personal problems of individual boarders should be identified and managed appropriately.
- 18 The school should avoid inappropriate discrimination on grounds of gender, disability, race, religion, cultural background, linguistic background, sexual orientation or academic or sporting ability, should appropriately take into account its care for boarders, and should appropriately support and integrate identifiable minority groups amongst boarders.
- 19 The school should enable boarder to contact their parents and families in private.
- 20 The school should provide reasonable protection for boarders' personal possession and any boarder's money or valuables looked after by the school.
- 21 There should be an appropriate process of induction and guidance for new boarders.
- 22 Any guardians appointed by the school should be subject to the same recruitment checks as staff giving substantial unsupervised access to boarders, and their care of students should be monitored.
- 23 The head, or a senior, member of the school's staff, should regularly monitor the school's records of risk assessments, punishments, complaints and accidents, to identify any issues requiring action.
- 24 Meals should be provided to boarders, which are adequate in quantity, quality, choice and provision for special dietary, medical or religious needs, with clean and suitable cutlery, crockery and dining facilities.
- 25 Boarder and boarding staff should be aware of emergency evacuation procedures from boarding accommodation. The school should comply with recommendations of the Fire Service, and should regularly carry out and record fire drills and any routine tests recommended by the fire Service.
- 26 School where they are unusual or especially onerous demands on boarders should ensure that these are appropriate to the boarders concerned and do not unacceptably affect boarders' welfare.
- 27 The school should make satisfactory provision for the welfare of any children it accommodates other than its own boarders.
- 28 Identifiable high-risk activities provided for boarders should be competently supervised and accompanied by adequate and appropriate safety measure.
- 29 Boarders should have access to information about events in the world outside the school, and access to local facilities, which are appropriate to their age.
- 30 The staff-supervising boarders outside of teaching time should be sufficient in number and deployment for the age, number and needs of boarders, and the locations and activities involved.
- 31 Boarders should at all time be under the overall supervision of an identified member of staff and should be able to contact a member of staff in emergency.
- 32 Staff should be present and accessible to boarders as necessary, in each House at night.
- 33 All staff with boarding duties have job descriptions reflecting those duties; receive induction training when newly appointment and review regular receive of their boarding practice, with opportunities for continuing training in boarding.
- 34 All staff with boarding duties should be provided with up-to-date written guidance on the school's boarding policies and practices.

- 35 There should be sound staff / boarder relationships, and the overall boarder view should be that their staff looks after them well, without favouritism or antipathy towards individual boarder or groups of boarders.
- 36 Staff supervision of boarders should avoid intruding unnecessarily on boarder privacy.
- 37 Recruitment of all staff and other adults to be given substantial unsupervised access to boarders, or to boarding accommodation, must include police and DfEE checks with satisfactory outcomes, together with a satisfactory recruitment process recorded in writing.
- 38 The school should not allow any adult appointed since October 1991 to have substantial unsupervised access to boarder, or to boarding accommodation, unless that adult has been satisfactorily police and DfEE checked.
- 39 The school should report to the DfEE any member of staff or other adult employed to work with boarders, either who are dismissed, or who resigns, in circumstances, which suggest that they are unsuitable to work with children.
- 40 Boarding Houses (including dormitories and living areas) and other accommodation provided for boarder should be appropriately lit, heated and ventilated, suitably furnished, accessible to any boarder with disabilities, and adequate maintained.
- 41 Boarding accommodation should be reserved for the use of those boarders designated to use it, and protected from access by the public.
- 42 Sleeping accommodation should be suitably furnished and of sufficient size for the number, needs and age of boarders accommodated, with appropriate separation between genders, age groups and from accommodation for adults.
- 43 Suitable facilities for both organised and private study should be available to boarders.
- 44 Adequate toilet and washing facilities should be readily accessible to boarders, with appropriate privacy.
- 45 Suitable changing provision should be provided for use by day.
- 46 Boarders should have access to a range and choice of safe recreational areas, both indoors and outdoors.
- 47 Indoor and outdoor areas used by, or accessible to, boarders should be free from reasonably avoidable safety hazards.
- 48 Suitable accommodation should be available for the separate care of boarders who are ill.
- 49 Adequate laundry provisions should be made for boarders' clothing and bedding.
- 50 Boarders should have access to drinking water in both boarding and teaching areas, and to food or the means of preparing food are reasonable times in addition to main meals.
- 51 Boarders should be able to obtain minor necessary personal and stationary items while accommodated at the school.
- 52 Any lodgings arranged by the school to accommodate students should provide satisfactory accommodation and supervision, be checked by the school before use, and be monitored by the school during use.
- 53 Any off-site short-stay accommodation arranged by the school for any of its boarders should provide satisfactory accommodation and supervision is checked by the school before use, and is monitored by the school during use (Holgate 2001, pp.243-283).

The implications of the Core Standard for boarding throughout the United Kingdom were enormous.

Anderson (1994, 2004) emerged as one of the central academics who helped schools to apply the



*Children Act.* Unlike Lambert who was criticized by Rae for not having attended a boarding school, Anderson had been a boarder and taught at the great Benedictine boarding school Downside (1962-1966), as Head of Geography. He then taught at Birkenhead School (1966-1972) where he was Head of Geography and a boarding House Master and was appointed to the Geography Department of Durham University in 1979. During this time, he was the research officer and adviser to the Boarding Schools Association (1973-2000) and has been involved in residential care in over 30 countries.

For the first time practically all aspects of boarding school had been regulated by an external body other than the school to ensure the welfare of the children who were to take part in these institutions. In this way, it was possible to see that the original concerns raised in the *Clarendon Commission* of 1864 finally answered over 140 years later in the National Core Standards. Because of the Core Standards statutory significance – a number of bodies, consultants and professional organisations were formed to help schools prepare for inspection. As part of the process to ensure good boarding practice the Chief Inspector of Social Services for Oxfordshire, Morgan (1993) released a report *School life: students' views on boarding* that provides a study of the views of 2,600 boarding students from the Oxfordshire District, which has a large number of students to monitor under the Children Act.

#### *Boarding school survivors*

A recent publication on boarding schools was Duffell's (2000) *The making of them: the British attitude to children and the boarding school system*. Duffell's research provided an excellent juxtaposition to the previous publications cited. His study was written in conjunction with a

television program he made for the BBC in 1999, which documented the traumatic experiences of a number of predominantly male students at boarding school. Duffell, himself a boarder and a psychotherapist developed an interest in the British educational system and the long-term effect this had on students. The majority of men interviewed in Duffell's BBC production were sent to preparatory schools before attending senior public schools.

Duffell concluded that the majority of these men who attended English preparatory schools suffered from anxiety, depression, and a feeling of failure as they entered their early 40s, which he attributed to the emotional trauma, and loss they experienced as children when they were sent away to board. Duffell's book was the precursor to the foundation of the "boarding school survivor" network. This group included psychotherapists trained to run seminars for individuals who were adversely affected by boarding school.

Duffell's (2000, pp.135-218) chapters on leaving home, sex, bullying and sexual abuse provided significant material to compare with the frank data collected by Lambert's studies (1966a, 1966b). The methodology of this text was markedly different from other boarding school studies, which interviewed various members of these social systems. Duffell's interpretation from the point of view of a psychotherapist was significantly different from Lambert's ethnographic approach, which stressed the findings of student writings, rather than presenting an interpretation of a "sub-text" in each extract.

## Boarding school studies from other countries

### *Cuban, Communist, French, Israeli and Nepalese residential schools*

The French historian of childhood Ariès (1973, p.285) observed that “boarding school was substituted for society in which all the ages were mingled together; it was called upon to mould children on the pattern of an ideal human type”. Lambert (1975) observed that boarding schools played an essential rôle in the educational policy of countries, which encouraged cultural reproduction. For example, Anton Makerenko (1880-1939) first established residential schools in order to look after and educate the “wild children” of Russia following the anarchy of the First World War. During the communist regime, Khrushchev founded a number of open boarding schools in order to create a generation of soviet “soldiers” because of the inequality of education he observed in his youth where a handful of top officials controlled certain “state” run schools (Bowen 1962).

In Cuba, the government established a number of residential schools in the countryside, where the children who were academically able and who portrayed potential political skills were educated. The objective was to create the “new socialist man and woman” (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b). Arieli (1983) found that there were four types of boarding schools in Israel. These included:

- agricultural schools for over 7,500 boys and girls over the age of 14, which functioned within a state-maintained education system;
- Yeshivot Schools, which were and independent orthodox religious school for boys;
- the Youth Aliyah Organization mainly for immigrants and children from unsettled homes;
- finally, the more tradition Kibbutzim.

### *Pivotal studies of boarding school life from Canada, Israel, The United States, and Zimbabwe*

The website of the Boarding-school Association of America confirmed Hays' (1994) observation that there were six types of boarding schools in the States. These included:

- Single sex boarding schools
- Military schools

- Pre-professional arts schools: these schools trained students to become artists in a variety of fields such as music, visual arts, theatre, ballet, and creative writing. Students are prepared for entrance into either traditional colleges or specialty schools like music conservatories (such as the Juilliard School)
- Religious boarding schools
- Special-needs Boarding schools
- Junior Boarding schools

It was found that American boarding school studies were similar to research conducted in Great Britain and that there was a strong tradition of research into residential education during the 1980s lead by the sociologists Bovilsky (1982), Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985a, 1985b), Gaines (1972), Power (1992) and Powell (1996). In America, boarding schools were known as “prep school”. Cookson and Hodges Persell believed that American boarding schools:

[...] by any reasonable standard, are elite - where they come from the old monied patrician families or upwardly mobile parvenu families. Boarding school not only choose their students they can create their student bodies with precision. ...with the exception of co-education, change has been slow in the boarding school world, and decisions are made carefully with a view to their long term effect. Public schools and even many private schools simply do not have this option [...] Having gained admission to a boarding school, the chosen ones are ready to embark on “the prep right of passage” [...] (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p.69).

As established in chapter 1 an unusually high proportion of influential Australians were boarders.

Aldrich (1979) observed that this appeared to be the case in the United States the Alumni from Phillips Andover Academy were analysed:

- George W. Bush — President of the United States
- John "Jeb" Bush — Governor of Florida
- John Hess — Chairman & CEO, Amerada Hess Corp.
- John F. Kennedy Jr. — Publisher, *George* magazine
- Patrick J. Kennedy — U.S. Representative, Democrat-Rhode Island
- Toby Lineaweaver — Executive director, Penikese Island School, Cape Cod, Mass., for at-risk boys and juvenile felons
- Peter Sellars — Opera, theatre, film director; MacArthur Fellow and Emmy Award winner; former artistic director, Los Angeles Festival and American National Theatre

When considered as a whole these alumni were not typical of the total American population. Many of these alumni attended ivy-league universities such as Harvard and Yale. Like their British

counterparts most of American Prep Schools had a high rate of acceptance into Ivy League Universities (such as Columbia, Yale, Harvard, and the University of Pennsylvania). The diversity and courses were impressive.

For example some American prep schools offered more than 300 courses for a four-year curriculum. As Crosier (1991), Dornbush (1955), Hein (1991), Hicks (1996) and McLachlan (1970) observed these campuses were built in the English tradition and offered all facilities (lodging, meals, sports, cultural activities, arts, study abroad, drama, and computers). Prep schools were co-educational or single sex, religious (Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish) or non-denominational, some were military, some boarding schools were as Hays (1994) observed, specialised in taking care of "difficult" or children.

McLachlan (1970) provided an excellent summary of the history of the American Prep schools, which complemented Hein's (1991), and Konoligie *et al* (1978) study of the rôle of the Episcopal High Church in residential education. Baltzell (1958, p.306, 1964, 1979) defined the "sixteen" in his study of the making of the upper classes of the East Coast of the United States and influenced Thorpe's (1994) landmark thesis which investigated the relationship between individual and family identity. These "sixteen" as outlined in Table 2.1 *The select 16: Baltzell's list of the most socially prestigious American boarding schools* were similar in social status and ethos to the "nine" defined by the Clarendon Commission in Great Britain. The American equivalent included Phillips Academy, Phillips Exeter Academy, Episcopal High School, The Hill School, St. Paul's School, St. Mark's School, Lawrenceville School, Groton School, Woodbury Forest School, Taft School, Hotchkiss School, Choate School, St. George's School, Middlesex School, Deerfield Academy, and Kent School.

Among recent publications in the United States Hillman and Thorn (1991, 1996) discussed the issue of adequate pastoral care in boarding schools. Hillman and Thorn were both teachers at Phillips Academy, Andover, and Hillman was a member of the English Faculty. Written from an “insiders” perspective this publication was a collation of memoirs written by current and former alumni, and former “Houseparents” that were the equivalent of a Housemaster in an English Public Boarding schools and the Head of House in the research boarding school.

*Second Home* offered practical advice to students at these institutions and was given with the endorsement of the “Chairman of the Coalition of Essential Schools” the Headmaster of Loomis-Chaffe School and the Dean of Women at St. Mary’s Academy in Illinois. *Second Home* investigated the significance impact that cultural difference in a boarding school environment can have on the rôle of religion in boarding school.

**Table 2.1 The Select 16: Baltzell’s list of the most socially prestigious American boarding schools. Baltzell (1958, p.306)**

School	Location	Date of Founding
1. Phillips Academy	Andover, Mass.	1778
2. Phillips Exeter Academy	Exeter, New Hampshire	1783
3. Episcopal High School	Alexandria, Virginia	1839
4. Hill School	Pottstown, Pennsylvania	1851
5. St Paul’s School	Concord, New Hampshire	1856
6. St Mark’s School	Southborough, Mass.	1865
7. Lawrenceville School	Lawrenceville, New Jersey	1883
8. Groton School	Groton, Mass.	1884
9. Woodbury Forest School	Woodberry Forest, Va.	1889
10. Taft School	Watertown, Conn.	1890
11. Hotchkiss School	Lakeville, Conn.	1892
12. Choate School	Wallingford, Conn.	1896
13. St George’s School	Newport, Rhode Island	1896
14. Middlesex School	Concord, Mass.	1901
15. Deerfield Academy	Deerfield, Mass.	1903
16. Kent School	Kent, Conn.	1906

Hays (1994) investigated the similarities and differences between the ethos of Quaker and Military Schools and the experience of successive generations of students at three Quaker schools. In order to collect data Hays interviewed over 100 students and adopted a similar ethnographic approach to the collection of data by living in each of the schools for a over four years; he had a methodological approach similar to data collection similar to that established by Lambert's *Hot House Society* (1968a) and refined by Walford (1983, 1984, 1986) in Britain.

Hays was concerned that the social structure of the Quaker and Military boarding schools actually inculcated the students in these schools with the concept of what it is to be "good" based on the Quaker principles of being "good" and "hard work". Hay's found that the Military Academy and the Quaker School – although seemly at odds with each other from a pedagogical stance were in fact very similar in their approach to students. Hays study provided a useful contrast to Gaines (1972), Jackson (1981), Hamer (1988) and Dornbush's (1955) classic study of Military Academies.

In contrast to Hays, Adams (1997) *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875-1928* asserted that an "Indian War" was "fought against Native American children in the dormitories and classrooms of government boarding schools". Adams recorded the policy of removing "Indian children from their homes for extended periods of time" *Education for extinction* was the first in-depth account of the effort to assimilate "Native Americans into White society" through residential education.

This book detailed vividly the day-to-day experiences of students and used the method of Goffman's "total institution" which aimed to reconstruct the students' lives and milieu both

psychologically and culturally. The methods adopted in these boarding schools included the assault on identity was in many forms for example: the shearing off of braids, the assignment of new names, uniformed drill routines, humiliating punishments, relentless attacks on native religious beliefs, patriotic indoctrinations, suppression of tribal languages and football contests. Adams described the extent to which students resisted or accommodated themselves to forced assimilation. Finally, Adams reviewed the government's gradual retreat from the assimilationist perspective. Adams's research was based upon government archives, Indian and teacher autobiographies, and school newspapers.

Galant (1987) and Zindi (1994) observed boarding education played an important rôle in the South African education system and included school such as Peterhouse, St Andrew's, Bishops Prep School and St Stithian's which were established during the same period of history as the research boarding school.

### **Overview**

This chapter reviewed the development of boarding overseas. It identified the significant researchers, research groups, and authors in this area and, in the process, provided the researcher with the primary and secondary literature used to appreciate the particular social and cultural milieu of boarding schools. The literature reviewed and examined was written from autobiographical, biographical, historical, and sociological perspectives. The particular limitations of these studies were discussed. In chapter 3, the development of Australian boarding will be outlined. The extensive English and American literature summarised in chapter 2 highlights the lack of boarding research in Australia. The types of Australian boarding schools will be discussed in context of educational developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Lastly, chapter 3 establishes



a definition of an Australian boarding school for purpose of this thesis in light of the material outlined in chapters 2.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOARDING IN AUSTRALIA

There was a mild sensation when it was heard abroad that the great Linacre had been caned by the prefects, for it was known that this power was not exercised except in cases which were regarded as a direct offence against the school. It was at least quite certain that prefects did not cane boys of Linacre's standing without very sound reason (Jennings 1924, p. 93).

The collation of material for this chapter, which considered the development of boarding in Australia, was compiled over a period of four years, 2000-2004. In light of the development of boarding overseas, as discussed in chapter 2 the first part of this chapter places the research boarding school in the context of the massive rural expansion experienced in Australia during the 1850s. Next, the chapter records the state of research into boarding in this country and the important authors and research groups over the past 20 years in particular. This chapter culminates with a discussion of Goffman's theory of the boarding school as a total institution. Goffman's (1961, 1969) work combined with Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Kalton (1966) and Weinberg's (1967) research formed the axis for a definition of an Australian boarding school designed specifically for this research project after considering systematically the previous definitions from overseas and adopted in other studies in Australia.

#### **Australian boarding in the nineteenth century**

##### *The significance of wool, wheat, and gold*

The 1850s was the decade of the massive rural expansion in Australia and established the economic foundation for boarding in this country:

In 1821, the year the first commercial export of wool was sent to England, the clip amounted to only 1 754 000 pounds weight (79 632 kilograms). In 1830, 2 000 000 pounds (900 000 kilograms) of wool were sent to the United Kingdom, and exports rose steadily – so that, by 1850, Australia was sending an annual wool clip of just under 40 000 000 pounds (18 000

000 kilograms) to Britain. At that time, this accounted for more than half of the country's entire import of wool (Clarke 2003, pp.96-97).

Brown (1970) contended that once John Macarthur demonstrated the superiority of his Merino sheep British woollen manufacturers turned to Australia for raw material (Clark 1991, vol. II: pp.20, 86, 104, 184). From Port Jackson in New South Wales the settlers dispersed with sheep across the wilderness. Bases were established at strategic points across the country that proved to be crucial for the economic vitality of the early Australian colonies. From the early establishment of these ports, at Adelaide, Jackson, and the Murrumbidgee, the early sheep colonists, known as "squatters" ventured further into the centre of Australia's harsh environment (Bronwick 1887; Corfield and Collins Persse 1996; French 1965; Macarthur Onslow 1914).

In New South Wales Lieutenant Governor King recorded that there were only a handful of primary schools supported by the government to educate the itinerant children of the convict era "from the vicious examples of their abandoned parents" (Historical Records of Australia, 1<sup>st</sup> series vol. 2, p.525). Clarke (2003, p.101) recorded that "the liberal Richard Bourke turned his attention to the question of educating the native-born children" in the colonies and demanded to know "what sort of education would be best suited for to the progeny of convicts, former convicts and lower-class free immigrants?"

Malouf (2003) observed that because there were no suitable schools in the colony it was an accepted convention that before the 1850s the sons of the wealthy plutocracy were sent back to England for their education. This was supported by the letters of Elizabeth Macarthur, the wife of John Macarthur, who wrote to her friend Betsy Kingdom in England in 1795 of her concern about her son's education in the colony:

This country possess numerous advantages to persons holding appointments under government; it seems the only part of the Globe where quiet is to be expected. We enjoy here one of the finest climates in the world [...] Nothing induces me to wish for a change but the difficulty for education of our children, & were it otherwise it would be unjust towards them to confine them to so narrow a society (Niall and Britain 1997, p.1).

By 1835 Lord Glenelg, the secretary of state for the Colonies, wrote to Bourke and argued that “in no part of the world, is the general education of the people a more sacred and necessary duty of the government than in New South Wales”. As the frontier was farmed sheep stations and flocks spread throughout the south-eastern interior. Businesses were quickly established because of the legal and economic world the squatters created which attracted merchants, professional men, artisans, clerks, and labourers (Brown 1970; Clark 1991; Clarke 2003, p.102; French 1965).

#### *The rise of the squatter*

Carlton Booth (1869) and Trollope (1967) recorded the rise of the squatter in Australia. This appeared to parallel the advancement of the Protestant Establishment in the United States as recorded by Baltzell (1958, 1964 and 1979). As the colony of South Australia was founded in 1836, the colony of Van Diemen’s Land was “engaged in a venture of sub-imperial expansion”. This was lead by Batman and Fawkner who left Van Diemen’s Land. By the mid 1830s industrious individuals pushed north in search of squatting territory. Simultaneously the wealthy landowners of Van Diemen’s Land, who were running out of grazing land, believed that the Port Phillip area was their own squatting territory.

By 1836, after John Batman signed the treaty with the Aborigines of the Geelong area, the early pioneers moved into the new district of the former New South Wales colony. In London, status was granted to the colony and the name “Melbourne” was adopted in honour of the British Prime Minister Viscount Melbourne (Clark, 1991 vol. III, pp.86-90, 95, 96). In the 1850s, the colony of

Victoria was no longer attached to the southern part of New South Wales and by the end of that decade; it was no longer part of the northern colony that became Queensland (Brown 1970). Jupp (2004) observed the squatters of the Australian frontiers soon established "reputations and characteristics similar to Scottish laird" and quickly became a class of their own.

In the intervening years the squatters who survived the stress of the gold rushes and bad seasons, found that the long-term financial rewards, were enormous. Jupp (2004, pp. 95-99) noted that their character and the circumstances that weaned their immense wealth caused the creation of new social strata in Australian society and sought to establish an elite Club in Melbourne which would be the equivalent of the London Gentlemen's Club Houses (Brough Smyth 1980; de Serville 1980 and 1991, pp. 247-268; McNicoll 1976; 1988, pp.1-13).

Dryster (1989, pp.18-21) noted that in New South Wales that with the growing wealth of the squatter class many became dissatisfied with their original cottages and started to "convert" these into the great homesteads, mansions and villas of the period. This economic expansion also took place in Victoria and South Australia and the squatters' wealth was shown in the scale of their vast homesteads.

As their entries in de Serville's (1991, pp. 268 - 351) *Pounds and pedigrees*; Henderson's (1936) *Early pioneer families of Victoria and Riverina*; Mowle's (1948) *A genealogical history of the pioneer families of Australia* and Burke's *Landed gentry* confirmed, economically, the squatters were to become some of the most dominant men in the country (de Serville 1991, pp. 247-249; McNicoll 1976, 1988). It was natural that once this was achieved the squatters' thoughts turned towards the provision of educational facilities for their children. The squatters had a number of

models to choose from; however, as the majority of these families lived on the fringes of the colony it was natural that it would be a boarding school of some type.

*The influence of nineteenth century English boarding schools in Australia*

As the squatter class became established in Australia, the British Public Schools entered a rebirth that swept across the British Empire (Bamford 1967; Bean 1950). Brown (1970) believed that in nineteenth-century England there were a handful of enlightened educational leaders who emerged and changed the face of boarding education. Brown (1970) alleged that the first was Samuel Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury from 1798, when it was an insignificant school with a roll of 12 students, until 1832 when it was famous and the second was Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School. Although Butler adhered to the orthodox classical curriculum, he subordinated grammar to the "sense and beauty of the language, and taught with a feeling unmatched by his contemporaries". He was clear in his ambition and turned out "honourable and virtuous men" (Butler 1896, vol.1., p.328).

Stanley (1880, p.100) recorded that as Dr Thomas Arnold started his career at Rugby School Butler reached his prime at Shrewsbury. Arnold's death (in 1842) coincided with the economically "bad years" for the Australian squatters. However, in England Arnold's legacy forced school such as Winchester, Westminster, Eton, Harrow, St Paul's, Shrewsbury, Charterhouse to change and share their traditions with many new foundations. Schools such as Cheltenham, Marlborough, Rossall and Wellington were supported by this new enthusiasm for boarding (Newsome 1961, pp.21-22).

The majority of nineteenth-century English schools were “joint stock” enterprises but in Australia they were not. The squatters whose personal circumstances created the need for good schools were concerned with learning for business needs. Either the Church or the State founded all schools in the colonies. Hence, the older Australian schools can trace similar beginnings to many British schools of a similar age, such as Marlborough and Radley Colleges.

*Reverend Scott's “Anglican” vision for a boarding school in Australia*

Austin (1956, 1965 pp.59-66) observed that “bush boarding schools” developed in wilds of the rural frontier to teach the children of those parents who were unable to pay the fees to attend urban boarding schools. Rusden who argued that supported this:

The formation of a large Boarding or Industrial School is the only mode by which the Board can place the benefits of education within reach of a numerous and increasing class, viz. hired servants who, dispersed throughout the Bush, have children in deplorable need of instruction (cited in Austin 1965, p.60).

From the outset, boarding was believed to be a desirable system of education in the newly established colony. The first initiative for a system of boarding schools in Australia commenced in the 1820s. Jupp (2004, pp.12-18) observed that because of the rural poor the Reverend T.H.Scott, first Archdeacon of Australia, submitted a “plan for a general boarding school”, in 1826 one to be built in New South Wales and one in Van Diemen’s Land [later known as Tasmania] (Austin 1956, 1965, pp.10-12; Border 1967; French 1965, p. 37).

It was soon clear that the scheme was too expensive for Van Diemen’s Land. Scott believed that the Crown should provide separate endowments and a school along the lines of Christ’s Hospital for the destitute while a separate school was established for the upper classes (Corfield and Collins Perse 1996). Austin (1965, p. 61) recorded that in 1846 the Rev. James Forbes “urged the

readers of the *Port Phillip Christian Herald* to support a boarding school. The Rev. Thomas Hastie who “persuaded the Learmonths to start a boarding school on their property at Buninyong” echoed this plea.

In 1848 Scott’s successor, the Anglican Bishop Broughton, adopted the latter system and in 1831 and The King’s School, Parramatta, was the opened (Hillard 1994; French 1965; Johnstone 1932; Loane 1982). One of the first students at The King’s School, Sir James Hassall, recalled:

As only the Established Church was recognised at the time [the King’s School] was made a Church of England school, as it has remained ever since, although boys of all classes and denominations were to be admitted. It was said that Governor Bourke, a few years later, refused to lay the foundation-stone of the present school buildings, as he was endeavouring at the time to introduce a national system of education ... School opened at seven a.m. and closed at nine p.m., but, morning, noon and night, we had to learn the everlasting Eton Latin Grammar – parrot-like, as we learnt the Church Catechism. Of course there were some boys that read the Greek and Latin classics (Niall and Britain 1997, pp.1-3).

In Adelaide, South Australia, the “planned city” it was lack of money rather than antipathy that established a barrier to education. Hence, St Peter’s College with its patron Bishop Short and the da Costa Estate dominated the educational and boarding landscape (Sherington, Petersen and Brice, 1987). In Tasmania [formerly Van Diemen’s Land], two schools were established in 1846: The Hutchins School in Hobart and Launceston Church Grammar School catered for the sons of Vandemonians but also for some sons of Victorian squatting families. In Victoria, the development of secondary schooling was influenced by the reliance on Tasmania.

#### *Bishop Perry’s vision for an “Anglican” boarding school*

Robin (1967) noted that once the first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, Dr Charles Perry, arrived in January 1848 the first Diocesan Grammar School was established, with thirty-nine students, by the Easter of 1849 (Collins Persse 1974). The parents of these students included the Governor of the



Melbourne Gaol, two prominent solicitors, and a member of the Bishop's Diocesan Council, an auctioneer; while the widow of a Church of Ireland vicar provided six of the boys at the school (Jupp 2004, pp.96-97).

In October 1851 the Free Presbyterians opened a school of their own, the Melbourne Academy, which was a "high school", projected in 1848, under an imported Scottish master Robert Lawson. In 1855, it first adopted its present name – Scotch College. They occupied temporary quarters in Spring Street, Melbourne, before moving to a more permanent site in the same street. It was not until 1916 that they moved to their present site in Hawthorn that was completed in 1925.

Brown (1970) acknowledged there was not much enthusiasm for boarding education in the new colony, neither the Anglicans nor the Presbyterians could go far without state aid. The issue was complicated further because the predominant Church of England had little money and not much was expected from private sources. The King's School, Parramatta, had been established under Crown Colony Government and it was felt that perhaps a boarding school could be established in Port Phillip in similar fashion.

#### *The squatter and the bishop*

Jupp (2004, pp.97-99) observed that the lawyers Barry and Stawell (who was a squatter) with Bishop Perry designed the foundations for some of the most significant Anglican educational institutions once self-Government arrived in Victoria in 1851 and after the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council were established (Francis, 1976; Hall, 1969). de Serville (1991, pp. 15-41) writes that the split from New South Wales was followed by the discovery of Gold at Clunes in July 1851 and soon farmers from New South Wales and labourers headed for the goldfields. Very soon,

people flocked to Victoria from New South Wales, from Van Diemen's Land and beyond. Port Phillip and other rural ports attracted gold speculators from Britain, British India, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. Chinese miners also arrived in large numbers. The population of Victoria was 177 in June 1836; 280 in 1845; 77, 345 in 1851; and 585,234 by 1860. Many of the migrants who became vastly wealthy overnight in the 1850s were young men and women who married and had children who needed to be educated (Boys, 1959; Brough Smyth, 1980).

*The select committee of 1852*

Once self-government was declared in Victoria, the select committee of the Legislative Council was revived in 1852 to discuss the topic of education in the Colony of Victoria. The committee questioned Bishop Perry. Bishop Perry's attitude towards education was not uncommon for the men of his generation who were influenced by the Tractarianism of the Oxford movement (Austin 1965, pp.115, 158; Hein 1991; Jupp 2004, 19-24). Perry believed firmly that the State should help schools of a higher class "because without them we are never likely to have a complete system of national education" (Goodman 1892). Because of mounting pressure, The Denominational School Board awarded a number of grants for the establishment of religious school based upon the population of Victoria as outlined below in Table 3.1 *Grants made based on the 1851 census*.

**Table 3.1** *Grants made based on the 1851 census* (cited in Corfield and Collins Persse 1996, p. 21)

Denomination	Grant (pounds)
Church of England	20,784
Presbyterian	6,445
Methodist	2,769
Roman Catholic	2,500

Because of this financial aid, the Melbourne Academy became Scotch College and the Diocesan Grammar School became Melbourne Grammar School. Most of the students who attended the Diocesan Grammar School came from Melbourne. According to an article from the *Melbourne Punch*, only one student in the school's first year was not from Melbourne.

*The research boarding school's historical milieu in Australian education*

What was the place of the research boarding school in the history of Australian education?

McInnes revealed his generation's view of the research boarding school:

[...] Situated on a bay [...] was what all of us recognised as *the* public school of Victoria, a quite different institution from ours [Scotch College, Melbourne] and one you really didn't compare yourself with at all, because it was not a question of rival excellences but of a difference in category. To us it was less a school than an institution, a belief a state of mind (or if you like, of grace) into which you were born and to which you could not and perhaps did not want to aspire (McInnes 1965, p.65).

Sherrington, Petersen and Brice (1987, pp.155-160) believed that many of the older independent secondary schools in Australia were established by individuals who "looked back" to an English model of education. As Trimmingham Jack (2003, p.1) alleged in her study of education and convent life in Australia these schools were "initially established to produce leaders for a society which was part of the British Empire". The research boarding school was one of Australia's internationally recognised institutions and was described in an article published in the 1889 *Age* as "a thoroughly English public school, of the type of Winchester, Shrewsbury, or Cheltenham". But where did the ambition for such a school come from?

*A boarding school for the rural elite*

As Eagle (1986) observed, and given that Melbourne Grammar was favoured by the Anglican metropolitan plutocracy it raised the question, "how were the children of the powerful squatters of

the Western District to be catered for?" Brough Smyth (1980) noted that because of the population explosion which followed the Gold Rush many rural cities flourished (Jupp 2004, p.73-74). In the 1850s within the Melbourne diocese there were only two dozen clergy. Nevertheless, one of the most influential amongst this group was a man who was educated at Worcester College, Oxford, who was to become the driving force behind the research boarding school's foundation. In August 1855 a new Anglican day-school was opened. What was the difference between this school and the Melbourne Diocesan School? By 1857 it was transformed into predominately a boarding school catering for boys from as far away as the Western Districts of Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania.

#### **Australian sources on boarding school life**

White (2004a) observed that apart from a handful of exceptions, which included autobiographies and memoirs written between the 1960s – 1980s there was very little material written which described Australia boarding from the point of view of the students' themselves. Maslen's (1983) *School ties: private schooling in Australia* presented an overview to the socio-economic position of these types of schools in Australia. Maslen examined the different types of private schools in this country and interviewed a number of Headmistresses, Headmasters, and Principals from the "Top 100 schools". However, Maslen dismissed boarding in under twenty pages in this analysis.

One of the most helpful publications that discussed the Australian boarding school ethos – or the Independent School ethos were the papers presented to the Headmasters' Conference from 1931-1957. The Schools, who were members of the Headmasters' Conference like those in Great Britain, shared a common educational ideology. These schools included Melbourne Grammar

School, Geelong College, Haileybury College, Xavier College, Prince Alfred College, St. Peter's College, Sacred Heart College, St. Ignatius' College, Riverview, and Canberra Grammar School.

Apart from official schools histories, memoirs and autobiographies of old scholars the most relevant reflections on boarding school life for this research project were the writings of Sir James Darling, the former Headmaster of Geelong Grammar School and to a lesser extent the writings of Sutcliffe, former Headmaster of Melbourne Grammar School. As Darling (1962) published, *The education of a civilized man* in Australia England entered the upheaval to *The Public Schools Commission*. Although believed to be as the most conservative of institutions where the sons of the social elite were educated – Darling's speeches show that Geelong Grammar School was one of the most revolutionary in the advancement of Liberal education in Australia.

There have been a handful of fictitious novels published in Australia set at boarding schools similar to those discussed in chapter 2. The most notable of these were written by R. J. Jennings (1911, 1924, and 1932) *Told in the dormitory*, *The human pedagogue*, and *Threads of yesterday* all texts were set at a fictitious boarding school. It recalled the escapades of a student at a large boarding school who finally finds his niche in the forbidding residential environment. Jennings was himself an Old Geelong Grammarian and Master of the Junior School Geelong Grammar School. The contents were not unlike Chester Eagle's (1986) memoirs but it was best example of a novel set solely at an Australian boarding school reminiscent of *Tom Brown's School Days*.

Cree (1991, 2000) grappled with the lack of writing about boarding schools in Australia; however, he did not suggest any explanation for this beyond the "conservative nature" of the Independent Schools in Australia. The majority of Independent Schools in Australia protect the illustration of

their images very carefully. It was noted that the majority of writing about various Independent Schools was inaccurate and designed to provoke a negative public impression of these institutions.

Cree (1991, 2000) believed that because the majority of boarding schools and Houses in Australia were supported or controlled by various religious groups, such as the Roman Catholic and Anglican Church, school leaders were reluctant to permit sociological analysis of student life in these institutions. Furthermore, he argued that as the majority of the councils of these schools were made up of old scholars and saw themselves as the custodians and protectors of the school's name. Cree's assertion paralleled Wilkinson's (1964a) position in Britain.

Trimingham Jack's (2003) analysis of education and life in a convent boarding school in New South Wales was hailed as a "thoughtful book ... part reminiscence ... and analysis of Catholicism in 1950s Australia ... the book offers a clever and subtle analysis of an Australian life that is long departed" (Sydney Morning Herald, 9-10 August, 2003). This ethnographical and sociological study investigated the rôle The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus played by establishing a rural boarding school for the education of "middle-class girls" which aimed to produce "good ladies". Trimingham Jack's investigation considered the rôle of the society from the 1940s until the school closed in 1965 and interviewed some students who were boarders at the school and some of the nuns.

Hansen's (1971) *Nor free nor secular: six independent schools in Victoria: a first sample* carried out a survey of the six independent schools in Victoria (Australia) and was similar to the work of Lambert (1968a). Hansen's described the historical origins of each school and provided a

description of the schools philosophies at that time. However, it did not provide an impression of the school from the point of view of the staff or the students.

The importance significance of Hansen's study was that it provided background information to help understand the establishment of an Independent School hierarchy in Victoria, which McInnes (1965) noted in *The road to Gundagai*. This represented one of the few descriptions of each of the Independent Schools in Australia, which actually compared the social standing of each of the schools and provided an explanation of the background and the type of student, which was sent to these schools.

Memoirs and official school histories, and unofficial alumni's memoirs should be read with caution. The majority of these publications were written for a specific purpose and, in some instances, give a "mythical representation" of the past – so as to sanitise a particular period of history. Nevertheless, there were a number of school histories, that provided some useful historical background to the evolution of boarding schools and boarding Houses in Australia.

Eagle's (1986) *Play together dark blue twenty* was a memoir written by an old scholar of Melbourne Grammar School. Eagle's writing was of particular interest because he was a boarder at School House. Eagle's autobiographical reflection described in detail the day-to-day life of a boarder at the School during the 1960s. Eagle's description of communal life and the rites of passage boys experienced portrayed an Australian perspective to the incidents in *Tom Brown's School Days*.

Bean's (1950) *Here, my son: an account of the independent and other corporate boys' schools of Australia* complemented Hansen's (1971) study of the origin and the development of the corporate

and independent schools of Australia. Bean argued that there was a connection between the origin of a “public schools ethos” as identified by Lambert (1968a) in England and the foundation of these types of schools in Australia.

Sherrington, Petersen and Brice's (1987) study *Learning to lead: a history of girls' and boys' corporate secondary schools in Australia* was a more recent history of the development of the public school ethos in Australia and paralleled Rich's (1989) study. In particular, this text was provided a background explanation to the rise of boarding in Australia. As Sherrington described, the majority of boarding Houses in Australia were the result of necessity and, like Bean (1950), he asserted that they were a colonial reinterpretation of an upper-class English ideology. Sherrington asserted that a boarding school ethos was not itself developed first in Australia, but it was based on the English model.

### **Reviewing Australian residential education**

After considering the development of boarding overseas and consulting the primary and secondary material from Australia this raised the question “when was an Australian institution considered to be a boarding school? Cree (2000, p.15) found that “unfortunately there [was] little previous work on the phenomenon of boarding schools in Australia. Mostly it exists as a by-product of studies into aspects of private education [...]”

When the various histories of the older established Australian non-government institutions were analysed the researcher agreed with Cree's assertion. For example French (1965), Bean (1950), Grenfell-Price (1947), Hansen, (1971), Maslen (1983), McInnes (1965) Scott (2000), Simons (2001), Praetz (1980, 1982), and Tregenza (1997) summarised boarding in various non-



government institutions in under 50 pages each. Hence, Cree (2000, p.15) concluded that “there are no true boarding school in Australia, in the sense of the English Public School or American private ‘preparatory’ schools. In those countries boarding schools tend to take only boarders.”

Cree turned to the work of Kalton (1966), Wakeford (1969), and Weinberg (1967, 1968) (discussed in chapter 2) in order to establish a definition of Australian boarding. Using these models Cree (1991, p.3) attempted to define a “boarding school”. But, he noted that there was “only [one] school [... which] could be described as a boarding institution according to Weinberg’s description”. Cree (2000, p.2) later argued that in “Australia overall, of the 156 boarding institutions, only eight would satisfy Kalton’s description and even fewer that of Weinberg. Therefore, a study of Australian boarding schools and their students is essentially the study of a different type of institution to those in the United Kingdom. In essence and with a few exceptions, the Australian boarding school is a day-school with a boarding-House or Houses attached to the main institution”.

The researcher agreed with Cree’s statement that Australian boarding school was “essentially the study of a different type of institution” because it was system of education that developed in another country. On the other hand, Cree’s assertion that a boarding school was a “day-school with a boarding House ... attached to the main institution” was formulated for the study of the boarding experiences of 5,000 students in boarding Houses across Victoria in order to consider boarding life. Unlike the definition developed for this thesis that was the study of a single boarding school in depth where the majority of the students’ peers were also boarders.

### Types of boarding in Australia

As Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.36) observed that “it is a cliché in a boarding school world that ‘each school is different’, and like most clichés, it both captures and caricatures some truth” was true in America and it also applied to Australian residential education. Generally, two types of boarding were offered in Australia: a boarding House and a boarding school (Cree 1991, 2000, p.2). As Kalton and Weinberg established the overall population of boarders in a school was the critical factor that clarified if an institution was a boarding school.

In Australia, boarding “Houses” were the most common form of residential education as presented in Figure 3.1 *An Australian boarding school where the overall academic and pastoral population is 75 per cent or more of the total residential population*. These Houses varied in size from institution to institution but on average had a maximum of 200 students in total. For example, schools that fulfilled this definition by virtue of their student population included Melbourne Grammar School, Melbourne Girls’ Grammar School, The Geelong College, St Catherine’s College, Seymour College, Scotch College, St Peter’s College, Prince Alfred College, Riverview, Kambala, and Shore in Sydney.

There were a handful of Australian institutions that satisfied the definitions of Kalton, Wakeford and Weinberg outlined in England. However, these boarding schools were a minority among the 150 or more institutions that offered boarding in this country. In particular schools such as Toowoomba Grammar School, Guildford Grammar School, Geelong Grammar School, The King’s School Parramatta, New England Girls’ Grammar School, and The Armidale School appeared to satisfy Kalton, Wakeford and Weinberg’s classifications illustrated in Figure 3.2 *An Australian boarding*

*House attached to a day school where the overall residential academic and pastoral population is less than 75 per cent.*

The Independent School system dominated Australian boarding. When considered as a whole the different types of Australian Independent schools represented a diverse range of communities. Many Independent schools provided religious or values-based education. Others promoted a particular education philosophy or interpretation of mainstream education. Independent schools included small and large day schools, boarding schools, co-educational, and single-sex schools.

These schools included:

- schools affiliated with larger and smaller Christian denominations;
- non-denominational Christian schools;
- Islamic schools;
- Jewish schools;
- Montessori schools;
- Rudolf Steiner schools;
- Aboriginal community schools;
- schools that specialise in meeting the needs of students with disabilities.

There were a number of “Koori” and Indigenous Schools in Far North Queensland that may be considered as boarding schools, and schools for the blind established by the Roman Catholic Church, such as St Paul’s College for the Blind and the Burwood Special School for the Deaf in Melbourne. Most independent schools were established and governed independently of government assistance on an individual-school basis – hence the nomenclature “independent school”. Some independent schools with common aims and educational philosophies were governed and administered as small systems, for example the Lutheran and Roman Catholic education systems (Cree 1991, 2000). Selby-Smith (1977, p.98) recorded that in 1974 there were “262 non-government boarding schools in Australia; 13 per cent of all non-government schools had boarders.

In 2001 the independent school sector constituted one-third of the overall non-government schools." The Roman Catholic sector made up the remaining two thirds. The two groups were not mutually exclusive as there were some Catholic schools with an independent tradition that maintained affiliations across both sectors such as Xavier College in Melbourne. However, not all of these schools offered boarding facilities. The 2003 National Register of Independent Schools of Australia recognised 193 institutions as "boarding". Nevertheless, only a handful of these schools could be considered as "boarding" if Cookson and Hodges Persell's (1985b), Kalton's (1966), Wakeford's (1969) and Weinberg's (1967, 1968) definitions were applied.

#### *Koori boarding schools in Australia*

In contrast to the majority of studies and histories on boarding schools which concentrated on the "Anglo-Saxon middle class", Duncan (1990) *The integration of aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander primary and secondary students within non-government boarding schools in Queensland* completed a quantitative and qualitative study of 29 Year 12 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students who boarded from 25 different schools, 29 tertiary students who had attended a boarding school and two Aboriginal students who were not boarders.

Duncan's methodology was similar to Lambert's (1968a). Duncan's study was supported by the auspices of the Australian Catholic Education Commission and The Association of Independent Schools Queensland, and funded by The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra. Duncan's (1990, p.1) aimed to discover why Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students "experienced problems with life in Australian Boarding schools in Queensland, and to provide solutions to these problems".

Duncan isolated eight areas, which were described as “problematic”; these were family, personal, cultural, social, academic, languages, stereotyping, and negative attitudes. The respondents were asked to provide possible solutions to these ‘problem’ areas and to outline unsuccessful action policies in place at their boarding schools for Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander students and explain why they thought that these policies had failed. The respondents were also asked to comment on successful action policies, which were in place in their schools, and to explain why they believed that these were successful.

Duncan acknowledged that there were a number of significant limitations in the collection of written material from Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander students and wrote that he would have preferred to obtain much of his data through face-to-face interviews. He also conceded that the interview technique would have been far more successful if teacher or boarding House ‘leaders’ were not present at the time of data collection. Another flaw in the interpretation of empirical data, which Duncan collected, was that he had only been to ‘only a few such schools’ and his understanding of the cultural and social context of the students’ milieu was limited.

Duncan found that his results reflected a cultural gap between the experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander students at boarding schools and the experience of teachers. For example, students listed ‘health’ as one of the significant problems at boarding school; this ranged from education about sexually transmitted diseases, personal hygiene, Hepatitis B, and dental hygiene. Students thought that a boarding school ‘system’ needed to take a more pro-active rôle in promoting preventative psychological and general medicine. Linked with this was the perception



boarding House 1



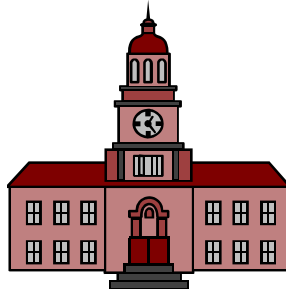
boarding House 2



boarding House 3



boarding House 4



academic classrooms



boarding House 5



Residential students and academic staff are the majority of the population



boarding House 6



Chapel



boarding House 7



boarding House 8



boarding House 9

Figure 3.1 An Australian boarding school where the overall academic and pastoral population is 75 per cent or more of the total residential population

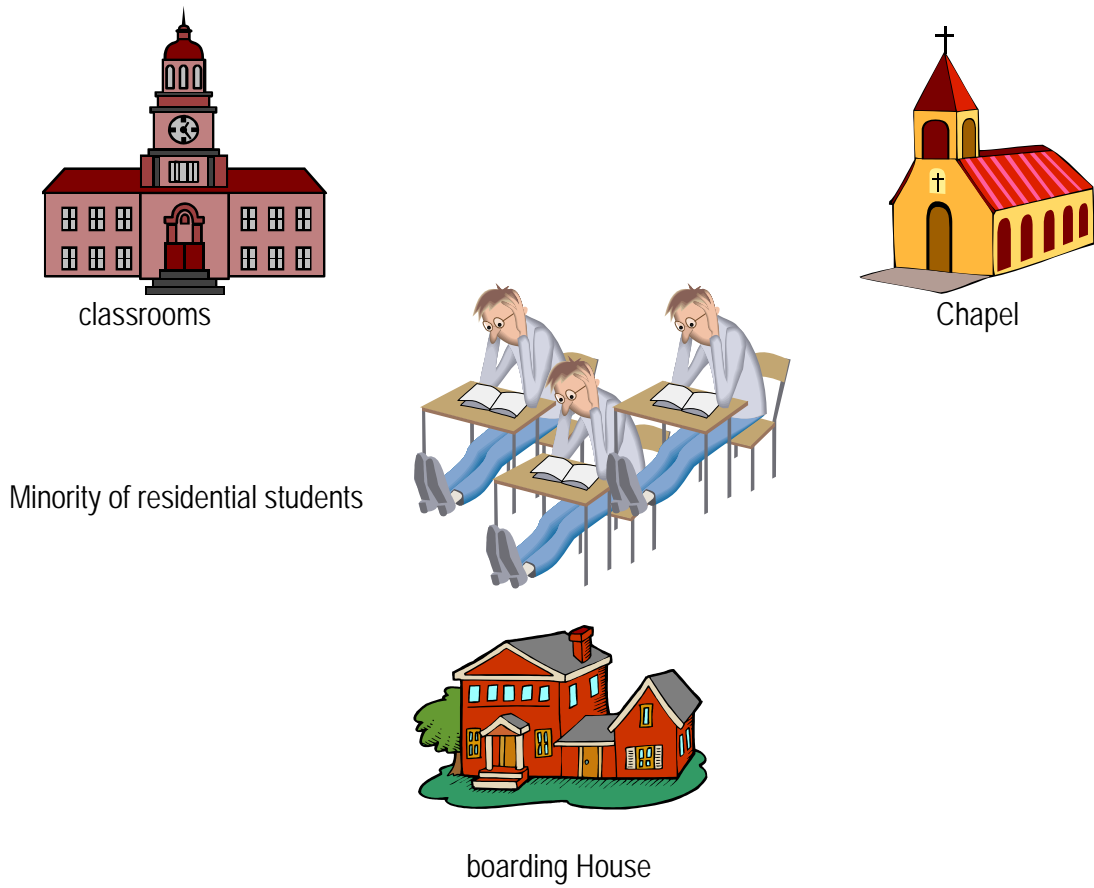


Figure 3.2 *An Australian boarding House attached to a day school where the overall residential academic and pastoral population is less than 75 per cent*

that Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander students required greater help to adjust to the academic structure of boarding schools.

In conclusion, Duncan's recommended that there needed to be a greater level of collaboration between Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander communities to improve the cultural misunderstanding that occurred for these students at boarding school. Many of the respondents stated that there was a popular stereotyping of Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander students as being superior at sport and intellectually inferior to other students. Significantly, only two respondents stated that they "enjoyed" boarding schools. Finally, Duncan asserted that there was a need for an Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Home and School Liaison Officer. The person in this position was to act as a bridge between the boarding school communities and the families of Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander students when they enrolled at boarding schools in Queensland.

Other Commonwealth Reports that have dealt with boarding have included:

- Residential Accommodation for Secondary School Students;
- Report on Education of Isolated Children;
- New Perspectives in Boarding schools;
- A Report on Living Away from Home Facilities for Isolated Children in Queensland;
- Student Hostels;
- Review of the Assistance for Isolated Children's Scheme;
- Study of Living Away from Home Facilities for Isolated Children.

#### *A boarding school architecture*

Beilharz (1997) believed that after the British colonisation of Australia the early settlers brought with them a British "imagination" or a British way of seeing. This appeared to be particularly true of the architecture and garden design favoured by the founders of many cities (Stretton 1971). This



position was supported by the architect Seidler (1976, pp. 13-17) who observed “[...] architecture [...] from Europe and America had finally come to Australia even if in somewhat diluted and mostly misunderstood form. Even so there was a certain magic about it – it became the fashion, implying a promise of a better physical world.”

Seaborne (1971, 1975, 1977) completed the most extensive analysis of English school architecture from 1370-1970 and complemented Cookson and Hodges Persell work who argued that this architectural reproduction also took place in American boarding schools. They alleged that the architecture and aesthetic beauty of these institutions were connected with the cultivation of an aristocratic taste. Cookson and Hodges Persell description of the typical “Episcopal” boarding school in New England offered the best comparison with the research boarding school:

Usually founded before the turn of the century [20<sup>th</sup>] and located in New England, the early Episcopal prep school epitomise the ethos of the elite English tradition, because they modelled themselves after British public schools. The central feature of the public school was the idea of using total institutions for the creation of collective identity and the development of a leadership cadre. From their inception, their American counterparts attracted many children of the Episcopal Establishment. While the founders of the American Episcopal schools did not replicate all the features of the British schools (their schools were smaller, for example), they adopted similar architecture, sports such as cricket and crew [rowing], the use of prefects for enforcing discipline, and some terminology, such as “form” for grade. Because the development of a collective identity is so highly stressed in these schools, the students are brought together on a frequent basis. Groton, for example, has daily toll calls and chapel is still a central part of school life. At St Paul’s, the chapel is designed so that students face each other, fortifying their sense of collective identity (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p. 37).

Cookson and Hodges Persell’s thesis is asserted further when they argue that in America there is a “prep architecture” defined the “tone” of an institution:

The importance in prep architecture has deep roots in England, where the buildings and grounds of the great public schools resemble small medieval cities captured in time and preserved by generations of caretakers. When Henry VI founded Eton College in 1440, it was his intention that it should not only supply him with scholars but become a place of pilgrimage. He lavished on the college a large collection of holy relics, including fragments of

what were supposed to be the True Cross and the Crown of Thorns. College Chapel, which Henry helped to design, contains the largest church window in England. Whether one is in the school yard, cloisters, provost's garden, or simply walking up the "Long Walk", history and the power of the British class system can be seen and felt firsthand. On any given afternoon, Eton boys hurry down to the Thames where the Eton College Boat Club stretches along the river's edge, while an apprentice sits by the window of a local tailor's shop, sewing the morning coats which you Etonians wear to class. The buildings of Harrow are almost as venerable as Eton's. In the fourth Form Room, Harrovians have been carving their names in the oak-panelled walls since 1600 – among them Sir Robert Peel, the prime minister; Lord Byron, the poet; and in small letters to the left of the door as one exits, W.S.L. Churchill (later Sir Winston)... The chapel at an Episcopal school is the heart of the campus: Henry Vaughn's magnificent Gothic Revival chapel stands close to the gate of the school, symbolic of the founder's intent that religion not only be an important part of the official life of Gronton School, but also make a claim on the entirety of life (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p.44).

The significance of the architecture of the research boarding school reinforced the sentiments of Cookson and Hodges Persell observations. Whilst the buildings at the research boarding school are were not an ancient as the English Schools, they resonated with uniformity of design as seen in the great public schools of England and were clearly built for an ambitious Australian plutocracy as elaborated in detail in chapter 4.

### **Contemporary boarding in Australia**

#### *The research boarding school as a total institution*

Chapter 1 posited that this thesis did not intend to be pro or anti boarding. But, one of the significant limitations was the investigator's ability to understand the cultural nuances of a boarding school from the position of an outsider. Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b) highlighted this converse problem when they described their position in American prep schools as "sympathetic intruders" who "gathered hard data, as well as listened with our inner ears, because facts unconnected by understanding can add to the collective ignorance rather than dispel it". They also

argued that sociological “measurement without empathy is empty, and we tried to sensitise ourselves to it”.

Chapters 1 and 3 emphasized that the majority of Australian Independent schools that were described as boarding were predominantly day schools with boarding Houses attached to them. However, because the number of boarders in these schools represented a minority of the student population they failed to satisfy Kalton’s definition. The residential population of the research boarding school analysed in this study was over seven hundred students and represented 80 per cent of the total population. Therefore, this school was unique in Australian boarding in that it was a predominantly residential co-educational community.

Goffman (1961, p.xiii; 1969) declared that for an institution to be declared “total” it needed to be a “place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life”. In formulating the classification for a total institution he noted that this was not “neat or exhaustive”. Goffman elaborated this and established three main characteristics of life in a total community:

- all aspects of life were conducted in the same place under the same single authority;
- each phase of the member’s daily activity was carried on in the immediate batch of others, all of whom were treated alike and required to do the same thing;
- all phases of the day’s activities were tightly scheduled, where one activity lead to another at a prearranged time to the next.

Conducted in the 1960s Goffman’s ethnographic research concentrated on the study of mental hospitals and prisons and he was one of the founding scholars who influenced the studies of

Lambert (1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1969a, 1970, 1975), Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, pp.35-36,126, 160), and Hays (1994, p.14).

Goffman thought that a "total institution" was a social hybrid and "represented a social system" that was part residential community and part formal organisation. He recorded that if cultural change was to occur whilst an individual was resident at a total institution certain aspects of cultural behaviour and opportunities must be removed. Goffman understood this phenomenon as "disculturation" and argued that an inmate's "moral career" commenced with the mortification of the "self".

Cree (2000, pp. 34-35) summarised Gouldner's criticism the scope of Goffman's approach and observed that his accounts of institutional society were not culturally specific and that they only examined the transient aspects of an individual's lives and not the enduring aspect of educational life. But, Giddens defended Goffman's method and stated:

The fixity of institutional forms does not exist in spite of, or outside the encounters of everyday life but is implicated in those very encounters

Giddens appeared to accept Goffman's portrayal of "total life" unlike Gouldner who questioned the validity of it. However, Ditton (1980) believed that Goffman remained one of the most significant "micro" sociologists. Giddens noted that:

He [Goffman] has to be rescued from the importunate embrace of his admirers. Goffman is often thought of as an idiosyncratic observer of social life, whose sensitivity to the subtleties of what I have called practical and discursive consciousness derives more from a combination of an acute intelligence and a playful style than from a coordinated approach to social analysis (cited in Cree 2000, p. 34-35; Giddens 1982).

Significantly, Goffman emphasised that, if an individual's entrance to a total institution was voluntary, as in the case of attending boarding school that the "recruit" had already "partially

withdrawn" from his or her home world. Chapter 4 will outline the features of the research boarding school that suggested that it was a community that satisfied Goffman's description of a total institution.

*Who attends the research boarding school?*

Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.43) observed that to become a member of the American boarding school elite it was enough to afford the school fees to attend one of "the sixteen". This could be alleged of the research boarding school if a similar approach was applied. However, this statement assumes that parents paid for the tuition fees for the boarding education of all students. This was not necessarily the case. In some instances students have gained scholarships, or bursaries to attend the school. Increasingly grandparents have been paying for their grandchildren's school fees and, in some cases, uncles and aunts have paid for student's tuition fees. Because of these factors the cultural, religious, ethnic and financial background of the research boarding school's population has changed over the past twenty years.

The school's historian suggested that there was a decrease in the number of old scholars who were able to send their children to boarding school from 1990-2000 because of financial pressure. This assertion paralleled Stewart's observation (2001). He believed that this was the result of financial difficulties rather than not wanting to send their children to boarding school and that many of the "traditional" rural boarding school families were not sending their children away to be educated.

Consequently, the majority of families who sent their children to the research boarding school did not attend a boarding school themselves or a private school and were "buying" the best possible

education for their children. Since 2001 this trend appeared to change. However, as improved farming conditions emerged post 2001, there was an increase in rural students enrolled in the Middle School.

All students who wished to be considered for a position at the school were interviewed by the school's Registrar and the application was formally assessed during this interview with the student and the parents. In some instances the registrar would "follow-up" specific concerns or reports that were made known during the interview. Once this meeting had taken place it was possible that a student would not be offered a position at the school, or that it would be recommended that a residential education was not be suitable for the student, depending upon the student's individual circumstances.

At the time this study was carried out the school's Registrar was a former senior member of the English Department, and wife of the Head of Science. She was the first female registrar at the school. This showed that the school's management recognised the growing level of importance women played in the choice of school for a child. It was generally agreed by the academic staff that it was an advantage to have a former member of the Common Room as part of the team primarily responsible for the selection of students who attended the school.

Following the appointment of a new, English-born Principal at the conclusion of 1999, the research boarding school reversed the national trend of falling boarding numbers recorded in the rest of Australia (Stewart 2001). Since 2002 a waiting list has been established in the Middle School and in the parts of the Senior School. This is the first time that the school has achieved waiting lists since the early 1990s.

Unlike Fox's (1984) and Cookson and Hodges Persell's (1985b) studies there has not been a major study of parents' attitudes towards boarding in Australia and in the United States. Both Fox and Cookson and Hodges Persell concurred that the major reason why parents sent their children to boarding schools was to improve or maintain the parents' social status and the future social status of their children.

Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.57) argued that American prep schools were "status seminaries" and believed that parents chose this type of education for their children based upon the "cultural capital" that students gained from being at one of these schools. In order to demonstrate this point they quoted the American novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald's conversation with Ernest Hemmingway. In this conversation F. Scott Fitzgerald was reputed to have said to Ernest Hemmingway:

"The rich are different from you and I." To which Hemmingway replied, "Yes, they have more money." If Fitzgerald had said, "Preps are different from you and I," Hemmingway's response would have been the same: One only has to glance at the endowments of most of the major schools to see that their alumni are different. It is not uncommon for an elite school to net more than a million dollars a year in their annual fund drive. Happen by an elite school during a parents' weekend, and the collective value of their automobiles in the parking lot would be enough to build a reasonably well-equipped public school in a low-income neighborhood (cited in Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p.57).

It appeared that the financial and cultural status accorded to some of the Australian boarding schools paralleled American and English ones. Nevertheless, Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.57) observed that "an accurate estimate of income for any group, especially the well-to-do, is difficult to obtain".

The research boarding school charged A\$28,000 annually for tuition fees to Australian students and A\$34,600 for overseas students. In the United States:

Forty-six per cent of the boarding families in our sample of twenty schools have annual incomes of more than \$100,000 a year. An additional 20 percent of boarding school families have incomes between \$75,000 and \$100,000 per year. Only 3 per cent have incomes of less than \$15,000 (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p.58).

When considered as a whole it was reasonable to assume that the population of Australian boarding families appeared to be more diverse than the United States and England. In Australia the percentage of rural families who chose boarding as a system of education was higher because of geographical isolation. Also, their gross annual income was lower. However, this was complicated by the value of their properties. Overall, it was possible to suggest that the average boarding family in Australia would have required an annual income over A\$75,000 after tax.

#### *Why students board at the research boarding school in Australia*

Rather than being an elite system of education reserved exclusively for the rich it was found after analysis of the Independent Schools Council of Australia Website it was possible to deduce that non-government boarding was offered by a diverse range of groups from the Anglican and Roman Catholic Independent Schools, Seventh Days Adventists, the Quakers, Jews as well as Indigenous and Torres Straight Islander communities.

As summarised in Tables 3.2 – 3.8: *Full-time boarding students at non-government schools by affiliation 1996-2002* recorded that the number of boarders has fluctuated over the past 17 years: from 34,000 to 24,808 in 1996. In 2001 this figure dropped further to 21,884 and then again to 21,654 students in 2002 (Non-Government Schools Bulletin, DEST 1996 – 2002). Baker and Andrews (1991) outlined that boarding was chosen as a system of education for a number of reasons. The following reasons were observed by the researcher as a participant-observer in the social system of the school from 2000-2004:

- rural isolation;



- educational opportunities – for example more diverse range of subjects offered at the research boarding school in the Victorian Certificate in Education;
- the school offered the International Baccalaureate as a pre-university curriculum ;
- so that their children escaped the negative forces of contemporary adolescent metropolitan culture;
- stability of educational environment when parents were transferred inter-state or overseas for employment;
- as an adjunct to social welfare;
- in order for overseas students to acquire and improve English skills;
- social and cultural education reasons;
- the school's international reputation in education;
- because of famous alumni who have attended the school
- social status.

Boarding has always been a significant system of education amongst the rural community since the establishment of independent schools in Australia. One of the primary reasons members of the Australian rural population supported boarding was the limited educational opportunities offered by many regional high schools. In some instances students came from very isolated areas of Australia and received their education by the "school of the air" before boarding. For these students the benefits of a boarding education were significant in that they were given the opportunity to mix with children their own age in a "normal" class room setting. The majority of the rural population at the school was from traditional pastoralists and grazier landholdings from the North-eastern and Western Districts of Victoria. It was not unusual to find families who were able to trace five generations through the research boarding school.

Following the economic boom of the 1980s and the recession of the 1990s there was a shift toward boarding as an alternative form of education for many professional couples leading busy corporate lives in metropolitan areas. Parents decided to send their children to boarding school with the knowledge that their child was looked after, in the supervised company of their peers, would receive appropriate food, and have their homework supervised by a community of caring adults.

Since 2000 it has been mooted that boarding school in regional areas have been seen as havens away from the moral dangers and temptation of metropolitan teenage culture – in particular the growing significant adolescent drug scene in Australian cities.

There have been instances where students have boarded because of family circumstances, including divorced parents; separated parents; families where either the mother or father have died; single parents and same sex parent families. One of the significant reasons why boarding was chosen for a child's education was where one of the parents had committed suicide. In these cases boarding school was seen as a supportive and emotionally stable environment not in place of, but in conjunction with, the home.

Boarding was also popular amongst parents of overseas students. At the research boarding school there were students from diverse cultural backgrounds. In the research boarding school the students came from the following countries: Cambodia, China, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Papua New Guinea, Nauru, Nepal, New Zealand, South Africa, Swaziland, Singapore, Thailand, The Philippines, Vietnam and Taiwan. In particular, many students and parents from the Asian-Pacific region understood the benefit of a boarding education which offered the opportunity for students to acquire English, usually with the aim of studying in America or England at tertiary level.

It appeared that for many Chinese-Malay students in particular the need to acquire English proficiency was vital for materialistic success in later life. It was also understood that it was a status symbol in Asia to send a child to boarding school. Some parents who were posted interstate or overseas often choose to send their children to boarding school in order to maintain a level of stability in their children's education.

## Defining an Australian boarding school

In order to define an American boarding school Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.34) turned to Weinberg's (1967) summary of the similarities he discovered in English boarding schools who was influenced by Goffman's (1961) analysis of total institutions. Cookson and Hodges Persell adapted these characteristics for their study of prep schools in order to suit the American educational landscape.

This thesis adapted Weinberg's observations for an Australian educational landscape. In this study the researcher was influenced by Smolicz's views on tradition, which helped us to appreciate that whilst Australian boarding was derived from English models it was not identical because "although up till now the over-arching framework has been largely of British derivation, it is already far from being identical with the British system" (Smolicz 1999, p.168).

Therefore, this thesis proposed that an Australian private secondary boarding school was.

- One in which at least half of the students and academic staff lived during the school year.
- The school was situated in rural or semirural settings, cut-off from the broader society. While the students were at school the institution was responsible for their welfare – *in loco parentis*, or in place of the parents.
- The school was independent from state and local authorities, although schools must meet certain minimal state standards and were open for health and safety inspections by state officials.
- The school was usually organised as a non-profit corporation, although some proprietary (that was, possibly profit making) schools did exist.
- The school charged fees for full boarding and day boarding. Fees range widely.
- There were two types of students in the fee structure: overseas students, who have boarded at the school since 1947 and were defined as those who reside outside of Australia and must be full-boarders at the school and full-boarders from within Australia. Since 1990 the government subsidised overseas student programme has been phased out. Fees were structured according to the status of the student (that was a full-boarder or a day boarder). As at 2001 the research boarding school charged A\$34,600 for Years 5-8 and A\$37,880 for Years 10-12 per year for overseas students and A\$27,400 for Years 5-8 and A\$28,720 for Years 10-12 for full-boarders who lived within Australia. This charge

included tuition; study sessions; compulsory external tests and exams; buses for official sport, activity and academic purposes; travel concession cards; library cards; all meals; laundry; dry cleaning; Matrons' medical supplies; film society nights; House newspapers; and the school magazine. This did not include sundry expenses for individual items and optional expenses such as music lessons, instrument hire, additional tutoring, commuter buses, camps, and items of a personal nature. Most boarding schools offer extensive scholarships programmes.

- The school was often founded on religious principles. The chapel was still an important part of life in many schools, though many eschew heavy-handed religious training.
- The school's ultimate policy decisions were made by a self-perpetuating board of trustees that appointed the head, who in turn appointed the teachers and other staff and administrators
- The school was organised for university-bound students, although there were some state-supported residential schools, such as those for exceptional children, which were not.
- The school was part of an informal hierarchy, with the older schools often setting the standard.

## Overview

This chapter reviewed the development of boarding in Australia. It acknowledged the significant researchers in this area as Cree and Trimmingham Jack. This chapter summarised the literature used in order to understand the cultural milieu of an Australian boarding school. The literature reviewed autobiographical, biographical, historical, and sociological material. The limitation of many of the studies cited was acknowledged.

Chapter 3 challenged the previously accepted definitions of boarding used in other Australian studies. Consequently, a definition of an Australian boarding school was written in the light of Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Kalton (1966) Goffman (1961, 1969) and Weinberg's (1967) overseas models for this purpose of this thesis. The definition proposed An Australian boarding school a community where a resident academic staff was responsible for the pastoral welfare of its students, *in loco parentis*, and combined with the students formed at least 75 per cent of the school's total residential population. It was cut-off from broader society and often founded upon religious principles.

**Table 3.2 Full-time boarding students at non-government schools by affiliation 1996** Cited in Independent Schools Council of Australia. Independent Schools Council of Australia Website. [Online]. Available: [www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school\\_stats3c.htm](http://www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school_stats3c.htm) [2004, September 10]

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	AUSTRALIA
Anglican	2,137	1,389	1,738	1,131	204	210	361	225	7,395
Lutheran	83	83	546	-	139	-	222	-	1,073
Presbyterian	547	266	382	-	-	-	-	-	1,195
Seventh Day									
Adventist	37	46	-	22	-	-	-	-	105
Uniting	889	340	502	747	359	95	65	-	2,997
Other	436	401	1,963	284	189	-	-	-	3,273
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>4,129</b>	<b>2,525</b>	<b>5,131</b>	<b>2,184</b>	<b>891</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>648</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>16,038</b>
Catholic	3,395	505	3,366	1,017	291	-	196	-	8,770
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,524</b>	<b>3,030</b>	<b>8,497</b>	<b>3,201</b>	<b>1,182</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>844</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>24,808</b>

**Table 3.3 Full-time boarding students at non-government schools by affiliation 1997** Cited in Independent Schools Council of Australia. Independent Schools Council of Australia Website. [Online]. Available: [www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school\\_stats3c.htm](http://www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school_stats3c.htm) [2004, September 10]

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	AUSTRALIA
Anglican	2,121	1,396	1,741	188	1,095	222	272	196	7,231
Lutheran	75	72	592	114	-	-	234	-	1,087
Presbyterian	525	263	405	-	-	-	-	-	1,193
Seventh Day									
Adventist	40	50	-	-	25	-	-	-	115
Uniting	861	347	492	408	729	100	62	-	2,999
Other	414	470	2,146	193	314	-	58	-	3,595
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>4,036</b>	<b>2,598</b>	<b>5,376</b>	<b>903</b>	<b>2,163</b>	<b>322</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>16,220</b>
Catholic	3,307	451	3,330	288	979	-	226	-	8,581
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,343</b>	<b>3,049</b>	<b>8,706</b>	<b>1,191</b>	<b>3,142</b>	<b>322</b>	<b>852</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>24,801</b>

**Table 3.4 Full-time boarding students at non-government schools by affiliation 1998** Cited in Independent Schools Council of Australia. Independent Schools Council of Australia Website. [Online]. Available: [www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school\\_stats3c.htm](http://www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school_stats3c.htm) [2004, September 10]

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	AUSTRALIA
Anglican	2,116	1,352	1,681	189	1,071	197	296	191	7,093
Lutheran	54	68	573	100	-	-	223	-	1,018
Presbyterian	518	257	409	-	-	-	-	-	1,184
Seventh Day Adventist	41	39	-	-	19	-	-	-	99
Uniting	828	325	491	399	691	82	75	-	2,891
Other	409	451	1,779	179	269	24	20	-	3,131
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>3,966</b>	<b>2,492</b>	<b>4,933</b>	<b>867</b>	<b>2,050</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>614</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>15,416</b>
Catholic	2,980	401	3,133	284	979	-	238	-	8,015
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,946</b>	<b>2,893</b>	<b>8,066</b>	<b>1,151</b>	<b>3,029</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>852</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>23,431</b>

**Table 3.5 Full-time boarding students at non-government schools by affiliation 1999** Cited in Independent Schools Council of Australia. Independent Schools Council of Australia Website. [Online]. Available: [www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school\\_stats3c.htm](http://www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school_stats3c.htm) [2004, September 10]

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	AUSTRALIA
Anglican	2,100	1,151	1,465	154	1,040	178	306	177	6,571
Lutheran	55	60	520	94	-	-	231	-	960
Presbyterian	436	244	380	-	-	-	-	-	1,060
Seventh Day Adventist	43	45	-	-	17	-	-	-	105
Uniting	821	229	495	408	657	66	55	-	2,731
Other	464	797	1,727	168	262	17	36	-	3,471
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>3,817</b>	<b>2,513</b>	<b>4,381</b>	<b>802</b>	<b>1,878</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>14,898</b>
Catholic	3,043	366	3,061	257	931	-	246	-	7,904
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,962</b>	<b>2,892</b>	<b>7,648</b>	<b>1,081</b>	<b>2,907</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>874</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>22,802</b>

**Table 3.6 Full-time boarding students at non-government schools by affiliation 2000**

Cited in Independent Schools Council of Australia. Independent Schools Council of Australia Website. [Online]. Available: [www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school\\_stats3c.htm](http://www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school_stats3c.htm) [2004, September 10]

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	AUSTRALIA
Anglican	2,019	1,163	1,404	147	1,023	166	240	178	6,340
Lutheran	76	46	492	75	-	-	224	-	913
Presbyterian	444	239	374	-	-	-	-	-	1,057
Seventh Day									
Adventist	46	44	-	-	19	-	-	-	109
Uniting	833	181	546	387	647	57	72	-	2,723
Other	415	896	1,911	147	205	22	76	-	3,672
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>3,833</b>	<b>2,569</b>	<b>4,727</b>	<b>756</b>	<b>1,894</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>612</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>14,814</b>
Catholic	2,712	370	2,927	321	907	-	245	-	7,482
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,545</b>	<b>2,939</b>	<b>7,654</b>	<b>1,077</b>	<b>2,801</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>857</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>22,296</b>

**Table 3.7 Full-time boarding students at non-government schools by affiliation 2001**

Cited in Independent Schools Council of Australia. Independent Schools Council of Australia Website. [Online]. Available: [www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school\\_stats3c.htm](http://www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school_stats3c.htm) [2004, September 10]

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	AUSTRALIA
Anglican	1,929	1,174	1,368	148	968	166	239	186	6,178
Lutheran	89	44	436	82	-	-	230	-	881
Presbyterian	460	215	236	-	-	-	-	-	911
Seventh Day									
Adventist	34	31	-	-	24	-	-	-	59
Uniting	827	297	709	348	615	49	68	-	2,913
Other	387	869	1,749	224	170	35	104	-	3,538
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>3,726</b>	<b>2,630</b>	<b>4,498</b>	<b>802</b>	<b>1,777</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>641</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>14,510</b>
Catholic	2,812	336	2,808	303	939	-	176	-	7,374
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,538</b>	<b>2,966</b>	<b>7,306</b>	<b>1,105</b>	<b>2,716</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>817</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>21,884</b>

**Table 3.8 Full-time boarding students at non-government schools by affiliation  
2002**

Cited in Independent Schools Council of Australia. Independent Schools Council of Australia Website. [Online]. Available: [www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school\\_stats3c.htm](http://www.ncisa.edu.au/htm/stats/school_stats3c.htm) [2004, September 10]

	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT	AUSTRALIA
Anglican	1,949	1,185	1,352	134	993	172	-	185	5,970
Lutheran	81	30	400	84	-	-	222	-	817
Presbyterian	441	230	245	-	-	-	-	-	916
Seventh Day Adventist	31	21	-	-	29	-	-	-	81
Uniting	830	307	755	369	632	41	63	-	2,997
Other	439	910	1,610	227	201	42	400	-	3,829
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>3,771</b>	<b>2,683</b>	<b>4,362</b>	<b>814</b>	<b>1,855</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>685</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>14,610</b>
Catholic	2,630	338	2,624	319	946	-	187	-	7,044
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,401</b>	<b>3,021</b>	<b>6,986</b>	<b>1,133</b>	<b>2,801</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>872</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>21,654</b>



As this thesis aimed to reconstruct the school milieu as seen by the writers' who lived and acted in it through their own writing the researcher consulted primary and secondary available in the school's archives which placed the research boarding school into its broader historical and cultural setting which considered the rôle of the rôles played by the squatter and the Anglican communion in this enterprise. Having examined the literature relevant for boarding overseas and Australian sources chapter 4 will outline the structure of the research boarding school. This will provide critical material that will elucidate the memoirs considered in chapters 7-10.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH BOARDING SCHOOL

Sunday was a day of chapel, divinity class, letter writing, and a compulsory cross country walk, with a deal of reading between times, and a sociable interchange of visits between those who had studies, when there was much toast making and tea brewing. A few of the more sociably inclined masters, with the help of their wives, indulged in a little entertainment, and threw off their week-day guise to bud out as amiable and pleasant hosts (Jennings 1924, p.131).

This chapter will examine the structure of the research boarding school and the research design for the present study. The first part of this chapter aims to complement the sketch of the development of boarding in Australia outlined in chapter 3 that provided an impression of the school's cultural milieu. The research boarding school has not been named at the request of the institution to respect the anonymity of the respondents

Given that chapter 3 provided an overview of the development of boarding in Australia and proposed a definition of Australian boarding school in light of Goffman's (1961, 1969) classification of a "total institution" established in chapter 3 this chapter considers the structure of the research boarding school. Chapter 4 will outline the structure of the school including a summary of the school's Council; the rôle of the Principal and the academic staff.

Next, the researcher placed the boarding House in the overall context of the research boarding school. Everyday life for the respondents will be sketched and other formal "discipline" procedures at the school recorded to provide the framework to interpret the cultural data analysed in Chapters 7-10 as the empirical section of the thesis (Fine 2000, pp.52-55).

### **The research boarding school today**

Since the school's foundation in the 1850s, members of other Christian traditions and of other religious beliefs have been welcomed, however, Anglican Christian worship has been regarded as an essential characteristic, and instruction in the Christian faith has been regarded as normal for all present-day students. The School's Chaplaincy was "high" Anglo-Catholic in its approach to the Liturgy. Because of an increase in the number of boarders at the school and the desire for more space, the research boarding school moved to 180 hectares on a natural bay in a rural setting immediately before the outbreak of the Great War.

At the time the school moved the Chairman of the Council insisted that the head gardener of Melbourne's Botanic Gardens was consulted in order to propose plans for this new property. The Royal Victorian Institute of Architects was invited to coordinate a major competition to design the new school. The project was to be built in two phases. The first phase established a planned array of buildings in which a separate collection of boarding Houses was to be incorporated into a classroom block, hall, chapel, and Headmaster's House. At the time of the project, no architectural equivalent had been contemplated in Australia before.

The Council, many of whom lived on the great estates of the Western District and Northeast of Victoria, elevated the school from a small regional institution to something quite different. It was decided that the new school was to build in red brick rather than bluestone. Three architectural firms were consulted and the design of a young architect was chosen over that of an established city firm. Confirming the school's national ambition the governor-general of the day visited the site and was impressed suitably. The vision for the school's design was a sweep of buildings facing a

lagoon, in harmony with the shape of the landscape, rather than jutting out from it, built in the tradition of the monasteries of England.

At the time the research was undertaken the school owned about 180 hectares on the west side and 140 hectares on the east side of the Bay. The move to the spacious new site made possible for the development of extensive purpose-built and designed boarding facilities. At the time, the study was conducted there were some 850 secondary students at the school, the majority of them boarders. The school was a multi-campus institution and consisted of a Middle School for years five to eight and the Senior School for years 10 to 12. A full boarding year 9 campus was located in the Victorian Hinterland. This campus employed a full academic curriculum and an extensive programme of challenges in the outdoor environment. All students who wished to attend year 9 at this school attended this campus. This meant that all day boarders experienced at least one academic year of full boarding.

1900-1914 was the formative period for this institution. The decision to rebuild the school in a much larger scale and the massive impact of the Great War set the foundation of the main campus of this boarding school. In 2003, the school remained removed geographically from the local rural city; however, because of urban sprawl a suburb now encroached towards the school. The school's design appeared to support three aspects of a student's life: at the centre was the life religious; second, academic; thirdly; corporate.

The School Chapel, the heart of the school and representing the continuity and faith upon which the school was founded, was built with money donated to the school by a family who lost four sons in the 1914-1918 War. The Chapel design was not "collegiate" where the pews faced each other –

but rather faced the altar – reminding the students of the purpose of the building – that of worship. An impressive four manual organ was donated in memory of an old boy of the school who perished at sea.

The Chapel interior was built for purpose of traditional Anglo-Catholic worship based on the Oxford movement of the nineteenth century. The Chapel holds a valuable set of reproduction medallions of the stations-of-the-cross also found in Canterbury Cathedral, England. All of the stained-glass was the gifts of old scholars – many of whom perished in the Great War. The majority of these were designed and executed by the great Arts and Crafts Movement designers William Morris and Burne-Jones.

To the left of the nave was a small Lady Altar with a painting of the Virgin Mary, presented by a former Master of the School, wearing a shawl in the distinctive light blue of the school's uniform, said to be based on the light blue of Eton. On the opposite side of the quadrangle was the magnificent dining hall able to seat 500 or more students at any time. Again built in the gothic-revival style, the hall's architecture recalled the great dining halls of Oxford and Cambridge, on the wall were portraits of the founders of the school and former Headmasters and Principals.

A covered war memorial, representing sacrifice, built in the Gothic revival style joins a door at the heart of the nave of the school chapel, on the interior of these war memorial arches are four great bronze tablets presented to the school in 1927 by the Old Scholars Associations bearing the names of the fallen from the school who fought in the Anglo-Boer War and the Great War.

In front of these archways is a bronze group sculpture. Designed and sculpted by one of Australia's greatest war artists, George Lambert, it was unveiled at the School by the governor-general, Lord Stonehaven. The bronze group depicted former students at the school in the uniform of the Light Horse at Gallipoli. The three men at the base of the sculpture are crushed by a monolithic bird of prey, which is a hybrid between a vulture and an eagle. Above this stands a naked youth, covered only by armour around his loins and a classical-styled helmet, he plunges a double-handed sword into the neck of the bird releasing the three bodies beneath.

A Preparatory School was located in the heart of the local city. It supplied an education for children from kindergarten through to year four. In common with other parts of the School, the Preparatory School was co-educational. There was also a campus in Melbourne. It catered for day students from pre-School to year six, and the year five and six students were involved in sport, academic and musical events with the main boarding campus.

The School was organised into the House system when it moved to its present campus before the First World War. Each House was in the charge of a Head of House who, assisted by House Tutors, was responsible for the whole upbringing of a student. The Head of House was usually the first point of contact between parents and the School. There were two Middle School Boarding Houses for boys and one for girls and two fully co-educational Day Houses.

Day boarders and day students arrived at 8.20am and attend assemblies or Chapel before classes commenced at 9.00am (8.40am on Wednesdays). Day students were permitted to leave at 3.30pm or involved themselves in the broad co-curricular programme of extra sport or activities after school. All Middle School students had sport after school on Tuesdays and day students departed

at 5.15pm. Middle School On the other days, the day boarders stayed for dinner (5.30pm) and then an evening study session, and departed at approximately 8.25pm.

There were nine Senior School Houses for students in years 10 to 12. Each House was identified by the colour of its jumper and blazer. Of these Houses, four were boys' full Boarding Houses and three girls' full Boarding Houses and two fully co-educational Day Houses. Usually day students in Senior School arrived at 8.20 a.m. and departed by bus at 8.25 p.m (6.15pm on Fridays). In this way, they were able to take full part in the School programme, the co-curricular activities including sport, and evening preparation which formed the pattern of a full-boarder's life.

Students were encouraged to make the very most of their abilities, and individual progress was closely monitored through the school's tutorial system. At the same time, the School adopted the view that children learnt best when they were themselves keen to learn. It recognised, as well, that much of life's learning might take place in later life, if young people have developed a sense of curiosity and a capacity to think for themselves. The School was known for the extent and the diversity of the programme which it offered outside of the classroom.

It was believed that human experience should be rich and varied, and that there were many things in life worth doing and discovering. Much was offered and much was demanded, though students had a wide range of options from which to choose. All students were encouraged to find areas of life in which they can make a mark and develop the confidence necessary for their personal growth.

The programme includes traditional sports, outdoor pursuits, hobbies, art and craft, music, drama and community service. The design of the research boarding school provided the basis to appreciate the tone of the school. The school was uncompromisingly Anglican – influenced by sentiments of the late nineteenth-century Anglo-Catholic tradition of the Oxford movement. Hansen's (1971) description of the school before its amalgamation with two girls' schools provided a useful thumbnail sketch to appreciate the geographical and physical lay out of the institution:

From the highway is a road sign with the simple legend [...] the turn-off road swings through flat paddocks in which desultory groups of sheep move among the stubble, and straightens between cypress trees into what appears to be a suburban street. This is [the] Avenue, with on the north side, the Hall, nobly pioneer in its timber and corrugated-iron, the day-boy House called [...], the carpentry and engineering workshops, staff residences and the community centre and the nursery school. One must ignore the Centenary Gates, whose road lead only to further staff residences, and the [...] Gates farther down, whose heavy green-painted Victorian wrought-iron, despite its imposing appearance never open to traffic, and enter the school proper between the science block and the art school. The focus is on the [...] clock tower which surmounts the quadrangle of classrooms, and administrative offices; the tower is squat and solid, the clock-faces edged in concrete and the top crowned with more turreted concrete. The quadrangle complex is of red bricks; all the school buildings are of a piece in this material and have a pleasing homogeneity. The other Senior School boarding Houses [...] at some remove from the quadrangle are not unlike some of the Winchester's Houses in a late nineteenth century upper-middle class mode.

A graceful war memorial cloister leads from the library corner of the quadrangle to the chapel; tradition insists no one must speak as he walks the cloister. The chapel is rather elegantly plain in its interior, with a single rose window at the east, a tapestry reredos and a simple dark-wood rood screen. There is an air of the English village church about it and, indeed, this is the village air of the whole school environment. Set within private property of some one thousand acres, and (like Christ's Hospital) with a railway station almost its own, the place is in itself an insulation against the wider world. Boys see staff wives wheeling prams or escorting toddlers to nursery school, all within the context of the [college]. To the east, the school overlooks [a] Bay, across two spacious sports ovals. More often than not sea winds from the bay scoop across the estuarine lagoon, thrash among the trees bordering the ovals and buildings and bang at the windows.

Junior, Middle and Senior Schools have separate dining halls; Middle School's laced with timber and laminex-top tables [...] whereas the Senior School's is of bare brick, with heavy wooden tables, stared down upon by portraits of previous Headmasters in dramatic gilt frames. High table runs parallel to all the others but is not raised; here the Headmaster dines with his senior boys. Between periods and outside school hours boys move about with an unhurried easy nonchalance, shirts open at the neck, perhaps wearing a House pullover. In the grounds there is peace to be had: lawns gardens, trees, the variegated leaves of



creepers on buildings, the lap of the lagoon, there is also a swimming pool, rifle range and golf course. From the closed, [...] Gates a road leads back to the highway on the [city] side. It passes the new-line modernity Junior House and its courtyard [...] (Hansen 1971, pp.3-4).

Since Hansen's description, the school amalgamated in 1971 with two private girls' schools, which were at the time financially insolvent. Ironically, the majority of the public thought that the research boarding school was an all boys' school. There was still an air of "nonchalance" and the main entrance to the school was now a grassed "mall" with a fine row of plane trees, each donated by old boys and girls of the School with the appropriate plaque. There was also an imposing new Art Centre, named after a benefactor to the School, a new Middle School academic wing and an all-weather Hockey and Tennis Centre under lights. An elegant Art-Deco-styled house, once the Headmaster's residence has been converted into a senior girls' boarding House. The boys' boarding House that was upstairs in the main quadrangle has moved closer to the Bay in a 1980s-designed boarding House. What Hansen overlooked were details of the physical environment. The location was bitterly cold and wind swept during winter. In summer, it was equally as hot, but tempered by a slight zephyr from the bay at the edge of the school.

### *The student's handbook*

Once a student's application to join the school was confirmed, they were issued with a copy of the student's handbook. This booklet covered the main points essential for his or her time at the school. This booklet was referred pejoratively as the "Bible" amongst students. As recognised in chapter 1 the history of the school's foundation provided significant cultural information about the school's milieu. A short hand impression of the school was provided in its opening pages:

Founded in 1855 by the first Bishop of Melbourne as a Church of England School. Members of other Christian traditions and of other religious beliefs were welcomed, but Christian worship was regarded as a necessary part of the life of the School, and instruction in the Christian faith is regarded as normal for all present day students. The School moved to the north shore of a natural bay in 1914. The School owns about 180 hectares on the west side

and 140 hectares on the east side of the bay. The move to the spacious new site made possible the development of the extensive boarding facilities for which the School is known. There are now some 850 secondary students at the School, the majority of them boarders. The School campus consists of Middle School for Years 5 to 8 and Senior School for Years 10 to 12.

The Preparatory School is located in the heart of the local city. It caters specifically for children from kindergarten through to Year 4 in a family-oriented, easily accessible neighbourhood school. Small classes enable children to receive highly personalised attention and care and the comprehensive curriculum provides the beginnings of the broad goals of the School's education. In common with other parts of the School, the Preparatory School is co-educational.

There is also a campus in Melbourne. It caters for day students from Pre School to Year 8 and the Year 5, 6, 7 and 8 students are involved in sport, academic and musical events with the School campus. Girls first attended the school in the early 1970s and the School is now fully co-educational at every level. In 1976, the school amalgamated with two Melbourne girls' schools.

The School is organised on the House system. Each House is in the charge of a Head of House who, assisted by House Tutors, is responsible for the oversight of the whole of the school life and upbringing of a student. The Head of House is usually the first point of contact between parents and the School.

There are two Middle School Boarding Houses for boys and one for girls and two co-educational Day Houses. Day boarders and day students arrive at 8.20am and attend assemblies or Chapel before classes commence at 9.00am (8.40am on Wednesdays). Day students may leave at 3.30pm or involve themselves in the broad co-curricular programme of extra sport or activities after school. All Middle School students have sport after school on Tuesdays and day students may depart at 5.15pm. Day boarders stay for tea (5.30pm) and then evening study, departing at 8.25pm. There is considerable flexibility in this scheme and parents are encouraged to discuss the various options with their child's Head of House.

There are nine Senior School Houses for students in Year 10 to Year 12. Each House can be identified by the colour of its jumper and blazer. Four boys' boarding Houses and three girls' boarding Houses. The two day co-educational Houses, with boys and girls in each. Usually day students in Senior School arrive at 8.20 a.m. and depart by bus at 8.25 p.m (6.15pm on Fridays). In this way, they are able to take full part in the School programme, the co-curricular activities including sport, and evening preparation which form the pattern of a full-boarder's life. Students are able to leave earlier in the evening after early consultation between the student's parents and the Head of House.

The School believes that the traditional skills and disciplines are as important as they ever were and that the acquisition of sound habits of work is fundamental. Students are encouraged to make the very most of their abilities, and individual progress is closely monitored. At the same time the School takes the view that children learn best when they are themselves keen to learn. It recognises, too, that much of life's learning will take place in

later life, provided that young people have developed a sense of curiosity and a capacity to think for themselves. The School is known for the extent and the diversity of the programme which it offers outside the classroom. The School's view is that human experience should be rich and varied, and that there are many things in life worth doing and discovering. Much is offered and much is demanded, though students have a wide range of options from which to choose. All students are encouraged to find areas of life in which they can make a mark and develop the confidence which is necessary for their personal growth. The programme includes: traditional sports, outdoor pursuits, hobbies, art and craft, music, drama and community service (cited in the research boarding school's student handbook).

### **The composition of the school's council and staff**

The school's website explained that the research boarding school was legally constituted as a company limited by guarantee. While the school did not have shareholders in the corporate sense, it had a number of stakeholders in the form of parents, staff, students, old scholars, members of the school's foundation and many others who supported it in so many ways. The Council was responsible for the overall governance of the school, the setting of strategic direction, the review of plans and budgets established by School Management and the monitoring of performance against those plans and budgets. The Council to the Principal delegates responsibility for the operation and administration of the School.

The major Committees that worked under the aegis of the Council included the Executive Committee, Finance and Audit Committee, Assets Management Committee, External Relations and Development Committee and the Human Resources Committee. In addition, there are Advisory Committees for all four campuses, a Scholarships and Bursaries Committee and a Nominating Committee. The full Council normally meets once every term an abridged meeting was held in the months when there was no Council Meeting. The other Committees normally meet at least once each term prior to the Council meeting.

The Council comprised 18 individuals. Three of these positions were *ex officio*, held by The Archbishop of Melbourne, the Archdeacon of the local diocese and the President of the Old Scholars' Association. This Council was responsible for the overall management of the School's welfare and was similar to a Board of Directors. Of these members of Council seven were old scholars. The other members of Council were drawn from staff at the Universities and parents of current and past students at the School, with some who have not been parents.

Council members included a Chartered Accountant who was an old scholar and a current and past parent at the School who joined Council in 1991, was appointed Chairman of Council in 1997, and chaired the Nominating Committee. A female member of the Council was a past parent at the School and joined the Council in 1998. Another was a Banker who joined the Council in 1996 and chaired the Finance and Audit Committee; yet another was a Professorial Fellow of a residential college at a large internationally recognised University and joined the Council in 1999.

One of the female members of Council was a former Principal of an all girls' school, joined the Council in 1997, and was responsible for the scholarship and bursary committee. An ordained Priest was made a member of Council in and has served on it since 1995. A local Medical Practitioner and a current parent at the School joined the Council in 1998 and chaired the junior school Advisory Committee. Another female member of Council was a management consultant and joined the Council in 1998 and chaired the Human Resources committee

#### *The Principal (or Headmaster)*

The main function of Council was the appointment of an individual to the position of school Principal. This position was called "Headmaster" until 1993 when the name was altered to

Principal. Each successive Principal or Headmaster has brought his own "stamp" to the position. The function of the Principal was to act as the *pater scholaris* of the school. It was required that the incumbent be in charge of the day-to-day management of the school and he or she was responsible for the appointment of new academic staff.

It was significant that of the eleven Principals in the School's history, all have been male and confirmed members of the Anglican Church; one was descended from Edward the Confessor; two have been priests; one Principal was the son of the Archbishop of Canterbury; one was Australian and an old scholar of the school, another was a New Zealander (albeit a Cambridge Classics scholar) who became Headmaster of Eton in 1993. Six of these Principals had been granted degrees from Oxford and five from Cambridge. There has been only one Principal with any qualifications from an Australian University.

#### *The academic staff*

Table 4.1 *Gender balance of teaching staff* and table 4.2 *Academic qualifications of teaching staff*, gave an impression of the dynamic of the research boarding school's Common Room. Overall, there were 109 academic members of staff at the research boarding school. Over 90 per cent lived at the School; 60 were male academic members of staff and 49 female academic members of staff. Of these staff three were old scholars.

All members of the academic staff held diplomas or degrees related to teaching. In 2000 three members of staff held Doctorates, 27 members of staff held Masters Degrees from various Universities, including Adelaide, Cambridge, Deakin, Harvard, Melbourne, Monash, Oxford, New England and Sydney. The majority of staff held Bachelor Degrees or higher in their respective

fields of specialisation, which included Arts, Economics, Engineering, Science and Education. (Data were obtained from the academic staff list published in the school magazine.)

Each member of the academic staff of the School, besides their academic teaching responsibilities, were pastoral and academic tutors in one of the nine boarding Houses or two day Houses at the School. All members of staff coached at least one sport during the year and were involved in the extensive co-curricular activities programme at the school. On average, members of staff involved in boarding were "on duty" from 6.45am until 10.00pm in Middle School and until 11.00pm in Senior School. Staff were required to take part in weekend duty – which began at 7.00 am and concluded at 11.00pm on Saturday and Sunday. During this time, the member of staff was expected to be in the boarding House at all times.

As well as the academic staff, the ancillary staff were vital for the running of the school community. In each House there was a resident "Matron" whose responsibilities included the general welfare of students under her care – but also the distribution of medication, the maintenance of the House, organization of laundry and provision for supper for students in their House. In Senior School there were nine Houses each having a student population of about 65-70 students between years 10-12 aged 15-18 year-old. Each House was run by the Head of House who was resident and lived adjacent to the building that students.

All Heads of House were members of the academic staff and acted *in loco parentis* for the students in their care. An Assistant Head of House and three tutors supported the Heads of House. In most cases, the Assistant Head of House was resident in a flat joining the boarding House. All tutors in

Table 4.1 *Gender balance of teaching staff (n = 109)*

Gender	Number
Female	49
Male	60
Total	109

Table 4.2 *Academic qualification of teaching staff*

Degree (n = 109)	Number of degrees / diplomas
<b>Australian Universities</b>	
Ph.D.	3
Masters	18
Bachelor	72
Bachelor (Honours)	25
Diploma	54
<b>Oxbridge Universities</b>	
Masters	10
Bachelor	2
Bachelor (Honours)	1
Diploma	2
<b>American Universities (Harvard)</b>	
Masters	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>109</b>

the House were members of the academic staff and shared equally the responsibility for officially being on duty.

On occasion, some Houses were assigned a “gap” student from overseas. These were usually 18-year-old graduates from secondary schools in England with which the research boarding school has had some connection. These assistants were not full members of the academic staff and whilst on duty they were always “shadowed” by a full academically qualified member of staff to provide appropriate support and guidance for the care of young adolescents.

### **The significance of the “House” in the research boarding school**

Chapter 1 established that the research boarding school was made up of nine senior boarding Houses. There were two co-educational day-boarding Houses. There were no fully co-educational boarding Houses at the school. The boarding House represented one of the most significant aspects of life in the research boarding school. In many instances the students’ memoirs indicated in chapters 5 and 6 that they identified more closely with the House unit than with the school itself.

Each House was managed by the Head of House, who was a full time member of the academic staff who was responsible for the pastoral and academic well being of all students under his or her care. In the majority of cases, Heads of House were married with families. However, there were three Heads of senior Houses who were unmarried or divorced. None of the Houses had exactly the same type of House structure and it was also found that individual Houses varied in tone according to the personalities of the Heads of House. Each Head of House was supported by an Assistant Head of House and a team of tutors and a Matron. Usually at least one of these tutors was resident within the boarding House along with the Head of House and matron.



Allocation of students in Houses was completed according to the demand and supply for places in the school and the ability for the plant itself to sustain various fluctuations in student population. There was an attempt to achieve an ethnic balance between overseas and local students in each of the boarding Houses so that not all overseas students would be placed in the same House. The rationale behind this allocation was to ensure that the population and ethnic diversity of all Houses were similar. Students who were able to show some particular family connection to a House were generally given preference. Hence, it was not unusual to find that a boy or girl was in the same House as their brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers or grandparents.

Houses were an important organisational and motivational force throughout the school. For example boys and girls competed against each other in organised inter-House sporting competitions. Each House had teams for the various summer and winter sports such as tennis, hockey, football, soccer, rugby, rowing, netball and basketball. Each of these teams had a Captain appointed from within the House, usually by the Head of House. The Captain was a position of significant responsibility and prestige.

Inter-House competitions were not limited only to sport. Inter-House debating, art and House music competitions were held each year. The House music competition, with House athletics and swimming, was one of the clearest symbols of House unity. In the case of the House music, the members of the House formed a massed choir under the direction of one of the House Music Captains who conducted pieces for the various inter-House music trophies.

As in the schools described by Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b) and Lambert's (1968a) studies, the significance of these inter-House competitions was not only supported by the students,

but by the Heads of House themselves, who became very involved in the preparations. Consequently, the silver trophies that adorned or did not adorn the House common room were reminders of the success or otherwise of the House.

*Everyday life at the research boarding school and the formal academic curriculum*

Table 4.3 *A student's day at the research boarding school*, outlined the general timetable of a student in Senior School and provided an impression of the schedule kept by the majority of students at the research boarding school during a week. The core academic timetable for a student at the research boarding school was comparable to other schools. There were six 50 minutes lessons per day in a five-day teaching week. The majority of these lessons occurred throughout the day after Chapel one week-day morning. However, there was a distinct level of flexibility, choice of subjects and the ability to change the timetable according to the demands of the school year, which was one of the major advantages of a boarding education.

In the Primary and Middle Schools students followed a curriculum established by the School, which fulfilled the aims and objects of the Curriculum Frameworks Standards specified by the Federal Government. Middle School boarders studied Art, Divinity, English, Geography, History, French or Japanese, Mathematics, Music, Science, Health and Physical Education and Theatre Studies.

In the Senior School students were able to choose from two systems of formal education: the Victorian Certificate in Education (VCE), or the International Baccalaureate Diploma (IB). Both the Certificate and the Diploma programmes prepared students for possible entrance to universities in Australia and overseas. Here students were able to choose from a wide range of subjects such as:

Art, Biology, Chemistry, Divinity, English, Literature, Geography, History (Australian, Revolutions, International Studies, Classical Civilization and Societies), Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Spanish, Mathematics (Further, Specialist, and University), Music (Solo and Ensemble), Health and Physical Education, Visual Communications and Design, Ceramics, Painting.

Academic work continued outside of the timetable's classroom lessons. Work was set for the evening "prep session" in the core academic subjects at Middle School level and all subjects in the Senior School. "Prep" was the expression used for preparation, where students worked for fixed time silently in the evening. The length of prep varied slightly from House to House, however the majority of students would spend at least one and a half hours per night studying. Certainly not all students would sit quietly and work during prep, however it was seen that the majority of students take this study period seriously and attempt to complete the majority of their work to the best of their ability.

As part of the enrolment process students were issued with the *Students' Statement of Commitment*, which formally articulated the values of the students at the research boarding school. This statement was first written by a group of school prefects with members of staff in 1996 and has since been reviewed annually.

The students' timetable was predominantly academic, while compulsory activities and games after school each night of the week countered the serious academic programme of the school. Subjects at the research boarding school were taught according to the individual eccentricities of staff, although the majority of teaching approaches at the school could be described as conservative "chalk and talk".

Table 4.3 *A student's day at the research boarding school*

WEEKDAYS	
6.20am	Bell rings – get up, shower, and make bed.
7.00am	Roll Call – Dorm inspections completed by staff member on duty
7.15am	Breakfast
7.45am	Return to House to complete House jobs
8.00am	Morning Prep. in House
8.40am	Chapel
9.00am	Classes commence
10.40am	Morning tea – students return to Houses
11.10am	Classes commence
12.50pm	Lunch in Dining Hall – meetings, Choir practice
1.50pm	Classes
3.30pm	Classes end
4.00pm	Sport (Monday, Wednesday and Thursday) or Activities (Tuesdays and Fridays)
5.00pm	Sport or Activities end – return to House change into formal School uniform.
5.30pm	Dinner begins (1 <sup>st</sup> session)
6.00pm	Dinner (2 <sup>nd</sup> session)
7.00pm	Evening Assembly in the Houses and roll call
7.15pm	First prep begins
9.00pm	Second prep ends – move to Dormitories
10.00pm	Bed – lights out
10.15pm	Year 11 lights out.
10.30pm	Year 12s may put themselves to bed.
SATURDAY	
6.30am	Early breakfast
6.45am	Buses for sport begin to leave for the city
7.00am	Roll call
7.15-8.00	Breakfast in the dining hall
12.30pm	Lunch
1.30pm	Free time
5.30-	Dinner in the dining hall
6.20pm	
7.15pm	1 <sup>st</sup> evening roll call in Houses
10.15pm	2 <sup>nd</sup> evening roll call in Houses
10.30pm	Bed – lights out
SUNDAY	
8.20am –	Breakfast in the dining hall
9.00am	
10.00-	Chapel
11.00am	
12.00pm	Luncheon in the dining hall
5.30pm	Roll call in the Houses
6.45pm	2 <sup>nd</sup> Chapel – Benediction (for those returning from exeat)
7.00pm	Prep. Session
9.00pm	Support
10.30pm	Lights out

The students of this school believe that all members of the community should give individuals the freedom to grow and develop to their full potential. Freedom to develop is grounded in three kinds of respect: respect for oneself, respect for others and respect for the school. Respect holds the key to a friendly and flourishing environment in which staff and students alike can live and work in such a way that full potential can be realised.

Respect for oneself: the development of one's full potential requires an attitude of self-discipline. This is a mental and physical state enabling one to make the most of all opportunities available. Through self-discipline, one achieves a sense of self-respect.

Respect for others: in order to mature, develop, and acquire a sense of self-worth, people need to be encouraged to strive. This demands respect and consideration for their beliefs, feelings, and property - especially important in a school with a range of cultural backgrounds.

Respect for the school: school property should be used and maintained so that all individuals benefit from it. Respect for the rules and decisions of the school are necessary for a healthy and enjoyable atmosphere where students can learn. Honesty and consideration towards the staff and school authority leads to respect for student opinion. A compatible working relationship allows each member of the school community to flourish (cited in the students' handbook).

These three principles formed the basis of the official staff-approved student position on their rôle in the school and their attitude towards their school and each other. It was possible to see similarity between these sentiments and the basis of a liberal education.

### *Harassment, victimisation and bullying*

As with many institutions, the research boarding school had a specific "harassment, victimisation and bullying" procedure for students (and staff). This policy was under review in 2004 to ensure that it was an effective form of preventative and proactive approach to this issue and was broadened to include policies on heterosexual and same sex sexual activity amongst students, bullying and harassment, self-harm amongst students, students suffering from depression, students with anorexia or anorexia-bulimia. All academic staff were required to read and sign a form indicating that they were aware, understood and willing to implement these policies.

The basis of any discussion about bullying revolved around the concept of community in the school and the importance that was attached to the idea that all members of the school community had the right to feel safe as a member of the community. The school's position on bullying and sexual harassment was that it took place in schools and that it was the community's responsibility to ensure that it did not occur in the research boarding school. If it did, it was also the responsibility of the community to ensure that serious steps were taken to ensure that it was reported and discussed with staff members and students at the school. The school handbook summarised the institution's attitude:

The key to a good school, in fact any community, is the existence of good relationships. We have over the years developed a reputation of being a school which is caring, where a variety of personalities can grow and feel free to express themselves, without fear of ridicule and without detriment to others. The vast majority of our community interact in a positive and thoughtful manner. However, like any school, we do experience problems, and it is important that we all realise behaviour that involves harassment, victimisation or bullying of any form between individuals, or between individual groups and individuals, is socially unacceptable and will not be tolerated in any part of the school. All members of our school community (staff, both academic and non-academic, students and parents) must share the responsibility for contributing to, and ensuring an environment free of harassment, bullying and victimisation.

This means that it may sometimes be a responsible action to make a complaint on behalf of others. It is important that to reinforce positive relationships, we state unequivocally what is unacceptable behaviour. This policy document is for all members of our community and is an attempt to create a better understanding of the issues involved and thus further improve the situation (cited in the students' handbook).

#### *Other aspects of the total institution*

Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, pp.29-30) believed that "the primary difference between British public school graduates and American prep school graduates is that while the former are trained to parade their eliteness publicly, the latter are trained to disguise their eliteness". They argued that the American prep schools hide the eliteness because it is an affront against democracy. Where does this leave the Australian research school? If the researcher agreed that

the origin of the school's tradition was a colonial reinterpretation of an English tradition, it suggested that the distinct uniforms of the school were elite.

As part of the "inculcation" process into the school's culture, the institution maintained its own official uniform list for both boys and girls at the school. Davidson (1990, p.10) noted that "small but significant distinctions in uniform broadcast rank within a school [...] just as scholars have been traditionally favoured with insignia or gowns, so team members parade their silks and colours. Prefects wear their distinctive ties loosely knotted [...] spectacular arms with Latin mottos [...] denote lineage that is sometime recondite".

Uniform was worn during all official class times throughout the year and was divided into "formal" and "House" wear. It was necessary for girls and boys to wear a formal uniform known amongst the school's population as "number 1s" on official days as indicated in the school's calendar.

The school's handbook determined the dates that specific uniforms were to be worn. For example, winter dress was compulsory from the start of second term until 1<sup>st</sup> September. It may be worn at other times unless summer dress was required. In particularly hot weather, blazers may be declared as "optional" for dinner and thereafter. A jumper may not be worn without a blazer in this circumstance and the blazer should remain on whilst dining. Time at the school was designated as either formal or informal days and hence it influenced the type of uniform students would wear. The school defined the formal days when "number 1s" were worn as:

- Sunday Chapel;
- APS Senior Regatta – Saturday;
- Combined Sports;
- APS Swimming;
- Sporting fixtures away from the School;
- Speech Day;

- Founders' and Benefactors' Day Service and Dinner;
- Any other occasion the school designated as a formal occasion.

Unlike the majority of Australian Independent schools, the research boarding school also had a separate uniform for each of the Senior School Houses. This was so all students could be readily and easily identified with their House. Each student wore a House jumper, blazer and tie in their respective House colour. Therefore, because of the uniform code at the school there were two "official" uniforms.

Students who were awarded House, school, academic, sporting or non-sporting colours were granted the privilege of having a symbol embroidered on their School blazer. For example, a laurel wreath identified the school prefect, colours for cricket by a cricket bat, colours for debating with an owl. Whilst the uniform represented one of external symbols of school unity Goffman (1961, 1969) believed it represented "the dis-culturation of an individual".

The following customs and practices were observed at the School:

- silence was observed in the cloisters; and in the Chapel before a service begins;
- silence was observed in the Library;
- the Quadrangle and Small Quadrangle were walking areas only;
- students did not to walk across ovals or lawns.

These traditions, in particular the tradition of silence, were pivotal in maintaining the aesthetic values of the research boarding school, as defined by the architecture. Various parts of the school were understood as mystical or possessing particular traditional qualities that demanded respect; such as the Chapel and the War Memorial cloisters.

#### *General rules for day-to-day life in an organised community*

Some of the more general rules and expectations about students' behaviour included the following:



- Students must respect the property of others and the School.
- Students may not go beyond School bounds without the permission of their Head of House.
- Students may not smoke nor bring tobacco into the School.
- Students who are in the company of smokers or smell of smoke are deemed to be smokers in the eyes of the School.
- Students may not bring alcohol into the School nor have it in their possession nor consume it. Students may not enter licensed premises (e.g. hotels) unless in the care of a parent/guardian.
- Students may not use or possess illicit drugs. A copy of the School's policy on drugs was sent to all parents and guardians.
- Students may not break the limits of propriety or territory in the matter of sexual behaviour. This means for example that students (and students who have recently left the School) may not enter the dormitory or sleeping areas of members of the opposite sex.
- Students may not retain live ammunition or firearms. Any brought to the School must be stored in the magazine or armoury. Only those with a current Victorian Shooter's Licence or permit may fire on School Shooting Trips. There is to be no shooting on School property.
- Students may not drive a motor vehicle on School property nor to or from school without the permission of the Head of Senior School. On exeat, students may drive only with permission of their Head of House or their parents. Students may be a passenger in or on a motor vehicle only when the driver is a person approved by parents or the Head of House.
- Boarders may not be outside the House between 7pm and 7am without the permission of the Head of House.
- The only earrings which are permitted to be worn by girls are a single pair of studs or sleepers. Boys may not wear earrings at any time. Apart from a wristwatch, no other jewellery may be worn.
- Tattoos are not permitted (cited in the students' handbook).

### *Discipline and Punishment*

What happened in the circumstance where a student broke one or more of the rules as defined by the school? There were a number of options available to the school. However, the system of "detentions" was the most common form of punishment. In the research boarding school detentions were particularly onerous for many students. This was because they were generally completed during a student's free time. Some times it was possible that a student was not granted leave from the school because of the number of detentions he or she had received. There were three types of

detentions at the school including the fact that any absence from classes automatically received two hours by the Head of House.

Labour detentions were given for non-academic offences, which included lateness to class or activities, bad language, class disruption, rudeness, dress, littering, etc. House offences should attract House jobs or detentions rather than School detentions. Labour detentions were completed on Friday evenings (5-6pm) or Sunday afternoons. Those who completed Sunday labour detentions were required to wear a hat, sunglasses and appropriate protective clothing from the sun.

Classroom detentions were given for offences that related directly to academic work: for example work not done after a clear deadline has passed, work of a standard below reasonable expectations for a particular student, or they may be given in order to help a student catch up with work that has been missed. Classroom detentions were done on Saturday evenings (7.15pm – 9.15pm) but Day-boarders only may do them on Friday evening (6.15pm – 8.15pm).

In very serious cases, it was possible for a student to be suspended from the school for a period. Suspension was a very serious consequence. Students were only suspended when other methods of detention were exhausted or the student has committed an offence that violated the trust expected of individuals in a residential community. Any student who has been suspended may be put on Probation until the right to removal from the Probation List has been earned. Any serious offence committed while on Probation can lead to a student being asked to leave the School. It was also possible that a student may commit an offence that warrants him or her being asked to leave

the school. Into that category comes any gross interference with others or their property, involvement with illicit drugs or breaking the limits of propriety and territory in sexual behaviour.

### **Overview**

This chapter outlined the structure of the research boarding school and the present study. Goffman's classification (1961, 1969) of a "total institution" was applied to the characteristics of the research boarding school. Then the chapter outlined the structure of the school. Chapter 5 will consider the theoretical framework, research implications and limitations of humanistic sociology as established by Znaniecki, which has been developed by Smolicz for the study of an ethnically plural society such as Australia. This chapter will consider the particular theoretical implications of the memoir method that became the hallmark of Znaniecki's sociology and its practical implications for the sociologist. In writing the conceptual framework for this study, the researcher examined Smolicz's classification for personal and group social systems and the work of Goffman, Feyerabend, Kuhn, Kłoskowska and Secombe.

## CHAPTER 5

### ZNANIECKI'S MEMOIR METHOD AND HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY

In the eyes of the sociologist, the individual and his milieu represent one unity. This means, firstly, that an individual, from a sociological point of view, is not a complex of experiences with their own independent existence but that such experiences exist [...] only to the extent to which the subject is aware of them [...] Secondly, the social milieu does not interest a sociologist – for its own sake; he is not at all concerned to recreate faithfully and objectively from the point of view of some ideal impartial observer; on the contrary, his aim is to take it as it appears to the given individual himself as he lives and acts within it – that aim is to understand what such a milieu represents to this individual [...] in what way the objects which comprise it enter into his conscious personality (Znaniiecki 1924 cited in Smolicz 1999, p.302).

In this chapter the theoretical framework of Florian Znaniiecki's humanistic sociology will be discussed. Humanistic sociology was the method developed by Thomas and Znaniiecki for the interpretation of personal documents such as letters, diaries and memoirs (Hałas 1998, p.8). This approach it will demonstrate is most applicable for the analysis of cultural and concrete data collected from the memoirs of the respondents who took part in this study of an Australian co-educational boarding school which will be discussed in chapters 7-10.

#### **Florian Znaniiecki and the development of humanistic sociology**

Humanistic sociology or the sociology of *Verstehen* was the name given to the particular orientation of sociological investigation developed by the Polish-American sociologist Florian Znaniiecki (1882-1958). Hałas (1998, p.8) observed that Znaniiecki's cultural sociology "binds Emile Durkheim's systematic vision of society together with the interactionism of Georg Simmel and the historical approach of the Weber brothers – Alfred and Max" (Helle 2000, p.149, Smolicz 1999, pp. 292-296).

Znaniiecki's early sociological writing was concerned with the problem of values and lead him to develop the theories associated with the humanistic tradition of data interpretation and the

epistemological search for a language and methodology that could be used to analyse sociological data of the human world. Hence, this theoretical approach developed by Znaniecki was a result of a juxtaposition of analysis between the natural and the cultural sciences. Znaniecki's aim was to develop a bridge between these two areas of science that saw social facts just as human agents saw them.

In 1913, Znaniecki made the acquaintance of the American sociologist, William I. Thomas. Thomas introduced Znaniecki to his area of study, which was the difficulties faced by Polish migrants in America, especially those who lived in Chicago and Detroit. Sympathising with Znaniecki's position Thomas suggested that he should apply for a position at the University of Chicago in the United States. After being successful in his application for an academic position, in 1914 Znaniecki moved to Chicago and commenced his work in collaboration with William I. Thomas on *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, which comprised five volumes and was published in 1918-20.

*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* included Znaniecki's famous *Methodological Note* (Dulczewski 2000, pp.225-227). During this period, Znaniecki published his first work in English, *Cultural Realities*, which consolidated the theories that ultimately lead to a "humanistic approach" to the sociological interpretation of data. From 1932-1968 Znaniecki was visiting professor at Columbia University in the Department of Sociology, headed by Robert M. McIver.

He published *The Method of Sociology* (1968), which crystallized the theoretical approach he developed for the analysis of autobiographical writings, or memoirs, originally outlined in the *Methodological Note*. During the Second World War Znaniecki became professor of sociology at the University of Illinois. Znaniecki's early publications concentrated on philosophy and the majority

of works were written in Polish. Bauman (2000, pp.71-73) believed that this affected his reputation in the West, as only his later academic output from the University of Illinois was written in English (Hałas 1998, pp.7-9).

Humanistic sociology stressed that an investigator should accept human values and activities as facts, just as human agents themselves accepted them (Smolicz 1999, p.283). Secondly, social and cultural activity must be accepted from the point of view of the participants themselves, and not from that of an outside observer (Znaniecki 1968, p.viii). From Znaniecki's "point of view" humanistic sciences and the social sciences were concerned with the phenomenon of culture and not necessarily with the phenomenon of nature. Furthermore, Znaniecki asserted that one of the distinctive aspects of cultural phenomenon was its connection with human consciousness (Adamski 1982a, pp.95-116; 1982b).

Helle (2000, p.151) argued that Znaniecki's interpretation of culture was based on:

- a non-dualist epistemology;
- a perspectivist concept of reality;
- the philosophy of life and emotion;
- pragmatism and evolutionism.

Znaniecki understood that the world was an "undivided whole". This "whole" was interpreted from many different points of view, as there were many human agents who constituted the cultural world. This position placed Znaniecki in opposition to Plato and Descartes who concluded that reality could be divided into "two separate realms (philosophical and dualism)". As Znaniecki asserted in *Cultural Sciences*:

The stone, the tree, the painting, the legal institution, the scientific theory, are primary historical objects as far as the content of each of them is simply the totality of that which

various individuals at various moments have actually experienced when these objects were given in various concrete connections (Znaniecki 1963, p.344).

Therefore, Znaniecki's position was based in "the domain of ideas" which had a "dignity of its own" and hence the position of humanistic sociology was strongly against positivism which argued that ideas reflected reality (Helle 1983, p.230). Helle wrote if "*Verstehen*" sociology insisted on taking "the domain of ideas" seriously it had to be aware of the "mental process of cognition" and the influence which its "specific dynamics" had on the interpretation of the data collected.

Smolicz (1979, 1999) overview of the humanistic approach supported Helle's observation further and explained that if terms such as "bow", "revolution", "tool" and "priest" possessed meaning they had to be placed in the context of "human consciousness". Otherwise, these would not be understood, as the human agents who employed these terms used them. For example, a "priest" was more than a person ordained to perform religious ceremonies, just as a "tool" was not only a piece of sharpened metal depending upon the cultural circumstance of each.

#### *The humanistic coefficient*

Dulczewski (2000, p.228) noted that Thomas and Znaniecki believed that there was an "urgent need to define the object and method of social theory that would be able to satisfy the modern requirements of social practice, and then to develop [...] a rational social technique which would help to effectively deal with and solve the problems of the modern world". Thereby, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* established the diction required for analysis in humanistic sociology.

The humanistic sociologist was interested in different types of material objects and their physical properties. However, these objects did not interest the sociologist by themselves. Ossowski (1963, p.343) observed that, "changes in the size, location and shape of human settlements are not a subject matter of the social sciences as long as they are treated in the same way as the formation of sand dunes and volcanic rocks, i.e. as long as their functional connection with human consciousness was not involved. A banknote may become an object of sociological study only if someone was interested in the interpretation of what was written upon it. No social institution, no social group, and no social process can be developed without reference to human consciousnesses."

The humanistic approach required an investigator to analyse completely a cultural milieu in order to appreciate the experiences of an individual and the collective at a particular point in time. The objective was to understand the rôle of a human agent in a cultural setting. Humanistic sociology imposed specific methods of structure upon nature in order to interpret such material.

Mokrzycki (1971) stated that such structures appeared in ways, which seemed to make very little sense at all, from the point of view of the natural sciences. For example, the terms used to describe social phenomenon such as "church", "sculpture", "Head Master", from the point of view of the natural sciences differed in a capricious manner.

Smolicz (1999) argued that because of the "humanistic structuralisation" of natural phenomenon the sociologist examined these "things" with what Znaniecki called the "humanistic coefficient". The humanistic coefficient defined how human agents viewed the natural phenomenon of the cultural world from the point of view of human consciousness at a certain point in time. For example, as



Smolicz (1999) observed a game of tennis interpreted in behaviouristic tradition appeared to be a series of movements between two people hitting a round shaped yellow object over a net.

However, taking into account the humanistic coefficient, these movements would form part of the "game of tennis", with its particular set of rules and expected code of behaviour. Similarly, a blade of grass, from the behaviourist point of view was described as a species of grass. However, to the humanistic sociologist the grass formed part of a field of wheat grown to support an industry established by a social system.

Empirical-styled sociologists based their research on empirical data, as do natural scientists. However, Znaniecki (1963, p.132) believed that, "in contrast with the natural scientist, who seeks to discover an order among empirical data entirely independent of conscious human agents, the student of culture seeks to discover any order among empirical data which depends upon conscious human agents, which was produced, and maintained by them. To perform this task he takes every empirical datum, which he investigates with what we have called the humanistic coefficient, i.e. as it appears to those human individuals who experience it and use it." Therefore, natural objects had a meaning in culture, which may be different from the understanding of a group of people (Smolicz 1999).

Znaniecki expounded that as the special characteristics of various cultural systems was analysed it was necessary that an investigator take part in the experience and activity of the particular people. This method, when applied to both individual and collective social systems, helped the researcher to appreciate and understand their experiences. Therefore, for the humanistic sociologist, it was essential that the data collected in a cultural system be from the consciousness of the historical

subjects themselves as they experienced and dealt with the day-to-day issues and problems of a particular cultural system at that time.

The major sources of cultural data used by Znaniecki in order to achieve this included the analysis of memoirs and autobiographical writings. Znaniecki believed that, "in a word, cultural data are always somebody's, never nobody's data". Therefore, it was considered essential that in the reconstruction and analysis of cultural data it was necessary to ensure that the investigator understood that data always belonged to somebody never nobody. This was because it always existed in the consciousness or memory of the agents who were seen as the objects in the theoretical exercise of cultural reflection and analysis.

The sociologist had to consider examining his or her own personal experiences, be cautious of the fact that his or her experiences have been placed in the context of social groups, and accept that they are not "pure, inquiring minds" (Smolicz 1999, p.285). Consequently, it was the use of the humanistic coefficient, which separated Znaniecki's approach to the interpretation of cultural data from that of the behaviourist tradition, which after the Second World War included many of his American contemporaries including Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes.

In *The Method of Sociology* Znaniecki (1968) reinforced the significance of an appropriate methodology for the interpretation of cultural data from human agents connected with an awareness of human consciousness. Znaniecki asserted that the humanistic coefficient had to be at the forefront of any humanistic sociological investigation. This made the humanistic coefficient the tool the investigator needed to employ to illustrate the difference between cultural and material systems in the world.

Znaniiecki clarified this application of the humanistic coefficient as part of the collection and interpretation of cultural data when he described natural objects as “things” and cultural objects as “values”. A “value” was said to differ from a “thing” in that it possessed both content and meaning. This distinction was juxtaposed with an empirical view of the world. Smolicz (1999, p.285) explained that a coin could illustrate this point. For example, a coin had a metallic quality, which may be interpreted in one way by the scientific world. However, the coin had “buying power” and an individual was able to purchase goods in the cultural world. Another example was a meteor, which had a scientific meaning from the point of view of an astronomer, but it could also have a cultural meaning, as did Halley’s Comet depicted in the *Bayeux Tapestry* at the time of the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066, when the population of England interpreted it as an omen.

Znaniiecki observed that connected with the separation of “things” and “values” was the issue of “objectivity” and “subjectivity” (Smolicz 1999). For instance, a “value” was as objective (or subjective) as a “thing”, for it was possible that meaning could be experienced and interpreted in many different ways by various human agents in different cultures and places.

Smolicz (1999) suggested that a wafer best illustrated this. During the Liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church, the wafer was consecrated by a priest at Mass and underwent transubstantiation, a meaning that was universally experienced by Roman Catholics and accepted throughout the Catholic world. A cultural experience such as this transformed a “thing” such as the wafer into a cultural “value” that was the “Body of Christ”, and demonstrated that material objects were able to become part of the human consciousness, and could be measured by the humanistic coefficient.

Znaniiecki (1968, p.164) argued that such experiences were connected to an individual consciousness that was associated with a collective consciousness. Therefore, these types of cultural experiences "do not come in isolation but are components of actively constructed systems [for example a religious system] and the activities constructing these systems can be formally repeated and functionally shared by anybody".

Nevertheless, Smolicz (1999) observed that Znaniiecki did not overlook the antithesis of this point of view. Sacred objects, such as the consecrated wafer, had their origins and meaning in mass mystification. However, the experience of an individual's reaction to the wafer was real. These experiences were documented and analysed from the point of view of cultural facts. This included, as Christian's (1991) study of late Medieval and Renaissance Apparitions of the Virgin Mary observed, the fact that visions, hallucinations and mystical experiences can occur to human agents as well. Znaniiecki (1968, p.42) believed that in this sense it was possible to see that these "things" were as "subjective" as values since the empirical test of the reality of both items involved individual experiences and this could be fallible.

Therefore, a "value" cannot be fully understood and investigated if divorced from the political, social, and linguistic system of the group that created it. Znaniiecki (1968, p.176) asserted "in no other field is this need of observing whole systems of values as manifest as in the sociological field. The failure to recognise the demands of such a holistic approach to the analysis of cultural data was the major flaw in the behaviourist tradition and its approach to the collection and analysis of data."

Smolicz (1999) observed that herein lay the fundamental weakness of the behaviourist position, when compared with the humanistic tradition. The behaviourist blurred the comparison of empirical evidence, which the student of biological behaviour and the student of cultural actions have at their disposal. The fundamental piece of evidence available to the empirical scientist was the human experience as revealed by the human agents themselves. Znaniecki noted that:

The action of speaking a sentence, writing a poem, making a horseshoe, depositing money, proposing to a girl, electing an official, performing a religious rite, as empirical datum, is what it is in the experience of the speaker and his listeners, the poet and his readers, the blacksmith and the owner of a horse to be shod, the depositor and the banker, the proposing suitor and the courted girl, the voter and the official whom they elect, the religious believers who participated in the ritual. The scientist who wants to study these actions inductively must take them as they are in the human experience of those agents and re-agents; they are his empirical data in as much and because they are theirs (Znaniecki 1969, p.221).

Therefore, cultural data of this nature was quite different from natural data. The researcher was able to make sense of this type of information when measured against the humanistic coefficient. Znaniecki (1968, p.137) believed that if the humanistic coefficient was not employed in the interpretation of this type of data then the description of natural "things" appeared as a disorganised and unintelligible mass of unrelated data, which an investigator had difficulty deciphering.

Znaniecki admitted that the humanistic coefficient in the analysis of cultural material was not always straightforward in application. The main flaw of the interpretation of a collective versus an individual consciousness documented in *The Methodology of Sociology* was the conflict that existed between the experiences of each individual respondent in a cultural system. Smolicz (1999) understood and concurred with Znaniecki (1968) that it was obvious that no two pieces of cultural data would be the same, as no two human agents would experience cultural phenomenon in the same manner.

Thus, another limitation of Znaniecki's methodology was that some participants misunderstood the intentions of a researcher who collected this type of data. Often, as in the case of an adolescent's response to cultural questionnaires, such as those collected in this study, some respondents felt that they should write what they ought to rather than providing a description of the experiences that actually occurred to them. Smolicz (1999, p.288) considered that these problems existed in the collection of data for cultural analysis, but not in the application of the humanistic coefficient *per se*.

One of the important instances where the humanistic coefficient was considered a significant strength in Znaniecki's approach to the collection and analysis of data were found when a cultural system was examined over an extended period. Znaniecki showed it was possible to collect cultural data, which could then be used to compare and contrast individual responses in order to identify the similarities and differences in cultural experiences. Hence, it was possible to conceive of a map that would illustrate the change in experiences in a particular set of human agents and his or her values from one generation to the next.

Smolicz indicated that Znaniecki believed that the individual was "only [...] a conscious agent [...] in so far as he is an organic body" (Znaniecki 1968, p.75). That was that an individual needed to be an active, conscious part of cultural development – rather than simply being there. To develop this further Smolicz (1999) understood that an individual who could vote in western democracy was a conscious human agent as far as that he or she made a conscious decision in the choice of the Government of their country. However, for Znaniecki, children and some incapacitated individuals were believed to be unable to act as effective human agents in this society because they were not actively organic "bodies". This is, of course, not necessarily the case when the contribution of an individual such as Stephen Hawking was considered.

Znaniiecki was also concerned with the analysis, transmission, or adaptation of tradition from one generation to another. This was one of Znaniiecki's theories that Smolicz has developed. Smolicz (1999, p.288) articulated that each generation maintained a particular cultural system by introducing or reinforcing certain aspects of or variations in traditions and values. The unique aspect of humanistic sociological theory prompted Znaniiecki (1968, p.76) to ask legitimately "how can we be sure whether a state or a religion found at an historical period is the same, or not the same, as the state or the religion which existed at a preceding period, particularly if several centuries elapsed between?"

The scientific point of view argued that various individuals, or certain systems, could, with careful scrutiny, be clearly identified from the position of an outsider. Smolicz in contrast believed that once this was achieved that it was possible to observe various traditions and rites, and this could then be compared and contrasted with the observation of them. Of course, the flaw with this interpretation was discovered when it was applied to movements in music, art and literature, when each creation – be it a poem, a fugue or a painting has its own significance in representing the values and attitudes of an age (Znaniiecki 1968; Smolicz 1999).

*Past, present and future in humanistic sociology*

Time past and time future  
 What might have been and what has been  
 Point to one end, which is always present (Eliot 2001, p.3).

In "Burnt Norton" one of *The Four Quartets* T.S.Eliot considered the plastic quality of time and memory (Eliot 2001, p.3). It was Znaniiecki's humanistic sociological tradition that alleged that meaning resides in human consciousness and its relationship with various forms of cultural data.

Naturally, this meaning locked in the humanistic coefficient linked with the experiences of the past - both individual and collective - and their interpretation of the present generation.

Therefore, the challenge for the humanistic sociologist was to be able to differentiate cultural items and phenomenology, which had been "created" or newly "discovered" (Smolicz 1999, p.289). The difficulty for the investigator was to deduce if a particular value was actually a "reinterpretation of former values", and formed part of a previous paradigm of thinking. Znaniecki believed that the humanistic coefficient gave the investigator the capacity to understand aspects of human motivation and behaviour in a human milieu.

Znaniecki (1968, p.78) observed, "the construction of a cultural system is mere reproduction of a system already in existence when it was intended to be such by the agent and taken to as such by either participants, even if the copy was very different from the original; it was the creation of a new system, when it was intended to be such and taken as such, even if the new system was exactly similar to another already existing".

Znaniecki stressed the significance of the community for the individual when he argued that cultural reality was only clearly defined when the conscious desire of individual human agents was considered in a collective setting. It was these desires that revealed the human consciousness and its ability to crystallise the concepts of values and traditions to any extent. In essence, a groups definition of cultural tradition and values was defined by a paradigm of thinking, which was passed to individuals from the previous generation such as in the case of a boarding school.



Smolicz (1999, pp.253-254) has observed that over the past thirty years Feyerabend (1970) and Kuhn (1969, 1970) have criticised the approach of modern scientists who have continued to accept given paradigms in scientific enquiry. This opinion corresponded with Znaniecki's stance on the significance of a community's capacity to preserve or dispense with various aspects of culture. Kuhn (1969, pp.174-210) thought that scientific communities, or collectives, determined what was accepted as progressive as opposed to traditional points of view, which were consequently taught and or respected in the scientific approach to education.

It was possible to see that these points paralleled the development and reinvention of various school curricula through the ages; where by more "progressive" approaches to learning were valued in contrast to previous theories (Kuhn 1969, pp.174-210). Furthermore, Kuhn believed that scientists restricted the potential interpretation of various forms of new data by the maintaining of previous paradigms of thinking that determined the manner in which they collected, viewed and interpreted data from the past. Kuhn argued that it was this approach that restricted the thinking of many contemporary scientists.

Therefore, the humanistic coefficient may be used outside the traditional realms of humanistic sociology to aid in the reinterpretation or the investigation of previous historical information. Znaniecki (1968, p.28) observed that, "a state after a revolution was still the same state, however changed, if its authorities and citizens treat it as such; it was not the same if they repudiate its identity".

This view may be applied to the political world, but it could equally be applied to the school as a cultural system. For example, various systems of education, which have in the past, seemed to be

the correct manner in which to teach, have been questioned. These new systems have to transfer various forms of officially sanctioned cultural data. For example, it was not uncommon for a student of French simply to learn a series of declensions to be able to identify the language being used (Smolicz 1999).

This method of linguistic pedagogy was replaced with the so-called "communicative" approach, which rejected the traditionalist paradigm of language acquisition that was dominated by rote learning to the acquisition of grammatical knowledge. The communicative approach was based on an immersion in the target language in order to help an individual understand the culture as well as the grammar / language being taught. Therefore, not only did the student learn the linguistic components of the language required for everyday communication, but also these were taught at varying degrees in conjunction with cultural phenomenon.

Smolicz (1999, p.291) concluded that any discussion of humanistic sociology must stress the autonomy of culture. In response to the criticism that Znaniecki's brand of sociology was "subjectivist" because humanistic sociology provided an investigator with a sample of cultural attitudes and not a definitive interpretation of it, Znaniecki continued to assert that his sociology was based in "irreducibility of cultural data to either objective natural reality or subjective psychological phenomena" (Znaniecki 1968, p.134). This was because Znaniecki believed that culture was an organic phenomenon that was open to change and reinvention. Therefore, when he rejected this point of view, Znaniecki refuted the dominant trend of psychological reductionism and reinforced the existence of cultural data "in [its] own right".

### Blumer's appraisal of Znaniecki's approach

Since the publication of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* in 1919, the use of personal documents, diaries, biographical material, and personal reflection as a source of sociological data has been the centre of much criticism. Blumer (1939, 1949) was the author of the first and most extensive critiques of this methodology. However, the majority of these criticisms have centred on the type of data collected by the humanistic sociologist and the limitations of personal documents for this purpose.

Criticism of the "biographical method" *per se* tended to support the paradigm of empirical research whilst noting the purported lack of "objectivity; lack of representativeness; and their lack of uniformity" in the biographical technique (Giza 1987, p.13). Other concerns have included the need to establish the authenticity of documents, as well as the significant point that they are not likely to be representative of any society, or any group within it.

Blumer summarised his evaluation:

*The Polish Peasant* was an extensive outline of a "methodology" essential to the study of social life and to develop an extensive social theory, primarily in the form of a system of social psychology and in the essentials of a sociology [...] Any one of these undertakings would have gained for the work a place of conspicuous importance; their totality explains the usual characterisation of the work as "monumental". The work exercises a profound influence in orienting social research amongst sociologists (Blumer 1949, pp.5-6).

The main criticism of Znaniecki's approach was the emphasis placed on the hopes and the aspirations of the respondents, and that it tended to be "reductionist" in approach. It was argued that the collection of data in this manner reduced information to a set of subjective points of view, which failed to relate to the social system and the social "process" as a whole.

Znaniiecki (1968, p.183) responded to this criticism in *The Method of Sociology*. He observed that a memoir “was an instrument of action and the same document as a source of information [...] autobiographic self-expression usually contains statements of facts, descriptions of behaviour of other people or of the author’s own activities. These are obviously not first-hand data for sociological observation, but alleged truth concerning the experience and observations of the author of the document who in stating them plays consciously or unconsciously the rôle not of social agent, but of observer.”

### **The school as a social system**

Znaniiecki (1998, p.200) believed that the school was an institution where it was necessary to provide individuals with the tools required to establish habits for life. Hence, in Znaniiecki’s eyes the school was to provide students with the tools to function in life once they had reached maturity. Thus, Znaniiecki’s theory was not economy-based but rather a values-based assertion.

Consequently, the reproductionist approach of education that emerged aimed to mould an individual to fit a “pre-existing model”. Znaniiecki (1998, p.46) compared the function of the Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., and “various organizations of young people connected with settlement Houses, with churches, with the Salvation Army” as being part of an example of this reproductionist or “formal education”. Znaniiecki refined this in *Education and Social Change* when he wrote:

[...] schools varying in composition, size, and complexity from the priestly schools of ancient Egypt to the modern American primary schools, secondary schools, colleges, and universities. These educational groups also differ in many respects, especially in their collective purposes, from such social groups as clubs, church political parties, legislative and executive governmental groups, military groups, industrial groups, business corporations,

labour unions – and yet there seem to be certain fundamental similarities in organization among all of them (Znaniński 1998, p.201).

Connected with this model of pedagogy was the rôle of the teacher in “formal education”. Znaniński (1998) asserted that the position of the teacher should be referred to as the educator and the student should be called the educand. He discussed the rôle of the educator, as one of having superiority over the educand who is subordinate in this cultural system.

From this perspective, the teacher was endowed with authority, which has been invested by the dominant authoritative culture of the school acting *in loco educatoris* (Znaniński 1998, p.49). Therefore, teachers transmit this culture through all aspects of their position. As Znaniński noted, “formal education” does not take place in a social system by itself, or in a vacuum. Education, he argued took place in a strict, regulated social system. Thus, Znaniński described the position of the educand in this social system when he wrote:

[...] as educand a child or youth, however great his level of standing, always has a lower hierarchical position than his educators, since in everything that pertains to his preparation for the future he is expected to subordinate himself personally to them (Znaniński 1998, p.51).

This was further refined in *Education and Social Change* where Znaniński argued that:

The duty of the educand is to subject himself to the direction of the educator and to follow the line of evolution imposed upon him. Since the educand cannot always be expected to understand his duty and be willing to fulfil it, the educator has means at his disposal by which he is supposed to develop in the educand the proper understandings and willingness (Znaniński 1998, p.372).

Znaniński’s theory of the subordination of the educand was based on the comparison of the educational structures of Europe and America and his extensive understanding of family hierarchy through his studies of the Polish people. Znaniński also connected the inhibition of the individual creative spirit in educational circles in favour of “direction” which educators “feel bound to give to every objective interest the educand shows” and that the progress of the educand is determined by

the educand's success at learning what the educator expects of them. This, Znaniecki argued, was the main point at which "self-education" began to decay and did not allow for the individual spontaneity of the spirit to sing (Znaniecki 1998, pp. 38-40, 201-208).

Despite Znaniecki's extensive writings in Polish and in English, it appeared that he did not have the opportunity to analyse the structure of a boarding school. Although these existed in Poland during his youth run predominantly by the Catholic Church, the Communist regime disabled these in favour of State Education. Similarly the Academies and Prep Schools of the United States might have provided Znaniecki with an alternative educational environment which to apply his theory of the educand's "reflective self" – however, this did not eventuate.

Therefore, as Znaniecki (1998, pp.200-201) clearly asserted, the process of interaction between the educator and the educand can discover that the actions that take place between them are "culturally patterned and socially regulated". Znaniecki further stated that there are "inner-individual educational relations [which] may be integrated into more complex educational systems".

He then noted that the educand forms the centre of a circle of people "who are all interested in educating him and divide the various duties of 'formal education' among themselves, as when members of a large family – mother, father, grandparents, and other adult relatives – share the task of educating a boy [...]". Znaniecki called this inter-connected "social relations between an individual" the *social rôle*. Znaniecki noted that each educand and educator had defined rôles within their respective circles and were responsible for the exchange between them. Furthermore, Znaniecki (1998) noted that in every society:

- there are relatively large, long-lasting social groups united by common cultural bonds, which continually recruit new members from the young generation.
- in every society, there is some functional differentiation of occupational rôles which is considered necessary for the continued existence of the society.

### Smolicz on personal and group social systems

In their study of the American boarding school, Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.21) alleged, "what holds the upper class together is not only wealth and power, but shared beliefs and shared lives. A sense of collective identity, however, does not develop naturally; it must be forged out of actual encounters." Smolicz asserted that:

[...] each national or ethnic group has its own more or less unique set of cultural and social systems, which we refer to as group cultural systems to distinguish them from personal systems which individual members construct for themselves to meet their special situation in life. The personal cultural system can, therefore, be regarded as a mediator between the culture of the *group* and the private world of the *individual* (Smolicz 1999, p.125).

Smolicz (1979, pp.143-65; 1999, pp.139-57) developed his theory for the classification of personal and group social systems based on the work of Cooley (1909) and Gordon (1964, p.32). Smolicz believed that an individual constructed their personal systems to solve the everyday problems of existence, and that the quality of their lives were dependent upon the accessibility of group cultural settings. Smolicz developed the personal and group cultural theory to extend to the study of ethnically plural societies.

Smolicz noted that an individual's ideological values could also be influenced, by his or her personality and life experiences. Therefore, from a humanistic perspective, individuals do have an influence upon their own destiny, actions and thoughts. Hence, no sociological explanation would be satisfactory if it omitted the active human consciousness. Nevertheless, the element though

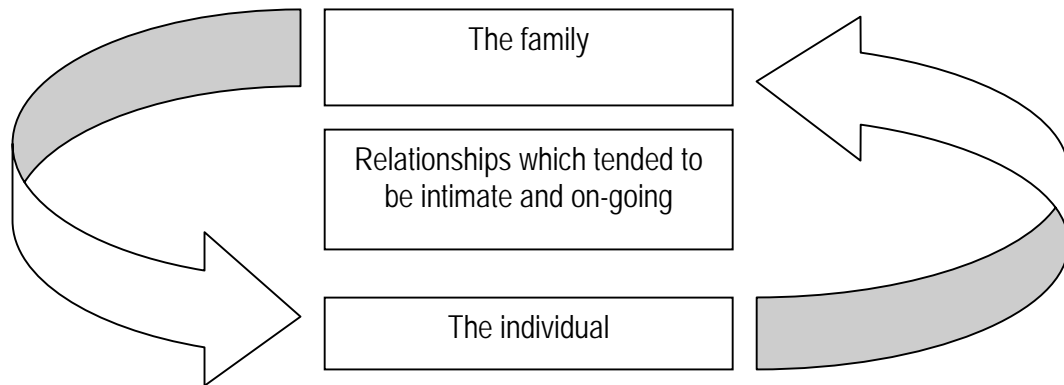
which an individual would be able to exercise personal choice would be determined by their individual circumstance.

Bierstedt (1969) noted that for Znaniecki "consciousness" was not a phenomenon of which an individual was fully aware, and that an individual may be unable to articulate the particular reasons for his or her actions, but it symbolised a "state of mind" in which individuals were aware that they were performing one action rather than another. Znaniecki does not refer to individuals as human subjects, but as "actors", which inferred that people were ultimately responsible for their own actions and had the capacity to evaluate given situation in their own unique manner.

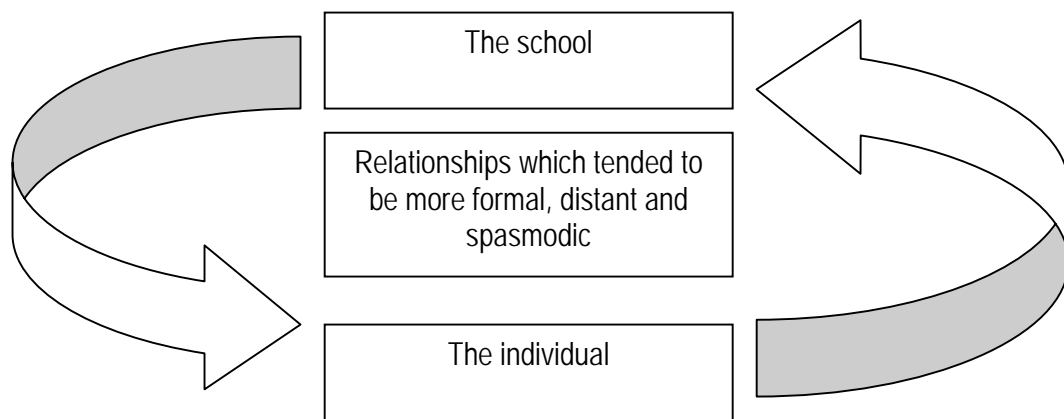
Znaniecki's assertion suggested that not every individual was capable of altering his or her personal circumstance, nor the history of a whole nation. Smolicz (1999, p.126) also believed "not everyone can be Napoleon". However as he clarified, the scale may have been different but the principle remained. It was possible to trace the individual's consciousness and cultural group, which gave rise to a cultural growth and a dynamic view of culture, which was not found in the behaviourist and determinist orientations of sociology.

Therefore, Smolicz noted that an individual was able to activate group values in a culture. He argued that individuals were able to construct personal systems within the limits established by the group value system. Znaniecki (1963, p.265) pointed towards Smolicz's theoretical achievement, which he has termed a group ideological system, when he wrote that the group system "does not eliminate difference between individual attitudes, yet by subjecting all these attitudes to a common





**Figure 5.1** The cycle of primary group systems values of the respondents at the research boarding school according to Smolicz's (1979, 1999) model for the classification of social systems.



**Figure 5.2** The cycle of secondary group systems values according to Smolicz's (1979, 1999) model for the classification of social systems.

criteria of validity it superimposes upon them what may well be called the same ideal type, which all of them presumably approximate". Smolicz (1999, p.126) crystallised this and proposed, "In other words, personal cultural systems of group members have an evident family resemblance which can be explained by the fact that they are all derived from the same cultural stock".

Thus, as seen in Table 5.1 *Classifications of social systems* and summarised by Figure 5.1 *The cycle of primary group systems values of the respondents at the research boarding school according to Smolicz's (1979, 1999) model for the classification of social systems* and Figure 5.2 *The cycle of secondary group systems values according to Smolicz's (1979, 1999) model for the classification of social systems* the relationships that took place in primary social systems were personal, intimate, and on going such as in the family. Conversely, the secondary social system developed relationships, which tended to be more formal, distant, and spasmodic.

**Table 5.1** *Classifications of social systems* J. J. Smolicz (1979, p.149; 1999, p.143)

<b>Type of System</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>Secondary</b>
<b>Personal</b>	Primary Personal (PP)	Secondary Personal (SP)
<b>Secondary</b>	Primary Group (PG)	Secondary Groups (SG)

Smolicz (1979, p.146) believed that the "network of groups, institutions and relationships in which individuals became enmeshed can be viewed in terms of social systems" where individuals became social values for one another. Smolicz cited that "academic or business organisation, a social clique, a tennis club, a religious order, or an extended family, all constitute group social systems in which each member, as a social value, is or may become the object of the others' social actions and relationships". Smolicz understood that group systems were "social stocks" or "reservoirs" which were used by individuals in order to establish his or her personal social system.

As Smolicz (1999, p.127) believed, "the sequence of changes seems to be, therefore, as follows. Under normal circumstances, individuals construct their personal ideological systems based on group values available to them at the time. The influence of values coming from outside the group may cause certain individuals to construct personal systems by incorporation of such 'external' that are new to the system under consideration".

Smolicz (1979, p.146-147) commented that, as Cooley (1909), Broom (1955) and Gordon (1964) believed, personal relationships were those in which contact was "personal, informal or intimate, usually face to face, and involving the entire human personality". On the other hand, secondary relationships were "more impersonal, formal, and restricted association that are typical of the occupational, political, commercial, and military spheres of life".

Furthermore, Smolicz believed that a "secondary group system would consist of all the members of one's professional or occupational organisation. In this way a sociologist would find his secondary social values among members of a social system that comprised his professional academic colleagues all over the world, as well as among participants in the partially overlapping yet distinct system composed of the various members and students of the institutions in which he served."

He argued, "a primary group system may appear more difficult to locate. However, it is readily identified, for example, with the ramified clan system of an Italian family, or the members of an informal social circle in Polish society ... an association of the former students of an English public school and, especially its informal network, could be viewed as falling into this category since it would tend to act as a source of primary values. Perhaps an even better example would be

provided by the membership of an old-established and exclusive club, such as the Athenaeum in London or the Melbourne Club in Australia" (Smolicz 1999).

When a sufficient number of innovative individuals are involved, and/or if these individuals are sufficiently influential, the first sign of change may appear through the activation of these newly reorganised systems at a personal level, despite their conflict with the still institutionalised "old" or "traditional" group values".

Smolicz's conceptual grid of personal and group cultural systems crystallised Znaniecki's belief that the cultural "becoming" of an individual respondent may be traced through their memoirs – or imaginative reconstruction. However, Smolicz's approach was an important development in social theory. Smolicz noted Znaniecki believed that an individual's actions were reflected in the different groups to which he or she belonged. For example, the police officer represented the police and the politician his or her political party. However, Smolicz observed that it was possible to have these individuals as members of the primary personal system "quite independently of their professional rôle in society" (Smolicz 1979, p.148; 1999).

Hence, it was possible for an individual personal social system to be very mixed. For example, before the memoirs of the respondents in this study were analysed it appeared that the research boarding school acted as a secondary group social system for the students who attended the school. It was an organisation that was separate to the primary personal system of the family and it appeared to be a milieu that was both not as intimate as and more formal than the home. This was particularly true of some of the overseas, students who appeared to parallel the observations made by Smolicz (1979, 1999).

Znaniiecki believed that an individual's consciousness was similar to a stream of water in that it appeared:

[...]as a freezing stream, on the surface of which smaller or larger lumps of ice are forming, floating with the current, coagulating, dissolving, but presenting while afloat a more or less solid bulk outside pressure (Znaniiecki 1968, p.378).

Znaniiecki observed that an individual's awareness, like a stream of water was an incessantly developing super-organic body. It was through the analysis of memoirs that it was an individual's consciousness appeared to "freeze", "melt", and change depending on the physical environment and the relationships between social systems.

In memoir analysis, cultural facts were recognised in the form of attitudes that were directly expressed by the memoir-writers in relation to their particular social situation and experience. They are often prefaced it with phrases such as "I think", "I feel", and "I hope". This is best embodied by two memoirs:

[...] it [boarding school] has changed me but I think that I have developed more. I also think that boarding school has given me an environment to mature within.

Another example:

I think that the most positive aspects [of boarding school] are the relationships and friendships one develops.

From this type of cultural data, it was possible to reconstruct individual and group consciousness. Furthermore, by adopting Znaniiecki's imagery of human consciousness as being a "frozen stream" it was possible to note how the respondents' memoirs paralleled Znaniiecki's metaphor.

Through concrete data, the researcher was presented with "the surface", which was made up of "smaller or larger lumps of ice" which were still forming. Some memoirs were "floating with the current, coagulating, dissolving". However, when analysed together, they presented a "more or less solid bulk to outside pressure" representing the social system of the research boarding school.

Cultural facts tended to articulate the experience of being or becoming a "lump of ice" in the "stream" of boarding school. These memoirs caught in a moment of stasis represented the experiences of individuals "floating", either "coagulating" or "dissolving" as part of the social system. The significant achievement of humanistic sociology is that the so-called "humanistic coefficient" which permits us to analyse these facts at a moment in time.

Smolicz's concept of a personal cultural system provided the theoretical bridge between group values systems (or traditions) and the attitudes and tendencies of individuals on the other hand. Smolicz emphasised that Znaniecki did not make the distinction between group and personal values systems and that he tended to comment on an individual's capacity to be able to activate the values system of a group. Smolicz's concept provided theoretical expression of the conscious activity of human agents in selecting values from the group stock and how an individual organised them into a system that suited their particular purposes and interests.

In order to analyse how cultural data reflected Smolicz's theoretical assumption, it was necessary the following classification be applied to cultural material. First, the researcher assumed the existence of a group values system; second, it was possible to isolate from cultural data how and individual made use of the values already established in his or her own particular way and then established a personal system of attitudes and, thirdly, it was possible to map the transition from an evaluation in the form of an attitude to a concrete act in the form of a tendency.

Smolicz (1979, p.144) noted, "an individual, when viewed from a sociological perspective, is a cultural value. More specifically we may refer to him as a social value in the same way as a single word or phrase is more precisely defined as linguistic values [...] it follows that, as any other cultural value; he has both content and meaning."

Later Smolicz (1999) acknowledged the use of memoirs to analyse cultural phenomena as the defining characterisation of Znaniecki's humanistic sociology. The act of writing a memoir not only documents an individual's cultural context and experiences through their own eyes, but also revealed to what extent an individual felt part of a given cultural group, or their cultural becoming of a group.

### **Smolicz on ideological values and social systems**

Smolicz (1979, pp.154-163) developed his theory of the primary and personal group systems extant in our multi-ethnic society and asserted that there were "ideological" distinctions between cultures that influenced the pattern of social systems which existed in society. It was possible to apply some aspects of Smolicz's examination of the ideological differences between cultures to the research boarding school as outlined in Table 5.2 *Ideological values and social systems in different societies*.

Smolicz said that some cultures were believed to have either a collectivist or an individualist approach evident in their social patterns. Smolicz cited Poles and Italians as "collectivists" in their sentiments, while individualists were bred in the "Anglo-Saxon cultural tradition" and the primary level of the family. However, at the secondary level of the institution it appeared that in "Anglo-societies [...] the important of collectivist values and the virtue of co-operative effort" was "in

contrast to the rampant individualism that Poles and Italians tend to exhibit in most secondary interaction, be it commerce, industry, or Politics”.

**Table 5.2 Ideological values and social systems in different societies** (Smolicz 1979, p.157; 1999, p.152)

<b>Social System</b>	<b>Anglo Societies</b>	<b>S and E. European Societies</b>
<b>Primary</b>	Individualist	Collectivist
<b>Secondary</b>	Collectivist	Individualist

After Smolicz's (1977, pp.161-91) examination of the culture of independent schools in the mid 1970s he concluded, “the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon society – individualist at primary and collectivist at secondary level – are very well exhibited in the educational system of this country. It would seem that such values are well developed in Protestant independent schools, both on account of a possible connection between the individualist ethnic and Protestant religion, and the links between the tradition of collectivism at secondary level and the ethic of ‘leadership’ and ‘service’ to the community which such schools are known to foster” (Smolicz 1979, p.157).

This assertion was supported by Smolicz and Moody (1978, pp.1-66) in their empirical study of the Australian Independent school sector. Here Smolicz asserted that it was possible to isolate a number of “character qualities” identified by 58 Headmasters of Independent schools that included “confidence, self-discipline, and the ability to articulate one’s thoughts”, which he believed helped to develop a level of “individual-centred” attitude amongst the students.

However, the same survey acknowledged that these schools expressed the intention to “educate for service” at a secondary level which represented a collectivist attitude. Smolicz's analysis of the Independent school as a cultural system presented the researcher with the basis to examine the



research boarding school in this thesis. It also provided a significant opportunity to apply Smolicz's findings of primary and secondary personal and group systems to an investigation of a boarding school, which may yield significant new cultural data.

### *Znaniiecki's theory of education*

Smolicz (1979, 1999) believed that "an individual when viewed from a sociological perspective is a cultural value [...] and that he has both content and meaning". The premise of humanistic sociology was that "cultural and social phenomena can never be fully appreciated unless they are studied from the view point of the participants" or in shared meaning. It was found that Znaniiecki's writings on the structure of personal and collective education were of great significance for the study of the research boarding school.

In *Cultural Sciences* (1963) and later the posthumous collection *Education and Social Change* (1998) edited by Hałas, Znaniiecki developed his theories of "formal education", as a process which examined education as a social and cultural activity. These theories were formulated after the study of the social systems of minority ethnic groups in the United States. Znaniiecki applied his theoretical approach analysing the American Secondary School system of the 1930s. Znaniiecki's theory was the result of his observation that social conditions had a direct effect on the creative and intellectual development of individuals.

Znaniiecki's work paralleled Durkheim's hypothesis of society as a cultural system. Both Znaniiecki and Durkheim agreed that the collective realization, or consciousness, of a group was related to the shared experiences of the individual members of a social system. Therefore, Durkheim and

Znaniiecki understood the significance of "formal education" - such as in the case of this study - and "the research boarding school" as a social system.

Znaniiecki's (1998) understood from his analysis of "formal education" that education served a specific social function. This function prepared an individual for a particular rôle in society in later life. He noted that an individual learnt his or her social position and responsibility through the educational process. In particular, Znaniiecki referred to military academies and the training of the judiciary as examples of individuals who were trained in "formal education", but also achieved "self-education" as a means of determining their position in society.

Furthermore, Znaniiecki (1998) asserted that "formal education" moulded individuals to a "pre-existing model" and was therefore a method of cultural reproduction. He argued that different "types" of achievements were inculcated into people through educational systems in order to meet the requirements of the dominant "pre-existing" order of society. Znaniiecki asserted that that "formal education" had "a social action".

For example, the "educator" or teacher adopted a mode of behaviour that was reflected by his or her language, dress and attitude, which was imposed upon the student, or the educand throughout the process of social education. Unlike other theorists Znaniiecki's believed that an individual was the active agents of their own consciousness, and was responsible for their own cultural "becoming". Znaniiecki observed that an individual's consciousness, like the stream of water is a continuously developing super organic entity. Throughout the process of the social system of "formal education" the individual's consciousness freezes, melts, and changes, depending on the

physical environment, this in Znaniecki's metaphor is influenced by the seasons and, in reality, the super organic dynamics of a social system.

In 1999 a collection of hitherto unknown papers written by Znaniecki between 1930-33 were discovered. The Dean of the Teachers College, at Columbia University, originally commissioned these papers William F. Russell. Hałas (1998, p.9) noted that Znaniecki's work in the United States was merely referred to in passing and as folklore in some sociological circles, as there were few surviving papers apart from his aforementioned academic writing. During 1930-33, Znaniecki undertook a research project with the aim of investigating the question: "Does the existing educational system in America prepare individuals to deal in an adequate fashion with the increasing variability of contemporary civilization and if so, to what extent?"

The methodology Znaniecki adopted crystallised his theory of humanistic sociology and reinforced many of the views he articulated in his more comprehensive *Cultural Sciences*. Znaniecki was concerned with the "sociology of education", rather than "educational sociology". Znaniecki (1998, p.197) asserted that "educational sociology", like "educational psychology" was the result of a need for educators to be prepared for their future professions in the Teacher College of the United States. The aim of these courses was to prepare new teachers to develop various methods of analysis and interpretation of the world and understanding of the students who lived in the schools. He argued that educational sociology was, therefore, an applied science. It was similar to educational philosophy – from which a series of values – or rules – was designed and then used to guide various educational approaches.

However, the sociology of education, wrote Znaniecki (1998, p.197) existed since ancient times and has its roots in ethnology. For example, Classical Greek and Roman historians wrote significant treaties on education when they described various cultures. In terms of “cultural becoming” Znaniecki’s theories on the rôle of education and the structure of education were critical. Znaniecki noted that for each successive generation to be able to function it had, to a certain extent, to internalise the values of the previous generation. Of course, as he also pointed that each succeeding generation retained, protected, and rejected the values of the past – as they saw fit.

Nevertheless, the process that young people experience, which the researcher refer to as “education”, was the process of acquiring various skills and knowledge that will permit individuals to become active members of a social system. Essentially, Znaniecki asserts that education was a part of social interaction. It was one part of a social interaction, which makes up the relationship of the “educator” and the “educand”, that was the relationship between the teacher and the student.

Furthermore Znaniecki (1998, p.31) writes, “social systems are probably the most influential components of culture, since all culture presupposes a minimum of intentional social relationship and organisation. Secondly, the process of education was determined in the main by social systems: education was, in fact, mostly intended to be the preparation of individuals for membership in social groups and takes place under social control within the limits of normatively regulated educational relations”.

Znaniecki observed that education could be a means of preparation for “candidates” to become members of various groups. To take this point one-step further, it was possible to argue that Znaniecki’s theory supported the proposition that various types of education, were preparing

students for entrée into a social elite. For example, in the instance of boarding school education, to help them gain certain status to become a member of that elite. Znaniecki proposed:

In every society, there are relatively large, long-lasting social groups united by common cultural bonds, which continually recruit new members from the young generation. In every society, there was some functional differentiation of occupational rôles, which was considered necessary for the continued existence in society (Znaniecki 1998, p.201).

He argued that each society has its own standards by which people's personal standards are compared. This therefore was a means of controlling personal conduct, values and behaviour. Znaniecki notes that before a social system will admit a new member to their group the suitability of the individual "candidate" will be questioned and tested.

This gradual assimilation or acceptance to the group is achieved by a series of steps connected with the individual's education. Znaniecki argued that the process of this education took the following steps.

- General education: for example, the training of an apprentice to learn the rôle, which they must fulfil. Such as the farmer educating his / her children for the rôle of farmer. A woman training her daughter to perform specific duties, if there are specific duties for the daughter to perform.
- Education of specialised rôles. (Znaniecki 1998, p.206)
- In *Education and Social Change*, Znaniecki (1998, p.157) notes that the beginning of "educational guidance" occurs with the educand's reflective self. That is the individual's ego. In reference to the first step:
- Znaniecki asserts that in a social system individuals are taught various skills, which will provide them with the function in that society. This first stage, he asserts, was a type of apprenticeship. This he links with the rôle of crafts guilds from the Middle Ages, where apprentices were trained for their profession, in many instances for the greater glory of God.
- This can be seen with the wood carvers, stonemasons and other master crafts men who designed the great Gothic cathedrals of Europe. Connected with this rôle of the apprentice the second step.

Each of the apprentices was trained to have a specific rôle within the cultural group they were trained a part of. The rôle of the apprentice was then maintained by the Guild, or society who supported the need of the apprentice.

Secondly Znaniecki (1998, p.160) elaborates these steps and takes the second point (ii) even further. He argues that there are various forms of the "teaching for formal skills". Again, the examples Znaniecki employs are from the middle Ages. He cites a warrior teaching a the youth the art of warfare or, more related to the current dissertation, the rôle of the Sophists and the education in rhetoric and speech they provided to train young Greeks so that they could fully participate in public life.

Znaniecki argues that the diversity of the modern curriculum was an introduction to various skills, which will be required after the youth leaves School. These skills may or may not be dependant on formalised circumstances. Although Znaniecki was writing during a period when specialised secondary schools, such as technical schools, still existed, his observations of the curriculum and the function of the school as a social system still resound with contemporary relevance.

Znaniecki (1998, p.164) believed that "in a few contemporary schools, such as schools of art, military academies, priests seminaries, old-fashioned colleges for young gentlemen and boarding-schools for young ladies, this common interest of the mature and the immature generation in formal skills exists still, even apart from the educational process". Next Znaniecki notes that there was an "ideational preparation for Active Life" beyond the formalised curriculum. He asserts that there was more in education than simply shaping the mind, rather, the structure of education gives rise to the possibility of various different mores.

### **Goffman, Znaniecki and the social systems of the research boarding school**

Halas (1985, 1998, 2000 and 2002) highlighted Florian Znaniecki's status as an unrecognised forerunner of "Symbolic Interactionism". Symbolic Interactionism "was coined by Blumer in 1937 in a review essay on social psychology [...] used the metaphor of the theatre to present a dramaturgical model of social life [...] critics have sometimes dismissed the symbolic interactionist perspective as being solely grounded upon a micro sociologist or social psychological view without an interest in structure (Hall 1987, Maines 1988, Strauss 1991).

As part of this study, the sociological work of Goffman (1961, 1969) has also been consulted. Goffman's studies in the areas of "total institutions" are of great value when considering the social system of the research boarding school environment in the light of humanistic sociology and are examined in detail in chapter 5. Goffman's theories are the result of ethnographic investigations carried out in asylums in the United States of America. Here Goffman developed a series of sociological descriptors to document and analyse the structure of institutions he defined as being "total" (Fine 2000, pp.52-55).

As well as asylums, Goffman (1961, pp.xiii-xvi) placed a number of other institutions in these categories including prisons, boarding schools, military academies, Army training camps, or "Boot Camps" and monasteries. Goffman's description of a boarding school as a "total" institution was questioned by Lambert in the introduction of *The Public Schools Commission* where he noted that boarding schools are a "positive" total institution in that they are designed for the good of the members of the institutions. In addition, that a boarding school was not totally closed as members of the institution are able to leave on exeat. He refers to a boarding school as being a quasi-total

institution. Furthermore, Goffman asserts that the defining elements of the "total institutions" were that:

The central features of total institutions can be described as three spheres of life. First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institutions (Goffman 1961, p.6).

Goffman's interpretation of the "total institution" was similar to Znaniecki's (1968, pp.11-14) description of what constitutes a closed social system, but he also makes some valid observations, which Goffman does overlook. Znaniecki said closed systems were "systems each of which was composed of a limited number of elements more intimately inter-related with one another than with any objects which do not belong to the system, and each possessing a specific internal structure which isolates it in certain respects from external influences".

Znaniecki asserted, it depends on the point of view of the scientist if any given concrete object actually forms part of closed system or not. This was a point that Goffman did not consider "to what extent was boarding school a closed system?" From the point of view of both Znaniecki and Goffman, a boarding school environment was a type of closed system. This was the definition according to the three main characteristics of Goffman's closed system.

The research boarding school, from the point of view of Goffman, may be described for the purpose of this study as a "total institution" in that the majority of school life was conducted in the same physical space. Secondly, nearly all aspects of the respondents' lives, whilst at the school, were carried out with about 800 other boys and girls in the same manner, all subject to the same



set of school rules and expectations. Thirdly, all aspects of the school day are highly regulated outside of official class time. Each student moves from one activity to the next, with little free time. Goffman (1969, p.6) stated these activities are put in place, "into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution".

However, the main difference between the "total institution" and "closed system" which Goffman and Znaniecki describe and the research boarding school social system was that it was possible for full-boarding students to leave the School on weekend exeats with the express permission of the Head of House. Albeit, this was for a limited period and it was required that the student returned by 7.00pm on Sunday night in time for Chapel. This paralleled Znaniecki's (1968, p.17) observation that, "no system was totally cut of from outside reality, because none of them determines completely and exclusively the nature and relations of all its elements".

Another exception to the description of the school as a "total institution" was the presence of day boarders. These students arrive at the school as 8.00am and leave in the evening after they have completed their homework at 8.30pm. These students are able to take part in the day-to-day life of the school, but have the opportunity to return to their homes in the evening. As noted in the chapter on the analysis of student replies to the questionnaire, some of these students felt that they were not as much a part of the school community as full-boarders.

### **The method of imaginative reconstruction in humanistic sociology**

Given humanistic sociology rejected the methodological unity of science and was "strongly anti-positivistic" the cultural scientist required a different methodology in order to collect and analyse written data. The crux of this methodology rested in "*Verstehen*" or what Znaniecki and Mclver

termed "imaginative reconstruction" and what Ossowski referred to as "empathy". From an investigator's point of view, this methodology had no correlation to the approach of the natural sciences. Its importance was the way in which specific data were dealt with in the social sciences, since *Verstehen* was the only way to obtain access to an individual's consciousness (Smolicz's 1999, p.292).

However, the researcher can only investigate another person's consciousness through the imaginative reconstruction of that individual's comprehension of the world around him or her and his or her milieu. This approach was seen in the research of Cookson and Hodges Persell's (1985b, p.7) study of American boarding schools when they noted sociological "measurement without empathy is empty, and we tried to sensitize ourselves to the prep school perspective". Therefore, it was found that there were two important limitations to this type of methodology when the interpretations of cultural data were considered.

Firstly, it was not necessary for the investigator to relive the life of the person from whom the data are collected. It was possible to remain detached from a person's description of events and experiences that could have been potentially distressing. It was necessary to make certain that there were a number of tests or checks that accompanied the interpretation of data collected in this manner, so that an investigator was able to present an accurate and detailed account of an individual's experience. Smolicz (1999, p.293) declared that this was seen clearly when a researcher considered that the descriptions of indigenous peoples from various countries completed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were inaccurate. It was imperative, therefore, for the investigator to be able to check the imaginative reconstruction that they have created from

the data presented to them.

Znaniński (1968, p.172) observed, "nobody would be able to prove or disprove whether my description corresponds to facts if I give no observable data by which to identify the reality I have in mind". Mokrzycki (1971) understood that imaginative reconstruction did not occur through some mysterious action, which was connected with the humanistic sociologist's appreciation of *Verstehen*, or by "some purported supernatural ability", which permitted the researcher to understand others. While some people remain "impossible to comprehend". Mokrzycki believed that *Verstehen* was the "process which makes it possible to pass from an observation of human activities and their products, and hence from certain empirical data, to statements about the mental states of the persons involved" (cited in Smolicz 1999, p.294).

#### *Kłoskowska and the emic and etic approach*

Once the data were collected the humanistic sociologist was able to use these data in a number of different ways. Chalasiński outlined the way the sociologist approached the use of cultural and concrete data in contrast to the historian in order to understand the respondent's particular social milieu:

The sociologist thus approaches autobiographies otherwise than the historian does. For the sociologist the author of a given autobiography is a social fact, and object of study, and not merely an impartial recorder of the events he describes. And he is an object of study from the sociologist's interest not because of the intra psychological processes which take place in an isolated individual, but because of being part of a certain social milieu. The sociologist studied the social connections between that individual's mental substratum, on the one hand, and the objective social conditions and collective consciousness, on the other (Chalasiński 1979, p.24 cited in Secombe 1997).

This was outlined by Znaniński who stressed the significance of the individual and his or her social milieu:

The sociologist takes the author of an autobiography entirely and solely against the background of the latter's social milieu and in an unseverable connection with that milieu; unlike the historian, he analyses the social milieu of the autobiographer solely and entirely with reference to the latter's person. In the eyes of the sociologist, the individual and his milieu form a single whole (Znaniński 1982, p.11).

Hudson, (1995) and Secombe (1997) summarised Kłoskowska's (1994) reference to the work of Pike which helped to establish how the researcher's would apply a method to interpret these data.

Pike alleged that it was possible to interpret respondent's attitudes in cultural studies from two perspectives:

- inside the system using only the data provided by the respondents in their memoirs, which was called the "emic" approach;
- or from outside the system, which used history, culture, art and literature combined with the personal statements of the respondents in order to interpret the material collected called the "etic" approach.

Kłoskowska contended:

In the emic analysis the text produced by the subject is considered in terms of his own explicit formulations, meaning and interpretations. The etic analysis considers the topic discernable in the text from the viewpoint of the broader theoretical concepts [...] Indispensable for this interpretation is extra-textual knowledge of the life-course of the subject, the historical background and other additional biographic materials (Kłoskowska 1994, p.83).

Hudson reported that Thomas and Znaniński's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* represented the emic approach in that it classified all of the cultural data collected from the letters of the peasant according to family relationship and the subject matter covered in the letters themselves:

The general character of the work is mainly that of a systematization and classification of attitudes and values prevailing in a concrete group. Every attitude and every value [...] can be really understood only in connection with the whole social life of which it is an element (Hudson 1995, p.89).

In this study the researcher adopted a combination of both the emic and the etic approach when considering the cultural data of the respondents for analysis in chapters 7 - 10.

*Smolicz and Secombe's three-point classification of memoir data for the sociologist*

Znaniiecki (1968, p.184) thought that it was difficult to differentiate between concrete and cultural facts. But, Smolicz and Secombe (1981, p.27, 2000) developed a method of analysis based on Znaniiecki's approach outlined in Table 5.3 *Analysis of memoir data* used for the study of the cultural experiences of Polish-Australian children in the Australian School system. Smolicz and Secombe (1981, 2000) distinguished between the sources of concrete and cultural facts and the use of each of these as:

- i. *concrete facts*, i.e. social and economic facts, which are abstracted by the respondents directly from their own daily lives and which are conventionally described as strictly "objective";
- ii. *cultural facts – assessments and evaluations*, i.e. social generalisations and observations of respondents, which represent second order constructs. Their content may be suspect and require further scrutiny and analysis, in the light of indirectly expressed attitudes that may have influenced the respondents' interpretation of such observations.
- iii. *cultural facts – attitudes*, i.e. statements and expression which have their origins in the attitudes, tendencies, and aspirations of the respondents and directly reveal the subjective aspect of the lives of the individuals concerned (Smolicz 1999, p.300).

One of the most important aspects Smolicz and Secombe (1981) and Smolicz (1999) aimed to clarify was the difference between 1. concrete facts and 3. Cultural facts that were assessments or evaluative. Smolicz and Secombe believed that these data provided in the respondent's memoirs described the routine of their lives and would perhaps be more truthful than the observations about a cultural system that they were not directly a part of. Thus, when this type of data were analysed for this thesis, comments such as "my Head of House is a complete champion" fell into the second category and also the third, because not only was the statement such an evaluation, it also

expressed the attitude of the respondent as a cultural fact from the point of view of an agent in the social system.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of Znaniecki's sociology was its emphasis on the importance on cultural facts in category 3, which revealed the attitude of the respondent. Znaniecki reinforced the significance in the interpretation of this type of data when he adopted the methodology and approach that showed the characteristics of a historian and a scientist to the same document (Smolicz 1999, pp.300 – 301)

Znaniecki conceded that the historian viewed the document as an historical description of life at a particular period, the scientist was simply analysing the properties of the paper and the ink used to write the paper. The humanistic sociologist on the other hand believed that the collection of memoirs as a document, revealed a series of concrete and cultural facts, which lead to the revelation of the individuals overall attitudes toward a particular subject or social system. This methodology of interpretation was the fundamental difference between these approaches to data. Znaniecki has commented on the significant rôle of autobiographical material for his studies and argued:

[...] In the eyes of the sociologist, the individual and his milieu represent one unity. This means, firstly, that an individual, from a sociological point of view, is not a complex of experiences with their own independent existence but that such experiences exist [...] only to the extent to which the subject is aware of them [...] Secondly, the social milieu does not interest a sociologist – for its own sake; he is not at all concerned to recreate faithfully and objectively from the point of view of some ideal impartial observer; on the contrary, his aim is to take it as it appears to the given individual himself as he lives and acts within it – that aim is to understand what such a milieu represents to this individual [...] in what way the objects which comprise it enter into his conscious personality (cited in Smolicz 1999, p.302).

Significantly, Znaniecki thought that even if the respondent lied, fabricated his or her experience in a particular social system, or mis-represented his or her true feelings through their writings, the

Table 5.3 *Analysis of memoir data* (Smolicz and Secombe 2000, p.284)

	CONCRETE FACTS	CULTURAL <i>Assessments</i>	FACTS <i>Attitudes</i>
<b>SOURCES</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Information given (with little or no comment) in memoirs</li> <li>2. Information derived from assessments made in memoirs</li> <li>3. Details available to research</li> </ol>	<p>Comments and remarks made by memoir writers concerning:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. their own actions</li> <li>ii. actions of others</li> <li>iii. institutional organisations</li> </ol>	Thoughts, feelings, aspirations expressed by memoir writers about themselves
<b>USES</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Needed for interpretation of cultural facts, e.g., to know <i>whose</i> attitudes and values being studied and what their social, economic and cultural situation is</li> <li>2. Give an indication of what cultural values are actually being activated</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Provide concrete facts about actions of writers themselves and others</li> <li>2. Give an indirect indication of attitudes of writers</li> <li>3. Supply indirect evidence of group values</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Are a direct source of the writer's attitudes</li> <li>2. Provide indirect evidence of group values</li> </ol>

autobiographical material collected did not lose its significance in the eyes of the sociologist. The sociologist interpreted this material as the aspiration of the author rather than as a fabrication of the truth. However, herein was the difficulty for the sociologist in the quest to reconstruct the imaginative realisation of an author of a particular memoir.

For example, if a respondent expressed in their memoirs that he or she believed that boarding school was the most positive experience that could possibly occur to them, it was possible that on some days they would believe the opposite. It was not what a respondent actually wrote that presented the problem for the sociologist, but rather what the respondent felt that they ought to write and, in fact, what they choose not to write for fear of someone else reading their response.

Znaniecki explained, "each personal statement was valuable as datum but not every one of them throws valuable light on the total personality of the writer and certain aspects of his social consciousness". Therefore, from the point of view of the sociologist all material in an autobiographical statement was of importance. However, sometimes the information given by the writer lacks sufficient detail to be used to any great degree in analysis. Another limitation of this approach to the collection of sociological data was that it tended to present a one sided or overly "positive" image of the chosen subject matter (Smolicz 1999, pp.291-295).

For example, Chalasinski's "historic-sociological" life of peasants has been heavily criticised because his approach was different to Znaniecki's in that Chalasinski asserted that all autobiographical material should be interpreted as a series of historic documents. He explained this stance and said that an individual was part of creating history for himself or herself. He asserted that any attempt to quantify sociological studies overlooked the importance of placing an individual



in their historic and social stratum to provide greater clarity to the explanation of their autobiographical details. Grabski (1982) observed that the Chalasinski approach preferred the most vibrant and characteristic memoirs for the purpose of analysis in order to confirm his own theories about various forms of social structure.

Grabaski's position was contrasted by Szczepanski's viewpoint because he had maintained that Chalasinski's use of autobiographical material was "a particularly persuasive demonstration of how autobiographical material can reflect mass social processes and how by basing one's work on such autobiographies one can follow up and describe such processes and pin-point their inter-connections as mutual interdependence". Szczepanski explained further that Chalasinski's use of autobiographical material was useful as it revealed the personalities of the participants involved in the study (Smolicz 1999).

Smolicz (1999) summarised Jakubczak's position, which alleged that the humanistic sociological approach or "school" was:

The personality of every individual, his aspirations, places, dreams, and the whole course of his life represents a unique and unrepeatable phenomenon, formed against the background of the wider social process of each epoch. No one can write a memoir, which could accurately mirror the unrepeatable personalities of other people, and thereby render his own experiences superfluous. There are occasions when the reminiscences of illiterates have to be recorded by others – it is impossible, however, to create a faithful account of the thought and fate of another person without their participation. Everyone leads his life and creates his written image for himself. And because the individually unrepeatable fate of each person at the same time contains within it the image of its connections with society and a reflection of the vital problems of the epoch in which he has had to live – the memoir, is not only a concrete record of the life of the individual but also a faithful and valuable document of the life of groups, classes, institutions, societies, territorial units and nationalities (cited in Smolicz 1999, pp.305-306).

When was a memoir considered authentic? This flaw centred upon the collection of cultural data, which was more critical of the full-memoir technique, rather than the method of collecting cultural data from questionnaires. Nevertheless, the fact remained that it was possible that a respondent could deliberately have falsified their answers, perhaps in order to control their identity, or as a hoax, or to inhibit the success of the study. Kłoskowska (1982, p.72) observed that, unlike statistical analysis, in humanistic sociological investigations the researcher was concerned with the individual in his or her context rather than the calculation of statistical probability. Hence, the authenticity of a memoir used in the collation of data emerged as a critical point in humanistic sociology.

On the other hand, this legitimate dilemma of the memoir technique raised two questions.

- To what extent was the humanistic sociologist capable of verifying cultural data collected?
- How did the researcher know that the material they analysed was true?

Most humanistic sociologists approached this problem by accepting that the majority of memoirs were reliable and that they represented an individual's documentation of their lives at that point, until significant evidence was discovered which contradicted this. Such an attitude paralleled Znaniecki's approach to the memoir when he asserted that the sociologist should accept cultural facts just as the human agent's himself or herself did. For example, if a respondent wrote, "I hated boarding school" the researcher had to accept this statement as a cultural fact. On the other hand, if a memoir was discovered to be falsified, then the researcher might actually welcome it as it provided a deeper and far more significant interpretation of the complexity of the cultural context.

## Overview

This chapter outlined the major theoretical assumptions of the humanistic approach to the collection and the analysis of sociological data as developed by Florian Znaniecki. The significance of the humanistic coefficient for humanistic investigation was outlined and its particular strengths and weakness noted. The researcher's approach to the interpretation of cultural and concrete data were examined in the light of Smolicz and Secombe's three-point classification of memoir data for the sociologist.

This discussion culminated in the summary of Smolicz's conceptual grid for the classification of personal and group social systems, which developed Znaniecki's initial theory on social systems, following his crystallisation of the writings of Cooley (1909) and Gordon (1964). Last, Goffman's theory that boarding schools were a "total" institution was noted, which helped us to isolate collectivist and individualist attitudes in the memoirs analysed in chapters 7-10.

Chapter 6 commences with the research question for the study. Next, it outlines the research design of the thesis, the particular limitations, and delimitations of the research and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of the author's position as a "participant-observer" at the research boarding school. The chapter will summarise the questionnaire-survey's structure and conclude with an overview of the respondents' ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE RESEARCH DESIGN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

A boy who passes through a big school can scarcely expect to escape the unpleasant sensation which comes with the anticipation of danger [...] Those, for instance, who have had the misfortune to find themselves standing on that mat outside the door of the Head Master's study, pausing for contemplation ere they make the fatal knock, know only too well what it means; for that mat has been the scene of many a valiant struggle against that same dread feeling (Jennings 1924, pp. 232-233).

The rationale when adopting memoir methodology for this study was to reconstruct as authentically as possible the school milieu as seen by the students who have lived and acted in it through their own writing. Chapters 1 and 5 indicated that Znaniecki's humanistic sociological method has been used in Australia to study the experiences of various ethnic groups (Smolicz and Secombe 1981, 1982); the nature of core values in minority ethnic groups (Smolicz and Secombe 1986, Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian and Secombe 1990); more recently, 'cultural becoming' amongst university graduates (Hudson 1995) in Australia; and the cultural interaction of mainstream Australian university graduates (Secombe 1997).

This method of data collection can be regarded as similar to previous large scale studies of English and American prep schools undertaken by Aldrich (1979), Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Fox (1985), Lambert (1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1970, 1975), Wakeford (1969), and Walford (1983, 1984, 1986), where data were collected by the use of questionnaire-surveys although these studies did not adopt Znaniecki's humanistic approach *per se*.

Hays (1994), Fox (1985), Weinberg (1967, 1968) and Lambert (1966b, 1968a) recognised the difficulty many sociologists encountered when trying to obtain permission to conduct studies of boarding school in Great Britain and America. Weinberg (1968) believed that many boarding

schools were unwilling to take part in sociological studies because they preferred to protect the interests of their students and to maintain a sense of “aura” or mystery about their “ivy-covered walls”. This perception was supported by Lambert (1968a) when he responded to criticism of his research from the public school sector itself in Britain. In America, Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.6) found that “[...] the schools we visited” were “quite receptive to our study”. Cookson and Hodges Persell’s experience was supported the work of Armstrong (1974) and Baird (1977).

Herein lay the difference between the method employed in this study and others. Arieli (1983), Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Fox (1985), Hansen (1971), Hillman *et al* (1996), Jacoby (1974), Kalton (1966), Lambert (1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1970, 1975), and Morgan (1993) all employed elements of ethnographic research. For example, as part of their approach individual researchers and their teams stayed at boarding schools to aid in the interpretation and collation of data. Amongst the most influential of these studies were the analysis of Cookson and Hodges Persell, Lambert and Morgan. Many researchers attended classes, played sport with students, followed students’ routines in order to understand the particular demands of a boarders’ life.

The refusal of school authorities to provide researchers with open access to students and staff has been cited in previous studies of boarding school. This was not encountered at the research boarding school. The researcher received regular support from the school’s Principal and Heads of House who asked about the project and some of the initial findings.

### The research question

This study aimed to investigate boarders' experience of cultural interaction as revealed in their memoirs written in 2000. The purpose of this analysis was to deepen the researcher's understanding of the interaction between the boarders' personal and group social systems in the ethnically plural context of Australian society. In particular, the researcher was concerned with the specific rôle an Australian boarding school education played as a group social system in the lives of the respondents'.

The earlier chapters of this thesis followed the first of the aims outlined in chapter 1, in establishing the historical background and theoretical context of the study. This is in line with Fox's view that "education does not take place in a vacuum" but it "is located within a wider social space – a society which has a history, structures, institutions, people, classes and values. As such the meaning of education has to be understood within the macro-context within which it is located" otherwise the researcher would not necessarily be able to appreciate fully the cultural significance of the memoirs collected (Fox 1984, pp.47-48).

The research question formulated for the empirical section of the thesis asked:

- What impact did the experience of the research boarding school have upon a student's life?

The second more specifically theoretical oriented research question was:

- To what extent did Smolicz's conceptual grid apply to the relations among respondents at the research boarding school?

Diverse ranges of data were consulted in order to answer the research question. These data were concerned with the respondents' actions, relationships, rôles, and groups. Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.20) understood that "the prep rite of passage is designed to forge a certain type of elite consciousness, but not without a price. The elite boarding schools were not founded to 'liberate' young adults. Quite the opposite they were created to mold and shape adolescents in a particular way".

### **Limitations and delimitations of the study**

Given the holistic perspective of this study, a special emphasis was placed on the way the school appeared in the eyes of its international students, and the way they integrated into its academic, spiritual and various co-curricular activities. The school adopted a co-educational structure a number of years ago and its policy has been to treat both genders in the same way, except in such areas as sport and the provision of separate boarding Houses for male and female students. While the co-educational issue was not selected for special study in this thesis, the responses of both genders were fully documented in the empirical section of the study and provided some insights into the rôle of the school as an institution that caters for a diversity of ethnic and gender differences. In this study, a pseudonym was also adopted for the school and individuals.

Weinberg (1968) acknowledged that the major difficulty with the analysis of residential institutions was that many were physically and socially removed from every day life and were consequently protective of their status as a "closed society". Cree (1991, 2002 pp.44-46) agreed and stated that as a result Australian boarding was a largely un-researched area of education because of the difficulty researchers had in obtaining the appropriate permission from conservative school authorities who wished to protect their students' from "public scrutiny".

It was decided to limit the participation of respondents to the final years of the school – years 11 and 12 - who were aged from fifteen to eighteen. This was because the majority of the respondents would have had more than one year's experience of boarding and would be able to reflect upon their boarding experience over a number of years. It was also thought that it was more likely that students in years 11-12 would be able to write memoirs in the range of 4-5,000 words and thereby the researcher was able to isolate common attitudes towards boarding. All respondents were candidates for the Victorian Certificate in Education or the International Baccalaureate Diploma; both qualifications were the required minimum for tertiary study in Australia and overseas.

### **The researcher as participant-observer**

The difference between the researcher's status in this study and the experiences of other sociologists was the researcher was an active member of the school's academic, pastoral and co curricula community before the research commenced. Cree experienced a similar situation when he declared in his study of an Australian boarding school that:

I feel that it is important to make clear my personal position, professional background and rôle in this research. Firstly, I have not been a boarder in an Australian boarding school. My ten years of teaching experience has been mainly with the Secondary and Technical Division of the then Victorian Education Department from 1975 to 1981. However, prior to joining the Education Department, I spent several years as a Master at a boarding school in the United Kingdom. My interest in boarding stems from that earlier part of my career [...] I do not feel my time as a Boarding House-master caused me to be pro- or anti-boarding; however, it did excite in me a great interest in boarding as a system and in boarders and their families. Prior to teaching at a boarding school, I had assumed that boarding was undertaken as a result of some fairly drastic necessity such as the overseas travel of parents or their divorce. However, I soon discovered that most boarders were boarding by choice of the family as the preferred type of education (Cree 2000, p.9).

The status of the researchers as a teacher in the school being analysed may be viewed by some as a negative dimension to the researcher's rôle as the relationship between the teacher and the student may influence the students' memoirs, however, it also provided a level of trust between the



researcher and the respondent. For instance during her fieldwork in American Quaker and military boarding schools from 1987-1988 Hays recorded that:

[...] many of the adults seemed unsure of my purpose (in spite of my repeated explanations) and uncomfortable in my presence. Several faculty members set up interviews over and over, only to cancel them; others, when asked for an interview, would breezily say, "Any time," and then refuse to be pinned down to an appointment [...] I had the sense that I was being watched and that my presence in the room was having a pronounced effect on the conversation [...] I had a bad experience with students. Towards the end of my stay, a teacher told me she had overheard a boy advise his class mates not to talk to me because I was a narcotics agent [...] in their insecure world, it was not so improbable that a spy could be planted by the school board to report on teachers' indiscretions or by the police to report on students' use of drugs (Hays 1994, pp.236-237).

The data collected for analysis in this thesis was obtained in 2000. The researcher-commenced employment at the school in 1998 and at the time this thesis was written the investigator was a full time member of the academic, pastoral and co-curricula staff. This included the researcher teaching a 40 lessons per week as a teacher of senior school English, being a resident tutor (2000-2003) in and an Assistant Housemaster of a Middle School (2000-2003) and Senior School boys' House (2004) undertaking boarding duties one night a week and three full weekends each term, coaching tennis in summer, soccer in winter, coaching debating, singing in the school's choir and editing the school's magazine from 2000-2003.

Because the researcher was a member of the school's community, before the research was carried out there was a level of trust that existed between the school's hierarchy, the students and the researcher. It was believed that because the research was already part of the school's cultural milieu before the collation of the concrete and cultural data took place that it was more likely that the memoirs collected from the students were a frank representation of their lives.

### Limitations of participant-observer status

Lambert's (1968a) method of data collection in *The Hothouse Society: an exploration of boarding-school life through the boys' and girls' own writings* established the tradition of ethnographic boarding research. The ethnographic technique was later used by the American sociologists Cookson and Hodges Persell who described their research method of fifty-five American boarding schools, ten English boarding schools, two Cuban boarding schools and one Israeli boarding school in the following manner:

The days we spent in American schools were long ones; we arose as early as 4 am to witness students mucking out the cow barn at a progressive school, and we stood dorm duty with teachers until students settled in for the night. We stayed anywhere from one to five days at each school, and observed classes, assemblies, chapel services, sports contests, cultural events, discipline committee meetings, and students and faculty parties. We shared innumerable meals and saw dorms, libraries, laboratories, gymnasiums, and other facilities in operation. We interviewed heads, teachers, directors of admission, college advisors, deans of students, deans of faculty, dorm supervisors, school psychologists and doctors alone or in small groups (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p.7).

Arieli (1983), Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Fox (1985), Hansen (1971), Hillman and Craig (1996), Jacoby (1974), Kalton (1966), Lambert (1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1970, 1975), and Morgan (1993) interpreted boarding data as an outsider. The researcher's status as a member of the academic staff at the research boarding school was critical when the researcher approach the analysis of cultural data in chapters 7-10. As the pattern of cultural data emerged which helped the researcher to isolate areas for analysis, it was possible to check the authenticity of these observation with students on a day-to-day level. The nature of the researcher's position as an Assistant Head of House gave ample opportunity to discuss many of the issues raised in the cultural data with students in their own cultural milieu, after having known the students in the context of the class room, sports field and boarding House.

### The questionnaire-survey

Chapter 5 recorded that the questionnaire-surveys used in this study were comparable personal documents to the letters collected by Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Life of the Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. After written permission to undertake this study was granted by the Principal of the school in late 1999 at the start of the following academic year a notice was placed in the Senior School daily bulletin, which invited interested members of the school's community to take part in a study of boarding school life. The notice read:

A questionnaire-survey about boarding school life will take place over the next few weeks. I am interested in your thoughts and feelings about your boarding school experience. Come to the meeting and find out what is involved.

The one prerequisite required in order to take part in this study was that the students had been boarding at the school for a minimum of one year. At the first meeting 16 students arrived. After explaining to these students what was involved all agreed to take part in the study and encouraged the researcher to hold another meeting so that they could bring along more students who might be interested. A similar message was placed in the school's daily bulletin and a week later there were at least 30 respondents who had volunteered to take part in the study.

Any students who agreed to take part in the study registered their names with the researcher and were presented with an A4-sized envelope, which was sealed, with the questionnaire-survey inside. The students were presented with a second envelope on which was their memoir number, so the completed questionnaire-survey could be returned, sealed, to the researcher. The students who took part in this study were permitted three weeks in order to complete their written responses. Once the students had successfully completed their questionnaire-survey they were forwarded two complimentary film tickets to the local cinema. The students who took part in this study were

unaware of this “reward” or incentive for taking part in this study until they handed in their questionnaire-survey on the scheduled date.

From analysis of the cultural background of the first round of respondents it was evident that students from non-English speaking backgrounds were reluctant to voluntarily take part in a study of this nature without some encouragement. Hence, it was decided that students of a non-English speaking background would be targeted to provide a more representative picture of the cross-cultural student context. With the help of a colleague who taught English as a Second Language this was achieved. All respondents were required to complete 26 questions that provided concrete data and 23 that provided the source of cultural data. Therefore, the data collected was limited in that respondents were asked to write on their experiences at boarding school rather than on their whole lives.

The concrete data collected from each respondent permitted the researcher to establish a concrete fact profile of each student, which provided factual details about the individual’s life and helped to clarify the cultural data collected as outlined in Appendix A: *Concrete fact profile* of respondents and in greater detail in Appendix B: *Extended concrete fact profile of respondents*. The type of data collected from the concrete data included:

- the gender of the respondent;
- his or her age at the time they completed the memoir;
- if the respondent was a full or a day boarder at the school;
- if the respondent was an overseas students, what year level the respondent was in at the time the cultural data were collected;
- if the respondent held a position of responsibility within their House at the school;
- what religious tradition the respondent identify with, what ethnic identity did the respondent identify with;
- the respondent’s parents’ occupations, what year the respondent commenced boarding school;

- if the respondent obtained a scholarship to attend the school;
- what academic subjects were being taken by the respondent;
- whose decision it was that the respondent should attend boarding school, and if either of the respondents' parents boarded;
- did the respondent's family have any previous connection with the school;
- the respondent had been awarded House or School Colours;
- what co-curricular activities did the respondent take part in at the time of the study.

The memoirs that formed the focus of this investigation were written by secondary students of Anglo-Australian and overseas backgrounds. All respondents were full-boarders and or day boarders at the research boarding school and had to have boarded at the school for a minimum of one year before they completed the questionnaire-survey.

The memoirs collected were able to be considered as sociological data because the respondents were encouraged to reflect specifically on their social and cultural life because of the types of questions asked, rather than provide intimate details about their personal lives. As the researcher collected concrete data from respondents that ranged from information such as: the year they commenced boarding, where the respondents were born, where the respondent lived, the languages which were spoken at home, ethnic identity and religious affiliation, the research was able to create a profile of each respondent.

The physical layout and structure of the questionnaire-survey booklet was constructed carefully so that the students who took part in this survey were encouraged to take the survey seriously. The questionnaire-survey was bound like a booklet and students were provided with lined spaces in order to write their response. Some questions that formed the core of cultural data of the survey were provided with more space to write responses than that given for the concrete data at the start of the survey.

The questions that formed the basis for the collection of cultural data were specifically structured so that it permitted and encouraged the respondent to write an extended evaluative response based on their own experience. For instance many of the questions that collected cultural data used the evaluative phrase "to what extent" or "how does". The significance of the each question's structure was that it required the candidate to provide a response, placing themselves at the axis of their social and cultural experience, which revealed their feeling towards various situations.

These personal statements, which formulated the cultural data section of the questionnaire-survey, can be taken as memoirs in the Znaniecki sense, in that the participants were give the freedom to answer the question in whatever manner they chose. The data collected was limited in that respondents were asked to write on their experiences at boarding school rather than their whole lives. In length the memoirs ranged from approximately 4,000 - 5,000 words, with the majority being around 4,000 words.

### **Ethnic and linguistic background of the respondents**

Due to the tuition fees required to attend the research boarding school the student population was not representative of the socio-economic population of Australia at large. This observation paralleled the findings of sociological studies carried out at English boarding and American Prep schools (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b; Fox 1985; Kalton 1966; Lambert 1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1970, 1975; Punch 1976; Wakeford 1969; Walford 1986; Weinberg 1967).

The ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of the respondents who took part in this survey reflected not only the multicultural nature of Australia, but also the cultural diversity of the school's population.

Accordingly, there was a diversity of religious affiliations as identified by the respondents. Of the forty-five memoirs (17 written by girls and 28 by boys) analysed for this study 28 writers identified themselves as Australian, five Thai, four Chinese-Malay, four Chinese, one Malaysian, and one American. 26 per cent lived in rural Australia, 40 per cent lived overseas, and inter-state, 20 per cent lived in metropolitan Melbourne. All respondents came from a range of the nine senior boarding Houses within the school.

### **Overview**

This chapter established the research question for the thesis and summarised the design of the present study. It outlined the particular limitations and delimitations for this research and clarified the researcher's position as a participant-observer at the research boarding school. Reference was made to the questionnaire-survey and the rationale for the questions chosen for this investigation. Finally, there was a summary of the ethnic and linguistic background of the respondents.

Chapter 7 will be the first of four chapters that will consider the students' responses to the questionnaire-survey. It will commence with the respondents' general view on boarding school life. Particular reference will be made to the attitudes of boarders from non-English speaking backgrounds. The chapter also outlines the respondents' negative and positive attitudes towards life at the research boarding school.

## CHAPTER 7

### STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE RESEARCH BOARDING SCHOOL

In that first hour of my school life I had surely learned something. How I had longed, with a sinking heart, as I had wandered round those buildings, that someone would show me a sign of welcome! I had no friends in this new land, except my father, whose loneliness was greater than my own [...] Then he had come across the field, and though he had never seen me before, but knew only that I was a new boy, and a lonely one, had called me his friend! (Jennings 1924, p.38).

This chapter is the first of four that analyses the cultural data from the students' personal statements. This chapter considers the respondents' memoirs in light of the research problem introduced in chapter 1 and clarified in chapter 6. The focus of this chapter is the impact of the research boarding school upon a student's life.

The theoretical implication underlying the research question was that individual respondents acted as the axis of their own personal social systems, as summarised in chapter 5. Five aspects of boarding school life were isolated for consideration in this chapter: students' boarding school life, students' attitudes towards the first few weeks at the research boarding school, the attitudes of students' from non-English speaking backgrounds, negative attitudes and positive attitudes towards the research boarding school. As the memoirs were analysed each individual's particular "systems of social values" were highlighted according to Smolicz's (1979, 1999) classification.

#### **The memoirs themselves**

Chapter 5 highlighted how cultural data were considered in light of the concrete facts provided by the authors. This information, recorded in Appendix A: *Concrete fact profile of respondents* and Appendix B: *Extended concrete fact profile of respondents* helped the researcher to establish the socio-economic status and particular circumstances of each respondent.



Appendix A: *Concrete fact profile of respondents* showed that of the 45 respondents (17 written by girls and 28 by boys) analysed for this study, 28 writers identified themselves as Australian, five Thai, four Chinese-Malay, four Chinese, one Malaysian, and an American. 26 per cent lived in rural Australia, 40 per cent lived overseas, and inter-state, 20 per cent lived in metropolitan Melbourne. The students who took part in this study came from the nine senior full-boarding Houses described in chapter 4.

### Students' boarding school life

Analysis of the 45 memoirs revealed that a boarding education appeared to be concerned with five aspects, or types, of education:

- ethical education – an induction into what was right and what was wrong;
- religious education – an induction into a pattern of religious worship;
- expressive education – an education which celebrated the complexity of human emotion;
- corporeal education – an education which challenged students physically;
- academic and an artistic education – an education that inducted students into the academic basics, but also inspired them to become active participants in their cultural and artistic world.

These areas identified by the respondents' memoirs paralleled Morgan's (1993) survey of 2,600 students' attitudes towards boarding in the United Kingdom. These particular aspects fulfilled Holgate and FitzGerald's (2001a, pp.22-23) classification of a "good" boarding education which covered:

- religious instruction;
- moral instruction;
- an education which encouraged the expression of human emotions;
- physical education;
- academic and cultural education.

### **Students' attitudes towards the first few weeks at the research boarding school**

This analysis accepted that the research boarding school was an Anglo-type institutions as defined by Smolicz. As the researcher considered the first part of the cultural data collected from the questionnaire-survey this research agreed that "the network of groups, institutions and relationships in which individuals become enmeshed can be viewed in terms of social systems in which men constitute social values for one another" (Smolicz 1979, p.146). In this type "there is an acceptance of the group ideological value according to which secondary social relationships should not be clouded by those emotions which are generally associated with primary social values [...] in this respect it differs from the continental European tradition of the more openly acknowledged acceptance of the supremacy of primary relationships in most spheres of life" (Smolicz, 1979, p.151).

When respondents were invited to reflect on their first few weeks at boarding school it was possible to separate the tension between the respondents' primary personal system of the home, generally associated with his or her family, and their experience of their new secondary personal system. Eleven of the respondents were aged between 13 and 14 when they first started boarding. Respondents' memoirs recalled the warmth, intimacy and familiarity of the primary personal system of the home and family. These memoirs showed varying levels of uncertainty as they made the transition from the familiarity and security of home life to an institutionalised existence at boarding school.

For example, respondent 1's memoirs reflected upon his first few weeks as a boarder in Middle School and identified that he needed some "independence". Respondent 1 was an 18 year-old full-boarder who was in Year 12. He was a House captain and a school prefect. Born in Singapore, he

identified his ethnicity as American and his religious affiliation as Roman Catholic. Respondent 1 started boarding in 1996 but insisted that he made the decision to attend boarding school because his father travelled extensively:

- *Before I came to this school, it was obvious that I needed independence and a little more structure [...] I realized that I was very fortunate and never really appreciated what I had before I came here. It was difficult for me and my first impressions were that the kids in my year were a lot less mature than those at my old School. The most positive aspect of my first few weeks here was that I made a really good friend and it was good to be able to share and compare experiences (1)*

Respondent 1's memoirs revealed a level of ambivalence towards his peers who made up his secondary group systems. However, he recorded that he made a "good friend" in his first week, which helped him, and because of this friendship it appeared that this student acted as a primary personal value for the respondent in his new social system.

In contrast, respondent 2 was 17 year-old full-boarder in Year 11. Originally born in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, respondent 2 was a candidate for the International Baccalaureate. He commenced boarding in 1996 and was a member of the 1<sup>st</sup> XI Cricket and 1<sup>st</sup> XV Rugby and wrote:

- *In my first year at the school, I was a day boarder. This was all right, but I struggled dealing with the two sets of rules, one for home and one at school. By the end of Year 7, I had decided I wanted to be a boarder as I had developed close friendships in the House. Boarding school is a strange place in the way that it establishes the foundation for later life. Two advantages are that it teaches you to function in a community and to live with others. The second is that it is a sheltered existence that doesn't give you a taste of real life and in no way prepares you for the struggle when one finishes. (2)*

Respondent 2's memoirs were unique amongst those collected because the author was the son of two members of the academic staff. Significantly, this respondent chose to become a boarder. The home life of this respondent was unusual because it was unlike other memoir authors in this

respect. The respondent lived permanently at the school. He stressed the importance of community and how it taught him to live with others. Not unlike other memoirs respondent 2 did not believe that boarding prepared individuals for life beyond school.

Respondent 3's memoirs were quite different. A male full-boarder aged 17 from rural Australia, he was captain of a senior boys' House and a school prefect. The respondent was born in Hereford, England, and commenced boarding in 1997 because of rural isolation. An impressive sportsman, respondent 3 had been awarded double House colours and colours for Rowing and Rugby.

- *I really liked being at home, not away from the rest of the family – especially my two elder brothers ... I felt a lot younger than everyone else did – perhaps this is due to the Australian culture. I was struggling academically. Boarding school life makes you a more independent freethinking person. Your parents are not around to tell you what to do or tidy up after you; however, it only works for those who enjoy it. Some can not cope. They need parental attention. Usually these are the ones who had everything when they were young. I think that boarding school makes you more adaptable to the outside world. Some say it shelters you – not really. (3)*

Respondent 3's reflections revealed that he initially believed that his education at boarding school was social. His reflection on the first few weeks as a boarder in year 9 showed that there was significant tension between the primary social systems and his expectations of the school. There was a sense that respondent 3 was communicating that he had matured since attending boarding school and that the experiences that he had there made him become independent of the intimacy of the primary system of the home.

Respondents 16 a boy from Melbourne, 17 a boy from rural South Australia, 24 a male Chinese-Malay student:

- *I expected boarding school to be the same as a day school. Only without having to go home and have parents interfere with things. I remember the first few weeks I tried to avoid having any spare time so I did not have to bother about talking to*

*people. I loved not having to worry about parents ...now I talk to people a little more and I am friends with most people. (16)*

- *I had a bit of a bad time when I moved from my local primary school ... when I first arrived here in 1997 I hated it. I was very homesick and wanted to leave ... It was horrible. I hated the first 48 hours there so much. My sisters (who were in Senior School) were a huge help to me. They wrote letters and talked me through it... every time I came to see my sisters there they were loving it ... I thought that I would feel better about it soon.(17)*
- *Obviously, I learned a lot after I've attended this school. Socially, life has improved. I like the system of morning school, sports, and activities. (24)*
- *I came to this school when I was 15 year-old. I found this school had a big impact on me, because so many things have changed my life. I have more confidence to talk with everyone. (25)*

Respondent 33's memoir, an Indian-born Australian, showed that there was a distinct tension between the decision her parents made to "send" her to boarding school because she was an only child and her experiences in her first year at the school. She observed that once her first year was completed her experiences improved. However, she longed for the intimacy and familiarity of family life.

- *I was 11 year-old when I first came to this school and because I was an only child, I was very spoilt so my parents forced me to come to this school. I was very depressed the whole 1<sup>st</sup> year but it has got better each year. And I starting to like boarding school. Because I learnt so much that I can look after myself well that I don't need as much help as I used to. Because my old school was a day school so when I first started boarding was very hard. I missed home a lot. The reason that my parents sent me to this school was that because I was too spoilt by both my grand parents and they want me to learn English for the future. Because at my old school they aren't very serious about sport, what I did at my old school was just in P.E. class. So I was very surprised that I have to play so much sport. I started boarding in Year 6 in Term 2. The weather was very cold to me because I used to the hot weather in Thailand. I remembered that I cried every night and every time I talked to my parents. I started school with a little knowledge of English. I disliked the food very much but the head of the boarding House was very nice to me. I didn't know anyone at the time, I was very homesick. (33)*

Respondent 35 a female student from Budapest stated:

- *My primary school only had about 80 people and 5 teachers. I was friends with everyone in my grade. Year 7 at the local high school (not my parents' choice – but a deal that I would go to boarding school in year 8) was a school of about 150 students. A shocking school in terms of academics. Leaving all that to go to boarding school was not my idea. If I were to stay at my old school it would not have offered me the opportunities I have now. (35)*

Another 17-year-old full-boarder from rural Victoria, respondent 4 showed that his decision to attend boarding school was based upon the academic opportunities at the school.

- *Before I came to boarding school I lived in the country, read a lot, and played sport. I suffered some victimisation at my old school from staff members who didn't like my father (he worked at the school, there weren't any elective subjects at my old school. (4)*

The tone of respondent 4's reflection was in stark contrast to respondent 3's experiences. It centered upon the negative experiences of his former school where he believed that he was "victimised". Respondent 4's concrete facts showed that this student had been awarded an academic scholarship to attend the school and he claimed that he had made the decision to come to boarding school.

Respondent 6 was a 17-year-old full-boarder from rural Australia who was in year 12. Heavily involved in the activities programme at the school, respondent 6 commenced boarding in 1996 when he entered the school as a year 8.

- *Although a blur, I can remember my first few weeks as being very excited ones. I remember thinking that the school was a very beautiful place. My most positive aspect of this time was meeting, successfully, my peers and staff members, and taking full grasp of everything that was offered to me. The most negative aspects were perhaps the knowledge that issues at home lay unresolved.(6)*

Respondent 6's concrete facts revealed that he was vice-captain of his House and also a school prefect. His memoirs showed that he saw becoming a boarder as an exciting opportunity. His

memoirs concentrated upon meeting his peers and making certain that he was accepted into his new social system. Significantly, this respondent did not pin point an exact impression but noted that his first weeks were a “blur”. It was possible to detect that this respondent was concerned with being accepted in his new cultural system because of the “problems” at home he mentioned. This was confirmed by his concrete facts, which showed that his parents separated when he started boarding.

Respondent 7 was a 17-year-old full-boarder born in Paris, who lived rural Victoria. He commenced boarding in 1997 and had an older brother who attended the school.

- *The first few weeks shocked me in a way that I didn't expect. I had mentally prepared myself for all the uncomfortable experiences I could encounter and how I would deal with them. The thing that surprised me was how easy I was to fit in. At such a boarding school, I could say that because so many different people from different places were there that I would have a better chance of fitting in. That was the positive experience the most negative aspect was that because of my previous experiences I was overly conservative in nature and didn't take the first year of boarding in the best possible way.(7)*

Respondent 7's recollections revealed that he was anxious to be accepted in his new secondary system. These respondents revealed the complex way in which primary group values such as the family influenced the attitudes of the memoirs collected. It appeared that in each of these cases a respondent's experiences in his or her primary social system had an impact on their positive or negative attitude towards school.

For example, the negative influence of peers or family pressure or tradition was cited as reasons some individual attended boarding school. In the case of a handful of respondents, boarding was chosen as a form of education as the result of rural isolation. But, the vast majority of respondents

revealed that they believed that there was a significant advantage in attending the research boarding school.

Unlike respondent 6's positive attitude, respondents 4 and 5 declared their fear of becoming a boarder because they had heard of the potential for bullying at the school:

- *I expected boarding school to be very focused on tradition and hierarchy. I was quite intimidated because of the stories I had heard about bullying. The most positive aspect of my first few weeks at School was discovering these were largely untrue. (4)*
- *Before I came to this school. I did not have much self-esteem. (5)*

Respondents 4 and 5 experiences were the opposite of the sense of anticipation expressed by respondent 11, who was an Anglo-Australian student from Melbourne. Respondent 11 noted that his decision to attend boarding school was influenced by the experiences and anecdotes of members of his primary group social system, such as his cousins, aunt and uncle who had attended the school in the past:

- *I came half way through year 7 in 1996 because of the lure of my bragging older cousins which finally paid their toll and I came here. (11)*

Like memoir 4, respondent 12 was awarded a scholarship to study at the school. His memoir acknowledged a mixture of anxiety and surprise about the school. This respondent was of Chinese-Australian background and recalled that:

- *[...] I thought that the School would be far more traditional and conservative [...] because it was for rich kids. The School was far friendlier than I thought it would be and was far less snobbish. (12)*

This position contrasted with that of respondent 15, an Anglo-Australian male student from Bendigo in Victoria, who commenced boarding in 1997 in the Middle School. This respondent's ambivalence towards the boarding House revealed an interesting attitude.



- *I expected the School to be relaxed and smooth with a friendly environment in the House. My first impressions was that some parts were very old fashioned mainly things like the communal showers and roll call. This was soon adapted to. The first few weeks I tended to stay in the House only leaving for meals and only socializing with people from my House. (15)*

Although the respondent was surprised to find that the fabric or plant was old fashioned, he admitted that he rarely ventured beyond the physical and social confines of the boarding House.

He went on to note:

- *[...] I was lucky enough to have my best friend come down in the same year and the same House, which made my first few weeks very easy. Making new friends was easy as well. Negative aspects were that there was little variation in the days of the weeks – it was the same set routine. (15)*

On the other hand, respondent 8, who had been at the school as a day-boarder since kindergarten and then became a full-boarder in year 9 when he was 14 noted:

- *I have been at the school since kindergarten and so boarding school was a reality I keenly looked forward to. At the end of Year 8, I completed my time at one of the smaller city campuses. I left that school nervously waiting Year 9 I was school captain at the small city campus and because of this leadership position I was dislodged from the position I held in my social niche. As there were only a small group of us in Year 8, we were a close-knit group – perhaps too small. I got almost all As at the end of Year 8 in my report. I found interacting with people interesting and I think that I left the campus a confident, mature, and well founded individual.(14)*

Respondent 8 was the only student who took part in this questionnaire-survey who had attended the research boarding school from kindergarten as a day boarder. The memoirs of respondents 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, who were males and 35, 37, 38, 41, and 44 who were females from isolated rural areas revealed quite distinct experiences from those students of an urban background. For example, respondent 9 who commenced boarding in 1994:

- *I lived in a very isolated area mostly full of adults. I had very limited contact with kids. I was very naïve about the outside world. At School of the Air, I was home all the time and the class was something I only saw about four times a year. On the second night, I realized that I was a long way from home and mum and dad. I cried*

*for a long time into my pillow. Otherwise, it was a big adventure into the unknown and to be with other kids all the time was interesting. I quickly ... remoulded myself to fit into this new school. (9)*

Like other memoirs respondents, 9's experiences of homesickness may have been influenced given the nature of his primary personal system. Respondent 9's concrete fact profile confirmed that this student had little contact with adolescents his own age before coming to boarding school six years before because of rural isolation. Before the respondent attended boarding school he was educated by a governess on his parent's property and supported by a "radio-classroom" facilitated through the rural city of Katherine in the Northern Territory.

When considered that this student's primary personal system was limited because of geographical isolation the researcher can only imagine the significant social impact of being away from his parents. However, respondent 9's concluding remarks about the adventure of being with the other "kids all the time" showed that his peers started to become the primary personal values systems for him in this unusual circumstance. This did not mean that his parents and family ceased to act as his primary values systems, but that his friends at boarding school started to play a rôle that appeared to be analogous with member of his family.

Three female respondents: 33 from Geelong, 34 from Budapest and 36 from Melbourne wrote:

- *Before I came to the research boarding school, I had already been to 3 other schools. The first I don't remember I was under 3 at that time (and it was in India). Then Kinder – I don't remember. The Primary School until year 2. I was very much a loner there in my year level, but my sister was 2 years above me and I was close to her. Also I could not speak English that well, which made life difficult for me. My sister got a scholarship to go to a private girls' school (I tried but did not get one). I was sent there anyway. It was not very academic there and I was quite happy – as I was shy and only having all girls when I talked made things easier. Then we moved to the research boarding school when my all girls' school closed down. At the start I loved it – having the novelty of boys. But I was still not comfortable around them. I tried very hard academically. At the research boarding school I was forced to open*

*up more. I liked everything I was very positive. Year 9 was my first experience of boarding and I loved the first 2 weeks – it was all I expected. It was both positive and negative being away from parents. I interact more casually although I place a lot of meaning on small actions. I am too sensitive. (33)*

- *In year 8 before I came to the school I was at a very small school for about 6 months and the social structure of the playground / classroom etc was totally different to here. Because it was so small (about 10 per year group so there was a lot more merging between the age groups. I was 13 but I was good friends with the Year 12s some of whom were 18 year-old. I was friends with the girls from Ukraine, Russia – there was 1 from France and a couple of Nigerians. If any of them came to this school (the research boarding school) they would probably be social outcasts – they were very tarty, used a lot of soft drugs and were very bitchy. They were my friends because I didn't really know anyone else. When I arrived at this school in Year 9 (I was sent there because my parents thought I needed some discipline) the people were much more, I don't know how to say it, well – easygoing. (34)*
- *As an only child, I was constantly the centre of attention. However, I was also independent in my outlook of life and what I perceived I should and shouldn't be able to do. As a child my interaction in the home was with purely adults and I guess this forced me to behave and talk more maturely than the rest of my year group. I especially remember hating boundaries and set rules that were incomprehensible I had already developed a successful way of persuasion on my mother and it was rare that I could not convince her otherwise to what she had said. For example, it was easy to convince her to give me a later curfew or outing etc. I was always encouraged to voice my opinions and enjoyed it if sometimes I was able to change someone's view. I sometimes found it difficult to tolerate my peers / friends at school as I felt that they were quite immature – and tended to be sheep. I couldn't stand anyone who couldn't make up their own mind, but I did often use this to gain support or agreement from people. (36)*

These three memoirs represented three distinct reactions of boarding school. The common factor was that all three had boarded and were female. Respondent 33 was originally born in Calcutta and showed how the student changed as she started to come to terms with the different social expectations of her secondary school. Each respondent's memoirs showed significant anxiety as they made the transition to boarding school. The memoirs of female respondents 37 from Melbourne, 38 from Mt Isa in Queensland and 39 from Melbourne provided another point of view on the impact of joining the research boarding school community:

- *Before coming to this school, I thought it was a good idea coming. I was in Year 11 last year so I figured that if I do it again I could achieve better in Year 12. The boarding gave me a chance not to get too involved with parties each night of the weekend and to be able to get on with my studies. When I arrived, I hated the fact that I could not go home each weekend and I hate going to meals. I like boarding but not at the start, the interactions before entering the school included going to parties every Friday and Saturday night, going out after dinner during the week. I stayed at my best friends House a lot of the time. Therefore, coming to boarding school slowed down my social life. All my friends are at home are turning 18, so end of last year we began pubbing and clubbing, which has not slowed down. They only problem I had at my last school was that I did not like my teachers which let me down, other than that I went to a girls' school and it was quite bitchy at times. (37)*

Respondent 37 showed that her expectations and the reality of boarding school centered upon the academic. She did not mention, unlike previous respondents, any social anxiety about living within a residential community. This showed that the respondent's attitude towards boarding school was generally positive. Yet, the reality for her was the opposite considering that this respondent indicated from her cultural and concrete data that the primary personal social system of the home was in turmoil.

Respondent 38, on the other hand, fluctuated in her comments between social and academic expectations of boarding school and noted that it was a break from the home. This memoir author also believed that because of her shy personality she was taken advantage of by the members of her secondary system:

- *Before I attended this school, I had been sent to a series of little public schools. I didn't interact with other people almost at all. I would physically run away if people came too close. Academically, I didn't work hard at all. I remember being incredible shocked when I say that almost every one in the class was obsessed with academic perfection. Before coming to the research boarding school, I played the flute (started at the age of 8) and I loved music – I was in all the extra curricular activities that the school had to offer. I had strong dislikes towards both the social and academic aspect of the school life both at my old school and at the research boarding school. Before I came to the research boarding school, I was a very shy standoffish person, who kept mainly to herself. I tried not to interact with people if I could help it. Year 9 was my first boarding experience. I had become a much more social person by this*

*point and had become attached to a strong group of friends. I didn't want to go. My brother had a tough year and I expected the same. My best friend was in my Dorm and I was only close to one other girl. The girls in my Dorm grouped very quickly and many were loud and dominating. I was happy to be away from home – the physical environment was a comfortable scene for me. I was still quite shy and the stronger girls in my Dorm took advantage of that. I was still having trouble saying no. I loved the outdoors. I settled quickly. Even though the girls took advantage of my yielding qualities – guilt forced them to remain friendly to me. (38)*

Respondent 39 commented on the distress she experienced as she moved from a smaller all-girls' school in the city where she was a popular member of the secondary school system who excelled both academically and in the sporting field. This respondent's memoir revealed the tension that existed between the family expectation that she would attend boarding school and the reality she experienced in her first few weeks of boarding. However, she revealed at the conclusion of her response that she felt that there were significant social benefits from boarding school:

- *Before coming to the research boarding school, I was a bit of a 'teeny bopper' being a 13-year-old girl in Melbourne. I was a top student and a good athlete, especially running. It was quite a small school and I knew everyone pretty much. I was popular with everyone there but I found the school to be restricting. Because I am from a family of older siblings, I was more mature than my peers overall and was ready for a change from the smallish rather restricting school. Academically it was sound, but didn't really extend you much. Some subjects like music, religion etc were extremely slack. They grouped the humanities into one group and the sciences, maths and technology into another, which I disliked – too broad and too general. The first day I felt rather out of it because of the girls who had been in Year 8 the year before I came to the school – they knew each other and everything – a bit overwhelming. Fortunately, there were a number of new people who found it harder than me which made it easier. I was very timid and innocent the first few weeks. The most positive aspect was the social scene, which I grew to love – with the boys etc. I found boyfriends who made me feel secure and accepted; luckily a group of popular girls adopted me into their group so I eased in pretty well. I didn't really get that homesick. Most negative aspect was the uncomfortable feelings on the first few days with the confident and familiar girls already there who had been there in year 7. (39)*

Three female respondents, 40 from Melbourne, 41 from country Victoria and 42 from Melbourne who also expressed similar sentiments noted the tension between belonging to a community or a group and maintaining a sense of individuality:

- Before I came to the research boarding school I believe that I was not nearly as open-minded or tolerant. Year 9, as believed, is an extraordinary year for everyone, but it touched me in many aspects. I was no-where nearly or as tolerant or accepting to the needs of others. I have always loved human friendships and I have always interacted with other with a friendly attitude before. However, my previous School was an all girls' school, and although the academic side was hard working, very much the same as the research boarding school, the social side I believed to be too self-absorbed. Everyone was worried how they acted or dressed and looked and there was no focus on personality. I love it here (The research boarding school), everyone is so enthusiastic. I love meeting new people and finding out about different experiences, beliefs and cultures, and moving schools was the best decision ever! I had heard much about the House 'bitchiness' clan. However, I also remember that I was so excited about being in a House with many of my friends. I remember it being very different to the Girls' School I attended. Because not only were Years 10, 11 and 12 broken apart from the rest of the school. I remember being told a lot how to act, restricting me from open, outgoing personality. I became aware of how people perceived me, and almost became intimidated to walk to classes. The most positive aspects of were getting to know older year groups as much as possible, while the negative were trying to be careful in every word I said, every move I made. (40)*

When the researcher consulted respondent 40's concrete fact profile it was found that a number of her extended family which formed her primary values systems had already attended the school. It was also concluded that the forced intimacy of the research boarding school found in the boarding House caused her to change and become a more open-minded individual. Her reflection concentrated on the social aspects of school life rather than simply the academic.

Respondent 41 also moved from an all girls' school to attend the research boarding school. Initially respondent 41's memoirs showed that she found boarding school life a significant challenge because of the lack of intimacy in contrast to her primary personal systems. However, she ends positively concluding that the secondary system of the school forced her to face challenges which she would never have considered otherwise:

- At my previous school I was interested in art and music and excelled at both. This did not change when I came to this school. I had attended an all girls' school my*

*whole life and obviously coming to a co-ed school affected the way I interacted with people (especially boys) but this is a factor I became accustomed to and is now something I rarely think about. At my old School I disliked the total denial that change was necessary. The old school was closed and uncompromising when new ideas were raised. When I first arrived in my House I was the first person there apart from the prefects. The prefects were kind and helpful but I was quite lonely and didn't know what to expect. In the first few days it was very difficult to remember the routine and all the frequent bells were very confusing. I found the House well appointed and the facilities were fine. People were generally kind but you could sense the hostility from the Years 11 and 12s. I enjoyed my first few weeks in the House as I had encountered so many new people and done some interesting activities I had never envisaged myself doing. However, it was hard to adjust and boarding can be a shock to the system, for someone new to the experience. (41)*

This experience was echoed by respondent 42 who also attended an all girls' school before becoming a boarder. The respondent revealed that she obtained a scholarship to attend the school. Her initial anticipation of boarding appeared to parallel the attitudes of respondent 6 who was from rural Victoria. Respondent 42 commented on the tension which existed between the expectations and reality of boarding school life:

- *Before I came to the research boarding school I was completely different. I was attending an all girls' state school and although I didn't know it, it was awful! I didn't care about many things. I didn't care about my self-image or my future, I just wanted to take the easy way out and do the things that I enjoyed and that were easy. Even though I like many of the same things the research boarding school has taught me to express the likes and dislikes more. Also, I have become more sociable and I have figured out many things about how life works. At my previous school life was wishy-washy and I wasn't really going anywhere. Actually the reason why my parents urged me to decide to come here was because my Mum realised I was heading in the wrong direction when I wasn't doing music as a subject. On my first day I was overly excited and eager. I think I was a bit anxious to make new friends straight away before sussing things out. I kind of expected life to be organised for me and to just go with the flow as I always had but I soon realised that if I didn't do something to help out then I would quickly become tired. I also found out in the first couple of weeks that (like my old school) not everyone is as nice as you expect them to be and it is worth avoiding quite a few upper class snobs and the like. Over the years I have really figured out where I 'fit in' in the School and this has helped me discover who I really am. I still like to have fun, but my eagerness to do everything has toned down quite a lot and I have realised that many things don't matter as much as they appear and it's not worth stressing over them. (42)*

She expanded this later in her memoirs and wrote:

- *Boarding school can have two main effects. Good – it makes them more disciplined and helps them understand how a leadership system works. Also, helps them become more sociable and people oriented, as they have to deal closely with people everyday. Bad – all the pressure to be good and disciplined causes them to rebel and work against the system causing life to be hard for everyone. Even though we are closed from the “real” world, I believe boarding school shows you an aspect of life, which most people never experience. Whichever way you look at it, for good or bad boarding school makes you appreciate other aspects of life more such as: freedom, career paths, money situations and social status. Academics are extremely important at the school, as it should be. I also believe that the school is very well rounded in terms of fairness between subjects. The research boarding school is definitely a school that focuses on academics such as maths, sciences and English but even though people believe other subjects such as theatre and the arts could be paid more attention the school can only do so much and I’m sure they’re working on these aspects. (42)*

It was the pressure from respondent 11’s primary personal system of the family that encouraged him to enroll at boarding school. This memoir author noted that he had a number of relations who attended the school. His memoir showed that because of the intensity of the relationships between student and student and teacher and student he believed that boarding school was a positive experience. Respondent 11, a male from Melbourne, acknowledged that when he was younger he felt nervous as he returned to school after being away on exeat at his parents’ House.

- *I came half way through year 7 in 1996 because of the lure of Year 9. I was at another all boys’ school, years of bragging by my older cousins finally paid their toll, and I came here. I was quite a while ago so my memory is a little blurry but I think I settled in quite well. Before I came here, I wasn’t really the full person this school has enabled me to be. Academically, I think I was about average and that developed more mostly from mid-year 10 until now. I can’t really remember my likes and dislikes socially at my other school. You were never able to get to know people as well as you do here. I think here you make relationships that are more meaningful. This can be very good (as a boarder) it can also amplify faults in people which makes getting on more difficult. I myself have fallen into the trap of focusing on the negatives of some people. But I think that after talks with the Head of House things are now on the right track. I remember being scared and homesick wherever I would come back from exeat at night, but that was just because I was so young. That was in Middle School. If I remember right everyone was really nice, even so, it took a term or two to really settle in. (11)*



Respondent 13 a male from rural Queensland also concentrated on the extent he believed that he was accepted by other students in the boarding House. He squarely blames his primary personal system for the negative experiences he had with others in his first few weeks at the school. However, in the long term he believed that boarding school has helped him to develop the skills required to live in a community:

- *Before I came to boarding school I was antisocial and didn't have too many friends, I might partly blame this on my upbringing. But I was confused, attention seeking. I really had no interests what so ever. Academically, I was below average due to my lack of social skills. It was a needed shot of reality. It was and could have been expected nor comprehended. It was hard at first but everyone offers some resistance to let go (from home) and to adapt. It was positive because I found people who shared similar interests with me and were in similar situations. I was still oblivious on the details of socialising. I was negative in a way – it showed me what I was doing wrong and provided me with genuine opportunity to change. (13)*

### **The attitudes of boarders from non-English speaking backgrounds**

The first overseas students from the Southeast-Asian region attended the school as full-boarders as early as the 1950s. The majority of these students were from Thailand and Malaysia and were generally members of the Thai and Malay Royal families and the ruling class. In 2003, there were students from a large number of overseas countries, which included Bali, Cambodia, China, England, Fiji, France, Germany, Japan, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, the Solomon Islands, and the United States of America.

Chapter 4 outlined the population of the research boarding school was not representative of the general Australian population because of the tuition fees parents or guardians were expected to pay so that their children to be enrolled at the school. Nevertheless, the ethnic diversity of the school's population reflected something of the multi-cultural nature of the Australian population.

Analysis of the concrete data revealed that the respondents who completed the questionnaire-survey at the research boarding school were representative of the multi-ethnic context of Australia. In particular, four male respondents: 18 from Bangkok, 19 from Saraburi in Thailand, 21 from Taipei, and 22 from Thailand in the Asia-Pacific region gave us an impression of their first few weeks at boarding school. These memoirs showed the particular challenge faced by these students who were not only entering a new culture where they would be required to speak in English but they were in the unusual situation of living at the school.

- *Before I came to this school, I was studying in Thailand. I came to the school in 1999. I want to come to this school because my brother and sister are here. I recommend that the good thing in this School is that you have a lot of sport to play. The bad thing in the school is that sometimes the school is too strict and it is a bit boring when you have to stay in the school. First few weeks when I came to the School, the first thing is I want to see a lot of friends in the school and have a chat. But the bad thing is you don't have the freedom like at home because you have to stay in the school. (18)*
- *I was physically very small before I came to this school. I never leave my parents and home alone. I was always with my parents. I didn't really have to do anything before I came to this school. I wasn't as social before because I always go home straight after school and I rarely go out with friend. I only had to study. I can talk to anyone here at this school. I like studying but some subjects were hard but I managed to get a reasonable grade. The first few weeks were terrible because I was homesick. I thought I shouldn't come because I know I had to do everything myself. I had to be able to help myself. At home I didn't have to do anything because my parents prepare me for everything. (19)*
- *In my old school academics is really important so I really wanted to do sports. The first few weeks I felt insecure and stayed away from everybody, only close to friends that can speak my native language. But soon into the Asian group. All the class work is very easy and have lots of time to do what I want. Not used to the open showers. The most positive aspects were being able to pickup friends fast. I am now more confident with my life and really understand myself. Not much interacting with other people, but interacted a lot with my friends. (21)*
- *I was 12 when I left home. I felt I was a little young. I dislike the way they taught at my old school but friends were perfect. They were all easy to approach. Perhaps my old school was way too small for 1,500 kids and there weren't any good enough facilities for kids. There was too much homework for the people at my age and the teachers were really pushing it. All subjects were very good. English was very*

*enjoyable but I'm not very good at it. I was really nervous before I came to this school. I expect that it must be difficult and I thought the conditions will be pretty harsh but it was much better than thought. I didn't have a good time in the first few weeks because I could hardly speak English and I was a bit nervous to make new friends. My first impression of the school was that it was quite nice because the school was much bigger than my old school. (22)*

Respondents 18, 19 and 22 from Thailand all noted that in the first few weeks at boarding school the most difficult aspect was speaking English. These respondents noted that the cultural system of the school was very different from their strongly "academic" old schools.

The tension between individual respondent's culture and the new culture of the research boarding school was also noted by male respondents 25 from Indonesia, 26 from Thailand, 28 from Malaysia, and female respondents 30 and 31 from Thailand:

- *I came to the school when I was 15 year-old. I found this school had a big impact on me, because so many things have changed my life. I have more confidence to talk with everyone. Unlike when I was back in my old school. The reason why I moved to this school was to improve my English, as the world understands English more than my native language and also my dad has a business in Australia. There is nothing much different between my friends here and back in my old school. It was hard for me when I first came to the school. It felt strange and also some of the people in my dorm gave me a hard time. Firstly, when I came here I felt strange because the day before I came to Australia I was having fun with all my old friends, but suddenly they all changed and I didn't know them all. (25)*
- *I was about 12 when I first came to Australia in 1997. I came from a Catholic School in Thailand called St. Gabriel's College. Although it is a Catholic College, I was still taught in Thai, not in English. My academic aspect at my previous school was considered average; I played soccer at school, but wasn't involved in the school team or anything. I love soccer since I was young and I continue to playing it since. I also like socializing with friends. I had heaps of friends whom I'm not in contact with anymore since I attended this school. I came here mainly because I wanted to be able to speak English. I was jealous of my brothers and father being able to speak English in a big American Hotel on a family trip in Phuket. I also wanted freedom- as my Mum used to be very strict when I was back with them. But sometimes I also felt sad to leave my home. It is a tough decision that my parents left up to me. They didn't force me – but they gave me ideas and advice. I couldn't speak a word of English when I first came here. All I could say was 'hello', 'thank you', 'goodbye' etc, and I really felt uncomfortable with that. The first impression was quite a funny one.*

*It wasn't what I expected it to be. I was happy but I was also sad – I wasn't brave enough to talk to Mum because I didn't want to cry. I was lucky that I had a brother who was in Year 8 who could help and guided me through what was to be the toughest time that I had at the school. I also had the 'freedom' that I was looking for when I came here. I'm now a lot better than when I first came to the school. Things have changed over the year. The school has helped to develop me as a better academic and sports person. I'm more responsible for my own life – doing things I have to do and make sure that what I've done comes from the best of me. (26)*

- Before I came to the school, I came from an International School in Malaysia. It mainly consisted of British students however there were other nationalities (Americans, Malaysians, etc). I enjoyed the first 5-6 years of school life (kindergarten to year 6). There was no stress and everything was fun and enjoyable. Like playing soccer, toys, and video games. When year 7 came around it wasn't too pleasant. I grew out of 'childish games' and more came in. I was lazy even though I had the potential to do well academically. I started to dislike my friends when the middle of year 7 came. They were acting cool and want me to join in. I tried to fit in but it never worked. I tried to make new friends but that didn't work either. I actually started here in 1998 I came to the school to have a look and I have very vague memories of seeing my brothers here, I didn't actually feel anything at the time, just followed instructions. I had many things told to me by my older brothers, past experiences. When I first came to the school I wasn't scared but more curious. I saw 2 or 3 boys who scared me a bit but it turned out that they were good guys who later became friends. I think the only negative thing was my first day at school. I got lost, lost a few things and thought it was the end of the world. The rest was very good, I just basically adjusted. I started feeling homesick in the first 2 weeks, but it wasn't for very long. I personally think that I am different now. I am more aware of what people say and how people think of me. I try to interact with as many people as possible but find it hard because I don't like them. I still like fooling around, but I know my limits. I think that boarding life is quite good. The spirit in most Houses are good and you just get used to the people in the Houses and their little habits and you can talk about it, ignore it, or laugh at it. It makes a difference sometimes if you aren't feeling your best. You know everyone and most are willing to help. Sport is also good because it takes your mind off the world for a little while. (28)*
- I came to the school as a boarder in 1999. I came from College de Lucerne in Switzerland (International School). It different between 2 schools. The oldest school I went to was St. Joseph's Convent in Thailand. I studied there for 9 years before I moved to Switzerland. It was a very different place and people I'd chosen to study in Switzerland because I really don't like my school in Thailand that much. The school was really strict about everything, including uniform. I didn't want to come to this school (research school) at first and it was really hard. But after Year 10 everything got much better. I started to like the school. The first week was really bad. I got really homesick. Especially in Year 9. I really didn't like it. I cried the whole year, but after year 10 everything was getting better.(30)*

- *Before I came to this school I moved about three times. First I studied in Thailand, and moved to New Zealand for 2 months because my father didn't like to be there because he felt that it's too lack of education and started to make me move again to America as I had an aunt over there. I lived there for about a year in Public school. And it was illegal for me because I was International student and can only study in a Public School for one year. And it was too late to find another private school and I had to move again and I ended up at this school because my brother had been in here and my father felt that he got better after he studied in this school. I started boarding when I was 12. I felt that I'd not really have time for my family. Sometimes the loneliness came, but life must go on. I was the same [...] took my suitcase and unpack it. Meet new people, started it up each time repeating. Nothing new because it was the third time in my life that I did this. I already knew what it's going to be because I'd faced it before. (31)*

Memoirs commented on homesickness faced by respondents because of cultural disorientation when they moved from their primary or secondary system into their new secondary system of the research boarding school. Male respondents 19, 22, 25, 26 noted that they were worried that it would be the first time that they would have to look after themselves. In some cases this meant that respondents were away from servants who were responsible for many of the day-to-day chores in their primary group social system.

Some overseas students who were not from non-English speaking backgrounds but had attended International School believed they were more socially mature than their peers. Respondent 19's memoir who started boarding in 1997 and noted that:

- *[...] the first few weeks were terrible because I was homesick. I expected the School to be different. It turned out totally different. I thought I shouldn't come because I know I had to do everything myself. I had to be able to help myself.*

He then revealed the inconsistency of his experience in his privileged primary social system and noted that:

- *[...] at home I didn't have to do anything because my parents prepared me for everything. (19)*

The tension between the primary group social system of the family and the new secondary system of the research boarding school was seen in respondent 22's response - a Thai student, who commenced boarding in 1997 in the same Boarding House as respondent 21. He found that the physical size of the school, the number of students, and his difficulty with speaking English influenced his first few weeks.

- *I was really nervous before I came to this School. I expected that it must be difficult and I thought the conditions will be pretty harsh but it was much better than thought. I didn't have a good time in the first few weeks because I could hardly speak English and I was a bit nervous to make new friends. My first impressions of the School were quite nice because the School was much bigger than my old School. (22)*

Respondent 22's initial observation that the school was 'quite nice' was contrasted by the honest response of respondent 23, a Malaysian student, who established that when he started boarding in 1999:

- *[...] I was very quiet and reserved. My first impressions of the School were that it was full of racist snobs; it is still so – but slightly less obvious. I am fortunate to have a nice Housemaster. I am not getting along with others as much as I would have liked. (23)*

From these memoirs the researcher was able to establish that it was clear that the dissonance between the primary personal system of the home and the new secondary system of the school was one of the contributing factors to the level of cultural displacement overseas students experienced, which in turn appeared to be one of the main causes of homesickness. However, this was not only experienced by students of overseas background. It was also reported by male respondents 3, 9, 15, 16, and female 35, 37 and 39 who were from Anglo-Australian backgrounds.

For other female respondents, including numbers 43 and 44 who lived in Melbourne and rural Victoria, boarding school represented the conclusion of a life of innocence which sharply juxtaposed some of the more positive accounts of starting boarding:

- *I was very scared when I first came to the school. The scariest aspect was the fact that some people seemed to know what they were doing. One of the best memories was in the first weekend I just lay on my bed in the afternoon and the light came in the window. It was really quiet (how clichéd). The negative aspect was falling out with friends. We were just this big jumble of people. By the time I came to the school at the start of Year 7 I think that I was an emotional / personal wreck. My self-esteem was non-existent. There were a very small number of girls in my year group, and I always felt a bit on the outside. I was very naïve – or innocent. Maybe unaware of how the people around me were simply ignoring me but actually were pushing me down. I often cried and threw tantrums for no reason. It was not, however, as if things directly stung me. I can not remember a lot. However, maybe I've blocked it out subconsciously. I guess I was fairly bright though – I learned things. (43)*
- *I remember it rained on my first day at boarding school and of course I cried. Everyone seemed so distant. I was lonely but it felt like I was on a school camp. I didn't have any expectations because I was only told in the holidays before that I would be coming to the school. The most negative aspect was trying to get along with all the other girls in my House who it seemed had nothing in common with me. The positive aspect was the running and outdoor, physical stuff that I enjoyed. I remember I lost 11 kilograms in my first term at the school because I was doing so much physical work. (44)*

Over half of the overseas students' memoirs recorded that one of the main reasons they attended boarding school was so that they could improve or develop their written and spoken English. For example, male respondent 26 from Thailand declared that the major motivation to attend boarding school was:

- *[...] mainly because I wanted to be able to speak English. (26)*

Respondent 26 later clarified in his memoirs that he:

- *[...] was jealous of my brothers and father being able to speak English in a big American Hotel on a family trip in Phuket.(26)*

The forced physical and emotional intimacy of the secondary social system found in this boarding school environment was the cause of some anxiety for both overseas and Anglo-Australian students. For example respondent 29, a female Thai student who commenced boarding in

Australia in 1996, revealed her embarrassment and that she was uneasy with the conversations of her Anglo-Australian peers when she said:

- *I was very shocked, culture shocked, when I started on this School. People are open about sexual relationships, which are very different to what I am used to in Thailand. (29)*

Later in her memoir, she revealed that after a number of years, however, she adapted to the values of her secondary group system and mentioned:

- *[...] but I'm used to it now because I have been here for many years. (29)*

This experience was supported by the response of another female Thai student, respondent 30 who recalled that:

- *[...] the first week was really bad. I got really homesick. Especially in year 9. I really didn't like it. I cried the whole year, but after year 10, everything was getting better. (30)*

Respondent 34 was more concerned that she preserved the anonymity of her reputation at her previous school when she declared:

- *I didn't want to tell any of the people in my Dorm about my past School or friends, because they all seemed so fresh and clean, and I thought that they might think it was "gay" or whatever. So, I told them as little as I could about where I came from. (34)*

She emphasised her desire to make certain that her reputation at her previous school did not influence her status in her new secondary group system and alleged:

- *I wanted a brand new start, a clean slate, and thankfully, I got a great group of people to live with, and they weren't caring about where I had come from. What was bad is when you meet many new people all at once and you are forced to make intimate judgments of them, and so you sometimes do not like them immediately even though later on you learn to like them. (34)*

It was certain from respondent 34's memoir that she wanted to create a set of values for herself in this new secondary group social system and did not want to refer to her previous school and her life there. The friction between the primary social system of the home and the nervous anticipation



of the new secondary system appeared to be interpreted as a rite of passage by many respondents. It was suggested through their responses that during the first few weeks they experienced a transformation leaving the security of the primary social system to establish and define their positions in the secondary system of the boarding House. This observation was highlighted by respondent 35's recollection of her last night at home in 1998. A rural Anglo-Australian her family prepared a special dinner as a rite of passage into a 'grown-up' world:

- *When leaving home for the first time I was dreading it. The night before I had my favourite dinner and spoke to all my relatives and friends wishing me luck. (35)*

Significantly, respondent 35 a female from Camperdown in rural Victoria, mentioned the horizontal (such as brothers, sisters) members of her family who, despite not being present at her dinner before attending boarding school, spoke with her and reinforced their rôle as her personal primary group values. How the tone of her response changed from the primary personal group system of the family to the secondary group system of the research boarding school environment can be seen in the following extract.

- *When I arrived, [at the research boarding school] it was just like a dream. I wanted my parents to leave so that I could get on with it. There were so many nice people, and so many more people than in my previous School. The most negative aspect was being told that I had to play Saturday Sport and that there was not enough room in the team for me to play tennis, which meant I would have to do something I didn't enjoy. (35)*

Respondent 44, a female from rural Victoria, observed that:

- *Before I came to this school I went to a public school. I had friends that lived in caravans and youth hostels. It was very different coming here and the students seemed a little too spoilt. I enjoyed reading but it became a bit of an escape for me. Also, I was far too lazy and watched a lot of TV. My old school was particularly good academically of course and I seemed a much better student than I actually was. I found it easy to socialize at my old school because they were more laid back, but I enjoyed meeting all types of people from different socioeconomic groups. (44)*

The analysis of questionnaire-survey memoirs showed that in the first few weeks of boarding school all respondents recorded that there was tension between the primary personal system of the home and the secondary system of the school. In all memoirs, it was recorded that respondents were required to change themselves in order to be able to cope with the day-to-day life at the research boarding school in order to become a part of the social system of the boarding House itself. It appeared from the cultural data collected that the extent to which a respondent believed that they were successful at adapting to his or her new social environment determined their achievement at the research boarding school as a whole.

It was necessary for the respondents that they modify or adapt aspects of their own social behaviour in order to become part of this new social system. In the case of overseas students who were from a non-English speaking background, the experiences of the first few weeks of boarding were complicated by the level of their ability to communicate with their peers in the language of the research boarding school. For example, some respondents commented that they found the first few weeks particularly difficult because they were worried that they would make a mistake in English, which was ramified by the fact that they were separated from their original linguistic and cultural background.

### **Negative attitudes towards the research boarding school**

#### *Lack of freedom and monotony*

The majority of negative attitudes towards a residential education were concerned with the institutional or organisational aspects of boarding. Over half of the respondents articulated negative views towards the lack of freedom at boarding school, the House rules that determined the quality

of each respondent's day-to-day life, the quality of food, in some cases the inability to "escape" from the school and the individual respondent's capacity to "fit in" or to form friends.

The majority of respondent recorded that there were negative aspects to a boarding education. However, none of the respondents singled out the quality of the academic education; the standard of teaching or the school's co-curricular programme as the source of their negative views. American born male respondent 1, male Anglo-Australian respondents 2, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 from rural and urban areas observed the following negative attributes of a boarding education:

- *The most negative aspect would have been that I was not very well accepted and I felt isolated and as a result I ostracized myself [...] The most negative aspect of School life would have to be the black and white views that people have. (1)*
- *The most negative aspect is the routine. (2)*
- *My Housemaster is the most negative aspect of School life. His nigging, penny pinching attitudes. He needs to feel totally superiors to everyone else and it really irks me. (4)*
- *[...] The bullying that occurs. (5)*
- *The students who are narrow minded [...] listening to other peoples' complaints [...] the reality is they don't realize that there is not much to complain about. Life is good at the school. (7)*
- *It is so shallow of people at the school who do not value or appreciate how fortunate they are to be at the school. It annoys me a lot to see this. (8)*
- *[...] being tired, bad food, and stupid School rules or decisions like the School uniform. (9)*

The attitudes of these seven memoirs drawn from overseas, rural and metropolitan respondents revealed the degree of variation in some of the negative attitudes towards boarding. Male respondents 14, 15, overseas male respondents 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 24, and 28 centered upon organisational matters which included leave on weekends, the lack of freedom at the school, the

monotonous timetable. This attitude was supported by male respondent 8 who lived in Melbourne, female rural Anglo-Australian respondent 35, female respondent 37 from Melbourne and female respondent 44 from rural Australia who confirmed that more than 14 of the 45 respondents considered the organisational aspects of boarding to be negative.

Male respondents' 14, 15 and 17 from rural Australia, 18 from Bangkok, 21 from Taipei. 23 from Malaysia, 24 from Malaysia, 25 from Indonesia, 27 from Bangkok, 28 from Malaysia, and respondent 29 a female from Bangkok revealed a level of anxiety in their new social system.

- *The most negative aspect of School life is the lack of freedom. Because of the School situation, it is hard to get away from the School. (14)*
- *The most negative aspect of school life is the set routine – the fact that nothing really changes. (15)*
- *The most negative aspect is not being able to go out every weekend. And when you get a Housemaster you don't like. I mean you live under the same roof together for 3 years – if it's someone not right for the job it is hell. (17)*
- *You don't have freedom like at home. (18)*
- *School food. It's not really bad – but it is always the same. (21)*
- *Being away from people you feel comfortable with. (23)*
- *The most negative aspects of School life are: school food, some staff members, lack of freedom, lack of free-time, chapel, lack of personal time and space. (24)*
- *Food and not much freedom. (25)*
- *Not being able to see my family as often as I would like. (27)*
- *Monotonous classes. (28)*
- *Lack of freedom and some bullying. (29)*

In particular these memoirs commented on the “lack of freedom” which they believed existed at boarding school. Respondent 8 a male student from Melbourne, female respondents 35 from rural Victoria, 37, 38 from rural Queensland and 44 noted:

- *The most negative aspect of School life is boredom and a lack of appreciation, which annoys me incredibly. People at School claim to be bored during weekends when they stay at School. They then resort to drinking, which is lame. It disheartens me to see people my age drinking because they're bored, or can't have a good time without drinking. It is so shallow people at the school do not value or appreciate how fortunate they are to be at the school. (8)*
- *The fact that this place is an institution and as there are rules and regulations and things you have to do. Sometimes I just want to get away. (30).*
- *[...] being here I feel like I am in jail. I don't know what is happening at the end of the School road. I am scared of getting into serious trouble, scared to see my teachers and mainly my parent's reactions. (35)*
- *[...] my first year of boarding was definitely nothing like I expected it to be. It was so sparse and nothing luxurious about it at all. I remember thinking “what the hell have I got myself in into?” [...] the most negative aspect of school life includes meals, exeat and the hierarchy. Meals don't exactly affect my day-to-day life, exeat annoy me at least everyday – and also the hierarchy of students at the school from years 10-12 then with the prefects on top – I think that it is pathetic. (37)*
- *[...] I hated being babied by people – I've always felt independent and I hated people bossing me around. As I was an only child I always felt at the start that it was going to be like a party [...] I soon discovered that we all had very different routines and personalities and there was no real way we would be able to get along. There seemed to be a miniature struggle for power within my dormitory. I wasn't really used to this sort of interaction and so I often allowed myself to just go along with it. I sometimes let people walk all over me and I had to learn how to cooperate and compromise. (38)*
- *The most negative aspect of school life would be the oppressive atmosphere of the school itself. Not being allowed to leave the school that much gets more than a little tedious. The food here also depresses me a lot. I love good food and the meals at school make me sick, most of the time I look forward to getting out and eating proper food, it would make day-to-day life much better if meals were something that we looked forward to. (44)*

These respondent's memoirs supported the negative pattern of views established by male respondents 1, 2, 5, 4, 7, 8, and 9. It was found that two of the 45 respondents commented on

bullying in the research boarding school community as a negative aspect of school life.

Respondent 38 a female from rural Queensland continued confirmed the initial tenor of her memoirs and alerted us to:

- *The most negative aspect of school life – is the long hours [...] the timetable of the school also exhaust me. Because homework is done at school – if I go home early or on the weekend I don't get any of my work done because I am so used to the prep routine at school. It will be really hard work if I go to university because it will be up to me if I want to do some work – I am used to being told what to do. (38)*

Respondent 39 a female from Melbourne commented on the transition to her new school environment as the cause for serious anxiety that made her feel physically ill:

- *[...] on the first day I felt rather out of it because the girls who had been in Year 7 the year before knew each other and everything – a bit overwhelming. In fact, I felt physically sick for most of the day. Fortunately, there were a number of new people who found it harder than me which made it easier. I was very timid and innocent the first few weeks. I grew to love school though. (39)*

Nevertheless, respondent 39 was able to differentiate between the primary personal social of the home and the secondary personal system of the boarding House and articulated that:

- *The most negative aspect is sometimes the fact that this place is an institution and so there are rules and regulations and things you have to do.(39)*

Her frustration culminated with:

- *Sometimes I just want to get out of here and away. It can be difficult to get time to yourself to unwind or think, or simply just be. This impacts on my moods greatly. I can get snappy and bitchy. This is sometimes cured by an exeat or holidays. (39)*

The negative aspects identified by the respondents who took part in this study appeared to transcend cultural differences. It seemed that all respondents' negative attitudes centered upon the specific demands of residential education which forced the adolescent to adopt far more independent and adult attributes. As these respondents revealed in the personal nature of their memoirs boarding school was a confronting experience. It seemed that boarding forced individual respondents to question his or her relationship not only with their primary group systems but also how they related to their new surroundings at the school.

When the researcher considered the views of the respondents in their memoirs data in comparison to the respondents' attitudes towards their first few weeks as a boarder the researcher found the data recalled for analysis in this chapter concentrated upon the tension individual boarders experienced between the intimacy and familiarity of the home and the immediate strangeness of the research boarding school.

### Positive attitudes towards the research boarding school

#### *Community, connectedness and comradeship*

- *The most positive aspect of the school is interacting with my friends. Having so many close friends in proximity means I am rarely at a loss for someone to talk to and that I look forward to every class because there are people I want to see. This also gives me momentum to get through the day. It also helped to remain focused on team achievement in hockey. Because I am good friends with most of the people in the team. (4)*

The respondents' positive attitudes towards boarding school were in stark contrast to the negative views previously discussed. From the analysis of cultural data it appeared that the majority of the respondents' positive attitudes were concerned with the quality and depth of the human relationships they were able to establish with their peers and teachers at boarding school.

Cookson and Hodges Persell observed that:

[...] joining a clique is a matter of survival, because without friends a student is vulnerable to the antisocial, sometimes cruel, behavior of other students. When alumni reflect on their boarding school experiences they almost never talk of a specific course or teacher, and even the head may only be dimly remembered. What alumni do remember, vividly in many cases, are the other students: the bullies, the saints, the good guys and the nice girls ... to help a friend in need is the essence of relationship, and prep school students learn this through experience. (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p.153)

Overwhelmingly students' cited "friendship" as the major education benefit from being a part of a residential community. Many respondents understood that the quality of their interpersonal relationships was underscored by the overarching community of the boarding House within the collegiate body of the school itself. Respondents' memoirs which concentrated on the positive aspects stressed the unique and dynamic nature of the human relationships and the educational benefits of being a part of a residential academic community.

Chapter 6 stressed many of the formative experiences of boarding school revolved around the collectivist nature of the boarding House as an adjunct to the broader collegiate body of the school itself. Forty-four of the 45 respondents believed:

- the quality of human relationships they experienced at boarding school was the most positive aspect of a boarding education;
- belonging and feeling a part of a broader school community was vital.

This was supported by the male American born Singapore resident respondent number 1, Anglo-Australia respondents 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, and the overseas male respondents 19, 21, 22, 24, 27, female overseas respondents number 31, female Australian respondents 34, 35 and 38:

- *[...] there is no doubt in my mind that boarding school has helped me tremendously in learning to deal with people in a variety of circumstances ... the most positive aspect of School life would have to be the enjoyment I get from the work I put in certain subjects. This has a very direct impact upon my daily life simply because it is one of those positive things and if it's not done well and don't feel satisfied with the work that I have done then it turns into a negative aspect. Some people take advantage of this situation. I think that it helps if you are willing to accept the situation. People who "go against the grain" fool themselves by making it harder ... (1)*
- *[...] the most positive aspects are the relationships and friendships one develops. This is the result of such things as sports and classes and other activities. Once you have these friendships, other things become more positive. (2)*
- *It [friendships] also helped me to remain focused on team achievement in hockey. Because I am good friends with most of the people in the team... the most positive*



*aspect of the School is interacting with my friends. Having so many close friends in proximity means I am rarely at a loss for someone to talk to and that I look forward to every class because there are people I want to see. This also gives me momentum to get through the day. (4)*

- *I suppose that the most positive aspects of school life is the ability to learn and work with people who themselves are positive and keen to be involved. ( 7)*
- *The most positive aspect of School life for me is certainly the people at the School. No matter what frame of mind I am in there is always someone to talk to or share the moment with. I find that I can usually do this with guys or girls, Year 10, 11 or 12s or with a staff member. The opportunities to talk to people at the School that are on an equal level of thought are extremely enriching. The co-educational dimension of the school is an invaluable aspect, which provides endless situations that can be experienced in later life. The environment of the School provides valuable experiences and knowledge. I am a happier person because of these factors. (8)*
- *The most positive aspect and still the most positive are the reorganization and the routine you are able to adopt. The routine enables you to work more effectively and therefore spend time more efficiently. In the first few weeks though probably not as much now my own tongue was my worst enemy. It helped me to get into lots of situations, which turned out for the worst, hence giving me a blemished reputation. Unfortunately, boarding school is not the most forgiving institution and people tend to remember your 'darker minutes' rather than your 'brighter hours'. Boarding school was very well suited for me though. However, it took a little longer to learn some of the better qualities like learning to get along with all types of people. (9)*
- *The most positive aspect is to make and keep awesome friendships. I have some of the greatest friends I think that I will ever have and that is the best aspect of School life. (10)*

Male Australian respondents 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, and 10 observed that friendships and the regularity of the day-to-day routine was the most positive aspect of school life. Respondent 9's memoir showed that he had to change aspects of his personality in order to become an integral member of his community. This contrasted by respondent 8 who noted that the "totality" of the school's atmosphere meant that it was always possible to find another person who could act as a "primary personal" value. This stance was supported by respondent 4 who noted that he "was rarely at a loss for someone to talk to".

Male Australian respondents 13, 14, 17, respondents 19 and 27 male students from Thailand echoed these observations:

- [...] *the most positive aspect is that friends constantly surround you, and it provides an opportunity to find out what people are really like. (13)*
- [...] *the most positive aspect of boarding life is that it teaches you to do things for yourself and have a better understanding of living with people. The most positive aspect is enjoying time with your mates. (14)*
- [...] *I think that it has made me a lot more independent and free. It's a great feeling you never get into as many family fights and you can live pretty much your own life due to no parents watching over your back. It also makes you much more aware of what life is going to be like when you leave your parents at home. (17)*
- [...] *the most positive aspects of boarding school: involved in sports, lots of friends, walk around campus, meet different types of people, being independent, doing things we have never done before. (19)*

The positive aspects of school life which overseas male respondents 21, 27, 28, 29, from Taipei, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, and a female respondents 31 from Bangkok and 35 from rural Victoria fluctuated between the significance of friends, sport and being part of a community. This confirmed that one of the fundamental aspects for respondents' positive experiences at boarding school was belonging to a group.

- [...] *the most positive aspect of School life includes sport, lot of exercise and interaction with friends. Learning new things that I learned and being able to use them in my life style. Lots of freedom and being able to do lots of things during free time. (21)*
- *The most positive aspects of School life are having friends with you to go through the good and the bad times. (27)*
- *I think that boarding life is quite good. The spirit in most Houses is good and you just get used to the people in the Houses and their little habits: you can talk about it, ignore it, or laugh at it. It makes a difference sometimes if you aren't feeling your best. You know everyone and most are willing to help. Sport is also good because it takes your mind off the world for a little while. (28)*

- *I meet a lot of friends and mix with other cultures. It gives me the opportunity to study in another country and improve my English. The teachers are very nice. (29)*
- *The most positive aspect of school life is that I get along better with other people. It is good to be by yourself – I learnt to live my life with out relying on someone else. It's the first time in my life where I have had the opportunity to do what I liked [...] the most positive aspect of school life: I learned another culture and some language for conversation. (31)*
- *The most positive aspect of boarding school life is sport after school. If I didn't have sport to look forward to then I would take it out on a lot of other people and I am sure others feel the same. (35)*

Australian female respondents 34, 37, 38 supported the significance of community life, which they believed had positively influenced their social and academic progress:

- *The most positive aspect of school life is a friend in the boarding House. You get to see them every day for 24 hours which can be really bad if you get sick of someone. But, if you have really close friends then it's really good to be able to see them all the time. Living with 11 other girls in one room with no breaks is pretty full on, but we always used to talk and talk so much and help each other, and by the end of the year I was like a cleansed person, even though again, since Year 10 I've changed. But it was an incredible culture shock. But for people generally, the aspect of boarding school, being excluded from the outside world has strange effects on people – lose a sense of reality to a certain extent, become either extremely independent or very dependent on the School's way of doing things. You probably don't realize how difficult life is, especially concerning money – the way that there are various shops in the School where things can be bought without using cash – but instead the mysterious 'account number'. Also, meals are handed to us apparently for free, as well as accommodation. Obviously, it will be our parents who have to pay \$28,000 at the end of the year; you forget that and think that what you are leading is a normal life. Is it? It's a bit weird. But the thing is, most families who fork out the amount of money they do send their kids to this School, will most likely be doing the same after their kids leave School – so financially for most people at this School they will not have any problems. Also, the standard of education is generally pretty high so jobs should be all right, maybe – I'm being optimistic. Many people become very independent as a result of boarding school, which could be helpful in the real world. Judging by the people I know whom where here in Year 12 a while ago, it seems to prepare you quite well. (34)*
- *My circle of friends has changed; your attitude towards life becomes different. I used to waste my time and now I use up every minute possible. Boarding school puts you in a different place of the world – you start to think more maturely and you can just tell that you are different to what you used to be life. It's beneficial boarding. You change in many ways and it puts you in good stead to finish school [...] I have changed heaps. In*

*the classroom I am less distracting. I am more relaxed because my parents aren't around as much – I don't have to tell anyone about things if I don't want to. I've become more appreciative of things. (37)*

- *The most positive aspect of school life would be the new friends I've made. In my House I found a couple of people who share the same interests as me and like to have the same fun as I do. This affects my day-to-day life because I know if I'm in trouble and I need a place to go or just someone to talk to they'll be there. It is also good just to be able to dump all my stuff on someone and to be able to give advice to people. It feels like I'm actually helping – even if it is only on a small scale Year nine was my first boarding experience. I had become much more social by this point and had become attached to a strong group of friends. I didn't want to go [to boarding school] as my brother had had quite a tough year and I expected it to be the same. I got to know the girls in my dorm very quickly. Many were loud and dominating but I was happy to be away from home. The physical environment was wonderful. I was still quite shy and the girls with the stronger personalities took advantage of that [...] the most positive aspect of school; life would be the new friends I've made in my House. I found a couple of people who share the same interests as me and like to have the same fun as I do. This affects my day to day life because I know that if I'm in trouble and I need someone to talk with I can go and see one of them [...] before I came to this school I had been to a series of little public primary schools. I didn't interact with other people at all and I would physically run away if people came too close. Academically I didn't work hard at all. I remember being incredibly shocked when I saw almost everyone in the class was obsessed with academic perfection at this school. Before I came here I was very shy and standoffish. I tried not to interact too much with other people. (38)*

Female Respondents 39 from Melbourne and 44 from rural Victoria thought that the social aspect of school life was one of the most important part of school life:

- *[...] the most positive aspect was the social scene. I found a boy friend, which made me feel secure and accepted. Luckily, a group of popular girls adopted me into their group so I eased in pretty well. I didn't really get homesick. Most negative aspect was just the uncomfortable feeling on the first few days with the confident and familiar girls already there who had been there in Year 7. [...] one of the things I like most about boarding is being around friends all the time. The sense of community and the social aspect of boarding are very positive. It provides an incentive to go to meals and to see your friends and other people from other Houses or year levels that you don't usually see as much. (39)*
- *The most positive aspect of boarding school is that I think you learn how to be independent. Although we live with other teachers, tutors, etc we are away from the often over bearing influence of our parents which helps us define our own personalities. This of course impacts on our day to day life because we live as individuals in an institution and we learn to rely on ourselves for basic things such as*

*waking and time management. It also effects out relationships with other because out friends become a reflection on ourselves. (44)*

## Overview

This chapter isolated the respondents' attitudes towards the first few weeks at the research boarding school, attitudes of boarders from non-English speaking backgrounds, and negative and positive attitudes towards the experiences of the research boarding school as a system of education in their memoirs. After considering the nature of the attitudes presented it was found that respondents believed that homesickness, lack of freedom, food, and the inability to make decisions about their lives to be the negative aspects of a boarding education. These attitudes supported the findings of the international studies of Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Lambert (1968a), Morgan (1993) Wakeford (1969), and Walford (1983, 1984, and 1986) as discussed in chapter 2.

It was discovered that the particular situation many international respondents described in their memoirs paralleled the experiences of "ethnic minorities who were lost in the host population". In this circumstance the host population was the dominant cultural of the research boarding school overall and the individual boarding Houses in which respondents appeared to act as approximate primary personal bonds for each other, based upon the feelings of unity and cultural similarity. This rôle the boarding House played in the respondents' lives paralleled Smolicz's understanding of "the freemasons or members of an elite club ... as constituting primary group systems, analogous to the function of an ethnic group in a plural society" (Smolicz 1979, pp.153-54; 1999).

After chronological analysis of respondents' memoirs according to the theoretical implications of Smolicz's conceptual grid for the classification of social systems it seemed that an individual's

negative or positive attitude towards boarding school appeared to be partially determined by five key factors:

- who was involved with the initial decision that the respondent attended boarding school, as revealed in the concrete data;
- the extent a respondents expressed his or her attachment to the primary group system in the cultural data collected in the questionnaire-survey;
- the capacity for an individual to establish a pattern of friendship amongst his or her peers in their secondary group system of the boarding House and school, which was supportive of the values of their primary personal social system of the home;
- the capacity for a student to establish a relationship with a significant adult who valued their presence and who could act as a mentor when required;
- the “tone” or “atmosphere” of the boarding House community where an individual believed that he or she was a valued and integral member of that group.

From these five factors it appeared that the quality of the respondents’ human relationships in the boarding Houses of the school seemed to be one of the major factors that bridged the gap between the intimacy of the primary personal system of the home and the secondary system of the boarding House.

From the cultural data initially discussed in the chapter it appeared that the academic and pastoral success or otherwise of the research boarding school education in the eyes of the students was determined by the extent of the personal atmosphere, support, and comfort of the boarding House. Chapter 8 will consider the significance of group and individual social systems in the lives of the students at the research boarding school. Last, it will reflect on the students’ attitude towards their teachers given their unusual rôle *in loco parentis* and as academic guides.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE RÔLE THE RESEARCH BOARDING SCHOOL PLAYS IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF ITS STUDENTS

The Bolt's study both interested and depressed me. It reminded me of an alcove in the British Museum. The walls were almost obscured by long lines of leather bound books or pictures of broken statuary, vases, and various relics of bygone ages. On a pedestal in one corner was a white marble bust of an armless woman, and in the other corner, Jason was getting the upper hand of a dragon. This was one of those rare rooms that reflect, in some undeniable way, the character and temperament of the owner, who was not so much an archaeologist as a lover of art and learning (Jennings 1924, p48).

This chapter continues the analysis of the rôle respondents' believed the research boarding school played in their lives. When the respondent's memoirs were considered Smolicz's systems of social values was applied in order to examine the relationship between each respondent's primary and secondary group social systems. The first half of this chapter considers the respondents' views of corporate life at boarding school and the ideological values students' revealed in their memoirs. Finally, the rôle of teachers in the secondary social system of the school was considered.

#### **Group social systems at the research boarding school: corporate life and total institutions**

Bamford (1967), Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Goffman (1961, 1969), Lambert (1968a), Scott (2000), Simons (2001), Wakeford (1969) and Walford (1983, 1984, and 1986) believed the influence of corporate life was the one of key aspects of a boarding education. This assertion was supported by Bean (1950) who stressed the corporate nature of the majority of Australia's independent schools and confirmed by Hansen's (1971) study of three Victorian schools and the work of Sherrington, Petersen and Brice(1987).

Corporate living appeared to encourage a “collectivist” attitude. As Smolicz observed “ideological distinctions between cultures influence the patterning of social systems” so it is possible that different types of schools stress the importance of different ideological stances. As outlined in Table 8.1 *Ideological values and social systems in different societies*, Smolicz asserted that social patterns amongst Anglo societies were “individualist” in tradition at the primary level of the home and “collectivist” at the secondary level of the school and observed “evidence of the inculcation of the collectivist ethos at secondary level” (Smolicz 1979, p.157; 1999, p.152).

**Table 8.1 Ideological values and social systems in different societies**  
Smolicz (1979, p.157; 1999, p.152)

<b>Social System</b>	<b>Anglo Societies</b>	<b>S and E. European Societies</b>
Primary	Individualist	Collectivist
Secondary	Collectivist	Individualist

This conceptual grid was applied to the social and cultural interaction of students at the research boarding school. First, the shared nature of the boarding Houses defined the importance of community living and encouraged a collectivist identity.

For example of the nine full-boarding Senior School Houses, most boys and girls shared dormitories for at least two years as a student. This dormitory provided the forced physical and emotional intimacy which encouraged students to develop a sense of communal identity. Goffman (1961, 1969) noted that in other “total communities”, such as monasteries, individual participants acquired patterns of behaviour which supported a collective identity. As outlined in chapter 4, Senior School students were required to wear House blazers and jumpers of different colours so that they were readily identified as members of a specific boarding House.

Cookson and Hodges Persell commented that:



[...] from a student's point of view, the focal building on a boarding school campus is not likely to be the chapel, classroom, or library, but the dormitory. It is in the dorms that the real action is where students must learn to join the group if they are to survive. Schools vary on how they house their students. The large brick dorms of many western prep schools, for instance, remind one more of a cellblock than a home away from home. Most rooms open onto a central corridor, and there is a community bathroom at the end of each corridor. One room is like the next including the institutional beds, chairs, and tables. Girls' dorms tend to be less spartan than the boys are, and in some cases, girls are boarded in converted homes, rather than dorms. Dormitories that have been built recently tend to be more like motels than barracks. (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p.128)

Life in the Houses at the research boarding school was highly regulated. Students were required to be present at certain places at set times, and were expected to be able to account for their absences. Nevertheless, this system of education was based on trust a student it was expected that a student would inform the tutor-on-duty if he or she would be leaving the boarding House and report back as well. For example, students were told when to complete their homework, when to shower and when to be in bed. In some instances, regulations for House life can be very specific.

Most students were required to share their rooms with a roommate or a study partner, whom some of them liked, while others revealed that they did not. These responses indicated that the relationships between roommates were often extreme because they often would share a number of things, including books, school notes, clothing, and compact discs. The intensity of corporate life meant that academic staff and students had to be aware of the potential for bullying.

A sense of orderliness and solidarity was expected at the research boarding school; students would be required to surrender individual behaviour that failed to take into account the impact of their actions on other members of the community. This appeared to other individual students to produce a particular type of behaviour and encouraged students to be tolerant of each others',

differences, yet resilient enough to articulate their frustration with those members of their dorm or House who failed to conform to the expectations of community life.

In chapter 4 the structure and culture of the research boarding school was considered. Here the researcher demonstrated some of the key characteristics of a partially “total environment” as Goffman (1961, 1969) understood it. Significantly, this observation was supported by the respondents’ memoirs. First, the geographical isolation of the school, as noted by Hansen (1971), fulfilled one of the essential criteria.

- The school was 5 kilometres from the central business district.
- It had its own miniature insular community.
- Buildings were accessed by private roads, which were owned and maintained by the school.
- There was a school medical centre.
- Food was prepared and served on site in the central dining halls.
- There was a Parish Church with its own chaplaincy, which served the community of the school.

Respondent 1, an American born student living in Singapore, commented on the totality of the school:

- *I got here and immediately was thrown into the numerous activities such as swimming tests and so on. I was in a foreign environment where structure and routine ruled my world. (1)*

Respondent 1’s comments supported the notion of moving from the primary social system of the family to the secondary social system of the research boarding school. Respondent 2 a male student born in South Africa and a naturalized Australia, observed:

- *Boarding School is a strange place in the way that it establishes the foundations for later life. Two advantages are that it teaches you to function within a community and to live with others. The second is that it is sheltered existence that doesn’t give you a taste of real life and in no way prepares you for the struggle when one finishes. My opinion is that the only person who fools you is yourself. You have to be either naïve, ignorant or stupid to think that life will come easily [...] I am unsure as to whether this is a flaw in the system or in the students’ perception. Academics are*

*important but they are not the sole focus of my schooling. In life balance is crucial a narrow human being's wasteful, pointless and will struggles to function in life. Therefore, I try to balance sport, academics, co-curricular activities and social life. Certainly, however, when one is lacking then sacrifices must be made. Unfortunately, it more often seems that my academics is the area that I struggle in most and therefore have to spend more time doing them. (2)*

Respondent 3 from rural Victoria elaborated further on the totality of the research boarding school social system when he wrote:

- *It [boarding school] provides a smaller "mock" community with everything going on. At a day-school you can go home to your own bed, home cooked meals, parents family etc. It makes you (it has made me) more capable of coping with being on your own. (3)*

The process of group assimilation, which was articulated by this student, implied that the degree of everyday life taking place under a single authority was significant. Respondent 3's observation that boarding school "makes you more capable of coping on your own" revealed a curious anomaly that emerged in other responses. Goffman suggested that total institutions lead to the process of self-mortification of an individual. Connected with this was the assimilation of an individual, which made them dependent upon the social system of the institution. It appeared, as articulated by respondent 3's memoirs, that despite commenting upon some of the characteristics of a total institution, boarding school also provided the necessary inculcation of values which lead to independence in later life. Especially, in the context that boarding school provided a "mock" community.

The totality of the institution was reinforced when some memoir writers considered their relationship with the personification of authority of the school, the Head of House. Respondent 4, from rural Victoria, commented on his frustration with the "explicit formal ruling" from his Head of House stating that:

- *Whenever he pulls me up for some petty digression of School or House rules (such as attitude, language, being asleep too long in the morning) really makes me want to abuse him or give him my exact opinion of him. (4)*

A level of powerlessness existed in this respondent's memoir. However, he felt that he was unable or unwilling to articulate his specific concerns about boarding-house life. These comments paralleled Goffman's observations on the experience of surveillance in an institution of this nature.

Later the same respondent commented:

- *[...] there was a large emphasis on cleaning up, and doing other menial jobs. The rather stingy approach to personal liberties such as sleeping in annoyed me. In addition, the amount of time spent by my Housemaster telling my year level about how undisciplined we had been annoyed me. (4)*

The split between the primary social system of the home and the secondary group social system of the school noted by this respondent reaffirmed Goffman's findings that there was an attitudinal shift between the authority figures in an institution of this type and its "inmates". Goffman furthermore clarified that some of the inmates of these institutions tended to view the authority figures as narrow-minded, hostile stereotypes. He argued that while the authority figures tended to view themselves as superior and righteous, the inmates tended to feel weak, blameworthy and guilty.

Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, pp.126-134) observed in American boarding schools, as Goffman (1961, p.37) asserted, that an important prerequisite of the total institution was the ability of "inmates" or "students" to detach themselves from their previous or present culture. This Goffman believed was the start of the "mortification period", where an individual and their existing identity were abandoned, or at least temporarily hidden.

Thus the beginning of the "moral career" within the total institution was when an individual started the "stripping away of the self". As noted by many students this was not a simple process. In many

instances, respondents connected leaving home and the arrival at the new “total institution” with feeling homesick. Unlike many institutions mentioned in other studies, the research boarding school was very supportive of students who experienced homesickness and believed that it was an ordinary and sometimes inevitable reality of boarding. In some past studies of boarding school in England, Lambert (1968a), Wakeford (1969), Walford (1983, 1984 and 1986) and Weinberg (1967) noted that many schools did not permit students to contact their parents by telephone in the first three weeks of boarding. The research boarding school, however, abandoned this practice over twenty years ago.

Respondent 11 from Melbourne commented on the intensity and the totalisation of life in an institution where every day's activities tended to be prearranged and the day was tightly scheduled when he wrote:

- *The 24-hour life amplifies faults and gives one the opportunity to refine these. Where I was once weak, I am now much stronger. If I were to say to what extent boarding changes a person, I would say a lot. I say this by comparing myself to friends, brothers, and sisters who don't attend boarding school. They all seem a little underdeveloped as people. Boarding prepares you a lot in terms of teaching you how to deal with people. You can see past their faults and this, I imagine is very important in real life and business. You are more understanding and are able to compromise. You gain maturity, which allows for the appreciation of others' point of views. It gives you routine and things you may dislike. It prepared you for life after School to a more developed extent to that of a day-School. (11)*

This student believed that as he adapted to the social system of the school his faults were turned into strengths. He revealed that the all-embracing nature and intensity of the boarding experience in a total community had forced him to become a better person. Consequently, it was possible to assert that respondent 11's memoirs showed some of the characteristics of an individual who experienced the phenomenon of self-mortification in that this respondent commented on behaviour that he assessed as showing negative attributes and which he has converted into areas of strength.

The validity, or appropriateness, of Goffman's term "self-mortification" was reconsidered. Since the manifesto of the research boarding school was based in pedantry, surely the process of self-mortification should be considered. Respondent 11 identified success in business beyond the life of the total institution as one of the motivating factors - and an advantage of a boarding-school education. This was extended further when respondent 11 commented that it prepared students for life beyond the, presumably, closed environment of boarding school.

Respondent 13's memoir, a male student from rural Queensland, commented on the structure of boarding school and provided a sophisticated metaphor for its function. He wrote:

- *Boarding school makes you realize that you are not a machine in itself but actually part of it. This is mirror image of how society works it pulls people from home where everything to a certain degree is set around their behaviour and actions to a world that resembles what is becoming modern life. It stops the feeling of having to refer to the machine (society) by showing that you must be part of that machine to perform in the future. You become a more tolerant person, who respects people and gives help when it is needed. It is just a huge head start in helping you to comprehend everything. (13)*

This student's responses revealed a similar attitude to respondent 3's view on the "smaller mock community". When respondent 13 commented that he was part of the machine of boarding school he revealed an appreciation of the institution's complexity. Interestingly, his attitude suggested that he was able to consciously acknowledge that he was part of the school's social system. Respondent 13's comments concurred with male respondents' 1, 3 and 11 who noted the process of assimilation and change that took place at the school was manifest, with the purported benefit of preparation for life beyond it.

A female Anglo-Australian respondent 43 from Melbourne observed that:

- *Everyone – almost everyone – knows that we live in an isolated environment. Often it feels to me like many people when they leave school- are going to find that they are not really ready for 'real life'; or real life as far as I see it. People do seem to be preoccupied with a form of social hierarchy in this school, and respond with*

*ignorance or indifference towards people, or ideas. Some things – such as jobs, commitments, the juggling of work etc should set us up for the outside world. (43)*

Respondent 13, a male from rural Queensland, acknowledged that he experienced difficulty between the social mobility of his previous environment, where he was predominantly alone, as opposed to the “continuous interaction with people” at school. This affected him to the point where it was necessary for him to remove himself from the intensity of the “hothouse” as Lambert described the boarding school environment, so that he could achieve some “space”. Respondent 13’s highlighted the fact that, although the school displayed the architectural and attitudinal characteristics of a total environment, it remained an institution that permitted members to leave on exeat and vacations.

Respondent 14, a male student from rural Victoria, commented on the anxiety he experienced during the few weeks at the school when he came to the realization that he was unable to go home and wrote:

- *I enjoy the interaction with people, like in the first XVIII this was due to me meeting new people and being around them 24 hours a day. I was most of the time by myself when I was living at home so I wasn’t used to the continuous interaction with people. After the first couple of weeks I was over it and just wanted to get away from people and get some space. (14)*

As a result of isolating the comments that showed evidence of boarding as a total community, it was found that there were a number of comments which stressed the communal or corporate life of boarding school and also the boarding-house. In each instance, there was a distinction between the corporate life of the school and the corporate life of the House.

This discovery was analogous with the findings of Lambert (1975), Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Wilkinson (1969a, 1964b and 1967), Wakeford (1969) and Walford (1983, 1984 and 1986).

As outlined in chapter 5, in many instances there was more emphasis on the House identity at the school, rather than on the whole school identity. Respondent 1, an American born overseas student living in Singapore, commented on the communal showers as being “a strange experience” and then told how he became accustomed to them after a while.

- *When I first came to the School I though the idea of communal showers was a bit strange – but I have got used to it and I am used to my own body. Now I'm not embarrassed as I originally was and it never crosses my mind as being strange now. (1)*

A number of both boys and girls identified the times of the year when organized activities brought the school or the House population together and they identified these as aspects of corporate life at the school. From an analysis of the responses it was possible to see that the boys found the corporate life of the House to be more meaningful than the girls did; clearly, House initiation ceremonies were identified as part of this.

More specifically, respondent 1 noted that a House-based example of a corporate rite of passage existed with:

- *The House war cry – or the wogga – was defiantly one of the most amazing moments in my entire School life. Being separated together as a year level within the House and then taking part in an event together to become part of that House was an experience I will never forget. (1)*

Respondent 2 clearly identified the bonding phenomenon of the House “wogga” also spelt as “wagga” by some of the respondents – but clearly pronounced with the “a” sounding as an “o” similar to the Australian town Wagga Wagga.

- *Perhaps the biggest event that has the most impact on boarding-House tradition is the “Wagga”. Each year the Year 10s are initiated into the House via this method. It comprises of your whole year group trying to learn a song (the Wagga) and if you stuff it up you get a beating that is the whole group. You continue this until you get it*



*right. It is a very unifying experience despite what is said about intimidation and bullying. The whole House gets through the event. (2)*

These House initiations, now supervised by staff, empowered the individuals to become authorised members of the student sub-culture, albeit a staff-sanctioned student subculture.

Respondent 10 from rural Victoria clearly identified the “bonding” phenomenon of the House wogga. The wogga was similar to the school song however it was associated with this particular House. It was usually performed at the conclusion of a victorious sporting event, in particular Rugby and Australian Rules football. The boys of the House sing this collective song with enthusiasm jumping up and down at the same time as a group. The significance of the wogga was seen in the comments of respondent 10's response:

- *Traditionally the “wogga” in the House has been a very scary and daunting initiation process which year 10s have been subjected to. In our year it was close to the real way, very violent and intimidating, though this year there was no violence and no intimidation. Though it meant very little to me, it was great to see the year 10s happiness at the end of it. Further when the House wins something of whatever reason there is a House “wogga” the look on their faces is awesome, really bringing the House together in a very proud and traditional way without the violent initiation process of the past. (10)*

The majority of respondents noted the following times as instances when the school came together as a whole community:

- assemblies;
- Chapel;
- House sporting competition;
- House music competition;
- head of the river ;
- House dinner.

However, as Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.127) and Hays (1994) believed, students who accepted the rules of a school were not exactly the same as someone being made a member of a

group. Significantly, boarding school required students to transfer, to a certain extent, their emotional attachment from their parents, to the schools and to classmates. The process by which students were inculcated into their career at boarding school helped to establish the speed and success of this transfer of loyalty. Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.128) believed that the "bond between parent and child is probably weakened when children are sent away to school. From the child's point of view, he or she has little choice but to forge new loyalties to survive".

It was found that Cookson and Hodges Persell's assertion paralleled some aspects of the experiences of respondents at the research boarding school. For example, it was noted in the memoirs of male respondents 14, 15 from rural Victoria, 19, 21 and 22 from overseas that the following corporate community events helped to promote a sense of House and school collective identity:

- *The House Dinner is a good event that brings the House together with the parents as well.* (14)
- *House Music brought the House together because we had to work hard and encourage each other.* (15)
- *The activities which have brought the School together are House music and House swimming.* (19)
- *House soccer! And other sport events, that the whole House come together for.* (21)
- *Hose swimming, House soccer and House Music – which is really exciting we get to sing together.* (22)

From the comments on the range of social events from dinners with students and parents, to House music and sporting competitions, it was interpreted that students believed that these events were pivotal in creating a sense of community spirit, which represented the physical manifestation

of the spirit of belonging to a boarding House and being a member of the school. Respondent 8, on the other hand, believed:

- *House music is the only event on the calendar at the School that brings both Houses and the School together. The Houses are brought together by necessity to do well and the School is brought together as parents, staff and students who attend the competition. It is the only time during the year that the whole School is assembled. (8)*

Here one of the significant points was the compulsory nature of the tasks – imposed by the official structure of the institution. However, this in turn was also supported and reinforced by the attitude towards these events as shown by the students. These communal expressions of the school or House as a corporate body permitted an insight to the microcosm of cultural integration.

Respondent 11 from Melbourne noted that sport was one of the important corporal aspects of the school, which reinforced the totality of the environment of not only the School but also of the House:

- *Sport brings the House or the School together. Houses unite as one School at events such as the Head of the River. (11)*

On the other hand, not all respondents revealed the same level of “belonging” to the House. Respondent 12 from Geelong revealed his feeling of alienation from the intensity of corporate life. He and respondent 42, a female from Melbourne, rejected the common experiences of other respondents when they commented that they believed that there was no example of any single event that brought the House together:

- *No event seems to bring the House together – except for the day-to-day living with the same people, which helps to strengthen House identity. (12)*
- *Boarding school life is completely different from “normal” schooling life and therefore it changed you quite a lot. There is more freedom and more discipline but at the same time there are many more aspects of boarding life that are opened due to boarding school, many more opinions to follow and continues after school. It is all of these points that change people for good and bad. (42)*

Aspects of corporate life were mentioned in the majority of responses. However, it was clear that the extent to which an individual articulated a sense of belonging to the House as a “state of mind” was influenced by gender to some extent, by culture. From the responses collected, it was found that Anglo-Australian boys were more likely to articulate a sense of belonging to the House as all important part of an individual’s personal identity at the School. Anglo-Australian girls did not comment on this as much as their male counter-parts. It appeared that the extent to which overseas students felt connected to the House as a community hinged on their level of proficiency in English. The critical factor of language proficiency appeared to be one of the keys to unlocking the culture of Australian boarding school behaviour and to fully understanding the integration and assimilation which took place during such events.

#### **Individual social systems at the research boarding school: the rôle of the individual primary group system of the House**

The most critical fact of any boarder’s life was that they were separated from their parents for at least three-quarters of the academic year. More than half respondents in this study commenced boarding when they were 13 or 14 years-old or in years 7 or 8. The emotional impact of the separation between the students’ and their families was not the focus of this study. However, the majority of respondents commented on this particular aspect of their lives in their memoirs. The emotional tension between the transitions from the primary group system of the home to the new social system of the boarding House presented respondents with the challenge to establish relationships that sustained their hopes, fears, and aspirations.

While the majority of students returned home in the school holidays, some overseas students remained in the country and lived with their guardians during this time because of the cost of an airfare to send them back home. In the case of some overseas students the separation between

the student and his or her extended family was as long as six months. It was not uncommon in the Middle School for one of the parents of an overseas student to move near the research boarding school in the first year of a student's schooling so that direct contact was maintained with the family. In cases such as this, it tended to be the mother who moved to Australia for the year.

As students moved from the intimacy and informality of their family primary group systems they were thrust into a communal living situation. Students' initial reaction when they arrived at boarding school was either of excitement and anticipation or shock. This was first noticed as students arrived at the boarding House and was confronted with their particular bed area. In the majority of boarding Houses in the school students slept in dormitories with up to 15 students sharing in one area. Each student had his or her own cupboard, bed, side locker which was able to be locked, chest of drawers and study area with desk. As students progressed towards year 12 they moved from large dormitories to bedroom-studies that were shared between two students and then to an individual bedroom-study in year 12.

From the outset everyday life at the research boarding school emphasised group life. As students entered the life of the boarding House so they were welcomed into a new life which, although it did not physically replicate the home, was one in which other students were inclined to be supportive of the values of emotional familiarity and informality more widely recognised as the characteristics of a primary group system. However, as seen chapter 7, not all students' experiences were positive.

When students were asked to consider the social dynamic of the House, their responses were varied. For example Anglo-Australian male respondents 2 from Geelong, 4 and 7 from rural Victoria, 8 from Melbourne, 9 from rural New South Wales wrote:

- *Your family background determines everything. They are in a sense your fingerprint for your likes and dislikes and morals. (2)*
- *I think that the House determines your friends to a large extent. Your closest friends are generally formed with people inside your boarding House because they are around you the most. I think that home background plays an important rôle as your background helps to shape your interests and attitudes so that at the school your friends come from similar backgrounds. (4)*
- *You can definitely tell the social groups from our House. There is a definite split in my House. (7)*
- *I come from a strong, honest, home background, which has determined the friendships that I have formed. My better friends are not those who spend their entire time at School waiting for the next party. I believe I get along with many people at the School and this is due to my upbringing. I think that I form friendships on foundations that are important. (8)*
- *I am from an isolated family [geographically]. I am always with my mates in the House. I really enjoy going home to the farm. But I have become far more independent and I am tolerant of other peoples' views. (9)*

Male Australian and overseas respondents, including 11 from Melbourne, 15 from rural Victoria, 18 from Bangkok, 23 from Malaysia observed:

- *The House you begin your boarding school life in determines the core group of friends you will have and remain with. (11)*
- *Home background determines your friends in the House. (15)*
- *It is a good thing to have a lot of friends in a school because friends can make me happy. You can talk with your friends. If you got some problem you can go to with your friend to help solve your problems which make you feel better. (18)*
- *You become used to being with a lot of people. Home background doesn't determine your friends at all. (23)*

Female respondents 29 and 31 from Bangkok and 39, an Australian from Melbourne, commented:

- *Boarding school helps you to understand others and care for them. (29)*
- *Mostly culture brings people together. But when in the House it doesn't matter where you come from. We can speak and have a conversation together. (31)*
- *[...] I have observed that in Year 9 and in Year 10 that you become friends with those in your House. The majority of my closest friends come from my House because we have*

*been boarders together since year 9. On the other hand, I have some close friends in other Houses and I have started to appreciate [them] more, in a way, because I don't have to live with them and I am not forced to spend all that time with them. I have grown apart from a few friends over the years because they are in another House. (39)*

As respondents discussed aspects of boarding school life it appeared that they were concerned with the quality of their human relationships. When the researcher considered the statements above they suggested that the boarding House played a significant rôle in the formation of a new social system.

Australian male respondents 2 from Geelong, 4 and 15 from rural Victoria from argued that the primary group system of the home determined an individual student's friends in the boarding House. However, Australian male respondents 7 from rural Victoria, 9 from rural New South Wales, 11 from Melbourne, overseas respondents 23 from Malaysia, female respondents 29 and 31 from Thailand argued that the boarding House formed the structure which defined initial bonds between students at the school. Given that respondents 2, 4 and 15 argued that home background defined their friendship circle, it was possible to suggest their capacity to establish meaningful relations with others individuals was significantly reduced in comparison to the other respondents.

When asked to consider the characteristics that were important to form friends who would become part of her primary personal group respondent 39, a female Anglo-Australian from Melbourne, reported that:

- *[...] home background definitely determines your friends. People who have similar socioeconomic backgrounds sometimes click. If you come from a very straight, middleclass, nuclear family you're likely to (subconsciously perhaps) become friends with those from similar backgrounds.(39)*

Respondent 39's memoir was one of the only accounts which stressed the significance of having similar primary personal values in order to be able to make friends with people in the secondary group system of the school. She refined this and indicated that:

- [...] *often (noticeably at this school) there are groups of rural students from farms, and then city groups, people from Thailand stick together. People definitely mix with people from their own class in cases.* (39)

A students' capacity to interact with their peers was noted in other memoirs. For example female respondent 41 from rural Victoria wrote:

*Boarding school will change the way you interact with other people. By sharing dorms and studies, you will learn how to control and overcome many emotions: anger, frustration, fear, sadness and shyness. I believe you become a much more open receptive and understanding person. Being away from home helps you learn to cope without your parents there holding your hand. You learn the art of compromise an essential tool for successful boarding. You also learn the art of sneaking around (I know that this is hardly commendable). Being a prefect has forced me to realise the usefulness of rules, and recognise their purposes. Boarding forces you into a routine to organise yourself, self-reliance isn't quite there, as there is always the account, which is frequently used. I know I will use my experience from this school to help me in later life.* (41)

This respondent believed that through the forced intimacy of boarding-house life they underwent and emotional transition and was able to "overcome many emotions". These memoirs suggested that the students in the boarding Houses had established a values system based on the quality of their relationships.

As in the case of a family, the memoirs also revealed that some individuals sensed different levels of intensity in their belonging, which appeared to be directly connected with an individual's ability to establish a network of friends who had similar interests. For many of the overseas students who took part in this study, their initial connection appeared to be established by similarities in their linguistic system.



As chapter 5 established, Smolicz (1979, 1999) believed that individuals were able to construct two sorts of social systems: a primary social system, which was made up of people with whom an individual has a primary relationship, and secondary personal system which are those linked through secondary relationships. The primary social system was personal, intimate and on-going with developed individual relationships and the secondary social system, which tended to be more formal, distant and spasmodic.

Nevertheless, it was possible to have a person who was both a close friend and a business associate, but Smolicz believed that the degree of intimacy developed in secondary personal systems would not be as intense as that of the primary personal system. Table 5.1 *Classification of social systems* illustrated conceptual grid and indicated that a primary group social system was usually the family.

However, each individual created his or her own primary personal system including members of their family as well as close friends. The school, university, or office constituted examples of secondary group systems, which provided the acquaintance of colleagues who formed an individual's secondary personal system. The memoir approach revealed to what extent an individual felt part of any given cultural group, and articulated the extent of their cultural becoming as part of a group. As Smolicz's original classification grid for primary and secondary social systems was applied, a variance emerged from Smolicz's original perspective. The cultural data of the respondents suggested that the boarding House did form part of a student's primary group social system.

However, this assertion was disputed by the memoirs of respondent 10 from rural Victoria, who indicated that the primary personal group system of the family does not always establish a clear pattern for the development of personal relationships:

- *Home background [is not important to establish friendships] at all. All my friends are my friends because I like them and they like me. I am neither racist nor biased towards any cultures; my friends are people I like and enjoy spending time with. It may mean that you swear more if you come from the country and not the city and some people may find it less desirable but it will not mean much. Home background does not determine any of my friends. In fact, many of my good friends are from overseas. (10)*

Respondent 10's observation was that an individual's differences may have been established by the "fingerprint" of the family, nevertheless, it did not always imply that an individual could carry this values system into the cultural milieu of the research boarding school.

Anglo-Australian respondent 43, a 17 year-old female full-boarder in year 12 who commenced boarding in 1995 observed that differences in culture had an impact on an individual's ability to achieve a sense of belonging at boarding school:

- *Language is a huge barrier. Some people think that if someone cannot speak English that they are stupid. I cannot say enough how rash this is, yet how often it occurs. A friend of mine who has drifted away lately – she came in Year 7 – I sat there trying to explain to her what 'fire' meant. Finally I drew what it looked like – and we became great friends for 3-4 years. (43)*

Respondent 14 from rural Victoria asserted that first few years of boarding school were heavily influenced by the primary group social systems of the home. In some cases, these values created a solid foundation and formed the pattern individuals adopted in order to establish friendships with their peers. Nevertheless, respondent 14's observations paralleled respondent 10's memoirs as believed that the influence of the primary personal values of the home diminished as students spent more time with their peers at boarding school:

- [...] *in the beginning home background does have a lot of influence. Say if you are a city slicker or from the country – but after a while living together you becomes close to others who have different backgrounds.* (14)

Respondent 14 believed that as the result of living together in close proximity in an environment where individuals created friendships that were constant and intimate, the influence of family life diminished. Respondent 14's experience was not necessarily representative of the overall tenor of the memoirs. For instance, respondent 15, a full-boarder from rural Victoria in Year 11 who "enjoys [the School] however goes through stages of homesickness", believed that similarity in home background was an essential factor in successful friendship:

- *Home background largely determines my friends. I live in this [Australia] country and most of my old friends have moved so I have lost contact with them.* (15)

This was supported by respondent 44, a female student in Year 12 from rural Victoria who commenced boarding in 1997, who observed that:

- *I guess that home background does determine your friends a bit. Asian people usually have Asian friends and stuff like that. It seems hard at first to fit in with all the wealthy and fashionable people, especially the girls who go to this school. Trendy people, through expensive designer clothes and stuff usually stick to other friendly people for the image. But I don't think that my home background influences the friends that I have. I prefer more down to earth people anyway.* (44)

When these memoirs were considered it was possible to deduce that some individuals appeared to transfer similar values, which they experienced in the primary personal system of the home to boarding school and then reinterpreted these with their peers in order to form friendships based on similar backgrounds. Respondent 21, a male student from Taipei whose ethnic identity was Chinese, believed that cultural identity had a significant rôle in his ability to establish friends with his peers and said:

- [...] *Home background determined your friends pretty much for us Asians. Most of the Asians are my friends and other Australians are quite nice.* (21)

Respondent 21's observation emphasised the significance that cultural difference plays in determining if a student is able to establish relations with a peer who has similar values to their primary group social system. However, respondent 22, an overseas student from Thailand, negated respondent 21's observation and asserted that:

- [...] *it [home background] does not matter.* (22)

This was supported by respondent 23, a year 11 student born in Malaysia, who believed:

- [...] *Home background doesn't determine your friends at all. I would make friends if they shared the same interests as me. As long as they are comfortable with my company and vice versa.* (23)

This attitude was reiterated the memoirs of respondent 27 a Thai student who contended that:

- *My home background does not determine my friends at all.* (27)

However, respondent 28, a Muslim student and was born in Malaysia who described his ethnic identity as Malay, believed that:

- [...] *home background does determine your friends because you can relate to them. For example I am an overseas student and I generally relate to them well because we can relate to things in the past or the types of food we eat, the way we were brought up etc.* (28)

Respondent 33, who was born in Calcutta, was clearly influenced by the ethnic diversity of the school's population when she wrote:

- *Personally my home background does not determine my friends, I feel that being at such a School with multicultural dimensions expands my horizons even though I don't talk to many people who have different home backgrounds (i.e. country folk) I feel as though I have a good bond as if I saw almost everyone from my School outside of School, I would acknowledge them and probably talk to them [...]* (33)

The sentiments of respondent 35, a female student in year 11 from rural Victoria, can be juxtaposed with the views of many overseas students' memoirs; Respondent 35's memoir was the

only reflection that commented specifically on social class as an issue in her ability to establish friendships with her peers at the school when she indicated that:

- *[...] I am very much from a working class kind of background, my parents go out of their way to pay for the School fees, which is also helped by my grand parents, yet there are other people at the School who just don't care. Money is not a worry to them because there is always more. It doesn't matter how you get it just as long as when you want more you have it. The School is very separate with those two sides and there is also the scholarship side too. On many occasions you will mix best with the people you relate to for example their backgrounds being similar to yourself. It happens at every School – at private Schools it is just more clear. (35)*

Respondent 40, a female student from Melbourne, confirmed that some students led a “double life” because the values clearly established at home were questioned by the new values systems created when they were isolated with their peers:

- *In a close boarding environment I believe that person's friendships are very much questioned by a person's values. Due to the fact you are in a confined, personal, close environment with them all around the clock, some people are moody or tend to lie. I believe this is because of course we live in each other's lives. If someone however has values to be honest, friendly and accepting they are more likely to be liked by everyone. Within the boarding environment I believe that the saying “if you give a little, you can take a little” multiplied 100%! This sets up the situation where a boarding school may be a very lonely place because if someone questions someone else's values everyone seems to find out. Also, at times when someone may choose to spend a lot of times on excats or time away from the House their friendships are questioned. I personally find those who are away from the House or from sports etc, to be less of friends that those who throw themselves into what ever comes. In my experience the people who come from overseas at this school seem to have entirely diverse cultures and personal identity. This causes them to have different beliefs, ways of life, and identities. However, it is not the factor of them not being able to speak the language that is the cause, because this school has broken that bond. (40)*

### **The rôle of teachers at the research boarding school**

The cultural data collected from the respondents' memoirs suggested that the students at boarding school adopted the characteristics of primary values for each other in the boarding Houses.

Smolicz believed that the primary and secondary relationship between the teacher and student was invariably of secondary character (Smolicz 1979, pp158-159).

In the context of the Anglo-Australian group values system, the primary relationship did not dominate the secondary. However, as the researcher has already observed in this study in the particular situation of the boarders the previously accepted delineation between the primary and secondary system was blurred. When the researcher considered that it was apparent that individual students acted as primary values for each other in the boarding House, it was feasible that their teachers could also transcend the secondary relationship and adopt qualities which were found to be primary.

One of the most important aspects of life recorded by respondents' at boarding school was their academic progress. Linked with each respondent's comments about their academic progress was the rôle the staff played within the students' worlds. However, as outlined in chapter 4, the rôle of the teaching staff was more than simply an academic facilitator. The staff was expected to form a pastoral relationship with his or her students in order to establish a "total" environment for learning, which became part of everyday discourse.

After investigation of the respondents' memoirs it was found that many students viewed academic staff as far more than classroom teachers. This finding paralleled the experiences of students' in overseas boarding schools as noted by Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Lambert (1968a), and Walford (1983, 1984 and 1986). Very few respondents' memoirs in this study asserted that the classes or the quality of teaching were below average in the research boarding school. Respondents suggested that teachers were interested in the students as individuals as well as

“academic charges”. Those respondents who challenged the relationship between teachers and taught appeared to be basing them on an objection to staff on the grounds that they abused the authority inherent in their position, rather than on the quality of their academic qualifications or pedagogical approach.

It appeared that the extent of a teacher’s influence in the lives of his or her students’ was determined by an individual student’s willingness to establish a pastoral relationship with the faculty. Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.95) observed that “at [American] prep schools education is still a cottage industry, where learning experiences are hand crafted.” This observation reflected with the approach of many members of staff in the crucible of the research boarding school. Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, pp.96-107) noted that at a boarding academy in the United States the “Socratic Method” was the preferred style of teaching where students still sat around a table in seminar style and debated with each other and faculty aspects of the curriculum.

Smaller class sizes and frequent contact with students who were not only taught by faculty but who may also be their personal tutor meant that it was common for students to be verbally praised. One of the most important features of boarding school was the support that many faculty members willingly gave to their students. In particular, this was clearly seen in students’ matriculation year as they approached examinations. The research boarding school was surely one of the few institutions in Australia where students were able to have access to their classroom teachers in the evenings. It was not uncommon for students to directly approach faculty outside of the classroom in order to go over some class work in the boarding House environment and was one the defining differences of a truly Australian boarding school in comparison to other Australian day schools

which offered boarding facilities and the staff who were responsible for the students welfare were not full-time members of the academic staff.

Although some teachers used a Socratic approach in the senior years, there was also evidence of a didactic approach to teaching. For example, in the Language Departments, such as French, German, Japanese, Spanish and Chinese, it was not uncommon for students to be taught in a combination of the communicative technique, where many classes were conducted in the target language, and also the more "traditional" the research boarding school approach.

This method of teaching was present in the English Department, where students were carefully guided through texts and then invited to comment what they believed various nuances revealed about a particular poet. For instance, students were constantly challenged to imagine that they were being actively involved in the reading of a text. It was not uncommon for teachers to demand students to pretend that they were directing a play, and then defend their proposition to the class with reference to the text.

In the vast majority of cases it was clear that teachers were passionate about their specific areas of expertise and that the teaching methodology flowed as a result of their knowledge and excitement for their discipline, and consequently they embraced a more "university" based approach. This was best demonstrated by the teachers who prepared their students for the end-of-year examinations and provided revision booklets, went through past examination questions and showed students how to approach essay plans, logically, carefully and with a significant amount of content. Many students consequently believed that boarding school prepared them for university as a result of rigorous teaching. Some extracts from students' responses included the following



comments from Anglo-Australian male respondents 4, 6, and 10 from rural Victoria, and 11 from Melbourne:

- *Some of the teachers here are quite inspirational and you tend to respect them more and listen to their advice more readily. People who are highly intelligent and with a variety of experience tend to inspire more in the students and win the greater respect than others. A lot of this depends on personal relationships and depends on how you respect the individual. To a reasonable extent, I can regard my teachers as friends. But this is marred by the fact that you can't tell them a lot of what goes on because of the ethical dilemma knowing who has broken what rules and when. Personally, I think of some teachers as friends because they have helped me through difficult times. I think I trust some of them as much as any other student. There are also some I know are in the opposite extreme they have shown themselves to act deviously in trying to extract confessions from people or catch them breaking rules. (4)*
- *The extent to which a teacher is a guide to me depends on who they are and what position they hold in my life and how much I respect them. I feel that some staff are life guides in the sense that they are wise enough to sit back and watch but comment and interact when necessary. In many ways, some of my closest friends at the school are teachers or members of staff. All staff of course do not have such relationships. I believe that staff are your friends as much as you wish to let them be. (6)*
- *Most of the teachers in this school are approachable in a friendly way. Usually it can be something very lighthearted such as football or even just a common interest which helps. I have a great deal of respect for my teachers at this school. They are always happy to help with problems that you may be having and always ready to listen to any problems you have. Teachers are definitely guides in the sense that they are adults and they know how the real world operates, therefore they are helping us to see what it is like and prepare us for it. (10)*
- *I think that the teachers have a lot to do with guiding students. If a teacher is very devoted and involved in what they are teaching then the students feel good about the subject and want to further follow the course. (11)*

Overseas male respondents 22 from Taiwan, 29 from Bangkok, female respondent 29 from Bangkok, and 32 from Tokyo, 33 from Calcutta argued:

- *Some teachers can be very open and friendly to students no matter how old they are it depends on their personality. (22)*
- *I think the teachers here I can talk to more openly because at my old school in Thailand I couldn't talk to them like a friend. (29)*

- *They are of a higher intellect. My teachers at my old school were not educated as to a high level. And you get to know your teachers much better through boarding Houses, sport and music. (32)*
- *My teachers influence me a lot in general. I respect them, and I learn from them. Most of them I like, but even if I don't like them I feel myself respecting and idolizing them (hence making them guides). But I respect most people who are older than me. (33)*

Female Anglo-Australian respondent 36 from Melbourne and respondent 41 from rural Victoria emphasised the dual rôle played by teachers at the research boarding school:

- *Within the House they take on a more parental rôle – they act as surrogate parents. In the teaching sense they seem to treat students more personally and tend to be more interested in you and your life because they live with you – it's an enclosed community. Where as non-boarding school teachers tend to teach – go home at night – and not care if you are struggling or stressed or unhappy. (36)*
- *I have some close teacher friends. It really depends on the personality of you and the teacher. Many of my teachers I would like to think actually care about me as a person. (41)*

These observations were contrasted with the memoirs of respondents 42 and 43 from Melbourne:

- *The teachers here are completely different because we are given the chance to mingle with them out of the classroom. This makes them more approachable and friendly. At my old school the teachers simply taught us and that was it. All relationships were extremely static and unfriendly. (42)*
- *Staff are always around in this environment. I'm not really sure how they influence me, or if they do at all. It does seem though some sort of subconscious idea behind the personal interactions between older groups of people talking to you on an equal footing. (43)*

Students who failed to complete the required academic work at boarding school had little chance of going unnoticed. Boarding school students were expected to complete a large amount of official prep. As early as year 6 (11 years of age) organised and supervised prep sessions were conducted in the boarding Houses during the evening and also in the morning before academic classes in Senior School. These prep sessions were supervised by fully qualified members of the academic

staff and in some cases assisted by senior boys who were "on-duty" as prefects. In students' matriculation year it was not uncommon for students to spend time from 7.30pm until 10.30pm at private and silent study, usually in their own allocated space. Respondent 27 a male student from Bangkok noted:

- *The teachers here are very good teachers at the school and I would regard many as guides [...] I like most of the teachers, but some are a little arrogant [...]* (27)

Respondent 38, a female student from rural Queensland reflected:

- *I don't hate any of the teachers – but I wouldn't call any of them "friends". They are there to teach – and I'm there to learn. To most I am seen as another face or person – this doesn't bother me I the slightest.*(38)

This contrasted with female respondents 42 and 43 from Melbourne:

- *I really like some of my teachers and would regard them as my friends.* (42)
- *I do see my teachers as guides in the sense that a lot of the time the opinion of the student does get a say and is counted in the eyes of the teacher. Teachers need to encourage students to independently learn some things. That is when the guiding process comes – a gentle shove towards the right answer – rather than having your hand held all the way [...] yes, teachers are our friends. Not really 'chummy' I guess. I can hold a conversation about anything beside what we are studying, we can say hello to each other out of class – the little things that ease the "them" against "us" mentality.* (43)

A rural student from Victoria, respondent 44, commented:

- *The teachers at this school are more attentive and less distant than those in my old school. They are also more friendly and willing to help. But this is not surprising because my last school was a state school. The teachers here seem far more intelligent and more qualified.* (44)

When asked what rôle teachers have in the secondary group social system of the research boarding school, respondent 39 a female student from Victoria observed that teachers:

- *[...] played the other most important or significant people in a boarding school environment other than your friends.* (39)

Respondent 39's response suggested that some staff appeared to adopt characteristics shown by primary personal group or in some cases the primary personal social system. She explained the dual nature of the position of a tutor in the boarding House and noted:

- *[...] teachers guide your learning definitely by teaching you and allocating prep and work. On a more personal level tutors guide us within the Houses – prep and bed time. Some staff are more personable than other and those people tend to be more influential guides. (39)*

In the midst of her response reflecting on the rôle of teachers in the school respondent 39, from Melbourne, declared:

- *I think that I've become more independent, more mature and tolerant I've extended myself physical and academically. I have also become more cultured. (39)*

In her response respondent 39 did not explain what she meant by being "more cultured". However, she then continued to assert the important rôle staff plays at the school and emphasised:

- *Some of the staff have had a real influence on me. You really respect them and like them on a personal level, your model your behaviour on them sometimes to an extent. When you really respect a staff member you work hard for them and want to impress and not disappoint them. (39)*

As noted in extracts of Australia male respondents 4 and 10 from rural Victoria, female respondent 33 from Geelong, 39 and 43 from Melbourne, and 44 from rural Victoria it was found that the teachers at this boarding school played a significant rôle in their students' lives. It appeared that this boarding school provided the opportunity for staff to develop pastoral relationships beyond that of the teacher and taught – or as Znaniecki (1998) referred to them, the educator and the educand.

After analysis of the students' respondents it was possible to suggest that the relationship established between academic staff and students in the boarding House provided a level of intimacy which correlated with the values of a primary person system. Consequently, it appeared that just as the students showed the characteristics of becoming primary group in the social system

of the students themselves, so did the relationship between teacher and student reveal evidence of the same.

### Overview

This chapter continued the analysis of the rôle respondents' understood that the research boarding school played in their social systems. The first section of this chapter referred to the respondents' memoirs on corporate life at boarding school. The students' revealed in their memoirs that minority ethnic groups tended to act as primary values systems for each other when they were lost amongst a dominant host culture, which supported the proposition of Smolicz, so it appeared that the boarders in this study started to act as primary values for each other in the secondary group system of the boarding House.

Next the individual social systems of the respondents were examined and the chapter concluded with the researcher turning to the rôle teachers played in the secondary social system of the school. The respondents' cultural data discussed here suggested that the students and the teachers associated with some boarding Houses adopted the characteristics of a primary group system. This anomaly implied that the House might act as an adjunct to the primary social system of the home within the secondary group system of the school.

This observation was supported by extracts from the respondents' memoirs, which commented on the relationships between students and their peers in the House and the rôle played by the academic staff who as tutors acted *in loco parentis*. It appeared that some staff and other respondents had the rôle of primary personal values for other students, or that respondents at least

perceived themselves in this way. In this way, the research boarding school could be regarded as a formalised educational structure in the terms of a secondary group system, which framed the initial relationships between the teacher and the taught, the student and his or her peers.

From the cultural data discussed it appeared that the pedagogical success or otherwise of the research boarding school in the eyes of the students was determined by the extent of the personal atmosphere, support and comfort of the boarding House. In the light of this evidence, it appeared that the boarding House acted as a primary personal system co-existing with the family rather than replacing it for some respondents. Because the boarding House came to act as a community within the larger collegiate body and formed part of the school as a secondary social system, it transcended that rôle when it assumed a primary social connotation in the lives of boarders.

## CHAPTER 9

**SACRAMENT AND SAINTHOOD: STUDENTS' VIEWS  
OF RELIGION AT THE RESEARCH BOARDING SCHOOL**

Of course there are those who to swell the ranks of an apathetic laity who profess to have a contempt for formal religion, and claim immunity from the appeal of any definite religious creed, just as there are those who juggle Rabelaisian style with established faith and moral codes, to whom chapel services appear a little superfluous. But beneath all this there is a religious instinct in all men, and the boy himself knows that from the Cross above the altar, there radiates the whole faith upon which his school is nurtured. He knows too, that this same Cross, and all it stands for, contains the satisfaction of his soul's desire, for therein he has found his Christ (Jennings 1924, p. 147).

Chapter 3 outlined that one of the key characteristics of the research boarding school was that it was founded as an Anglican institution. Although there were a number of areas available to the researcher to consider for analysis religion was chosen as a key area for special consideration given the school's religious foundation.

This chapter analysed the respondents' attitudes towards religion at the research boarding school as it related specifically to attendance at worship and participation in Religious Education. The researcher was concerned particularly with the extent to which the respondents thought that

**Table 9.1 Respondents' religious affiliation according to concrete data collected from the questionnaire-survey**

Religious Affiliation	Number of Respondents
Anglican	18
Atheist	6
Buddhist	12
Methodist	1
Muslim	1
Not indicated	4
Roman Catholic	2
Uniting	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>

religion was an important part of their lives at the research boarding school and how it has influenced them personally. Table 9.1 *Respondents' religious affiliation according to concrete data collected from the questionnaire-survey* summarises the religious affiliations respondents identified according to the concrete data collected from the questionnaire-survey. Analysis of the 45 respondents' views in reaction to questions 4 and 20 Part C as found in Appendix C: *A questionnaire-survey on boarding school life* revealed that "faith" was understood to be an important aspect of the research boarding school life.

In particular, many respondents supported the rôle Chapel played in their lives at the research boarding school. Some respondents indicated that the Chapel services provided the chance to reflect on their lives in the social system of the school. The cultural data of the overseas students who identified themselves as "Buddhist" were ambivalent towards Chapel. A handful of respondents' objected to the school's position that all students were expected to attend compulsory services. Some aspects of the school's religious life appeared to parallel Wakeford's (1969) study of the rôle of religion at English public schools and Trimmingham Jack's (1997b, 1999 and 2003) study of a group of boarders' experiences at a Roman Catholic Convent in rural New South Wales in the mid 1940s to 1965.

### **Religion in the life of the research boarding school**

Students at the research boarding school were required to attend worship in the Chapel on Sundays and weekdays and to participate in Religious Education classes. This section outlines from the perspective of the researcher what was in these attitudes. A voluntary Mass was celebrated daily at the Lady Altar of the school's Chapel and was attended by a small number of staff and students. During the week there was a compulsory morning service held for the boarding



Houses for 20 minutes, which incorporated hymn singing and a reading from the Old and New Testaments. There were three Chapel services on a Sunday:

- Low Mass (Middle School) 9.00am – 9.30am
- Solemn Mass (Senior School) 10.00am – 11.00am
- Benediction (Senior School) 7.00pm – 7.45pm

Reed (1978) observed that like a large number of Anglo-Catholic styled buildings in Australia the research boarding school's Chapel held many images of the Saints. These included: Augustine, Benedict, Columba, Dominic, Patrick, and the four Evangelists. There was one window that linked the school's educational philosophy and tradition to the English public school. This depicted Dr Arnold of Rugby School in the foreground passing a football to a young boy who seemed to be wearing the colours of the research boarding school's uniform; in the background is William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and founder of Winchester School, standing presumably in front of the collegiate institution he founded.

It was expected that all students would attend one of these services on a Sunday. Hein (1991) observed that a handful of the New England Episcopalian boarding schools founded in the United States was influenced by the Tractarianism teachings of the 1830's Oxford movement in England. This appeared to happen in the Church of England in Australia as well. Hilliard (1994, p.1) stated, "Anglicanism in Australia has had many Anglo-Catholics but no single version of Anglo-Catholicism".

### **The style of worship at the research boarding school**

The "style" of worship follows an Anglo-Catholic tradition, which was distinguished by the three residential priests. These priests were full-time members of the academic staff and taught Divinity

and English. One of the priests, who was a boarder at the school in the 1970s, was the Senior Chaplain and was responsible for the overall chaplaincy at the school. One of the other priests was an Englishman who migrated to Australia at the invitation of the school's Principal and the Archbishop. This priest had been a Chaplain at three boarding schools in England: Westminster School, Giggleswick School and the Warwick School in England and taught in the senior English Department. The school's chaplaincy was defined by the wearing vestments at the Solemn Mass, the use of incense, and bells, celebrated at 10.00am each Sunday.

For at least half of the Sunday Masses a full choir of at least 45 students and staff wore cassocks. A large number of worshippers made the sign of the cross during worship. At the beginning of services, the vested choir processed into the chapel led by the crucifer and servers. The Processional Cross, which was sterling silver, was made in England and donated to the school in memory of an old scholar who joined the priesthood by his mother in thanksgiving for his education at the school. The Blessed Sacrament was reserved in an ambury or tabernacle to the right of the High Altar. This was reserved for the Communion of the Sick. There was a stand for votive candles to be lit for a gold coin donation and at each point that students turned there was a memorial to a former member of the school. Various pastoral families presented all of the Chapel's stained glass, which depicted the lives of the saints, to the school. Prayers for the dead and invocations of the Saints formed part of public worship; in particular, prayers were said to Saint Benedict.

The school "parish" included students from many Christian denominations. The respondents supported this observation when they were asked to indicate which religious tradition they belonged. There were a number of students who were also from non-Christian faiths at the school including Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, and Muslims. It has been the school's policy that Chapel

attendance for all students was compulsory and all students, regardless of their faith tradition, attended these services. The Chaplain offered the preparation for First Communion and Confirmation during the year. All baptised Christians were encouraged to receive Holy Communion. Others participated in the service by receiving a blessing.

The number of communicant members of the school's parish was high. Whilst students revealed a level of "indifference" towards religious instruction and the Chapel, this did not correlate to the high number of students who received Communion each Sunday, and those who came forward to receive a blessing from one of the priests. The school's motto *Christus Nobis Factus Sapientia* [Christ was made flesh for our wisdom] was taken from Chapter 1 Corinthians, verse 30. This supported the proposition that Christian humanism formed basis of the values taught and fostered in the school. Religious Education cultivated an understanding of the Christian faith through the study of the Scriptures and of the development of Christian traditions. Religious Education was also concerned with the study of ethics, philosophy, and comparative world religions including Judaism, different denominations of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism.

Both the services in the Chapel and Religious Education in the classroom made an important contribution to the development of the spiritual life of each student. These activities fostered spiritual maturity and an understanding of virtue.

### **Attitudes of students to faith in the research boarding school**

Trimingham Jack's (2003, p.24) study of convent boarding education amongst The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in New South Wales from the mid 1940s to 1965 alleged that there was a direct link between the religious virtue and self-discipline expected of students who boarded at

Kerever Park, which was supported by a popular image of Sancta Magdalena Sophia painted in the 1940s which depicted “the child wearing the pink sash of merit who comes forward and points to the picture of Mary [...] the model of perfection [...] as represented in the Mater Admirabilis Icon”. Was this the case at the research boarding school? Did the students’ attitudes suggest that there was an expectation of spiritual perfection?

When students were asked what they believed was the importance of faith at the school respondents 1 an American born Roman Catholic who lived in Singapore, 3 an Anglican from country Victoria, 6 an “atheist” from country Victoria, 9 an Anglican from country New South Wales, 10 an Anglican from country Victoria and respondent 14 an Anglican from country Victoria) expressed generally positive attitudes::

- *Faith is very important [...] faith in yourself is probably bigger but there are other people that you can turn to, to help you but when you lose faith in yourself It's up to you to regain your strength [...] I am Catholic I have learned to enjoy Chapel and it gives me time to reflect [...]* (1)
- *Faith is very important. It is what the school is based on. But for some of today's generation – it is not very important. The majority don't actually listen in Chapel. I believe that there is a lesson in life and you don't always get to do what you what to [...]* (3)
- *I think that the school takes every opportunity to promote Christian values.* (6)
- *I believe that faith, as in the Church, is the backbone of the school. Some kids don't really care and think of it as a formality. But it still should be respected.* (9)
- *Faith is not pushed on people at this school. But, it is also one of the few things you will not be ridiculed about. Though it is expected that you attend Chapel as it is an Anglican School. No one forces faith upon others. You can receive Holy Communion with out being scorned. As long as you sing loudly during the hymns that is fine! Personally I enjoy the weekly Sunday services as I think it is important to keep life in perspective. It gives you time to think about the next week* (10)
- *The school is in the Anglo-Catholic tradition. It is very formal and high church. I actually like it this way. I don't care what anyone else thinks. I think that there is a lot of meaning in the ceremony and some discipline about it.* (14)

Trimingham Jack (2003, p.72) noted that "Catholics had saints for every occasion ...these images were as much a part of school life then as the decoration of classrooms with children's work is today. The saints and angels watched over us while we worked and played [...] they were everywhere - we saw them but we didn't see them, so much were they a part of the symbolic landscape of our lives."

Whilst the students at the research boarding school were surrounded by the images of saints it did not necessarily correspond that all memoirs showed positive attitudes towards religion at the school. For example male respondents 5 a "non-believer", 8 and 11 both Anglicans from Melbourne and respondent 13 an Anglican from rural Queensland revealed an ambivalent attitude towards religion at the research boarding school:

- *Faith is more important aspect to some more than others at the School. For some students faith is both in a general sense and in a personal sense a driving force in everyday life. But for others, faith in oneself is practically non-existent [...]* (5)
- *Chapel and religion hold different meaning for different members of the community. I don't believe that I have yet encountered the faith discovering period of my life. I think that those who want to embrace Christian values do so.* (8)
- *Not many people I know take church or religion seriously.* (11)
- *The school does okay in promoting what I would call modern Christian values and a text book job of promoting old values.* (13)

The collectivist theory which Cookson and Hodges Persell and Wakeford stressed was supported by the reaction of three Buddhists from Taiwan and Thailand respondents 20, 22 and 24 and respondent 37 from rural Victoria:

- *We have a Chapel and we go to Chapel every week. It teaches all the good things, like don't steal, and tell the truth. It has some affect on students.* (20).

- *The school is really promoting Christian values the school prayer. Chapel is compulsory so most students will somehow have access to Christian values. This school is Anglican anyway. (22)*
- *It a routine – we go to Chapel – it is good to get together. The school promotes Christian values. For example we have to go to chapel twice a week. We have to practice hymns once a week and we get blessed by the priest at assembly. (24)*
- *Considering we are made to go to Chapel twice a week and the type of rules that are enforced I think that the school does promote Christian values in some ways. (37)*

However, the chapel clearly played an important part for some students' daily life at the research boarding school. In particular respondents 15 an Anglican from country Victoria, 17 an Anglican from country South Australia, 26, 31 a Buddhist from Thailand commented, 32 a Buddhist from Tokyo, 35 a Roman Catholic from rural Victoria, respondent 40 a female Anglican from Melbourne and respondent 41an Anglican from Victoria stated:

- *You would not survive boarding school without faith to help you through the difficult times. (15)*
- *Faith is a huge part of schooling life here. Going to Chapel twice a week one a 'meditation' the other Communion. (17)*
- *Faith is important in the school and we should respect all religions as it teaches us how to be a good person. Chapel is very important. (26)*
- *Sometimes Chapel helps to make you feel calm. (31)*
- *Young people at my age don't take their religion seriously as they should ... you do need faith at some point in the school to look towards something that will always be there. I think that the school promotes religion in many ways. Such as compulsory Divinity in year 10 as well as Chapel twice a week. (32)*
- *To me I think of faith as very important it gives you a reason to achieve and survive. Religiously speaking I think that compulsory attendance at Chapel is a very conservative method of faith. (33)*
- *This is an Anglican School, so yes I suppose that faith is important but faith goes much further than just religion. It is important in everything you do. If you don't have faith then nothing would happen. Faith is important in every School. (35)*

- *I believe that the school does a great job to promote Christian values. I like the fact that Chapel is offered at times when it is not too busy or stressful and that Divinity is offered as a subject. It is also a great idea that the school offers Young Christian Students (YCS). (40)*
- *I do enjoy Chapel because it is all new to me. (41)*

On the other hand, not all students believed that religion or faith was an important aspect of their education at the research boarding school. This was noted by the comments isolated in the following memoirs a Buddhist from Jakarta, an atheist from Bangkok, a Roman Catholic, and an Anglican from country Victoria:

- *Religion is not that important at the school because I am not Anglican. (25)*
- *It varies. Not everyone in the school is religious. I myself do not believe in Christ and God. I believe that faith is important. I'm not sure about mine yet. I am not sure how others think. (27)*
- *Faith is important in school if you are religious. Sometimes you feel bad and those who believe in a higher faith believe this faith helps. Faith in other people is also important because there are those that trust you. Whether you keep this trust is up to you. (28)*

Respondent 28, a Muslim from Malaysia, clarified his position further and argued:

- *I don't believe that students from other religions should be forced to go to Chapel. However, faith is important in the school and we should respect all religions as it teaches us how to be a good person. Chapel is very important. (28)*

Respondent 42 a student from Melbourne, and respondent 45 from Brunei who did not identify their religious affiliation believed that the religious education and atmosphere of the research boarding school provided individuals with the opportunity to either take part in the religious life of the school or not depending on each individual's attitude:

- *It (faith) has a visible importance to all the people for whom religion is a big part of their lives. It is easy to see that this is so as on a Sunday, everyone receives communion – those who have been baptised. Faith is good for direction. However sometimes it feels like we receiving a veiled school lecture. Perhaps it feels to me like just another authority*

*coming into play. But I respect what the school does on its religious community – and the way that Chapel can bring us together. (42)*

- *Faith in this school is an important as one want to make it. I am not particularly religious but it has been interesting going to Chapel. I have a friend who is glad she came to this school because of Chapel. She does Divinity in year 12 and serves in Chapel. So faith is really left up to the student. (45)*

As a residential community reflected the human rhythm of the wider community, it was natural that there would be moments of disagreement, argument, and tension between students and students, teachers and teachers, and students and teachers. However, a shared moral tradition provided or an approach to living provided a system of intercession. A level of ambivalence towards religion at the research boarding school was found in the memoir of male respondents 8 from Melbourne, 12 from Geelong, 23 a Methodist from Malaysia, 27 an atheist from Bangkok, 28 a Muslim from Malaysia and female respondent 33 from Geelong:

- *Chapel and religion hold different importance to different members of the community. Chapel is a weekly laborious chore for many and a sense of faith doesn't develop. I don't believe that I have yet encountered the faith-discovering period of my life [...] (8)*
- *Faith is more tolerated than accepted. The school claims to be Christian but the large majority of students are atheists or superficially Christian. Compulsory Chapel puts religion in the same category as 'institution' and encourages the tendency to rebel against it. (12)*
- *Faith: it's a routine that we go to Chapel twice a week. It is good to get together for a while. (23)*
- *Once again it varies, not everyone in the school is religious [...] I myself do not believe in Christ and a God. I believe faith is important, I'm not sure about mine [personal faith] yet, I'm not sure how others think. (27)*
- *To me I think of faith as very important (when it is not in a religious context) it gives you a reason to survive and achieve. Religiously speaking I think that compulsory attendance of Chapel is a very conservative method of faith. I don't know my faith / religious intent, and I believe this school is trying to pressure me towards Christianity. (33)*



Overall, the respondents suggested either that students supported the school's Anglican and Christian tradition, or that they were uncertain if religion and faith played a central part in their lives at the time the cultural data were collected. Some memoirs implied that they did not believe that the Anglican tradition formed an important part of their boarding experience.

### **Overview**

This chapter was concerned with the respondents' attitudes towards religion at the research boarding school. Given the research boarding school was an Anglican foundation that stressed compulsory Chapel attendance and the importance of the school's religious life the researcher was interested to what extent the respondents' believed that religion played an essential part in their lives whilst at the school.

In the case of those who have expressed personally positive attitudes, it is quite likely that the school has provided them with the choice to construct personal religious systems (based in Anglo-Catholic values) that will remain, in-part, with them for much if not all their lives. For the remainder all students are required to participate in worship and religious education and some have constructed personal cultural systems in these areas, up to the level of satisfying minimum requirements.

However, the researcher's observations indicate that many went beyond the minimum level of attendance activate these personal cultural systems concerning worship. Many students' comments reveal attitudes that are generally positive and or indifferent to undecided. This suggests that the context of school and in particular compulsory community worship is quite powerful, as long as they are in the ethos of the school.

Nevertheless, once they leave school, it is likely that the personal and cultural systems of Anglo-Catholic worship religious values will not be activated. Particularly this is the case for those who belong to other religious traditions or non-Christian religious traditions, as they may not encounter this beyond school.

After the researcher considered the concrete facts of the respondents, which revealed the respondents' diversity of religious affiliations, analysis of the 45 respondents' views showed that the students thought that "faith" was a significant aspect of boarding school life. The rôle the Chapel played in their lives at the research boarding school was identified as the fact that the Chapel services provided the chance to reflect on their busy lives in the social system of the school. The cultural data of the overseas students who identified themselves as "Buddhist" appeared to be ambivalent about the rôle the Chapel played in their experience. A handful of respondents' objected to school's position that all students were expected to attend Chapel.

The majority of the memoirs appeared to be ambivalent towards organised religion at the research boarding school as seen in the memoirs of male Anglo-Australian respondents' 5, 8, 11, 12, and 13 and female Anglo-Australia respondents' 33, 37, 42 and 45. This ambivalence expressed did not correlate to participation in worship at the research boarding school's Chapel.

Respondents who expressed personally positive attitudes including male American born Roman Catholic respondent 1, Anglo-Australia memoirs 3, 6, 9, 10, 14, 15 and 17 and female Anglo-Australian respondents 35, 40, 41, acknowledged the school supported a framework for their personal religious values which may or may not remain with them for life. Student from non-Christian backgrounds, such as male overseas respondents 21, 22, 23, 25, 27 and 28 and female

overseas students 31, and 32, that the values expressed by worship in an Anglo-Catholic tradition will not have a lasting impact.

Chapter 10 will consider the influence of the research boarding school on the respondents' lives. The experience of overseas students will be examined and deliberates if their encounters are assimilation to an Australian way of life, or is it an education that prepares them for life beyond the school.

## CHAPTER 10

### BOARDING SCHOOL EDUCATION AS A CRUCIBLE FOR LIFE

Half-an-hour later we turned and walked slowly back to the house. The long sweep of buildings stood out weirdly in the dusk – the big tower keeping a kind of sentinel watch over all. Only a few months before I had seen that the tower across the plains, and had wondered what it all held in store for me. It had been a big world to face alone; and all because of the faith of a lonely man who had given all that I might not lose the heritage that had been his. A strange faith – a great faith. And what had I found? A faith that tottered? Ideals shattered as a pitcher is shattered on the stones? Not even that. I could remember my first thoughts – I was English, and they were Australian. There would be certain differences. I might not understand them. They might not understand me. I had longed on that first day to find someone – anyone whom I might claim as a friend, for I was alone in a strange land. Then – you remember . . . .? It was the first time I had ever seen Old Chief. “Friend of mine,” he had said; “friend of mine” (Jennings 1924, pp. 340-341).

#### The influence of the research boarding school

Lambert (1975) argued in *The Chance of a Lifetime?* that students developed three explicit skills because of a boarding school education. These were:

- instrumental skills such as social skills, independence and academic attainment;
- expressive skills such as behavioural and moral awareness;
- and organisational skills.

Lambert concluded that if a student developed these particular aspects of his or her education the students there was a significant positive academic and social impact on their lives. In the United States, Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.125) asserted that while many American “students reported that they found their prep school experience rewarding and positive, too many reported that their experiences had made them cynical and unhappy not to conclude that the prep crucible does take a toll. Caught between the demands of parents, school, and peers prep school students are forced to make daily decisions about life and themselves that are immediate and often poignant.” These observations paralleled, in part, the cultural data collected from the Australian students’ responses.

Respondent 1, an American student from Singapore, identified that:

- *[...] before I came to the School, it was obvious that I needed independence and a little more structure in my life. I don't think I had too many problems with interacting with other people although I had a slight temper [...]* (1)

Respondent 1 clearly noted the experience of an instrumental goal when he wrote that he believed that the school helped him to become more independent. This comment was contrasted by the experiences of respondent 2, whose parents both worked at the School. He commented that:

- *Academically, I am only now learning what it is to be genuinely challenged. It has been far too easy a ride. I am more secure and have a greater ability to discern who to trust and who to be wary of. I now question authority more, which is good, but can also be bad. I find I have to deal with some teachers on a professional level rather than a personal one. I now realize the advantaged of team sports. Why they are important. Sport has also given me an insight into leadership. Try to involve myself in the things that I want to do. I play guitar now, yet I only picked it up recently.* (2)

Clearly the initial framework of the instrumental academic goals of the school was one of the pivotal experiences for him. However, it was interesting that the respondent also noted that he was taught how to cope with the instrumental goals of social poise, good physique through sport – which in turn reinforced the instrumental goal of physical fitness and social interaction. Respondent 11, a male student from Melbourne, recalled:

- *I remember being scared and homesick wherever I would come back from exeat at night, but that was just because I was so young. That was in Middle School. If I remember right everyone was really nice, even so, it took a term or two to really settle in.* (11)

However, for some respondents boarding school offered the opportunity to reinvent themselves. As students moved from the secondary group system of their old school to the more intimate surroundings of the new boarding school there some respondents admitted that they were relieved to no longer be at their old school and that boarding presented them with the chance to experience

a certain level of anonymity. This was found in respondent 4's response. A student from Gisborne in rural Victoria, he wrote:

- *Before I came to boarding school (up to and including year 8), I lived in the country, played a lot of sport [...] I suffered from some victimization from staff members, because they disliked my father who worked at the School. There weren't any elective subjects at my old School. But I achieved my best grades in English, Social Science, Mathematics, and Science. I was particularly bad at Physical Education. (4)*

It was possible to deduce from respondent 4's response that the level of integration he achieved at his old school was impeded by his father's position on staff. However, this respondent implied that once he joined this new social system he was able to avoid the negative experiences he associated with his old school. Respondent 3, a male from rural Victoria, argued:

- *Boarding school life makes you a more independent freethinking person. Your parents are not around to tell you what to do or tidy up after you; however, it only works for those who enjoy it. Some cannot cope. They need parental attention. Usually these are those who had everything when they were young. It makes you more adaptable to the outside world. Some say that it shelters you – but not really. For it provides a smaller "mock" community with everything going on. (3)*

Another male Anglo-Australian, respondent 10 from Hepburn Springs in rural Victoria, reflected:

- *I now am a lot more different as a person. One of the greatest things I've got from boarding school is a greater sense of tolerance for others and their behaviour. Academically, some say I have excelled (probably not in written expression as you can see) but I have not come to this School to be a "brain" so improvement will be noted I guess. (10)*

Respondent 10's memoir reveals an awareness of the instrumental and expressive goals distinctive to the research boarding school. This respondent noted that he did not attend the school simply for academic reasons, but also to learn more expressive behaviour including moral awareness when living as part of a community. The opening comment that "I now am a lot more

different as a person" illustrated the respondents' capacity to clearly identify how he had changed since becoming a member of the research boarding school community.

Respondent 13's memoir concurred with earlier questionnaires; he believed that boarding school encouraged him to become more sociable and interact with others. Here it was discovered that the instrumental goals of social poise may have been achieved. He remembered that:

- *Before I came to boarding school I was antisocial and didn't have too many friends, I might partly blame this on my upbringing. But I was confused, attention seeking. I really had no interests what so ever. Academically, I was below average due to my lack of social skills. (13)*

Here the secondary group system of the school provided respondent 13 with the environment to articulate himself far more clearly and learn the skills required for more successful and significant social interaction.

However, this was not the experience noted by all respondents. Respondent 17, from rural South Australia alleged that:

- *I had a bit of a bad time when I moved from my local primary School to a private School in Mt. Gambier. When I first arrived here in 1997 I hated it. I was very homesick and wanted to leave. My parents pushed me through the homesickness. I guess that it was because I didn't know anyone. I found it pretty easy to make friends and settle after that. (17)*

It was found from this response that the respondent reluctantly became a member of the school.

This contrasted with the experience of the majority of respondents who chose to attend the school in consultation with their parents. Respondent 17's experience showed that the influence of homesickness and his initial fear of not knowing any other students made his first few weeks as a boarder particularly difficult.

Respondent 33 considered pressure he experienced as a result of being sent to the research boarding school and the success his sister achieved at the same institution:

- *I feel very pressured. I feel that I have to do well or everything (the money) was useless. I feel as though I should do very well (I mean academically) or all the money put into my education has been wasted. I expect a lot of myself personally; I don't really feel the pressure from anywhere else. I do it myself. I expect myself to be the best I can, but only for the last year of VCE when I want to succeed. I feel the pressure and it worries me that no one else might feel the pressure. I don't want to be the only one feeling these emotions and I am fairly sure I am not, but everyone and the world is a after a better actor or pretender! I don't think that simply going to boarding school makes you more or less pressured I think pressure come from your peers (hence who you are friends with) your parents and siblings (who brought you up) and who you are inside. For I pressure myself more than anyone. My sister did year well in Year 12 (98.6%) and I want to do better! But I know if I don't get there I'll be so disappointed and angry with myself. (33)*

Overseas students' responses revealed similar experiences to their Anglo-Australian peers, although overseas students were confronted with the added complexity of cultural difference. Many mentioned the instrumental and expressive goals identified by Lambert in the text of their responses. In particular, reference was made to concept of being "independent" from the home and the development of social skills in order to communicate effectively with others. For example respondent 19 from Thailand observed that:

- *Boarding school life changes you because it makes you think about yourself and other people around you, confidence, mature, get better in sports, more responsibility, leadership and accept consequences. (19)*

The positive instrumental and expressive experience of respondent 19 was juxtaposed by the responses of respondent 24 from Malaysia who wrote that:

- *I think that I have become more selfish, more mature and that it has affected my relationships with my parents. (24)*

Another Thai student, respondent 27, observed that he had achieved both instrumental and expressive goals, in particular what he believed to be social poise and improved physical skills:



- *I have become much more independent – I've discovered how to take care of myself on my own. I've become more social and interactive. Athletically, I have improved as well. Not much else has changed though. (27)*

Respondent 28, another Malaysian student, believed that the research boarding school made him more aware of the instrumental goal of social skills, but that it made him more aware of his own actions and reputation rather than being inculcated with the confidence to approach others:

- *I personally think that I am different now. I am more aware of what people say and how people think of me. I try to interact with as many people as possible but find it hard because I don't like them. (28)*

Respondent 29 from Thailand believed that:

- *boarding school has made me more confident, more responsible, can look after myself better than before, don't have to rely on my parents, changed me to care about the others. (29)*

### **An educational crucible for life?**

Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, pp.190-208) agreed with Collins' (1979) assertion that the "class position" was shared by "repetitive encounters" and they argued that although "prep school graduates may not all be upper class ... they are in a class by themselves". As noted in chapters 1 and 4, the population of the research boarding school was non representative of the Australian population as a whole because of the tuition fees charged to attend this school. Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b, p.191) noted that "high society may seem something of an anachronism to some people. To those, however, who have a large psychic and business investment in their social pedigree, bloodlines are no laughing matter."

Whilst none of the respondents who completed questionnaires as part of this study indicated this as a motivation for attending boarding school, this set of memoirs appeared to be far more concerned with the type of education they received and if this education provided them with the

opportunity to acquire academic and social skills which could help them in later life. The analysis of respondents' attitudes showed a diversity of opinions that appeared to parallel the three areas identified at the beginning of chapter 10. Respondents 4 and 6 both from rural Victoria decided that:

- *[...] the fact that you cannot leave whenever you feel like it means that you have to come up with ways to resolve a problem rather than just avoid it. I also think that being at boarding school changes your attitudes towards authority figures – in my own experience at least. The nearly claustrophobic atmosphere which exists when tutors are patrolling the House means that you feel less kindly inclined towards them – with some staff it feels like they are just out to catch you breaking the rules [...]* (4)
- *Boarding is undoubtedly a life changing experience. The extent of this change in my opinion is a large one. Boarding School provides a solid routine that in itself makes active almost every aspect of life. Be it culturally, academically or spiritually. When I think about my mindset before attending boarding school, I am terrified to think how closed my eyes were to the world. This is of course due to the nature of my hometown – small and isolated. Boarding School has enabled me to meet and interact with people from all over the world and as a result I have grown – perhaps not exactly changed – enormously.*( 6)

The concept that boarding school was a preparation for membership of an outside group was echoed by respondent 44's memoirs, a female full-boarding from rural Victoria, who reported that:

- *Boarding school has prepared me better than living at home could have. I think that although we are cut off from the outside world a lot of the time the independence and self-reliance I have learned here will help me in the long run. It has made me yearn for freedom and I will be travelling by myself overseas next year. I don't think that I could live with my parents when I go to university. Living with other people will help, because they are skills that have taken a long, hard time to learn and will be invaluable when I am renting with others.* (44)

This was supported by the reflection of respondent 8's from Melbourne on the issue of boarding, when he noted the academic and non-academic advantages of such a system of education:

- *Boarding School ultimately provides a better-rounded education, in my eyes. Boarding school is possibly the most intense educational environment. Although I believe that I was mature for my age, my maturing was accelerated once I entered a boarding school environment. Year 9 was my first experience of boarding that I ever had. The rigorous physical regime, coupled with adapting to living in a dormitory provided a challenge like none I have ever encountered. I managed to develop in Year 9 immensely, coping with communal living and actually loving it! Year 10 provided a shift in focus. There was less emphasis on running and more on*

*academia. This has resulted in a better work ethic, but my fitness has suffered as a result. I appreciate my time at home more. I am more tolerant of lower quality food. I have better time management skills and better people skills. As far as I can see, boarding school prepared you for later life by forcing you to live with many different people dealing with different personalities. I think it has helped me to become a more open person. The intense environment provided by boarding allows the development of workload, stress, and time management skills to be developed at my age. I believe that the friendships that I have during my time boarding will last longer in life than those formed outside of a boarding school environment ...I have got a stronger sense of individuality that can exist in a fairly intense community and environment. I've learnt to deal with people who effectively and believe that I am a more open person because of my boarding experience. ( 8)*

Respondent 11 also from Melbourne observed the part boarding school had in helping an individual learn how to relate with other individuals in the context of living as part of a community:

- *Boarding prepares you a lot in terms of teaching you how to deal with people. You can see past their faults and this, I imagine, is very important in real life and business. You are more understanding and are able to compromise (11)*

Male respondents 9, 14 from rural Victoria, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27 from overseas and respondent 29, a female student from overseas, believed that there was a correlation between the rôle of the research boarding school and the function it played in preparing an individual for life once he or she has left school:

- *I would like to send my kids here but it might not happen because it is expensive. I enjoy being at this School and have had fun. But I will be glad to leave. ( 9)*
- *Boarding gives you a head start when moving in with people at University or work. You have lived with people from all around the world, so you can interact with people and you have a good understanding of different types of people and their likes and dislikes. The friends you have last and you always remember them and all the things you did at School. (14)*
- *Boarding school prepares you for life by encouraging interaction with others and accepting their life style. Being able to help other people when you know that they are in trouble. (21)*
- *Boarding school makes you more confident. Makes you be open, be confident, teaches us to live with other people. Be more responsible.(22)*

- *Boarding school life makes you become: independent, confident, social, tougher, more responsible (24)*
- *Boarding school life changes you by: making you more confidence, helping you to speak better English, getting to know friend's culture, getting to know which friend is bad and which is good, it gives you more responsibility. (25)*
- *Boarding school prepares you for life: by helping to gets you ready for University, become more responsible, being more organised, knowing how to live with other people ... it makes you more self-confident, independent, more responsible, improve academic grades, improve sporting skills, and have better interaction with others. (26)*
- *Being in a boarding school requires tolerance and the ability to cope with bullshit that occurs in everyday life. I believe being able to cope with boarding school life makes you more confident with the other things in life too. I mean boarding pretty much stimulates a lifestyle with busy curriculum. Unlike day boarders, I don't see my parents that often and they aren't nearby to pander to me so I guess that contributes with being self-sufficient. (27)*
- *Boarding school prepares you for life: to be understood about the others and care for the others. It teaches me how to respect the other and listen to other people's opinion. It is good because it prepare me for when I leave the School and go to the bigger world. (29)*

However, these experiences were not necessarily representative of the views of all students. Male respondent 23 from Malaysia indicated:

- *Boarding school life doesn't prepare you for much else. You become used to being with lots of people. (23)*

This more critical position was supported by respondent 10, a male from rural Victoria, who noted:

- *I used to tell my parents how much I loved boarding school, now I'm not so sure. You see of late I have become friends with a day boarder and through getting to know her I see a lot of the day boarding life. Through my own boarding life, I have compared them to each other. Perhaps I am biased. Though I have sided with day boarding. Though they have longer day and they miss out things such as Chapel. I think through knowing her it is a great thing to be able to go home at night and talk things through with family members. Furthermore, being able to get away from everybody with a deal of ease. This is important to me as I know that you really do crave time to yourself when you are a boarder. Though this is often hard to get! Boarding School life does make you a better person in term of getting on with other people. It teaches you greater respect of other whether it be them or their possessions. I think that boarding school definitely teaches you some great lessons about what I am sure life will be like after school without knowing too much. It*

*prepares us for some of the harder things in life. For example putting up with someone, you terribly despise. I imagine that it probably one of the greatest virtues which one could possess. Furthermore, the interaction between males / females is also another skill (not the right word) you learn to appreciate and get to know or trust friends of the opposite sex. Friendship which I'm sure will last a life time and perhaps the chance to meet that one person you know is the special person you have ever known or don't want to lose. The opportunity to excel in all these areas of friendship / patience / relationships I'm sure that's what life is all about and I think that is the greatest thing boarding school can offer and with the chance to meet and appreciate people from different cultural communities. I would say that the greatest asset that I will take from boarding school would be the ability to get along with people in a lot friendlier and easier way. The ability to make and keep friends and to learn how to live with people no matter what their skin colour or their native language is. Boarding School teaches you to treat all people equally and to learn as much as possible about different cultures and communities and how they live and how they live them. (10)*

Respondent 28, a 16 year-old male from Kuala Lumpur, wryly observed:

- *There is a lot of 'hype' about boarding school making you become independent but I don't think it is true. Many students are pampered by teachers or friends. To a certain extent, boarding school does prepare you, but to me, it really won't make a difference. If there is anything you can get from boarding school, it would probably be your experience with handling others. I personally think that academics are very important. People say that only year 12 counts, but they don't realize that you have to do well in years 10 and 11 to do well in year 12. It prepared you so you can achieve a higher TER (Tertiary Entrance Result) so you can enter a good uni. That's all that matters really. (28)*

Respondent 36, a female full-boarder from Melbourne, on the other hand, hinted that boarding school allocated individuals a rôle in his or her academic and social life, which determined if they would dominate part of a group:

- *Boarding school helps you to become aware of yourself as either a leader or a faithful follower. It helps you to be able to work effectively in a group. It also changes you in little ways – you become cleaner – learn to tidy up after yourself. You become more independent being able to work away from your family. It helps you to become comfortable in new situations and environments. Boarding School helps to develop important social skills – putting up with people you don't like very much. Getting to know people when you or they are new. Making people feel comfortable or uncomfortable around you. You also find new interests and people that are similar to you. Many people that go through boarding school are more comfortable with*

*themselves because they have lived and shared a strong level of intimacy with a group of people that are not their family. They can learn to trust more people. (36)*

This was confirmed by the view of respondent 39, another female full-boarder from Melbourne, who recorded that:

- *Boarding school life demands you to front up and discover who you really are. Because you're on your own – away from family and things previously familiar and in your previous comfort zone, you're an individual representing you. Therefore when you are in amongst a wide range and variety of characters you have to decide who you are and what you stand for. It changed you sometimes as other characters and figures around you influence the way you act and interact. The things you experience make you mature and you learn from independence and individuality. You change to become a more tolerant person, but also you don't accept everything – you learn to have an opinion. Boarding school life changes you in the way it prepares you for life because you live in the situation unlike others – out of home and comfort zone.(39)*

Respondent 39 elaborated on the relationship between the intimacy of the primary personal social system of the home and the secondary personal social system of the school and mentioned:

- *The life skills learnt and acquired through boarding school life contribute to preparing one for post-school life. The fact that you're away from home and your comfort zone. The life style of communal living is useful as one becomes tolerant, learn the consequences of their actions to the bigger picture one learn to accept living with all sorts of people, those they like and otherwise. One way it doesn't sometimes, is that even though you don't have specific parental guidance directed and concentrated all on you as an individual, there is a lot of routine, i.e. laundry, cooking, most of cleaning is done for you. General life skills are acquired through boarding life; independence, tolerance, adaptation, acceptance, strength of character, finding yourself, being in new or different environments, communal living. (39)*

Two female Anglo-Australian respondents 40 and 41 implied that the research boarding school provided schooling away from the pressure of a single-sex schooling environment and the intensity of the primary personal social system of the home. They observed:

- *Boarding School gives everyone the opportunity to be more of themselves. I believe it is always a good working environment because you can do a lot of work and remain social. I found that at the previous girls' school I was at I had to make a*

*decision 'whether to work, or whether to see my friends'. Here in the House I can do both simultaneously. I also believe that boarding opens up to an aspect the real world, although ironically, it seems also to be separated from the world also. I have learnt that everyone is truly a different person and have different appreciations for difference occurrences. I have also felt by no means disadvantaged from being excluded from a 'free weekend' because I have been able to appreciate getting to know people better by chatting to them. I have also become less 'snobby' because you realise there are many others around you and everyone is entitled to an opinion and that everyone should be considered. Without doubt, it [boarding school] prepares you for life's ups and downs. I have learnt to tolerate many people and understood that many people become tired at different times of the year and react differently. I have also been given the opportunity to live in a close environment with boys which is completely different to a single minded, snobby, girls' school. Life here is busy and I have learnt to meet deadlines, as well as understanding that for teacher's life is hectic also. I have learnt to appreciate many times at boarding school where teachers go to a great extent to 'help you' as they give up their time of the weekends, giving tutes and what not. (40)*

- *Boarding creates a world in which it essential that you stand on your own two feet. Boarding life can confine you in the sense that once you have settled it is difficult to make people's opinions of you change. I know I have changed in many ways, for one I care much more about the way I look, because of the co-ed factor (partly) and also you need to compete with other girls. Boarding school will change the way you interact with other people. By sharing dorms and studies you will learn how to control and overcome many emotions: anger, frustration, fear, sadness and shyness. I believe you become a much more open receptive and understanding person. Being away from home helps you learn to cope without your parents there holding your hand. You learn the art of compromise an essential tool for successful boarding. You also learn the art of sneaking around (I know that this is hardly commendable). Being a prefect has forced me to realise the usefulness of rules, and recognise their purposes. Boarding forces you into a routine to organise yourself, self-reliance isn't quite there, as there is always the account, which is frequently used. I know I will use my experience from this school to help me in later life. In these last three years I have had the best moments as well as my worst as for all of Grammar's faults I wouldn't exchange this experience for anything in the world. To be perfectly honest I am not greatly interested (in academics) but this is because it is so far beyond my comprehension. It astounds me when I realise the extent of someone's' knowledge but is hard to hold interest in someone you don't understand. (I realised I have just totally contradicted myself!) I would like to say that boarding life is a beneficial and I would recommend it. However, it is not for everyone. Your reason for coming to Grammar should be based on education and experience. [...]*  
(41)

The multicultural nature of the school's population was specifically mentioned by respondent 38 from rural Queensland. However, she also hinted that there was some preference for cultural monism amongst the students and asserted that:

- *This school is very multicultural, however sometimes you will find that most students tend to stick in their own groups. People mix with students of all other races [...] most students are accepting of people from different backgrounds – but again the minority can have huge influences. (38)*

Female respondents 38 from Melbourne and 45, a student who lived in Brunei, observed:

- *Over a couple of years, you just adapt totally you boarding in a way so you almost don't know any different. It's just routine and nothing new almost. You accept more – I don't question some things as much any more now because I've had so much dictated to me through boarding. For example, all meal times are structured, doing regular jobs, doing prep every night and going to Chapel on Sundays. You just do it. [...] other students definitely change as the result of boarding experiences. Many people come to the school as timid and innocent children. Being away from home and getting away from constant parental presence, surveillance allows people to break out and be themselves more. Some things it causes them to have a change of attitude though. I've witnessed friends develop an attitude and change their ways in order to fit into boarding life too – some try too hard to be cool. Though some get a big head too from boarding because the lifestyle brings with it an emphasis on social acceptance and status. ...boarding life demands you to front up and to discover who you really are. Because you're on your own – away from family and things previously familiar and in your comfort zone, you're an individual representing you. Therefore when you are in amongst a wide range and variety of characters you have to decide who you are and what you stand for. It changes you sometimes as other characters and figures around you influence the way you act and interact. The things you experience make you mature and you learn some independence and individuality. You change to become a more tolerant of a person, but also you don't accept everything you learn to have an opinion. Boarding school life changes you in the way it prepares you for life because you live within the situation unlike others – out of their home and their comfort zone. (39)*
- *The life skills learnt and acquired through boarding school contribute to preparing you for post-school life. The fact that you're away from home and your comfort zone influences this. The style of communal living is useful as one becomes tolerant, learns the consequences of their actions and to see the bigger picture. One learns to accept living with all sorts of people, those they like and otherwise. One way it doesn't prepare you for life is that even though you don't have specific parental guidance and direction there is a lot of routine. (45)*



## Overview

This chapter considered the rôle respondents believed that the research boarding school played in the aspiration of its students. The cultural data collected from the respondents' questionnaire-surveys suggested that the students believed that the research boarding school inculcated qualities of independence from the primary social system of the home, the ability to live and work with others as an integral part of a community, better academic opportunities, the chance to learn English as a second language, and cultural tolerance.

Chapter 11 will reflect upon the cultural and concrete data of the thesis as a whole. Particular emphasis will be placed on the importance a boarding House plays in the lives of the students, the potential for a boarding school to act as a crucible that helps to mould its students for life based upon their individual and collective experiences. Finally, chapter 11 will consider issues for further research in Australian boarding.

## CHAPTER 11

### CONCLUSIONS

People view Australian boarding education in terms of negative stereotypes dominated by antiquated images associated with *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. Alternatively, as an educational system that has produced a disproportionate number of influential members of Australian society from academics, actors, financiers, graziers, lawyers, musicians, pastoralists, philanthropists, politicians, to novelists, it is an area clearly worthy of further sociological investigation. From the study of the students' memoirs at the research boarding school, however, it is apparent that day-to-day life in this crucible is more than long dormitories, cold showers, and stale porridge.

#### **From Tom Brown to greater transparency**

At first, it seemed that Australian boarding appeared to be the child of its British counterpart. This was epitomised by a colonial vision of England's public schools including Eton and Winchester Colleges. A closer examination of the Australian boarding school's evolution and history, when considered in the light of the students' memoirs suggests that a contemporary Australian boarding school is no longer simply the child of a British system. Instead, it has reached what might be termed "an awkward adolescence". This adolescence is in full view of an increasingly critical public that demands greater transparency and accountability of its educational institutions.

From the study of respondents' memoirs in chapters 7-10 it is apparent a new challenge is facing Australian boarding. This challenge was how far a boarding school education was meeting the

needs of its students as they prepare for life in an increasingly global world. Importantly, even an idealized view of an Australian boarding school must highlight that not all individuals who take part in this community automatically feel positive about a boarding education, as outlined by the view of some respondents in chapters 8, 9, and 10.

Chapter 1 commenced with the National Director of British Boarding Schools Association, Adrian Underwood's, call for a set of national standards and greater transparency in Australian boarding following the recent alleged cases of sexual assault between students abused at a Sydney school. After outlining that Australian boarding has been limited to a handful of studies, chapter 2 considered the origin of boarding overseas, before and after the nineteenth century. The purpose of the review was to identify systematically the key researchers in this area, consider the evolution of boarding as a system of education and to establish an appropriate definition of an Australian boarding school.

Chapter 3 focused upon the genesis of Australian boarding and examined the historical and cultural milieu of the research boarding school. It discovered that Australian boarding was conceived because of the social ambition and vast wealth of the early squatters who demanded a standard of education comparable to schools in England for their children. Chapter 3 concluded with the following definition for the purpose of the thesis after considering Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Goffman (1961, 1969) Kalton (1966) and Weinberg's (1967, 1968) work:

- An Australian boarding school is a community where a resident academic staff is responsible for the pastoral welfare of its students, *in loco parentis*, and combined with the

students form at least 75 per cent of the school's total residential population. It was cut-off from broader society and often founded upon religious principles.

Chapter 4 outlined the specific structure of the research boarding school. This chapter described the various parts of the institution as a whole and the boarding House as a potential source of primary personal values. Chapter 5 discussed the theoretical principles of Znaniecki's humanistic sociology which stressed that meaning resides in human consciousness and its relationship with various forms of cultural data. This meaning is locked within the human experience.

However, using the memoir technique developed by Znaniecki, the researcher is able to locate through the humanistic coefficient the experiences of the past - both individual and collective - and their interpretation of the present generation through their own writings. After chapter 6 outlined the nature (the limitations and delimitations) of the study, chapters 7-10 applied Znaniecki's humanistic sociological approach to the qualitative analysis of the 45 memoirs collected from an ethnically plural group of students at a co-educational boarding school in the multi-ethnic context of Australia.

Of the 45 memoirs (17 written by girls and 28 by boys) analysed for this study 28 writers identified themselves as Australian, five Thai, four Chinese-Malay, four Chinese, one Malaysian, and an American. 26 per cent lived in rural Australia, 40 per cent lived overseas, and inter-state, 20 per cent lived in metropolitan Melbourne. The students came from nine senior boarding Houses within the school and recorded the association of the House as a personal group system in the case of each of the respondents.

Chapter 6 noted that because of the holistic nature of this investigation the way the school appeared in the eyes of its international students and the way they integrated into its academic,

spiritual and various co-curricular activities was emphasised in this analysis. However, the co-educational "issue" was not selected for special study, as the responses of both genders and ethnicities were recorded. This information provided some insights into the rôle of the school as an institution that caters for a diversity of ethnic and gender differences.

Due to the tuition fees required to attend the school, the student population was not representative of the socio-economic population of Australia at large. This observation paralleled the findings of sociological studies carried out at English boarding and American Prep. schools (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b; Fox 1984, 1985; Kalton 1966; Lambert 1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1970, 1975; Punch 1976; Wakeford 1969; Walford 1983, 1984, 1986; Weinberg 1967). However, the student population of the school was culturally plural and reflected the multicultural population of Australia.

The analysis of this memoir material considered the nature of the research problem introduced in chapter 1 and refined in chapter 6 for this investigation:

- What impact did the experience of the research boarding school have upon the student's life?

The second, more specifically theoretical oriented research, question was:

- To what extent did Smolicz's conceptual grid apply to the relations among respondents at the research boarding school?

It was understood that "an individual, when viewed from a sociological perspective, is a cultural value" and that when "viewed from the operation of a social system of which he is a part, man has a double rôle to play. The first is his unique capacity as a human being to function as an active

agent. In this rôle he evaluates and acts upon all kinds of cultural values and, therefore, also upon other human beings, but this time considered in their second rôle as social objects of the activities of others" (Smolicz 1979, p.143).

### Evidence of shifting attitudes towards the research boarding school

The advantage of the memoir approach was that it portrayed individuals in their own context and could be used in order to trace evidence of cultural change. Znaniecki (1968, pp.66-88) understood that social change was expressed in terms of the interaction between individual attitudes and group values. In this study, some memoirs suggested change in their author's attitude to boarding school and the factors that influenced this change. Such sentiments could be found in a number of the memoir writers that were categorised as having generally positive attitudes towards boarding school. For example, respondent 5 a male Thai born full-boarder who lived in Melbourne:

- *Before I came to the school, it was obvious that I needed independence and a little more structure in my life. I don't think that I had many problems with interacting with people although I had a slight temper. Now that I look back and you've asked me about the likes and dislikes of my old school I've realised that I am very fortunate – and I've never really appreciated what I had [...] There is no doubt in my mind that boarding school in my mind has helped me tremendously in learning to deal with people in a variety of circumstances. (5)*

Another Anglo-Australian male from rural Victoria recorded the change in his perception towards the research boarding school once he was in Year 12, House Captain and a School Prefect:

- *I was struggling academically at my old school – I was not a bright cookie at all! I only got into my old school on the interview. Here I've realised that the people in my House when I was in Year 10 were not actually people I got on with (at first). Now I am a lot more willing and open to new people and ideas. I think it's because I've been given a position of responsibility within the school [...] I want to do well, lead etc, but in my own different way. (3)*

A female Japanese student noted that:

- *During my first few weeks at boarding school, I was mostly homesick or actually sick. It became a disadvantage because everyone was getting to know each other I was in bed. When I started boarding I had no idea how I would communicate or interact with strangers because my old school never had new people. But I think coming here developed my social skills and confidence. (32)*

The act of writing a memoir not only documents individuals' cultural contexts and experiences through their own eyes, but also reveals to what extent they feel part of a given cultural group, or their cultural becoming of a group. In this study, it was found that all respondents were re-examining their views of an Australian boarding school and their relationships towards the boarding House. Because of the dynamic nature of the humanistic method which required respondents to reflect on the past, in order to give meaning to the present and clarify their "mind's eye" map of the future. It was possible to trace the development of students' attitudes towards various aspects of boarding school life.

43 of the 45 memoirs expressed positive attitudes overall to their experience at the research boarding school. When asked if there were any negative aspects of boarding school life 24 recorded some negative comments and two of the memoirs were overwhelmingly negative towards life at the research boarding school. Male respondents 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, and 17 from Anglo-Australian background expressed some negative views. Male respondents 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27 and 28 from overseas also expressed negative feelings. However, only female respondents 29 and 30 from overseas expressed similar views and female Anglo-Australian respondents 35, 37, 38 and 39.

The two memoirs, respondent 26 a male student from Thailand, and respondent 37 a female student from Victoria which were overwhelmingly negative towards their experience at the research

boarding school focused their memoirs upon the difficult transition from their primary social systems to the school. This was clarified by their concrete fact profiles which suggested that the circumstances of the primary group system has the potential to have a major impact upon the students' capacity to adapt to the research boarding school. Whilst both memoir authors identified general advantages of attending boarding school such as respondent 24's ambition to improve his English language skills and respondent 37's observations about having academic staff in the boarding House to help with homework, their views of boarding was consistently negative.

The overseas male and female respondents indicated that the experience of being immersed in a dominant host culture that was primarily mono-linguistic was in many ways a negative experience. This was because these respondents believed that it caused them to lose part of their ethnic identity given the totality of the host culture. The researcher highlighted structural changes that the school employed to alleviate this. Nevertheless, from the overseas respondents' perspective this was not always enough.

Through concrete and cultural data, it was possible to conclude that cultural monism existed in the great majority of the primary social systems of the Anglo-Australian students' homes. However, because of the social secondary group system of the school offering the International Baccalaureate, teaching Chinese, French, German, Japanese, and Spanish, having an Overseas Students Committee, holding Overseas Students' Day, and Festive Lunches in the Dining Hall, many personal statements acknowledged the existence of cultural monism in the primary social systems of the home. It was at this point, that some memoirs written by both Anglo-Australian and overseas students revealed the possibility of the secondary social system of the research boarding school becoming an adjunct of the primary social system of the home.



From analysing these memoirs, the researcher hoped to gain a better understanding of these respondents' views, not only for their own sake, but also as important knowledge in its own right. These data were not collated in order to make predictions about other individuals or groups. Rather the comments were made in the context of learning how to tolerate and live with peers in a particular structure for an extended period. The following example written by a year 12 student from rural Victoria articulated this point:

- *Boarding school makes you a more independent, freethinking person. Your parents are not around to tell you what to do, or to tidy up after you. However, it only works for those who enjoy it [...] It makes you adapt more to the outside world. Some say that it shelters you – but not really. For it provides a smaller 'mock' community with everything going on [...] It makes you more capable (it has made me) of coping with being on your own and doing things for yourself and more socially capable too. (3)*

The notion that the system of boarding school “makes you more capable” was a recurrent theme and mentioned in nearly all 45 of the memoirs. Some respondents noted that boarding school made them aware of other individuals as forming part of a new social system that they had entered:

- *Boarding school life does change you significantly. Mainly because you are living so close to so many people [...] This tends to make you far more aware of those around you and the need for you to treat them well. I also believe that boarding school changes your perception of others, in that whilst you are boarding – you realise that everyone around you has at least one talent or goal that they are focused on. (4)*

Coupled with the phenomena of individuality was a sense of being empowered, which suggested that respondents believed they would be able to deal with others in potentially stressful situations beyond boarding school life because of the totality or the crucible of the research boarding school community. Respondent 31 from Thailand wrote:

- *[...] you are better equipped at dealing with people in stressful situations and perhaps better at figuring out what people want you to say. I think it also helps you form a core of friends which you can rely upon outside of school for support. From my experience it gives you enough confidence to believe that you can achieve anything you want, but not without working for it. (31)*

Students who identified themselves as Anglo-Australian did not only mention this phenomenon. One female student from Thailand wrote that since being at boarding school:

- *I am more confident, more responsible. I can look after myself better than before. Boarding School helps you to understand other and care for others. It teaches me how to respect others and listen to their opinions. It is good because it prepares me for when I leave the school for the bigger world. (30)*

A female Anglo-Australian living in Brunei commented that boarding school life prepared her for the future:

- *[the research boarding school] has changed me to an extent that I am now able to cope with life ahead. Where I can't depend on my parents to make decisions for me and can independently go and find what I really want in life. It has changed the way that I think about people. It has also changed some of my ways of living, to live in a group, a community where we have to respect as well as be responsible for our actions there we do, in the eyes of our peers [...] to care and look out for one another.(45)*

She clarified this stating that:

- *It has really helped me [being at boarding school] in decision-making and prepared me for life without my parents. The fear of never seeing my parents ... I have now overcome as [...] I have realised that I can always keep in touch with them, even though I am so far away [...] It has also helped me to realise what I would like to achieve after school. (45)*

### Students' views on religion

As established in chapters 1, 3 and 4 the research boarding school was founded as an Anglican institution in the Australian Anglo-Catholic tradition. Cookson and Hodges Persell understood that the rôle of religion at American prep school was the basis for:

[...] the creation of a collective identity, however, required more than outward discipline. Individuals must also be submerged in a belief system that guides their behaviour and instills them with the proper values. The importance of religion becomes apparent, because by religious ritual and the manipulation of spiritual symbols the young novitiates are expected to become absorbed in the brotherhood and sisterhood (Cookson and Hodges Persell 1985b, p.138).

The significance of a corporate religious identity was also observed by Wakeford (1969, p.124) who argued, "this daily service of worship though based on moral egalitarianism, serves to emphasise, or to identify, hierarchical levels in the school". Berger (1966, pp.64-65) stressed the humanistic quality; individuals had to re-examine and reinterpret their past, present and future when discussing life changing experiences such as religious conversion.

The data analysed in Chapter 9 presented an interesting juxtaposition between the researcher's observations and the respondents' memoirs. Given the culturally diverse population of the school as reflected in the concrete fact profiles of the respondents the majority of the memoirs appeared to be ambivalent towards organised religion at the research boarding school as seen in the memoirs of male Anglo-Australian respondents' 5, 8, 11, 12, and 13 and female Anglo-Australia respondents' 33, 37, 42 and 45. However, the ambivalence expressed by the respondents did not correlate to the participation of students in the Mass celebrated in the school's Chapel. The high number of students who received the host during communion primarily supported this observation.

Those respondents who expressed personally positive attitudes, American born male respondent 1, Anglo-Australia memoirs 3, 6, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, overseas male respondent 26 and female Anglo-Australian respondents 35, 40, 41, indicated that the school had provided them with the framework for a set of personal religious values which was important to them for life. In contrast, it is possible to suggest that for the majority of students from non-Christian backgrounds, such as male overseas respondents 21, 22, 23, 25, 27 and 28 and female overseas students 31, and 32, the values expressed by worship in an Anglo-Catholic tradition will not have a lasting impact.

### A boarding House as a primary group social system

Chapter 5 outlined Smolicz's claim that it was possible to divide individual social systems into two types as "primary personal" and "secondary personal" as seen in Table 11.1 *Classification of social systems* and Figure 1.1. Elaborating further, Smolicz cited the home or family as a primary personal and group system and that a school, a university, or an office represented a secondary group social system. Smolicz observed the relationships in primary social systems were personal, intimate, and on going. Conversely, the secondary social system relationships tended to be more formal, distant, and spasmodic. Once Smolicz's conceptual grid was considered in the light of the respondents' memoir data, it was expected that in this research group individuals would act as a secondary social bonds for each other in the research boarding school and House.

**Table 11.1** *Classification of social systems*. Adapted with permission from Smolicz (1979, p.149; 1999, p.143)

Type of System	Primary	Secondary
Personal	Primary Personal	Secondary Personal
Group	Primary Group <i>The family</i>	Secondary Group <i>The School</i>

Consequently, this research agreed that if a social system was a cultural creation "nearly every individual who participates in the activities which brings a social group into existence becomes a part of the product itself as a group member" (Znaniecki 1939, p.805, 1998).

After analysis of the respondents' memoirs, a variation surfaced in Smolicz's original conceptual grid. It seemed that for many of the 43 generally positive memoirs the secondary systems of the boarding House within the school adopted the characteristics of primary group systems and that the relationships to individuals within them, such as other students and teachers, revealed qualities

comparable to primary values of the family. Initially this analysis of the respondents' memoirs appeared to support the findings of the international studies of Cookson and Hodges Persell (1985b), Kalton (1966), Lambert (1968a), Morgan (1993) Wakeford (1969), and Walford (1983, 1984 and 1986) as outlined in chapter 2, but adds a dimension of theoretical clarity in regards to the nature of social relationships.

The examination of respondents' views in the chapters 7-10 suggested that Smolicz's conceptual grid of personal and group social systems initially developed in the late 1970s outlined in Figure 11.1 *The primary and secondary value systems of respondents at the research boarding school according to the application of Smolicz's original conceptual grid for the classification of social systems* has particular resonance and theoretical implications for the analysis of residential education in the multi-ethnic context of contemporary Australia. It seemed that this grid has the potential to act as a theoretical framework combined with Znaniecki's humanistic coefficient to determine the extent to which an individual feels that they are part of a boarding House and or school community.

Table 11.2. *Classifications of social systems in the research boarding school* shows that the types of relationships that took place in primary social systems were personal, intimate and on going. Conversely, the secondary social system developed relationships that tended to be more formal, distant, and spasmodic. In this research group, it was discovered that an individual formed two

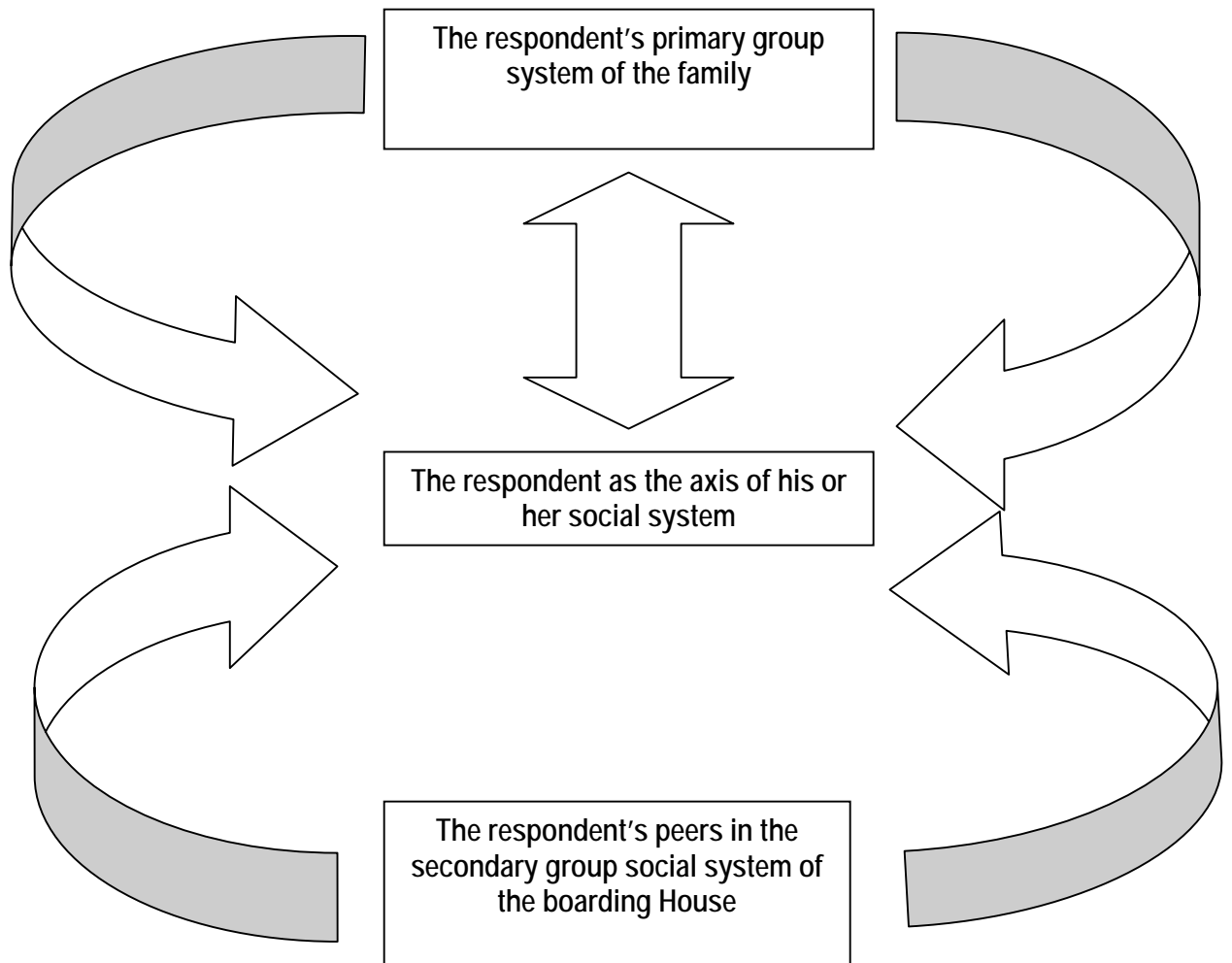


Figure 11.1 The primary and secondary value systems of respondents at the research boarding school according to the application of Smolicz's (1979, p.149; 1999, p.143) original conceptual grid for the classification of social systems.

kinds of personal primary bonds: one that drew some of their personal values from the family and the other that drew personal values represented by respondents' friends from the boarding House. In the case of overseas male students' memoirs 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 17 and overseas female students' memoirs 28, 29, 30 31, and 32 this appeared to be even more intense as they represented an ethnic minority in the host culture.

**Table 11.2** *Classifications of social systems in the research boarding school* Adapted with permission from Smolicz (1979, p.149; 1999, p.143)

Type of System	Primary	Secondary
Personal	Primary Personal	Secondary Personal
Group	Primary Group <i>The family and the boarding House</i>	Secondary Group <i>The research boarding school</i>

From cultural data collected outlined in chapters 7-10, the social system of the boarding House for respondents appeared to represent an adjunct to the primary social system of the home within the wider secondary group system of the school itself. This proposition was supported by extracts taken from respondents' memoirs. Each of these respondents noted how the relationships they established with their peers and some of the academic staff who acted as boarding House tutors *in loco parentis* adopted the characteristics of primary personal values for the students, or they even perceived themselves in this way.

These observations expressed in the respondents' memoirs were personal and intimate; it revealed an appreciation of the flaws and complexities a member of staff faces when working in the primary group system of the boarding House, on one hand, and then the school on the other. Another male full-boarder from rural Victoria adroitly noted:

- *Some [...] teachers here are [...] inspirational [...] a lot of this depends on personal relationships [...] I think of some teachers as friends because they have helped me through difficult times. I think I trust some of them as much as any other student. (4)*

Another full-boarder from rural Victoria stated:

- *It is a difficult position for both teachers and students at boarding school. It must be hard [...] to develop a friendship with a student and maintain professionalism at the same time [...] (6)*

Given that the research boarding school was a formalised educational structure, which framed the initial relationships between each of the respondents and their teachers, from the cultural data collected it was possible to see that the relationships among many students and among students and staff in the boarding House tended to be personal and informal, this having qualities similar to the primary relationships of the family. The boarding House acted as a primary personal system to that of the family co-existing with it rather than replacing it. The boarding House as a community, also belonged to a larger collegiate body and hence formed part of the school as a secondary social system. However, it appeared that the boarding House transcended that rôle when it assumed values that had primary connotations in the lives of boarders. This new application of Smolicz's original conceptual grid summarised in chapter 5 was developed because of cultural data collected in this thesis.

### **The research boarding school as a crucible for life?**

The memoir comments revealed boarding school has the potential to act as a cultural crucible or a critical social system for the transition of the new values embodied by the cultural diversity they experienced in their lives at the research boarding school and have the potential to be carried beyond their schooling.

Smolicz's (1979, p.150) theory had particular importance for the interpretation of memoirs collected from the overseas students at the research boarding school. He noted that "ethnic minorities 'lost'



in the host population often developed the feeling of a clan and, therefore, approximate to a primary group system, which potentially offers an open avenue to the formation of primary personal bonds, based upon feelings of solidarity and cultural affinity which are absent in relations with members of other groups". Given that these overseas students generally expressed some negative experiences as being part of the day-to-day Anglo-Australian dominant host culture the friendships forged between students from overseas became seemed even more intense as they became primary values for each other.

This analysis of the overseas respondents' cultural data revealed that an effective boarding House adopted characteristics which replicated the informality and intimacy of the primary social system. Herein lay an interesting juxtaposition found in the memoir data. The views of the respondents who experienced life in the boarding House and school supported Cookson and Hodges Persell's (1985b, pp.124-143) attitude that the residential education qualities resembled a crucible.

### **Issues for further research**

Chapter 6 highlighted the holistic perspective of this study and the researcher's decision to limit the participation of respondents to the final years of the school – years 11 and 12 - who were aged from fifteen to eighteen in this study. Particular emphasis was placed upon the way the research boarding school appeared in the eyes of its international students, however, the co-educational issue was not isolated for investigation in this study as both male and female students were documented in the empirical section. As a result, it is important to recognise that this study is highly specific to the research boarding school and no generalisations to other residential institutions are possible.

A memoir study on a larger scale than the one which has been undertaken could investigate the attitudes of students towards boarding in Australia as a whole. When the researcher investigated the literature that examined Australian boarding, it was clear that there has not been enough research conducted in this country in order to accurately indicate the state of boarding. A study of the teachers in boarding schools would help the public to appreciate the particular demands and rewards of boarding in this country. Another study potentially of particular interest would be a comparison between the memoirs of Australian, American and English schools, which could reveal if there were similarities and difference in boarding schools established in different cultures.

### **Conclusion**

The research boarding school, presented a formalised educational structure, which framed the initial relationships between students and teachers. At the research boarding school they were more formal or controlled in the sense that they were part of an educational dialogue – the student and the teacher – the educator and the educand as discussed by Znaniecki (1998, pp.154-160).

The boarding House acted as a community belonging to a larger collegiate body and hence formed part of the school as a secondary social system, but it transcended that rôle when it assumed primary connotation in the lives of boarders. The attitude of 'independence' so often discussed in memoirs can be regarded as the result of an apparently symbiotic social system which acted with the family as seen in Figure 11.2 *The primary and secondary values systems according to the respondents' memoirs* where the boarding house acts as a primary personal value system co-existing with the family rather than replacing it. These new data revealing a new application for Smolicz's (1979, p.149; 1999, p.143) original theory for the classification of social systems.

Overall, the students' comments were generally positive and revealed boarding school as a critical social system for the transition of the new values embodied by the cultural diversity they experienced in their lives at boarding school. It also revealed a number of Anglo-Australian and overseas students who were in the process of re-evaluating and re-interpreting the advantages and disadvantages of boarding school as a social system as transmitted to them by parents, friends, family and teachers.

In the light of these findings, these characteristics unusual for a residential secondary group social system of this nature and the concrete and cultural evidence discussed in chapters 7 to 10, the data suggest that the research Australian boarding school was a crucible which had the potential to promote positive attitudes towards cultural pluralism for students. Given the research boarding school's inherent international population the researcher found that this institution was at a threshold of significant educational innovation. Students were provided with a permanent and on-going opportunity for the cultivation of positive cross-cultural interaction amongst the ethnically diverse population of the school - students and academic staff - as a result of:

- day-to-day contact with students and academic staff from diverse ethnic backgrounds in the secondary social system of the research boarding school;
- day-to-day contact with international students' in boarding Houses which adopted the characteristics of a primary personal group system;
- international students' awareness week;
- the chance for students to study French, German, Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, and Spanish.

This boarding school was presented with the opportunity to act as a model for an Australian residential education which fostered a sense of tolerance based upon the principles of ethnic pluralism. It is apparent from the respondents' memoirs that the boarding school should to pay

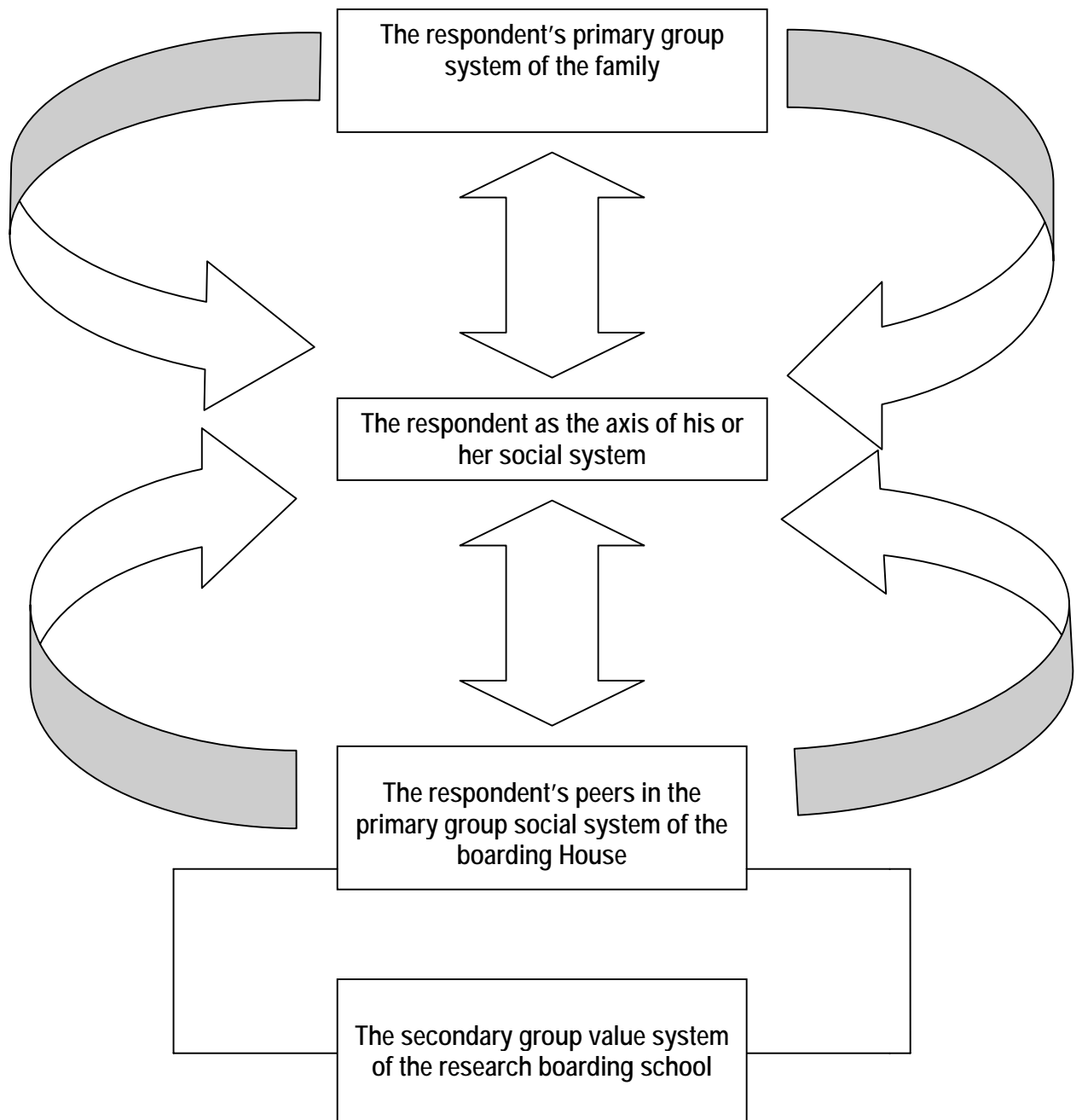


Figure 11.2 The primary and secondary values systems according to the respondents' memoirs

particular attention to the needs of their overseas students so that they will feel more a part of the dominant host culture without losing essential aspects of their own ethnic identity. Whilst the school has made a number of positive steps towards recognizing the needs of overseas students reassessment of the school's policy and position on overseas students is required if they are to benefit in the long term from being members of a genuinely international boarding school community.

Conversely, the dominant host culture appears to have benefited greatly from the presence of the overseas students in their community. This was supported by the positive comments made by Anglo-Australian respondents who expressed the multicultural population of the school as one of the major strengths of the institution. From the respondents' memoirs it is apparent that an Australian boarding school possesses the potential to act as a crucible for life which can promote and encourage aspects of tolerance for others and service to the community whilst also being able to express a certain amount of individualism. The challenge that faces those who are responsible for the maintenance and future of these types of school will lie in their capacity to critically reassess the experience of the student population. This is particularly important in the case of a boarding school that has a population of students from a range of ethnic backgrounds.

From the memoirs of the respondents it was clear that friendship was the strongest value that emerged in the students' lives at boarding school. It was a type of friendship that was enduring, intense and in some cases transcended cultural differences. However, as friendship emerged as

one of the strengths of boarders' lives in the research school it also suggested that students from overseas backgrounds were more likely to seek out, establish and maintain friendships amongst their own or similar ethnic background. The intensity of these friendships appeared to adopt the characteristics of friendships forged in close primary personal relationships.

From the respondents' memoirs it appeared that they believed that the boarding education at the research school prepared them in part for their future rôles in a diverse set of cultural circumstances. In the first instance it seemed that many respondents believed that the research school would prepare them to become independent in the broader world of tertiary study and in the case of many overseas students provided them with the English language skills that will help them in commerce and the Law in the future. These attitudes showed how they believed that the experience of boarding school was significant in fostering independence and an attitudinal shift towards embracing cultural diversity as experienced in the secondary social system of the school – which for some students became just as, if not more important, than the more culturally monistic primary social system of the home and prepare them for life in an increasingly global world.

## APPENDIX A

## Concrete fact profile of respondents

Memoir number	Sex	Year started boarding	Age at the time of writing	Residence	Place of birth	Language (s) spoken other than English	Ethnic identity	Religious affiliation
1	M	1996	18	Singapore	Singapore	-	American	Roman Catholic
2	M	1996	17	Geelong, Victoria	South Africa	-	Australian	Anglican
3	M	1997	17	Benalla, Victoria	Hereford England	-	Australian	Anglican
4	M	1997	17	Gisborne, Victoria	Gisborne, Victoria	-	Australian	Atheist
5	M	1996	17	Melbourne, Victoria	Thailand	-	Australian	Non-believer
6	M	1996	17	Wangaratta, Victoria	Victoria	-	Australia	Atheist
7	M	1997	17	Mansfield, Victoria	Paris	French	Australia	Atheist
8	M	1998	16	Melbourne, Victoria	South Australia	-	Australian	Anglican
9	M	1994	16	Lightening Ridge, NSW	Victoria	-	Australian	Anglican
10	M	1996	16	Hepburn Springs, Victoria	Melbourne Victoria	-	Australian	Anglican
11	M	1996	16	Melbourne, Victoria	Melbourne, Victoria	-	Australian	Uniting
12	M	1999	15	Geelong	Changchun China	Mandarin Chinese	Australian	Not indicated
13	M	1997	16	Queensland	England	-	Australian	Anglican
14	M	1998	17	Longwood, Victoria	Melbourne, Victoria	-	Australian	Anglican
15	M	1997	16	Bendigo, Victoria	Sydney	-	Australian	Anglican
16	M	1999	17	Melbourne	Melbourne	-	Australian	Anglican
17	M	1997	16	Mt Gambier, South Australia	Mt Gambier South Australia	-	Australian	Anglican
18	M	1997	16	Bangkok, Thailand	Thailand	Thai	Thai	Buddhist

19	M	1997	16	Saraburi Thailand	Thailand	Thai	Thai	Buddhist
20	M	1999	16	Taiwan	Taiwan	Chinese	Chinese	Buddhist
21	M	1997	17	Taipei	Taiwan	Chinese	Chinese	Buddhist
22	M	1997	16	Thailand	Thailand	Thai	Thai	Buddhist
23	M	1999	18	Malaysia	Malaysia	Mandarin Chinese; Bahasa	Malaysian	Methodist
24	M	1998	17	Malaysian	Malaysian	Chinese	Chinese and Malay	Buddhist
25	M	1999	16	Jakarta	Indonesia	Chinese- Indonesia n	Chinese	Buddhist
26	M	1997	16	Bangkok	Thailand	Mandarin -Chinese	Thai	Buddhist
27	M	1999	16	Bangkok	Thailand	Thai	Thai	Atheist
28	M	1998	16	Kuala Lumpur	Malaysia	Malay	Malaysian	Muslim
29	F	1996	16	Bangkok	Thailand	Thai	Thai	Buddhist
30	F	1999	17	Bangkok	Thailand	Thai	Thai	Buddhist
31	F	2000	17	Bangkok	Thailand	Thai	Thai	Buddhist
32	F	1998	16	Tokyo	Tokyo and Melbourne	Japanese	Japanese	Buddhist
33	F	1996	15	Calcutta, India	Geelong	Hindi	Australian	Not identified
34	F	1999	16	Budapest Hungary	Canberra	-	Australian	Anglican
35	F	1998	16	Camperdown	Melbourne	-	Australian	Roman Catholic
36	F	1999	16	Melbourne	Melbourne	-	Australian	Anglican
37	F	2000	17	Victoria	Melbourne	-	Australian	Anglican
38	F	1998	17	Mt Isa, Queensland	Geelong, Victoria	-	Australian	Anglican
39	F	1998	16	Melbourne Victoria	Melbourne, Victoria	-	Australian	Anglican
40	F	1997	17	Melbourne Victoria	Melbourne, Victoria	-	Australian	Anglican
41	F	1998	17	Victoria	Beaconsfield	-	Australian	Anglican
42	F	1998	17	Melbourne Victoria	Melbourne, Victoria	-	Australian	Anglican
43	F	1997	17	Melbourne Victoria	Melbourne, Victoria	-	Australian	Not identified
44	F	1998		Rural Victoria	Victoria	-	Australian	Agnostic
45	F	1998	17	Brunei	Brunei	Bahasa	Not identified	Not identified



## APPENDIX B

### EXTENDED CONCRETE FACT PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

**Respondent 1;** 2000; male; aged 18; full-boarder; overseas student; year 12; V.C.E. Unit 3 and 4; House Captain of a senior boys' boarding House; school prefect; born in Singapore; lived in Singapore; ethnic identity: American; Roman Catholic; mother was deceased; Father was an Airline Pilot; commenced boarding in 1996; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the School; academic subjects studied: Physics, Jazz, Maths Methods, English and Theatre Studies; respondent made the decision to attend the School; neither of his parents attended University; English was the language spoken at home.; received an academic distinction for International Relations; the respondent had no other relatives attending the school at the time of the study; no previous family connection with the School; awarded House Colours and School Colours for Drama; involved in Drama and Spanish as an activity.

**Respondent 2;** 2000; male; aged 17; full-boarder; year 11; candidate for the International Baccalaureate Stage 1; boarder was in a senior boys' House; born in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; lived at the School; Anglican; father was a deceased member of Academic Staff at the School.; mother was a Primary Teacher; commenced boarding in 1996; did not obtain a scholarship to enter the school; academic subjects studied: Maths, English, History, French, Chemistry, Biology and the Theory of Knowledge; decision to attend the school was made between the respondent and his parents; both parents attended University; father Bachelor of Arts.; mother Bachelor of Education; English was the language spoken at home; awarded academic distinctions in English, History, French, Chemistry, and The Theory of Knowledge; respondent did not have any relatives at the school at the time of completing the questionnaire; the respondent has had two brothers through the school both were boarders; 1<sup>st</sup> XI Cricket; 1<sup>st</sup> XV Rugby; awarded school Colours for Cricket; learnt the guitar.

**Respondent 3;** 2000; male; aged 17; full-boarder; year 12; rural student; candidate for V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; Captain of a senior boys' House; school prefect; born in Hereford, England; Anglican; lived on a property outside of Benalla, Victoria; entered the school in 1997; academic subjects studied: English, Further Maths, History, French and Biology; did not obtain a scholarship to enter the school; decision that the respondent attended boarding school was made between himself and his parents; father was a farmer; mother's was engaged in home duties; father attended Winchester College, U.K. and then graduated from Cirencester Agricultural College in a Bachelor of Agriculture; his mother attended a Swiss Finishing School in Geneva; English was the language spoken at home; respondent was vice-Captain of Rowing and Rugby; respondent was awarded House Colours (twice); school Colours for Rowing and Rugby; respondent has been awarded an academic distinction for Theatre Studies; respondent has no previous family connection with the School.

**Respondent 4;** 2000; male; aged 17; full-boarder; year 12; rural student; candidate for the V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; boarder in a senior boys' House; born in Gisborne, Victoria; lived in Gisborne, Victoria; "non-believer"; commenced boarding in 1997; obtained a scholarship to attend the School; mother's occupation was a medical records administrator; father was a History teacher at the local state High School; both parents attended University; academic subjects studied: English, Maths Methods, Specialist Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics and MUPHAS Mathematics; decision that the respondent attended boarding school was made by the respondent alone; English was the language spoken at home; academic distinctions: History, Science, Chemistry, Physics, English, International Relations, Business Management, Mathematics, and Geography; respondent has no other relatives attending the school at the time of the study; respondent had no previous family connections with the school; Boys' 1<sup>st</sup> XI Hockey; Boys' VIII Tennis; awarded school Colours for: debating, half-colours for academic work; involved with Chess and Debating as an activity.

**Respondent 5;** 2000; male; aged 17; full-boarder; Melbourne student; year 11; candidate for V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; boarder in a senior boys' boarding House; born in Thailand; lived in Melbourne; Roman Catholic; father was a senior manager of a consulting firm; mother did not work; parents did not attend university; commenced boarding in 1996; mother and father made the decision that the respondent should attend boarding school; English spoken at home; academic subjects studied: Geography, Maths Methods, English, Economics, Technology (Design and Development), and Information Technology; no previous or current family connections with the school; no academic distinctions awarded; VIII Rowing III, Soccer, II Fencing team; senior choirs; Sustainability Committee; Community Development; Y.C.S; Duke of Edinburgh Scheme; Young Achievers' Australia.

**Respondent 6;** 2000; male; aged 17; full-boarder; rural student; year 12; V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; House Vice-Captain; House prefect; boarder in a senior boys House; Born in Wangaratta; lived in Wangaratta; Atheist; commenced boarding in 1996; no scholarship obtained to enter the school; both parents attended university; both parents were dentists; academic subjects studied: English, Classical Societies and Cultures, Music Performance (Group) – Jazz, International Relations, Maths Methods; completed Texts and Traditions in year 11; awarded academic distinctions in History, English and Instrumental Music; had an older brother through the school – who at the time of the questionnaire-survey was 21 aged; 2<sup>nd</sup> XVIII Football; awarded House colours; respondent not been awarded colours for sport; coordinator of the Literacy Support Programme; S.A.V.E.; Senior Band; Senior Choir; Public Speaking.

**Respondent 7;** 2000; male; aged 17; full-boarder; year 12; rural student; House prefect; V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; boarder in a senior boys' House; born in Paris, France; lived at Mansfield, Victoria; Atheist; Mother was a secretary and cook; Father was a Chef; commenced boarding in 1997; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; respondent made the decision to attend the School alone; Neither of his parents attended university; English was the language spoken at home; academic subjects studied: Physics, Chemistry, Maths Methods and English; respondent awarded an academic distinction in Music; an older brother went through the school (now 20 aged); Swimming; Cross-Country; Athletics; respondent has been awarded school Colours for Cross-Country and Athletics.

**Respondent 8;** 2000; male; aged 16; full boarder; metropolitan Melbourne student; year 11; boarder in a senior boys' House; International Baccalaureate Stage I; born in Adelaide, South Australia; lived in Melbourne, Victoria; Anglican; commenced boarding in 1998; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the School; respondent made the decision to attend the school with his parents; academic subjects studied: Biology, Chemistry, English, History, Maths, Spanish, and the Theory of Knowledge; father was an Orthopedic Surgeon; mother was a secretary; both Parents attended university; father Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery specializing in Orthopedics; Mother commenced nursing degree – but did not complete the degree; English was the language spoken at home; awarded academic distinctions: Japanese, English, and Geography; no previous family connection with the school; 2<sup>nd</sup> Tennis; 1<sup>st</sup> Hockey; choir, guitar; House debating; awarded House colours in 1999 (as a Year 10).

**Respondent 9;** 2000; male; aged 16; full-boarder; year 11; rural student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; boarder in a senior boys' House; born in Melbourne, Victoria; lived on a station out of Lightning Ridge; Anglican; commenced boarding in 1994; obtained a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent should attend boarding school was made with his parents; father was a farmer and his mother was a Housewife; both parents attended university; both hold Law Degrees from University of Melbourne; English was spoken at home; academic subjects studied: English, Maths Methods, Biology, Physics, History, and Year 12 International Relations; respondent's father, paternal uncles (2) attended the school as boarders; 3<sup>rd</sup> XI Cricket; U16 Rugby.

**Respondent 10;** 2001; male; aged 16; full-boarder; rural student; year 11; V.C.E Units 1 and 2; boarder in a senior boys' House; born in Melbourne; lived in Hepburn Springs; Anglican; commenced boarding in 1996; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent should attend the school was made with his parents; father was a manager of a sawmill and his mother was involved in the hospitality industry; Neither of the respondent's parents attended university; English was the language spoken at home; academic subjects studied: English, Maths Methods, Biology, Physics, Economics, Texts and Traditions (Year 12); no relatives attended the school; no previous family connection with the school; 3<sup>rd</sup> Tennis; 2<sup>nd</sup> Hockey

**Respondent 11;** 2001; male; aged 16; full-boarder; Melbourne student; year 11; boarder in a senior boys' House; born in Melbourne; lived in Melbourne; member of the Uniting Church; commenced boarding in 1996; both parents and the respondent made the decision that the he should attend boarding school; father was a manager-director of a family business; mother was a Housewife; respondent's father did not attend university (left school at the end of Year 11); his mother commenced a Bachelor of Arts, majoring in Psychology – but has not been awarded the Degree; English was the language spoken at home; academic subjects studied: Year 12 International Studies, Accounting, History, Maths Methods, English, and Economics; awarded academic distinctions in the following subjects: Business management and History; two cousins at the school – both of whom were day-boarders; respondent has had a number of relatives through the school including two in day Houses and aunt, uncle, and four cousins as full-boarders; 4<sup>th</sup> Tennis; 3<sup>rd</sup> Football

**Respondent 12;** 2000; male; aged 15; metropolitan student; year 11; International Baccalaureate Stage I; born in Changchun, China; lived locally; commenced at the school in 1999; obtained a scholarship to attend the school; parents made the decision with the respondent should that he would attend the school; father was a Professor at Deakin University; mother was a lecturer at Deakin University; both parents held degrees in Computer Science; father awarded a Ph.D; Mandarin Chinese was the main language spoken at home; academic subjects studied: English, Maths Methods, Physics, Chemistry, Spanish and Economics; respondent awarded academic distinctions for Maths, Science, and Business Management; 5<sup>th</sup> Tennis; 5<sup>th</sup> Soccer

**Respondent 13;** 2001; male; aged 16; full-boarder; interstate metropolitan area student; year 11; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in England; lived in Queensland; commenced boarding in 1997; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school ethnic identity was Australian; Anglican; father was a C.E.O. of a Bank; Mother did not work; both parents attended universities; English spoken at home; parents and respondent made the decision that the respondent should attend boarding school; academic subjects studied: English, History, Legal Studies, Maths Methods, Computer Studies and Geography; no relatives at the school; mother and maternal aunt both students at one of the girls' colleges which amalgamated with the school in the 1970s; 3<sup>rd</sup> VIII Rowing; 2<sup>nd</sup> XV Rugby; photography

**Respondent 14;** 2001; male; aged 17; full-boarder; rural student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; year 11; born in Melbourne; lived in Longwood; Australian; Anglican; mother was a nurse; father was a farmer; both parents attended university; mother obtained qualifications in Nursing; father obtained qualifications in Agriculture; commenced boarding in 1998; did not attain a scholarship to attend the school; academic subjects studied: Chemistry, English, Maths Methods, Legal Studies, Economics, and Information Technology; decision to attend boarding school was made with parents; English spoken at some; respondent awarded academic distinctions in Mathematics, Physical Education, and Agriculture; two first cousins and some distant cousins at the school; previous relations who attended the school are on the maternal side; included great uncles and cousins in both boys and girls' Houses; all full-boarders; 1<sup>st</sup> XVIII Football; 1<sup>st</sup> Tennis; Inter-Schools Skiing Team; awarded school colours for Tennis and Football.

**Respondent 15;** 2001; male; aged 16; full-boarder; rural student; year 11; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Sydney; lived in Bendigo; Anglican; Australian; mother and father were independent business owners; both parents attended university; mother attended Teachers' College; father completed a Degree in Accounting; commenced boarding in 1997; won a scholarship to attend the school; respondent made the decision he should attend the school; English was the language spoken at home; academic subjects studied: English, Jazz [Performance], Biology, Accounting, Advanced General Mathematics, Mathematical Methods; respondent has a sister at the School in year 7; no other relations have attended the school in the past.

**Respondent 16;** 2001; male; aged 17; full-boarder; metropolitan Melbourne student; year 11; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Melbourne; lived in Melbourne; Australian; Anglican; mother was an accountant and father was a manager of a business; father attended university and had a Law Degree; respondent's mother made the decision that the respondent should attend boarding school; commenced boarding in 1999; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the School; English spoken at home; subjects studied: English, Jazz, Physics, Maths Methods, General A Maths, and Information Technology; older brother attended the school; Tennis; Hockey; Sailing; not awarded school Colours for sport.

**Respondent 17;** 2001; male; aged 16; year 11; rural student; full-boarder; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; Born in Mt. Gambier; Lived in Mt. Gambier; Australian; mother was a Housewife; father is a farmer; father attended Agricultural College for three years; respondent commenced boarding in 1997; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision the respondent should attend the school was made with his parents; English spoken at home; subjects studied: Geography, Information Technology, Chemistry, English, Maths, and Technology Design; previous relations who attended the school include four generations through one boys' House and sisters in two of the girls' Houses; 1<sup>st</sup> Tennis; 1<sup>st</sup> XVIII Football; Athletics; school colours for Tennis.

**Respondent 18;** 2001; male; aged 17; year 11; metropolitan overseas student; full-boarder; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Thailand; lived in Bangkok; ethnic Identity Thai; Buddhist; mother's occupation not specified; father was a businessman; neither parents attended university; Thai spoken at home; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; commenced boarding in 1997; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Technology, Information Technology, Mathematics, and Accounting; two brothers in separate Senior School boys' House at the time of completing the questionnaire-survey; 3<sup>rd</sup> Badminton Team; Tennis; 4<sup>th</sup> Soccer; Horse Riding; Ice Skating; Land Care; Sailing.

**Respondent 19;** 2001; male; aged 16; year 11; metropolitan overseas student; full-boarder; overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Thailand; lived in Saraburi, Thailand; ethnic identity Thai; Thai spoken at home; mother and father were involved in a joint business operation; neither parents attended university; commenced boarding in 1997; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent should attend the School was a joint decision with his parents; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Maths Methods, General A Mathematics, Japanese, Physics, Year 12 Information Processing and Management; respondent awarded academic distinctions in Mathematics, Japanese and English as a Second Language; respondent has no previous relations through the school; 4<sup>th</sup> Soccer Team in 2001; Year 10B Soccer Team in 2000; Badminton 4<sup>th</sup> Team in 2001; 10B team in 2000; Land Care; Horse Riding; and Middle School Sports Coaching.

**Respondent 20;** 2001; male; aged 16; year 11, full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Taiwan; lived in Taiwan; Buddhist; ethnic identity was Chinese; Chinese spoken at home; mother and father were involved in a joint business venture; neither parents attended University; commenced boarding in 1999; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; father made the decision that the respondent should attend boarding School; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Maths Methods, Information Technology, Chinese, Japanese, Economics; awarded academic distinctions for Maths in 1999 and 2000; Badminton; Soccer; Sailing; International Café; Squash; Horse Riding; Land Care.

**Respondent 21;** 2001; male; aged 17; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Taiwan; lived in Taipei; Buddhist; ethnic identity was Chinese; Chinese spoken at home; mother and father were involved in a joint business venture; neither parents attended university; commenced boarding in 1997; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent should attend boarding school was made with his parents; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Year 12 Chinese, Japanese, Maths Methods, General A Maths, Chemistry; awarded academic distinctions for Maths and Physical Education; younger brother in Year 8 at the school; an older brother was in one of the Senior boys' boarding Houses; 4<sup>th</sup> Soccer; 4<sup>th</sup> Badminton; 8A Rowing (1998); 8A Soccer (1998; International Language Café; Horse Riding; and Ice Skating.

**Respondent 22;** 2001; male; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Thailand; lived in Thailand; Buddhist; ethnic identity Thai; Thai spoken at home; mother was a manager and father was a banker; both parents attended university; both parents held Masters Degrees in Accounting; commenced boarding in 1997; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent should attend boarding school was made with his parents; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Chemistry, Maths Methods, Geography, Information Technology and Accounting; three cousins at the school who were all overseas students; two male cousins finished at the school in 1996 and 1998; one female cousin finished School in 2000; 2<sup>nd</sup> Badminton Team; 2<sup>nd</sup> Soccer Team; Land Care; Sailing; Overseas Students' Committee.

**Respondent 23;** 2001; male; aged 18; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Malaysia; lived in Malaysia; Methodist; ethnic identity Malaysian; languages spoken: Mandarin, Bahasa, Malaysian, Hokkien and Foochow; mother was a Housewife; father was a business manager; commenced boarding in 1999; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; parents made the decision that the respondent should attend boarding school; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, General A Maths, Maths Methods, Physics, Chemistry, and Economics; uncle attended the school between 1991-1992; 3<sup>rd</sup> soccer;

**Respondent 24;** 2001; male; aged 17; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Malaysia; lived in Malaysia; Buddhist; ethnic identity Chinese Malaysian; Language spoken: Mandarin Chinese; mother was a Housewife; Father was a factory owner; neither parents attended university; commenced boarding in 1998; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent attended boarding school was made with his parents; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Chinese, Maths Methods, Information Technology, Visual Communication and Design, Chemistry; awarded an academic distinction for photography; no relatives at the School or any previous connection with the school; 4<sup>th</sup> Soccer Team; 3<sup>rd</sup> Tennis; Photography; Ice Skating; Music; Hiking; Squash; Community Service.

**Respondent 25;** 2001; male; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Indonesia; lived in Jakarta, Indonesia; Buddhist; ethnic identity Chinese; languages spoken: Indonesian and Chinese; mother was a Housewife; father was a “trader”; father held an Economics Degree; commenced boarding in 1999; the respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; the decision to attend boarding school was made with his parents; academic subjects studies: English as a Second Language, General A Maths, Maths Methods, Chemistry, Physics, and Indonesian; awarded an academic distinctions for Mathematics in Year 10 and Mathematics in Year 9; two older cousins in the school; had a cousin who was the same age at the school in the same House; soccer and badminton; Film Appreciation; International Café; and Land Care.

**Respondent 26;** 2001; male; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Thailand; lived in Bangkok, Thailand; Buddhist; ethnic identity Thai; languages spoken: Mandarin Chinese; mother and father owned business; commenced boarding in 1997; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision respondent should attend boarding School was his own choice; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Maths Methods, Maths General A, Japanese, Information Processing and Management as a Year 12 subject, Chemistry; awarded academic distinctions for some subjects; brother in senior school; in the same House as the respondent; 1<sup>st</sup> Soccer; 2<sup>nd</sup> Badminton; Land Care; Horse Riding; Middle School Soccer Coaching.

**Respondent 27;** 2001; male; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Thailand; lived in Bangkok, Thailand; atheist; ethnic identity Thai; language spoken: Thai; mother involved in fashion industry; father imported hair products into Thailand; commenced boarding in 1999 did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent would attend boarding school was made with his parents; academic subjects studied: “Mainstream” English, Maths Methods, Economics, Information Technology, Literature, and Accounting; respondent’s father had attended school; no other relatives at the school at the time of the questionnaire-survey; 2<sup>nd</sup> XV Rugby; Sailing; Jewelry Making.

**Respondent 28;** 2001; male; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Malaysia; lived in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; Muslim; ethnic identity Malaysian; Malay was spoken at home; mother was a Housewife; father was a chartered accountant; both parents attended university; father completed a Degree in Accounting and mother completed a Degree in Economics; commenced boarding in 1998; respondent did not obtain a scholarship at attend the school; decision that the respondent attended boarding school joint decision with his parents; academic subjects studied: “Mainstream” English, Accounting, General A Mathematics, Maths Methods, Physics and Chemistry; respondent was awarded academic distinctions for Maths, English, Geography, and International Relations; respondent had a younger brother in year nine at the school; two older brothers attended the school who matriculated in 1993 and 1996; 2<sup>nd</sup> Soccer Team; 3<sup>rd</sup> Badminton; Overseas Students’ committee.

**Respondent 29;** female; aged 16; year 11 full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Bangkok, Thailand; lived in Bangkok, Thailand; Buddhist; ethnic identity Thai; Thai spoken at home; mother was a Housewife and father a Senator in the Thai Government; respondent's father attended Universities in Thailand and the Philippines; commenced boarding in 1996; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Maths Methods, Japanese, Accounting, Painting and Chemistry; no relatives attended the school at the time of the questionnaire; respondent's uncle and cousins attended the school all matriculated in 1996; Softball; Netball; Horse Riding; Ice Skating; Painting.

**Respondent 30;** 2001; female; aged 17; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Bangkok, Thailand; lived in Bangkok, Thailand; Buddhist; ethnic identity Thai; Thai spoken at home; mother and father involved in business; neither parents attended university; commenced boarding in 1999; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; academic subjects studied: English as a Second, Maths Methods, Painting, Chemistry, Information Technology, Visual Design and Communication; respondent has not been awarded any academic distinctions; no relatives attending the School at the time of the questionnaire-survey; Badminton; Netball; awarded School Colours for Badminton; Horse Riding; Ice Skating; Painting.

**Respondent 31;** 2001; female; aged 17; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Bangkok, Thailand; lived in Bangkok, Thailand; Buddhist; ethnic identity Thai; Thai spoken at home; mother and father involved in business; Her father completed a M.B.A; mother left school at the equivalent of year 10; commenced boarding in 1999; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; respondent indicated she made the decision to attend boarding school; academic subjects studied: English as a Second Language, Maths Methods, General A Mathematics, Physics, Accounting and Visual Communication and Design; respondent's brother matriculated from the school in 1999; Basketball and Swimming; Yoga; Table Tennis.

**Respondent 32;** 2001; female; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Tokyo, Japan; lived in Melbourne and Tokyo; Buddhist; ethnic identity was Japanese; Japanese was spoken at home; mother was an artist; father a Journalist; father studied history and commerce; mother studied chemistry; commenced boarding in 1998; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; respondent made the decision that she would attend boarding school with her parents; academic subjects studied "mainstream" English, Maths Methods, Chemistry, Physics, French and Physical Education; awarded academic distinctions for French, Creative Arts and Technology; no relatives attended the school; Rowing; School Choir; Senior School Band; Charities; Charity Representative in her House; helped to coordinate the House's part in the Red Cross Door Knock Appeal.



**Respondent 33;** 2001; female; aged 15; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Calcutta, India; lived locally; ethnic identity Australian; Hindi was spoken at home; mother had her own general practice and father was an engineer; both parents attended university; mother specialised in Gynaecology; father had an Engineering Degree and recently completed a Ph.D. in Computer Science; commenced day boarding in 1995; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent should attend boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects: Chemistry, Maths Methods, General A (higher level) Maths, Classical Societies and Cultures, English and Year 12 History of Revolutions; respondent was awarded academic distinctions for Health and Physical Education and English; respondent's older sister matriculated in 2000; 2<sup>nd</sup> Softball; 5<sup>th</sup> Netball; *The Mikado*; Poets / Writer's Inc. and Charities.

**Respondent 34;** 2001; female; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan Overseas student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Canberra, A.C.T; lived in Sydney and Budapest; Anglican; ethnic identity Australian; English spoken at home; mother was journalist; father was a Diplomat based in Central Europe; father completed a Ph.D. in European History and has published a number of books on Eastern European Languages and Russian; mother studied French and Russian at University; both parents spoke Hungarian and Russian; commenced boarding in 1999; respondent did not obtain a scholarship at attend the school; respondent made the decision that she would attend boarding school with her parents; academic subjects studied: Graphics (Visual Communication and Design), Painting, English, Literature, Maths Methods and Year 12 French; respondent awarded academic distinctions for Graphics, Painting and Maths; a number of relatives attended the school at the time of the questionnaire, including cousins in four of the senior boarding Houses; grandfather also attended the school; Rowing; Sailing; Cross Country; Aerobics; Orchestra.

**Respondent 35;** 2001; female; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; rural student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Melbourne, Victoria; lived on a property outside of Camperdown, Victoria; Roman Catholic; ethnic identity Australian; English spoken at home; parents owned a dairy farm; respondent's father studied Farm Management at Marcus Oldham Agricultural College; commenced boarding in 1998; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision respondent attended boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects studied: Year 12 Physical Education, Legal Studies, English, Maths Methods, Geography and Biology; younger sister in the Middle School at the time of the questionnaire-survey; respondent's mother attended the school; uncle attended the school; 3<sup>rd</sup> Tennis; 4<sup>th</sup> Netball; Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme.

**Respondent 36;** 2001; female; aged 16; year 11; full-boarder; metropolitan student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Australia; lived in Melbourne; Anglican; ethnic identity Australian; English spoken at home; mother was a Personal Assistant; father was employed by B.P. Australia; father attended University; commenced boarding in 1999; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision the respondent would attend boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects studied: Year 12 Classical Societies and Cultures, English, Health and physical Education, Information Technology, History and Ceramics; awarded academic distinctions: English, Japanese and Health and Physical Education; no other relatives at the school at the time of the questionnaire-survey; respondent's mother attended the school; Great Grandfather attended the school; Netball; Sailing; awarded school colours for Sailing; Music; School Publications; Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme; Ceramics.

**Respondent 37;** 2001; female; aged 17; year 11 full-boarder; rural student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Melbourne, Victoria; lived in Harkaway, Victoria; Anglican; ethnic identity Australian; English spoken at home; mother was a Housewife; father was a Financial Director-Auditor; father attended university; commenced boarding in 1999; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; academic subjects studied at the time of the questionnaire included: English, Classical Societies and Cultures, Economics, Geography, Maths Methods, Year 12 Legal Studies; younger sister in the Middle School at the time of the questionnaire-survey; 2<sup>nd</sup> Softball; 2<sup>nd</sup> Hockey; Yoga; Film Appreciation as activities.

**Respondent 38;** 2001; female; aged 16; year 11; day-boarder but boarded for one year in year nine; metropolitan student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Mt. Isa, Queensland; lived locally; Anglican; ethnic identity was Australian; English spoken at home; mother was an occupational therapist; father was an agricultural manager; both parents attended University; commenced boarding in 1998; respondent did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision the respondent should attend boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects studied: Maths Methods, English. Literature, Biology and Japanese; awarded academic distinctions for Music and Outdoor Education; younger sister in the Middle School at the time of the questionnaire; her older brother matriculated in 2000; respondent had no other family connection with the school; Tennis; Cross Country.

**Respondent 39;** 2001; female; aged 16; year 11 full-boarder; metropolitan student; V.C.E. Units 1 and 2; born in Melbourne, Victoria; lived in Melbourne; Anglican; ethnic identity Australian; English spoken at home; Mother was a teacher of English to adult migrants; father was a Chartered Accountant; both parents attended University; mother commenced a Law Degree at Melbourne University, but "hated it" and then became a teacher; father completed a Bachelor of Commerce Degree at Melbourne University; commenced boarding in 1998; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; the decision the respondent would attend boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects studied: English, French, Geography, History, Maths and Year 12 International Relations; awarded academic distinctions in French, English and Art; respondent's maternal grandfather, father, uncle, two brothers and one sister attended the school; 2<sup>nd</sup> Girls' Hockey; Athletics; Aerobics; orchestra; Literacy Support Programme.

**Respondent 40;** 2000; female; aged 17; year 12; full-boarder; metropolitan student; V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; born in Melbourne, Victoria; lived in Melbourne, Victoria; Anglican; ethnic identity Australian; English was spoken at home; both parents were involved in Computer Software Design; mother studied computer Engineering; father completed a Mathematics and Engineering Degree at Sussex University; commenced boarding in 1997; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision the respondent should attend boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects studied: Maths Methods, Specialist Maths, English, Chemistry, Physics; completed Year 12 Text and Traditions as a Year 11 student in 1999; awarded academic distinctions, in Year 10 she was awarded a "general academic excellence award", year 11 she was awarded academic distinctions in General A Maths, Chemistry and Maths Methods; respondent's cousins attended the school; 2<sup>nd</sup> Rowing; Athletics; Cross Country; colours for Cross Country; awarded school colours for being a School Prefect; Round Square Scheme; Senior Girls' Prefect and House Captain.

**Respondent 41;** 2000; female; aged 17; year 12; full-boarder; House Prefect; rural student; V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; born in Ferntree Gulley, Victoria; lived in Upper Beaconsfield, Victoria; Anglican; ethnic identity Australian; English spoken at home; mother was a pharmacist; father was an industrial chemist; father has completed a Bachelor of Science Degree; mother has completed a Bachelor of Pharmacy; commenced boarding in 1998; did not obtain a scholarship to attend the school; decision that the respondent would attend boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects being studied: Music Group Performance, Painting, Visual Communication and Design, English and Literature; awarded some academic distinctions; no previous relatives at the school; Sailing; Aerobics; awarded School Colours for Music; School Choir; Life Drawing; String Ensemble.

**Respondent 42;** 2000; female; aged 17; year 12; full-boarder; metropolitan student; V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; born in Melbourne, Victoria; lived in Melbourne, Victoria; Anglican; ethnic identity Australian; English was spoken at home; mother was a music teacher; father was a financial consultant; mother has completed a Music Degree; father completed an Engineering Degree; commenced boarding in 1998; obtained a scholarship to attend the school; decision the respondent attended boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects studied: Music Group Performance (Jazz), Theatre Studies, English, Information Processing and Management and Accounting; father attended the school; Tennis; Diving; Basketball; Senior and Chapel Choirs; House Music Captain and Choir Prefect.

**Respondent 43;** 2000; female; aged 17; year 12; full-boarder; metropolitan student; International Baccalaureate Stage II; born in Melbourne, Victoria; lived in Melbourne, Victoria; ethnic identity Australian; English was spoken at home; mother was involved in advertising; father was deceased; Mother completed a Bachelor of Arts Degree; commenced boarding in 1995; obtained a scholarship to attend the school; respondent's mother made the decision that she would attend boarding school; academic subjects studied: English, History, Maths Studies, French, Biology and Music; respondent's brother attended the school as a full-boarder and matriculated in 1998; 1<sup>st</sup> Fencing; 1<sup>st</sup> Hockey; 2<sup>nd</sup> Softball; awarded School Colours for Fencing; School Newspaper; Concert Band; Clarinet Ensemble; House Prefect.

**Respondent 44;** 2000; female; aged 17; year 12; full-boarder; rural Student; V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; born in Maitland, Victoria; lived in Great Western Area of Victoria; Agnostic; ethnic identity Australian; English was spoken at home; mother was a viticulturalist; father was an Associate Professor in Engineering; mother completed a Ph.D. in plant physiology; father completed a Ph.D. in Mechanical Engineering; commenced boarding in 1997; respondent obtained a scholarship to attend the school; decision the respondent would boarding school was made by the respondent's mother; academic subjects studied: English, Literature, History of Revolutions, Classical Societies and Cultures and Legal Studies; awarded academic distinctions for History, Legal Studies and English; no other relatives attended the school at the time of the questionnaire-survey; no previous family connection with the school; 1<sup>st</sup> Basketball; 1<sup>st</sup> Softball awarded School Half-colours for sport;. Awarded school half-colours for academics;

**Respondent 45;** 2000; female; aged 17; year 12; full-boarder; metropolitan overseas student; V.C.E. Units 3 and 4; born in Brunei; lived in Brunei; Ethnic Identity not indicated; Bahasa Melayu (sic) is the spoken at home; mother was a businesswoman; father was an engineer; commenced boarding in 1998; obtained a scholarship to attend the school; decision the respondent attended boarding school was made with her parents; academic subjects studied "mainstream" English, Biology, Chemistry, Maths Methods and Specialist Maths; awarded academic distinctions for Chemistry, Biology and Business Management; cousin in one of the senior boys' Houses; a number of cousins attended the School as full-boarders and day boarders who have already matriculated; Swimming; Basketball; awarded School Colours for Swimming; House Vice-Captain and House Prefect.

## APPENDIX C: A questionnaire-survey on Australian boarding school life

Research Project  
Carried out under the aegis of  
Graduate School of Education, Faculty of the Professions, The University of Adelaide

### INSTRUCTIONS TO RESPONDENTS:

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this questionnaire-survey about boarding school life. There have only been a handful of studies that have examined boarding school life. Therefore, your contribution to this research project will be very important.

In this booklet you will find a series of questions which ask you to reflect on the experiences you have had as a boarder. I ask that you write as clearly as possible about your thoughts, feeling and aspirations. I am interested in your point of view. When you describe particular events in your life as part of this questionnaire-survey make certain that you include a specific example which supports your observations.

Your name or the name of any other individual will be removed from the final version of your responses. Please do not be too concerned about the quality of your spelling or your punctuation. I am more interested in the quality of reflection you include.

The complete version of your questionnaire-survey will not be shown to any other member of the research boarding school community. At any stage you may withdraw from the research project.

Once you have completed this booklet:

- place it inside the yellow envelope provided
- seal the envelope
- return you're the completed questionnaire-survey to the researcher

## Concrete Data Questionnaire

Research Identification Number: .....

Name: .....

House: .....

Answer the following questions as accurately as possible.

1. What is your age? [ ]
2. What is your gender? [ ]  
     Female [ ]  
     Male [ ]
3. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What do you consider to be your ethnic identify? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Which Religious tradition do you identify with? [ ]  
     Anglican [ ]  
     Roman Catholic [ ]  
     Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
6. Are you a boarder [ ]  
     Or a day-boarder? [ ]
7. Where is your permanent residence when you are not boarding? \_\_\_\_\_
8. In what year did you begin boarding at the School? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Did you (or have you) won a scholarship to attend the School? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Who decided that you should attend the School? \_\_\_\_\_
11. What are your parent(s) occupation(s)?  
     Mother: \_\_\_\_\_  
     Father: \_\_\_\_\_
12. Did either of your parents attend University? \_\_\_\_\_
13. If you know what type of study they carried out or degree(s) they have been awarded please provide details. \_\_\_\_\_  
     \_\_\_\_\_
14. Do you speak a language at home other than English? Yes [ ]  
     No [ ]
15. If "yes" what language(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

16. What year level are you at present?  
\_\_\_\_\_
17. What subjects are you studying?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
18. Have you been awarded an academic distinction in the School?  
If "yes" for which subject(s)?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
19. Have you any relatives at the School at the moment?  
If "yes" please provide details.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
20. Have any of your relations attended the School?  
If "yes" please provide details.  
Try to be as specific as possible.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
21. What sports do you play at the School (include the teams)?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
22. Have you been awarded School Colours for sport?  
If "yes" for which sport?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
23. Have you been awarded School Colours for a non-sporting activity?  
If "yes" for which activity?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
24. Are you involved in any non-sporting activities at the School?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_











































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