



How does sport develop character at an all-boys' school?

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Abstract

Schools, and particularly independent all-boys' schools, spend significant time and financial resources providing sporting opportunities to their students on the assumption that competitive sport provides important character development opportunities. Competitive sport may also have tangible negative impacts on character development, including promoting violence and bullying, reinforcing gender stereotypes, and promoting heteronormative ideals. Given the rich historical role sport plays in many all-boys' schools, this can be a difficult to reconcile. This research investigates how sport develops character at an all-boys' school in Adelaide, South Australia, adopting the neo-Aristotelian framework developed by the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. Using document analysis to review the historical relationship between character education and sport, the research finds that there is significant rhetoric when it comes to the claims about sport, but little evidence about its benefits. The study argues there is potential for character development from competitive sport, but only with well-designed frameworks with well-trained staff in coaching positions. Without a comprehensive character education framework at the school level (or better yet the national level), there are diminishing returns to time and financial resource investment by schools. Schools must also be mindful of the potential negative implications from promoting a culture where sport dominates, particularly the impact it has on the boy's achievement gap, and those students who do not possess natural athletic ability. This tension applies to every school in Australia, though more research is needed on the character development potential of competitive sport, the potential harm a sports culture can do to students, and how to get the most benefit out of time spent on sport.

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List of abbreviations

CE – Character education

Jubilee Centre - The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham

Jubilee framework – The Neo-Aristotelian Model of Moral Development developed by The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham

NAPLAN - National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy

PAC - Prince Alfred College

SPSC - The Collegiate School of St Peter (founded as Sancti Petri Schola Collegiata)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation will explore and investigate the role of sport in the development of character in an all-boy's independent school. Sport has a long and rich history in Australian schooling and particularly in the independent school sector, where it has strong links with the concepts of manliness, teamwork, leadership, discipline, honour, and humility (Ettekal et al., 2018). It defines many independent schools and is considered an essential part of their character identity program (Gibbs, 1984). It is also associated with violence, discrimination, homophobia, bullying, classism, racism, and ostracism (Ettekal et al., 2018; Hickey & Mooney, 2018; Lahelma, 2014). There is a need to step back and critically consider the assumptions that are made about sport's role in the development of boys, and ask whether it delivers on the character development claims.

Sport does not exist in a vacuum – it is intricately linked with school identity, rivalries, religion, class, gender, and war. It also has deep links to Australian culture more generally, and British culture which informed early educational thought in Australia (Gibbs, 1984). Sport also impacts on different students very differently. Members of the first football team will likely be revered as heroes, while an uncoordinated boy may be bullied, teased, and ostracised (Hickey & Mooney, 2018). Even students in the middle of this spectrum are impacted by its existence as the school is celebrating heteronormative masculinity. Sport also leads to a better understanding of health, fitness, promotes teamwork and leadership, provides social opportunities, and encourages school unity (Ettekal et al., 2018; Hickey & Mooney, 2018).

Sport also means different things to different schools and has changed over time. The difference between sport in a century-old all-boys' school and a recently established public school may be profound. Some schools will use teachers to coach, deepening relationships and enhancing trust, others will outsource to professional coaches, enhancing sporting outcomes.

This research will address some of these issues in the context of one school with a rich history, investigating the role of sport in the development of boys and assessing whether there is an overreliance on the suggested benefits of sport in this context.

1.2 Culture and context of the research school

1.2.1 Current demographics of the school

This research was undertaken at Prince Alfred College (PAC), an all-boys' independent R-12 institution based in Adelaide, South Australia. In 2019, it had 127 teaching staff and 1127 students. It reports less than one percent indigenous students and nineteen percent students with English as their second language. It is placed in the 95th percentile of in the Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage, with sixty seven percent of its students in the top quartile of educational advantage and eighty two percent placing in the top half (MySchool, 2019).

The school's NAPLAN results are well above the Australian average but slightly below students with a similar background in all areas except numeracy (MySchool, 2019). The day fee for an Australian resident student in year 10–12 in 2020 was AU\$27210. The school offers the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme and the South Australian Certificate of Education.

1.2.2 Historical background

PAC was founded in 1867 by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Alfred, and opened in 1869 as a Wesleyan Methodist boys' school (Gibbs, 1984). The founders of the school had links to English Wesleyan schools and the Wesley's Legal Hundred and saw a need amongst the settle community (Gibbs, 1984).

Wesleyan Methodism had three tenants separating it from Anglicans; salvation was available to all who lived by the bible, that one's behaviour was a reflection of the inner spirit, and that life was concerned with the conquest of inner sin just as much as the performance of outward deeds (Gibbs, 1984). A good Methodist strives for constant improvement of their morality (Simons, 2001). In her study interviewing PAC old scholars, Simons (2001) found that students' views on the religion varied; all interviewees commented that religion informed all parts of the school and teachers did not tolerate disinterest, but they felt it was more about how to live than doctrinarian.

The first headmaster, Samuel Fiddian, was most likely responsible for the first school motto; *Ubi non est scientia animae, non est bonum* (It is not good that the soul be without knowledge) (Simons, 2001). Fredric Chapple was the first long-serving headmaster (1876-1915) and his speeches contain insights into his educational philosophy; moral education was equally important as academic training, and boys must be tested in their stability, sobriety, manliness, and purpose (Gibbs, 1984). A deeply religious man, he embraced 'Muscular Christianity' which suggested men who were physically active developed into good Christians who were brave, enduring, truthful, fair, stoic, and victorious (Gibbs, 1984).

Chapple started a cadet program jointly with The Collegiate School of St Peter (hereafter SPSC) in 1899 after he expressed dismay that only one old scholar had enlisted for the Boer War (Gibbs, 1984). Students played war games, marched, learned first aid, and learned military style discipline (Gibbs, 1984). The school rallied old scholars who made a large part of the Second Contingent of Mounted Rifles which departed in January 1900, which Chapple described as 'the close and climax of the most brilliant chapter in the records of the history of Prince Alfred College' (Gibbs, 1984, p. 81). Scouts and cadets were popular and seen as a vital part of the 'Muscular Christianity' approach to teaching discipline, self-discipline, order, and community (Simons, 2001).

William Bayly was the next headmaster (1915–1930) and evolved 'Muscular Christianity' into 'military manliness,' changing the school's motto to the still in use *Fac fortia et paterie* (Do brave deeds and endure) (Gibbs, 1984). He rallied the old scholar community during the First World War and spoke passionately at the first farewell of troops on 10 September 1914 (Gibbs, 1984). It is unknown how many old scholars ultimately enlisted, but several were amongst the first to land at Gallipoli. Morning assemblies to announce the dead old scholars started immediately (Gibbs, 1984).

One such old scholar, Hugo Thrussel, survived the initial charge at the Nek, and then led the defence of Hill 60 after his commander was killed. He was shot twice and fought for hours before being ordered to seek medical attention, and ultimately received one of Australia's first Victoria Crosses for the campaign (Gibbs, 1984). He became an instant hero at PAC. When Thrussel returned to Adelaide in 1916, he was welcomed by the premier and the headmaster, before proceeding to PAC for a formal assembly (Gibbs, 1984). He is celebrated to this day as one of PAC's finest (Pulford, 2020).

John Ward led from 1930 to 1948, was a Rhodes Scholar, and experienced school administrator (Gibbs, 1984). Ward further entrenched 'Muscular Christianity,' emphasising the importance of duty, justice, integrity, and self-discipline (Simons, 2001). The school again took a recruiting role in WWII, but as they lost old scholars on the HMAS Sydney in 1940, the HMAS Parramatta in 1941, and in the fall of Singapore in 1942, the tone changed. As Darwin was bombed, the boarders covered windows with sandbags, seniors converted the preparatory school into an emergency shelter, and the school council decided to change the language away from defending the empire and glorifying war (Gibbs, 1984).

John Dunning (1949-1969) was a Rhodes Scholar who represented his native New Zealand in test cricket and football (Gibbs, 1984). He reinforced the idea of 'masculine strength' and defeated attempts by the council to admit girls in 1960 (Gibbs, 1984). Students under his appointment noted that he was humourless, aloof, and had little interest in students who were not elite cricket or football players (Simons, 2001).

Geoffrey Bean was appointed in 1970 and was initially criticised for empowering students and reducing the emphasis on discipline (Gibbs, 1984). Corporal punishment was discouraged and student clubs were supported to promote drama, music, and art (Gibbs, 1984). In 1973 the Methodist Church expressed concern that few could afford the fees, and it was therefore neither an alternative to state school nor serving the Methodist community. In 1975, they recommended the three Methodist schools in the state (PAC, Westminster College, and Methodist Ladies) merge. The school council reacted strongly, and ultimately aligned itself with what became the Uniting Church (Gibbs, 1984).

In 1979, Bean redesigned the house system with assigned tutors who would provide continuous pastoral care. Vocational subjects were offered in year 11, project-based work was brought into the middle school, a mothers' club was started, and staff were hired to assist students with learning difficulties. While some of these initiatives merely caught up to comparable schools, others were quite progressive (Gibbs, 1984).

A survey sent to parents in 1980 revealed school discipline was the primary reason parents chose the school, and they favoured more physical education, and education on drugs and sex. The families were far more middle class than previously thought; few lived in the prestigious south-west of Adelaide, half the mothers worked, and a quarter of the parents were born overseas. The school was having somewhat of an identity crisis - its patriotic and military identity was less popular following the backlash to the Vietnam War and society was far less class-based than fifty years prior. The students had changed since the early days of the school – they were no longer wealthy farmer's sons, they were the sons of lawyers and businessman (Gibbs, 1984).

1.2.3 The role of sport

PAC adopted the significant role sport played in English public schools where it was seen as ‘training for life’s battles’ (Gibbs, 1984, p. 12). While sport was vitally important from the founding of the school, Chapple in particular considered it insufficient, commenting regularly that it did not contribute to the schools’ *esprit de corps* (school spirit) (Gibbs, 1984).

Throughout PAC’s history, the elite sportsman were seen as heroes and role models (Gibbs, 1984). Those in elite teams are awarded ‘colours’ with those representing the school at an intercollegiate awarded ‘full colours;’ both are embroidered onto the pockets of the students’ blazers (Simons, 2001). Sports stars walked into assembly last to applause (Gibbs, 1984).

In her study of the 1950s and 1960s, Simons (2001) reported that there was consistent feeling that academic performance was only important for the top students. All but one interviewee said there was no question that sport was more important than academics (Simons, 2001). Several of those interviewed reported that those who were not good sportsmen were ostracised and teased, including homophobic and misogynist slurs. One noted that when he was prescribed glasses and had to withdraw from contact sports, his ‘whole social standing collapsed,’ another noted that he taught himself to vomit to avoid Wednesday morning sports and the inevitable teasing, and a third that he lost his entire social life after one particularly poor cricket performance (Simons, 2001).

1.2.4 Rivalry

SPSC was established by the Church of England twenty-two years prior to PAC and the two have maintained a strong rivalry to the present day. This rivalry was initially based on the Methodist/Church of England divide, but this also contained an element of class as the Church of England represented the elite who were wealthier and more influential than their Methodist counterparts (Gibbs, 1984). The rivalry was strongest on the sports field and took the form of ‘intercollegiate’ matches (Gibbs, 1984).

Both schools had a strong tradition of old scholars sending their sons to their school, and the alumni networks became influential for networking and gaining employment. PAC became a hub for the medical profession, accountant firms, and the Shell company, while SPSC produced more lawyers and government officials (Simons, 2001). Every one of the alumni interviewed by Simons (2001) sent their son to PAC, with those who enjoyed their experience citing the reason as character development, while those who did not citing the professional networks. When Simons (2001) asked what it meant to attend PAC, the most common response was ‘not a Saints boy.’

1.3 The research problem

Australia lacks a national framework or approach for Character education (CE), as found in the UK, so it is largely left to individual schools to address. Many schools will not have an approach at all, relying on traditional discipline-based approaches to improving the character of students. Others may have wide-reaching programs based on recent literature, or deep theoretical frameworks which teachers do not have the time or understanding to impart in their teachings (Neoh, 2017).

Some independent schools in Australia have long and rich histories, having been established shortly after colonisation by experts from the British ‘public’ school system, and often with significant input, or funding, from a particular church. These schools have strong identities, often a combination of their history, religion, and involvement with war. These schools can often be very conservative, with governance mechanisms dominated by old scholars and long standing staff resistant to change.

These two issues, an under-developed CE strategy in Australia and history-rich and conservative schools, often lead to a reliance on the importance of sport. Sport plays a significant role in many schools and the CE benefits are strongly promoted– particularly for boys who, it is said, require physical activity, structure and discipline in order to learn.

1.4 Gaps in current literature

CE in Australia has attracted limited scholarly attention due to lack of national or state programs or initiatives. While there has been research from a civics and citizenship perspective in Australia, this is only one aspect of CE. There is also more research needed on CE in an all-boys schooling context, particularly in Australia. Most research into all-boys’ schooling tends to focus on its efficacy or comparisons to all-girl or coeducational contexts, and research is needed on the impacts of an all-boys’ education, particularly with regards to character and masculinity, and the role of discipline. Finally more research is needed on the behaviour claims of playing team sport, particularly from a character perspective and in all-boys’ schooling where sport dominates.

1.5 The present study

The purpose of this study is to explore the role of sport in character development at an all-boys’ independent school. In particular, the present study will examine the historical reasoning for the prominence of sport at this school, its suggested character development outcomes, and assess the potential impact of this prominence. By identifying and analysing documents collected from the research school, the study will address the research questions.

1.6 Research questions

Three research questions frame this study:

1. What are the frameworks for character in education?
2. How are sport and character integrated at an all-boys’ school?
3. To what extent does sport contribute to character development at an all-boys’ school?

1.7 Research objectives

There are three objectives for this study:

1. To critique theories and approaches of character in education;
2. To analyse approaches to character and sport in an all-boys’ school;
3. To evaluate strategies to improve the integration of character and sport in an all-boys’ school.

1.8 Significance of the study

This research offers a unique historical case study for the development of character through sport. Given the rich archival materials of PAC, this research is able to access primary sources to track and analyse the way the school discusses sport and character. With the ability to track historical perspectives on the role of sport in developing character, this research provides a useful case study on the challenges many schools face when considering their own tensions between academic performance and athletic achievement, as well as how these impact on the development of character in their students.

There are also limited in-depth studies on both the role of sport in all-boys' schools and the development of character in Australia. This research provides a useful example and critique of the way one school has reconciled its history.

1.9 Defining character and character education

There are many definitions used for the terms character and CE globally, but this research will draw on the understanding of these terms found in the work of the Jubilee Centre (Jubilee Centre, 2017). This decision is discussed and justified in Chapter 3.

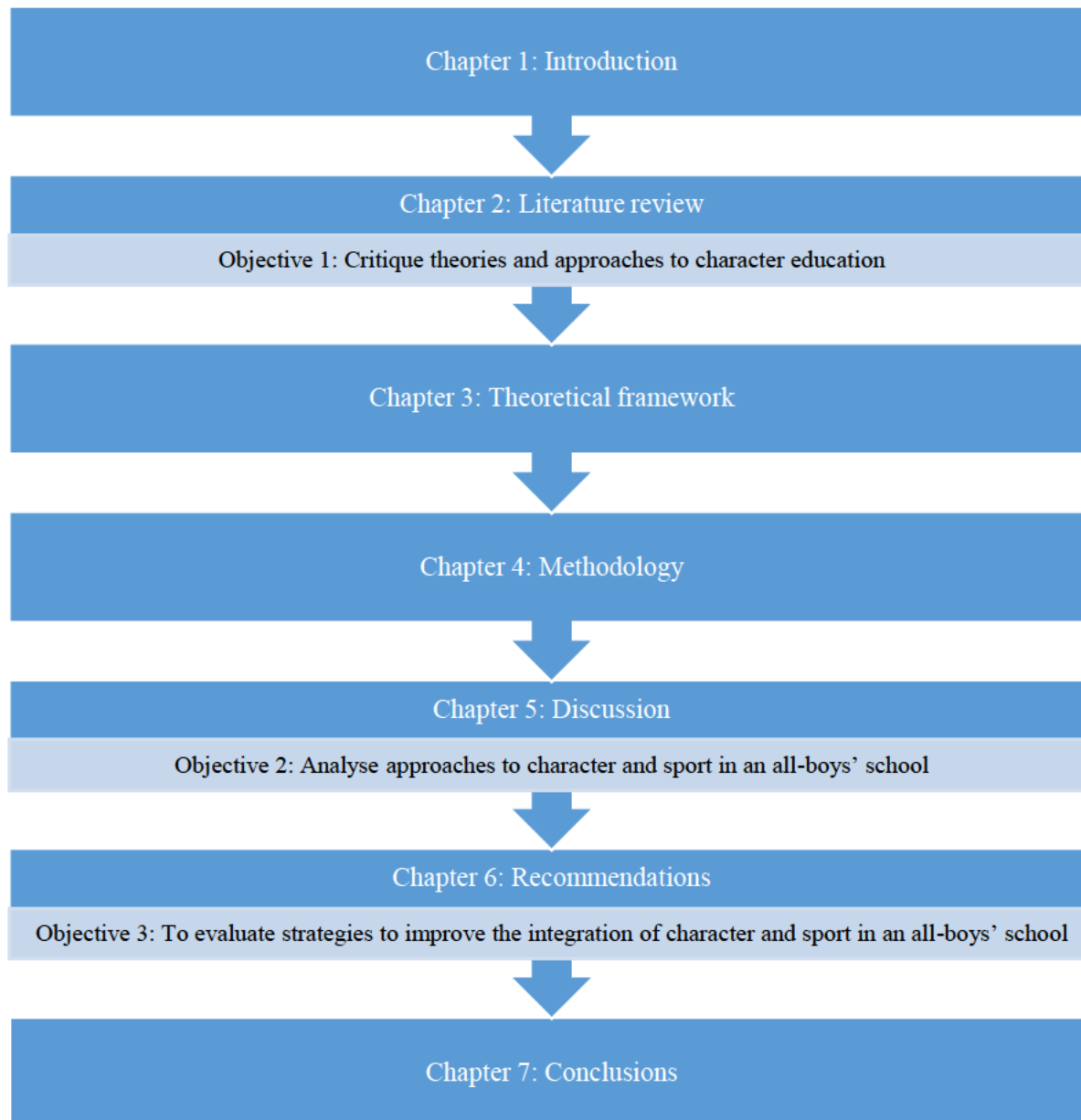
Character is the set of personal traits and dispositions that produce specific moral emotions and inform one's motivation and action. CE includes explicit and implicit activities that develop a young person's character and develops strong traits, or virtues. CE includes actions by schools, but also by and between parents, students, teachers, other school staff, and the community. It allows students to recognise ethical dilemmas, use the appropriate language to understand the situation and potential outcomes, and act in a way that is ethical (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

1.10 Summary of the thesis

This dissertation is organised into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the research, including the research questions, problems, and objectives. Chapter 2 includes the literature review which explores the current literature on CE, masculinity, and how these relate to sport. Chapter three and four will provide the theoretical framework and the methodology, respectively. Chapter five provides the discussion and findings of the research, followed by recommendations in chapter six. Finally, the dissertation will conclude in chapter seven with a summary and discussion of the significant, implications, and limitations of the project. The alignment of the structure and objective can be seen in figure 1.

Figure 1

Structure of thesis and research objectives



Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this section, recent literature regarding CE, character and masculinity, and character and sport are reviewed. It will begin by defining character and CE, and the frameworks in the UK, USA, Australia, and globally. This is followed by masculinities and all-boys' education, and finally the relationship between CE and sport. This review allows a tiered approach to understanding the impact of decisions made at the research school and recommendations for action in the future.

2.2 Defining Character and Character Education

The Jubilee Centre defines character as the set of traits and behaviours which guide one's conduct in society in a moral way and CE as all activities which contribute to the development of these traits and behaviours during schooling (Jubilee Centre, 2017). CE programs seek to challenge students regarding the kind of person they want to be, and teach them how to act morally and with the best interests of society when confronted with ethical dilemmas (Arthur, 2019). It seeks to produce independent and autonomous thinkers who act with good sense and become good citizens (Jubilee Centre, 2017). This results in individuals which possess critical reflection and are able to perceive, know, desire, and act with good sense (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

High quality CE programs are associated with improved school climate, higher academic achievement, and decreases in interpersonal conflicts in schools (Stiff-Williams, 2010). To achieve this, the school lessons cannot be confined to the classroom, they must influence all interactions, communications, and decisions (Jubilee Centre, 2017; Lewis et al., 2011), and not be confined to particular age groups (Kristjánsson, 2016; Moroney & Devaney, 2017).

CE conflicts with standards-based education and parents, principals, and teachers have questioned how such a comprehensive framework can fit into an already tight curriculum (Stiff-Williams, 2010). While some aspects, such as role-modelling, fit alongside other educational priorities, others inevitably compete for teacher time or financial resources.

Measuring success (or failure) has proven a significant challenge to CE frameworks given character is such a broad concept and long-term endeavour (Walker et al., 2015). The Jubilee Centre (2017) argues that a common method of measuring effectiveness, self-reporting mechanisms, can be effective if implemented with discretion and circumspection but caution if done poorly, it could be counterproductive.

2.2.1 *Character education and the UK*

CE was the explicit aim of the UK Department for Education until the 1950s, and while the standardised accountability focus in recent years has distracted from this, it remains a vital component of educational thought (Arthur, 2016; Davies & Chong, 2016). A CE Framework Guidance was released in 2019 requiring all state schools to educate students on character as part of their spiritual, moral, social and

cultural development (DFE, 2019). The comprehensive document takes significant influence from the Jubilee Framework and includes guidance for schools on teaching respectful relationships, the application of discipline, manners, and volunteerism as well as more standard CE concepts (DFE, 2019).

The new framework has been received well, particularly in regards to the development of students' grit and resilience, though the tying of specific funding (and inspections from government officials) on some aspects have been at the expense of wider engagement with CE by schools (Bates, 2019). It is also argued that the new approach has over-individualised the discussion and this has detracted from multiculturalism, democracy, and mutual respect of culture and religion (Bates, 2019). It is also argued it requires refinement, as many schools have elevated concepts such as 'work hard' as virtues when academic performance and CE must maintain separation (Goodman, 2019).

2.2.2 Character education and the USA

CE in the USA has developed with more focus on discipline and anti-violence than the moral and ethics that underpin UK (Hough, 2011). In their study, Holtzapple et al. (2011) analyse the impact of the 'Capturing Kids' Hearts' program which aims to reduce school violence by providing professional development programs for teaching on CE, communication, problem solving, and crisis management. They find there is significantly higher outcomes when the principal themselves is part of the program, highlighting the need for buy-in from school administration. They also found significant increases in pro-social behaviours and decreases in behaviour referrals.

In their study of 2300 teachers in 241 schools in the US, Hough (2011) finds the more CE training and coaching teachers received, the higher the level of incorporation into the lessons, and the higher overall academic results from students.

Francom (2016) finds that having a principal's full support and engagement is the most significant influencer in the success of CE programs, and, in an earlier study, that simply tying programs to federal funding is one of the least successful strategies (Francom, 2013).

LePage et al. (2011) compare K-8 CE programs implemented in the USA and Turkey using qualitative and quantitative results from surveying over 1000 teachers in each country. They conclude that teachers' preconceived ideas heavily influence discussions around CE, with Turkish teachers focusing on tolerance and honesty, and US teachers on religiously informed inherent morality and patriotism.

Allen et al. (2011) explore the effectiveness of a camp designed to prevent disruptive behaviour in a low socioeconomic community. It involved surveying 50 middle-school students with academic or behavioural referrals pre- and post-camp, asking how students would respond to various ethical situations. Results show a moderate increase of the students' self-assessment medium scores from 50.49 to 52.33 out of 64, with the largest increases on questions related to handling stressful situations and taking care of yourself.

2.2.3 Character education in Australia and overseas

Given the fragmented nature of the Australian curriculum discussions and the fact that states control year 11 and 12 content, both the CE discourse more widely and scholarly interest specifically has stagnated over the past decade (Neoh, 2017). There is no national or state framework for CE, so the issue is left largely to schools. National frameworks are vital to the success of CE programs (Arthur, 2016).

Neoh (2017) argues that Australia's lack of national clarity has limited discussions to multiculturalism, mateship, and understanding of democratic mechanisms. Bleazby (2020) agrees, suggesting national coordination is key, but training for teachers and pre-service teachers is another significant hurdle as teaching ethics is outside the current skillset. Australia has also typically included religious literacy programs into what would be considered citizenship education in terms acceptance and understanding (Halafoff et al., 2020).

In their study of the way seven elite schools, international and Australian, discuss character and virtues, Kenway and Lazarus (2017) argue that CE has been unjustifiably commoditised by elite schools. They argue that the common practice to connect anti-elitism (our school is elite, but the students are not elitist), meritocracy, and forced diversity (through scholarships) deflects attention from true CE and this ultimately undermines efforts to truly develop character.

East-Asia, particularly China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Singapore, South Korea and Japan, has seen strong engagement with CE programs in the last twenty years but their education systems have always been strongly associated with character and citizenship (Arthur, 2016). They also vary widely in theoretical justification, from Confucianism in China, meritocracy in Singapore, collectivism in Japan, and paternalism in South Korea (Arthur, 2016).

Zurqoni et al. (2018) analyse the implementation of a CE program in schools in Indonesia using a phenomenology-type qualitative approach. They interview 108 senior teachers regarding the program which includes 'boy scout' style activities, environmental care and friendliness events, marching and country defence exercises, and Qur'an recitals. They find that while there was good engagement from students, teachers found it distracting and parents found it to be too late (Zurqoni et al., 2018).

Berkowitz and Bustamante (2013) provide a case study from Columbia, where they find that CE programs are likely to fail unless all levels of the education administration and school hierarchy are engaged and informed, as any one level of the administration who is not fully supportive can prevent full implementation.

In this section, the literature regarding CE has been reviewed. It shows that a strong national framework is ideal, and the absence of one undermines CE in Australia. It also shows that the professional development of teachers is key to the development of CE program, regardless of geographical context.

2.3 Masculinities and all-boys' education

Given the research school in this study is an all-boys' institution, it is vital to understand the impact this has on CE. Firstly, the literature regarding masculinity and education is reviewed, then the key

considerations regarding all-boy's schooling, and finally the philosophy of 'Muscular Christianity' which underpins the research school's sports program's history.

The starting point for a discussion regarding gender in education is the achievement gap. Voyer and Voyer's 2014 meta-analysis of 97 years' of data from more than thirty countries finds that girls have consistently outperformed boys across all subject areas (Voyer & Voyer, 2014). In Australia, the difference in 2018 was 31 points, or one year of schooling (ACER, 2018).

In their analysis of the 2012 PISA data of 472,074 students in 62 countries, Hermann and Kopasz (2019) found that schools with early tracking policies had a higher gender performance gap in favour of girls, that student-orientated teaching benefited girls more than boys within countries and within schools, and that countries with a higher grade retention rate see a lower gender gap.

Boys have been found generally to have less self-discipline in class, follow instructions less effectively, pay less attention, do less homework, and persist less on long-term projects (Kessels & Steinmayr, 2013). Boys are more likely to have interactions with discipline systems and more likely to be referred to special needs class (Piechura-Couture et al., 2013).

This concept plays a large part in the discussion around gender in education, and is important to understanding the impact of masculinity.

2.3.1 Gender and masculinity in education

Masculinity includes the set of behaviours, attributes and roles associated with men and boys and is separated into hegemonic masculinity, how these concepts contribute to the dominance of the patriarchy in society (Connell, 2008), and exclusive masculinity, how masculinity marginalises and subordinates non-masculine traits, such as non-aggression, homosexuality and femininity (Wellard, 2006). Both types are relevant to the discussion of gender in schools.

Gender has two main discourses in education; equality and masculinity (Lahelma, 2014). The equality discourse is concerned with the differences in opportunity and includes international frameworks and policies designed to eliminate gender gaps and promote the position of women and girls. The masculinity discourse (or the boy's discourse) is concerned with the role of boys and men, including the performance gap, behaviour and attainment levels (Lahelma, 2014). Given the research school is all-boys, this paper will focus on the latter as it is concerned with the conduct of men and boys. The discourses are connected, however, and one example is that boys get greater attention in education policy discussion because they achieve lower results and have higher rates of disciplinary issues (Lahelma, 2014).

Lahelma (2014) argues that many aspects of the boy's discourse are a distraction, and that focus is best placed on informal masculinity pedagogies utilised by schools. A key part of this is 'healthy idleness,' or the propensity for teachers to tolerate more distraction and breaks in discipline in boys than girls on the assumption that boys have lower attention spans or need to be more active in order to concentrate. It also leads to teachers celebrating lesser achievements from boys, including celebrating maintaining concentration or not misbehaving rather than academic achievements (Lahelma, 2014).

A key challenge with the boy's discourse is that there is significantly more rhetoric than evidence. In her ethnographic study in Finland, Lahelma (2014) finds widespread un-justified theories about teaching boys stemming from the 'healthy idleness' theory, and notes that such pedagogy promotes the masculinity that contributes to their underperformance, disadvantaging both low and high-achieving boys, and girls. Lahelma (2014) finds that the majority of teachers admit boys receive more attention than girls, boys are given better grades than they deserve, and that teachers tolerate boy's breaches in discipline more than girls.

Major and Santoro (2014) describe this as the 'silly boy, sensible girl' binary, and argue that teacher education needs to better prepare teachers to address, not reinforce, the gender stereotypes of the classroom. By playing into the binary, they argue that teachers are reinforcing hegemonic and heteronormative standards in society, and deepening the achievement gap.

In co-educational classrooms, more time is spent on dealing with disciplinary issues than on enhancing educational outcomes, and as boys are more likely to cause these problems, girls are disadvantaged by this unequal use of time by teachers (Lahelma, 2014). This also inherently prioritises strategic time being spent on boys rather than girls, and in many cases will mean that the interests of girls in the classroom become oppositional to the interests of boys (Lahelma, 2014). It is also necessary to consider the global gender education disparity, as in many countries access to education is not a reality for girls, and focus on the boy's discourse risks further exacerbating this disparity (Lahelma, 2014).

Most initiatives to address masculinity issues turn into equality programs as they are easier to implement and communicate (Lahelma, 2014). Any project to address these challenges needs to start from a point where there is gender awareness, which is the consciousness of social and cultural differences and inequalities inherent in both the educational facilities and wider society. Lahelma (2014) argues that no meaningful and impactful work can be done to address the gender achievement gap without sufficient gender awareness to avoid discussions becoming dualistic, oppositional, and confrontational.

In their comprehensive review of data from Australia, Canada, the USA, and the UK, Martino and Kehler (2006) found that concerns regarding violence and under-achievement by boys has distracted policy makers, parents, and the media from addressing the root causes of the problems, and in particular sexism, homophobia, and misogyny. They also found that there is a correlation with stereotypically masculine traits and poor academic performance, and a key part of this is the bullying and ostracism commonly observed against boys who pursue academic excellence (Martino & Kehler, 2006).

There has been limited analysis on the role masculinity plays within discipline structures. In their Taiwanese study, Li (2016) finds that male teachers are consistently put in discipline roles over female teachers, reinforcing gender roles. Allen (2017) finds a similar result in the US where discipline against black boys is most often administered by black male teachers, and argue this not only reinforces gender stereotypes, but also racial stereotypes regarding the importance of physical strength of black men. Given boys have higher disciplinary rates than girls, this is an important part of the discussion and needs more research.

2.3.2 All-boys' education in Australia

The literature regarding all boys' schooling will now be reviewed, starting with the position all-boys' education has in the Australian educational discourse, then the key CE considerations when operating in an all-boys' setting.

In the 1980s, media and researchers focused on the achievement gap in maths and science for girls, and the government responded with initiatives including single-sex classroom in co-educational schools (Howard & Freeman, 2020). By the 2000s, the understanding was that co-educational schools are worst for girls and better for boys, and single-sex schools are better academically and socially for girls (Howard & Freeman, 2020; Jackson & Smith, 2000).

The early 2000s saw a flip, with focus moving from increasing outcomes for girls to the under-performance of boys (Hickey & Mooney, 2018). It was thought that Australia was 'failing boys,' as evidenced by the poor educational outcomes and increased rates of alcohol abuse, suicide, violence, and other criminal behaviour amongst boys and young men (Hickey & Mooney, 2018). Educational scholars were keen to critique the positioning of boys as the gender disadvantaged, arguing that there is still significant research to show that hegemonic masculinity prevails in education and schooling (Hickey & Mooney, 2018; Keddie, 2010).

The teaching profession, with its lack of male role models, was accused of being overly feminised (Hickey & Mooney, 2018; Keddie, 2010). The argument was that the feminist movement had taken something from boys, and that schools needed support to reclaim what was lost, and this, Hickey and Mooney (2018) argue, is the origin for many of the unsubstantiated claims of the differences between the ways boys and girls learn. Differences of learning styles, the need for great discipline or direction, increased physical activity, and more idle time, as well as differences in educational interests and the need for heteronormative male teachers as role models were offered as potential solutions (Hickey & Mooney, 2018).

Single-sex schools offer the opportunity to tailor education to gender and borrow much of this reasoning (Younger & Warrington, 2006). Sex segregation in schools has been found to increase gender stereotyping and legitimate institutional sexism (Halpern et al., 2011), and all-boys' schooling has also be found in certain circumstances to enforce or celebrate hyper-masculinity or traditional gender roles (Hickey & Mooney, 2018). A key meta-analysis found small to non-existent differences between single-sex and co-educational schools on three key metrics; mathematic achievement, self-esteem, and verbal achievement (Signorella et al., 2013).

In their study, Hickey and Mooney (2018) interview 138 teachers at an all-boys' school in regional Victoria on issues including school culture, gender, masculinity, and sexual harassment and bullying of female staff. They found that all-boys' schools have particular problems with sexual harassment and bullying of female teachers by students that are exacerbated by a lack of female staff in leadership and disciplinary positions (Hickey & Mooney, 2018).

The role-modelling discourse is also used to promote the use of male teachers to guide and promote positive characteristics in all-boys' schools, though this can be counterproductive (Cushman, 2008; Martino, 2008). In her New Zealand study, Cushman (2008) finds that principals who seek male role models for their schools are likely to have heteronormative justifications and are looking for athletic, sports-loving male teachers.

Howard and Freeman (2020) provide a useful comparison, using multiculturalism and equality as a lens to investigate elite single-sex schooling. The study of Everdeen College, which went from all-boys to coeducational but choose to maintain single-sex class rooms, includes interviews and ethnographic observations. The study explores the impact of the single-sex classrooms and the elite context of the school on the global citizenship education program offered, and celebrated, by the school. The study finds that the lack of culturally diverse groups within the school undermines, and perhaps contradicts, efforts to expose students to situations to increase their understanding of culture and privilege (such as inter-school sporting competitions, community service, and international travel opportunities).

In this section, the masculinity and all-boys' education discourses have been reviewed. This includes the achievement gap, the 'healthy idleness' theory, and the rationale and challenges of all-boys' education. The next session will tie these concepts into the connection between sport and CE, a relationship which has deep gender and heteronormative underpinnings.

2.3.3 Muscular Christianity

The concept of the British elite public school, which the research school was based on, is intricately linked to the philosophical movement of 'Muscular Christianity.' Given this underpins the long-standing justification for the role of sport at PAC, and is intricately linked with an understanding of masculinity and male identity, it is vital to understand the movement. The theory of athletics and sport building boys into men is attributed to Thomas Hughes' 1857 book *Tom Brown's School Days* which took significant influence from the work of Thomas Arnold at Rugby School from 1828-1841 (Paul, 2016).

Muscular Christianity theorises a man's body is given to him by God and must therefore be maintained, that there is an intricate link between physical prowess and moral virtue, that God requires the strong to protect the weak, and that the lessons learned in sport are transferred to life as it is training for life's battles (Meyer et al., 2020). It is not just about playing sport, it was about sportsmanship, fair play, never giving up, and stoicism (Paul, 2016). It was also intricately linked to imperialism, colonialism and militarism, and ultimately claims responsibility for the success of the British Empire itself (Paul, 2016)

It was a response to perceptions that Christianity was effeminate and sentimental, and in this way it focused on physical shows of strength, and emotional and sexual continence (Dube, 2015). It differed slightly between Britain and the colonies; in the US it had a strong component of ruggedness associated with expanding the frontier, in Canada is contained an emphasis on hospitality, South Africa had racist elements, and Australia saw less religious justifications (Dube, 2015; Miran, 2019; Paul, 2016).

2.4 Character education and sport

The suggestion that sport promotes character development goes without saying for many teachers, schools, and individuals. All schools in Australia consider sport a vital part of its students' education, but in private all-boys' schools, sport can dominate everything from timetabling to financial expenditure and the use of space. In this section, the connection between sport, character, and CE will be reviewed.

A majority of the literature suggests that there is limited inherent benefit to students' CE from participation in sport, but there is potential. Harvey et al. (2011) explore the extent to which sport develops character for children, in particular inclusion, responsibility and ownership, personal and social development, and social justice. They found that learnings from sport are 'not caught but taught,' and that in and of itself, sport's educational value is limited to understanding fitness and the rules of certain sports (Harvey et al., 2011).

Research overwhelmingly supports the suggestion that high quality, well developed, and considered youth sports development programs lead to positive character outcomes, particularly those which emphasize providing a safe environment, supportive relationships, healthy understanding of competition, and strong role models (Ettekal et al., 2018).

Ettekal et al. (2018) argue that sport has been neglected in the CE discussion and that this is a missed opportunity as it provides students with an opportunity to develop character in situations without formal structure, with greater learning from peers, and with competition to provide a natural tension. This last point is vital, as it provides an opportunity for students to actively face ethical dilemmas and decide, with minor repercussions, to prioritise ethical decisions over winning.

Character development occurs when people positively engage with the world which they occupy and create mutually beneficial relationships with those around them (Ettekal et al., 2018). Ettekal et al. (2018) critically analyse one of the most popular sports development approaches in the United States, Positive Coaching, which is based on the PRIMED model developed by Marvin Berkowitz (Howard et al., 2004). The program emphasises coaching staff which are well-trained in providing emotional support, a strong emphasis on strategic nurturing relationships between coaching staff and students, role modelling, and enforcement of respectful relationships within and between teams (Ettekal et al., 2018). They conclude that there are two key considerations to making competitive sport beneficial for CE. Firstly, role models are key, and coaches and leaders must continuously exhibit virtuous behaviour. Secondly, the sport program must consider the intrinsic motivation of the activity at its core, as it is either winning or personal development and it is very difficult to manage it being both (Ettekal et al., 2018).

In their study of strategies to enhance CE in sport, Bredemeier and Shields (2019) argue that the team dynamic should be central to the discussion as it is a nexus within which each player can develop their own character. The team, they suggest, acts as a miniature version of the school and society in the way it has its own moral code which reinforces desirable character traits. In this way, the ideal team promotes democratic decision-making and community engagement promote civic virtues and teams which value reflection and critical thinking promote intellectual values. They describe sport as fertile ground for CE,

but emphasise that coaching staff and student leadership are vital to the success, and must be trained to effectively take on their role in nurturing the CE of the team (Bredemeier & Shields, 2019).

The literature is consistent in its finding that there is the potential for CE outcomes from sport, but only when there is a well-structured and designed program with well-trained staff. This review will now consider the possible negative influences from sport on character, both the player and other students.

There are limited studies around the potential for players to make non-ethical decisions during sport, though Shields et al. (2005) find that children's sport reasoning was more egocentric than their life reasoning, finding that 9% of athletes in grades five to eight acknowledged cheating in sport and 13% intentionally tried to hurt an opponent. In a previous study, the same researchers find that students who play high level sport less morally mature than the average (Bredemeier and Shields, 1986).

Lahelma (2014) finds in her Finnish study that schools which heavily promote sporting achievements have higher rates of teasing and bullying of strong academic students. She hypothesises that this is exacerbated when schools make clear acknowledgements that time spent on sport is more valuable than time spent with books, including unequal celebration of achievements, accommodating time off from class time for sporting engagements, or undue weight given to sporting ability in the selection of student leadership positions. She also argues that these actions by schools support 'laddiness' more generally within school culture, leading to a culture of denigration of academic achievement (Lahelma, 2014).

In her analysis of longitudinal data from the USA, Finkeldey (2018) finds correlation between high school students in elite football (and other contact sports) programs and violence against males who display non-typical gender behaviours. In associating the finding with masculine overcompensation theory, she argues that inclusivity needs more focus in elite sports.

A study of 194 male and female soccer players between 13–19 also found that the coach is key in ethical decision-making process of the players, with a majority reporting they would commit unethical actions at the request of the coach (Guivernau & Duda, 2002).

Hickey and Mooney (2018) argue that the elite all-boys' school emphasis on sport undermines efforts to promote gender awareness or equality, and reinforces heteronormativity amongst students. This occurs because for the students, only boys are competing in sports. Coaching and physical education staff are also almost exclusively male, along with school leadership and especially headmasters or principals. This means that while an all-boys' school may have gender parity in teaching roles, male teachers will have an inherent advantage in asserting power and imparting discipline, and thus they will have gender normative traits such as authority or stoicism, whereas women, who are overrepresented in arts, health, languages and pastoral roles, will be seen as nurturing and maternal (Hickey & Mooney, 2018).

Hickey and Mooney (2018) also find links between sport, hyper-masculinity, and heteronormativity. Homophobic bullying, while condemned in the classroom, was supported in the form of sledging on the football field or cricket pitch, and reinforced when the school celebrated sporting achievements above all others (Hickey & Mooney, 2018). It was also reinforced by the school's over-reliance on

heteronormative student role models, including by making mostly sportsmen prefects and headboys and awarding more medals and trophies for sporting achievements than other pursuits (Hickey & Mooney, 2018). Hickey and Mooney (2018) suggest strategies to overcome such cultural challenges include the strategic recruitment of women into leadership and coaching roles and ensuring there is at least parity in the celebration of non-heteronormative achievements such as in arts and dance and sport.

Burton (2015) also finds that women are underrepresented in coaching positions in co-educational schools, and in professional competitions, and this reinforces gender stereotypes for boys.

If their study of the perception of pre-service teachers in the USA, Parker and Curtner-Smith (2012) find that despite advances in critical pedagogical understanding, sports education reinforced masculine bias, sexism, and hegemonic masculinity. They argue that a significant rethink is needed when it comes to the benefit and structure of teaching physical education, as the sector remains understudied and the theories unjustified by modern educational understanding.

In reviewing the literature regarding the CE potential of sport, it is evident the field is understudied, both generally and in Australia. This represents a significant gap given the significant financial and time resources committed to sports in schools, and the consistent finding that there is a potential for strong CE outcomes from competitive sport. More research is also needed on the impact of this discussion on all-boys' schools which have sports at the centre of their identity, as this can only exacerbate any underlying challenges and assumptions that exist more generally.

2.5 Summary

In this section, the literature regarding CE has been reviewed, along with masculinities in an all-boys context, and the connection between CE and sport. With these layers of analysis, one can draw some conclusions: CE is most effective when it exists in a well-justified and researched framework at both the national and local school level, and when the teaching staff and school administration are well trained.

The literature regarding gender, masculinity and education was reviewed, showing that the discussion is often distracted by the achievement gap rather than addressing the unsubstantiated pedagogy decisions justified when teaching boys stemming from the 'healthy idleness' theory. The all-boys' sector faces challenges with reinforcing gender stereotypes and heteronormativity, and these concepts form a part of the achievement gap. Sport has the potential to enhance CE programs when it is well designed and coaches and student leaders are well trained, but in the absence of this, sport can reinforce concepts which entrench the gender problems in a school.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This study adopted a theoretical framework based on the Neo-Aristotelian Model of Moral Development (the framework) developed by the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham (the Jubilee Centre). While there are several CE programs globally, this framework was chosen as it is arguably the most comprehensive and well established CE framework used in schools. Secondly, it is the model used by the research school to develop its own CE programs.

The framework was born out of recognition by founder Professor James Arthur that CE in the UK was sporadic, poorly justified, and failed to deliver the long lasting results which it promised (Kristjánsson, 2013). The primary problem, Arthur suggested, was that CE needed a long-term plan and politicians' constant tinkering was preventing schools from considering the issue to the depth it needed (Kristjánsson, 2013). The Jubilee Centre produced a complex, well established, and publically available framework which is regularly updated. It includes theoretical frameworks, philosophical justifications, and practical resources to be used by educational institutions to implement the program. The team which produces the framework come from a wide range of backgrounds, including education, psychology, theology, and sociology (Kristjánsson, 2013, 2016).

In this section, the framework will be explored in practice as it led to its use as the theoretical framework for this research. An overview of character and CE can be found in the literature review.

3.2 Neo-Aristotelian Model of Moral Development

The Jubilee Centre framework was developed by James Arthur whose project 'Learning for Life' looked at the character and virtues of 3-25 year-olds (Kristjánsson et al., 2015). It defines character as the set of personality traits which guide conduct, inform motivation, and produce moral emotions. CE is therefore all implicit and explicit educational activities that develop positive personal strengths (or virtues) (Arthur, 2012). The framework recognises that a child will have many influences on their character development including parents, peers, teachers, and other adults in their life and asks society to consider what kinds of people their children will become. A child's parents will generally be their biggest influences, but a school community can make a profound and formative impact on a child's character development (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

CE is not a single class or program; it permeates all subjects, school activities, interactions, and communications to cultivate the virtues inherent in good character. Strong virtues lead to a common morality and develop the students' understanding of how this morality applies to human interactions in a diverse society. A school teaches students to recognise what is good character, appreciate it, and apply it in their own decision making, and this leads to them becoming good people and good citizens, and to thus flourish in life. In this way, there are three steps to the model: virtue knowing and understanding, virtue reasoning, and virtue practice (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

It is important to note two things that CE is not; paternalistic and religious. The framework is designed to have critical thinking and democracy at its core. It is not about limiting personal behaviour, it is about equipping students with the knowledge and skills to make good decisions for both themselves and society at large. It is democratic at heart, and encourages students to be active, critical members of society who are empowered by their understanding. It is also not doctrinal or religious, though there will be overlap with religious schools of thought (Kristjánsson, 2013). The critical thought element is central and it works on the empirical assumption that it would be less effective if it simply told students how to act. The ultimate aim is to create the social and institutional conditions which will allow all members of society to flourish together, and it is fundamental that there is a community of cooperation and goodwill that creates this condition (Jubilee Centre, 2017). There are four ‘building blocks’ of virtues in the model.

Table 1

The building blocks of virtue

Virtue	Description	Examples
Intellectual	Character traits necessary for discernment, right action and the pursuit of knowledge, truth and understanding.	Autonomy; critical thinking; curiosity; judgement; reasoning; reflection; resourcefulness
Moral	Character traits that enable us to act well in situations that require an ethical response.	Compassion; courage; gratitude; honesty; humility; integrity; justice; respect.
Civic	Character traits that are necessary for engaged responsible citizenship, contributing to the common good.	Citizenship; civility; community awareness; neighbourliness; service; volunteering.
Performance	Character traits that have an instrumental value in enabling the intellectual, moral and civic virtues.	Confidence; determination; motivation; perseverance; resilience; teamwork

These virtues are not as discrete as they are presented, one cannot possess one of the virtues, and the framework is about giving students the tools to respond to difficult situations. Even someone who possesses strong humility and honesty skills may have a bad day or respond to a situation poorly, it is about recognising this and critically thinking about ones actions (Jubilee Centre, 2017; Kristjánsson, 2013).

Each student will understand and apply different virtues at different times depending on their developmental stage, personal constitution, and social circumstances. Indeed, the model assumes that

each student will have a different journey along the path to flourishing (see figure 2). Some may have the early childhood that will facilitate their rapid trajectory through the program, while others may struggle with certain stages or be required to take a detour due to their weak will or lack of self-regulation. The culture, context, and challenges of the school may also necessitate prioritisation of some against others on a wider level (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

The framework uses seven components to reach literacy which can be distilled into three steps: noticing and recognising situations with virtue concerns, understanding the language and complexity of the virtue concerns, and making reasoned decisions regarding the virtue concerns (Jubilee Centre, 2017). They are not necessarily progressive however; a five year-old may recognise a situation where honesty is required, but may not have the language to describe the virtue. This is why it is important for schools to provide opportunities for the exercise of virtues but also the discussion of virtues to make familiar the conduct and language (Jubilee Centre, 2017). The framework provides three ways the character virtues can be developed in students.

Table 2

The three stages of teaching virtues

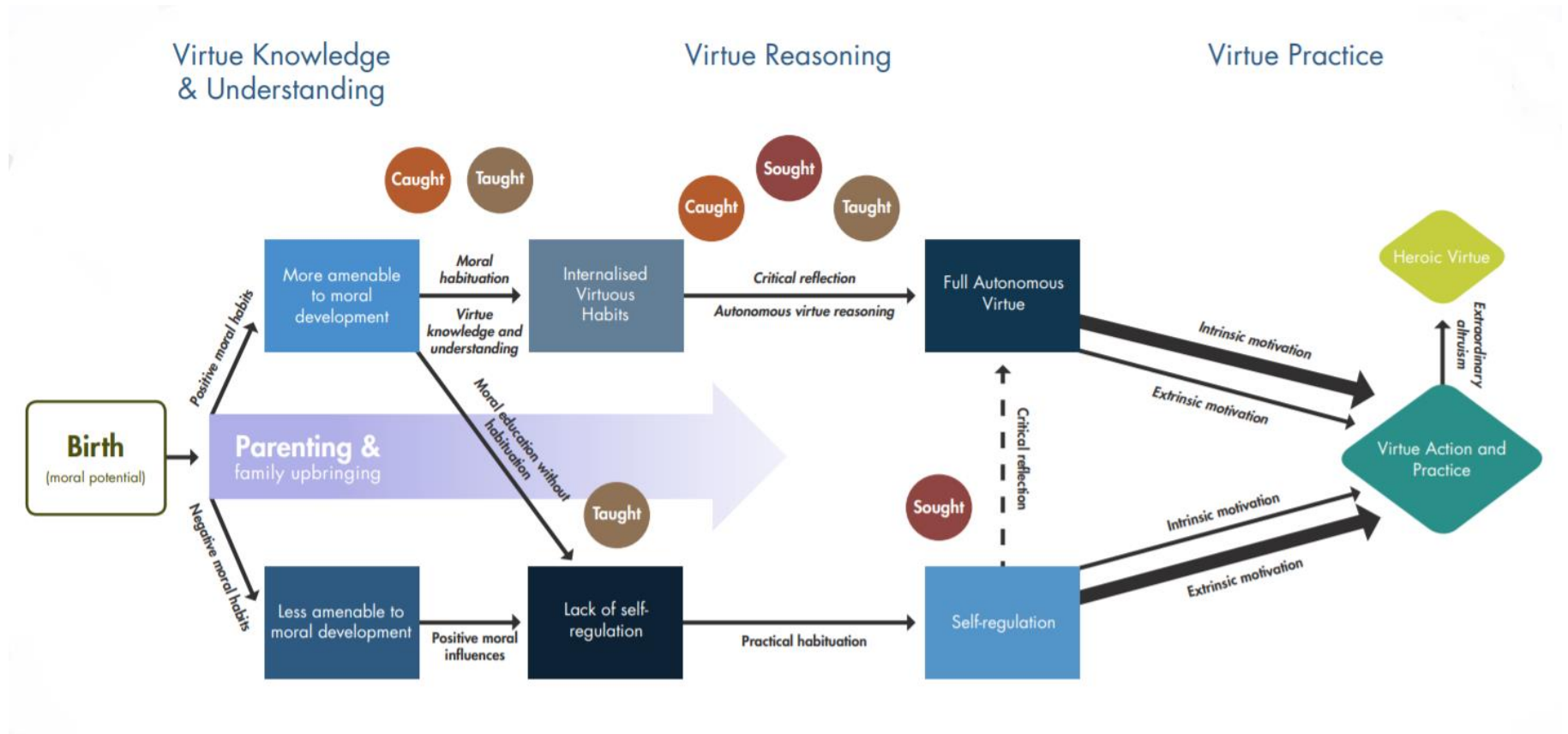
Caught	The school community of both staff and students provide the example, culture, and inspirational influence in a positive ethos that motivates and promotes character development.
Taught	The school provides educational experiences in and out of the classroom that equip students with the language, knowledge, understanding, skills and attributes that enable character development.
Sought	The school provides varied opportunities that generate the formation of personal habits and character commitments. These help students over time to seek, desire and freely pursue their character development.

It is certainly not simple to create this within a school, and a school ethos and culture is vital. The school must have a clear mission statement for its character goals, celebrate virtuous actions by students, recognise decisions that fall outside the expectations and create learning opportunities, and role model good character (Kristjánsson, 2013). All staff must be involved and demonstrate understanding and model good character, and it must apply across all parts of the school; classrooms, discipline structures, extra-curricular, sports, and communications between parents, teachers, and students. The community aspect is vital – a sense of belonging, personal growth, and self-determination are the foundation for good character growth (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

The following table provides an illustration of the journey a student takes when they are part of the framework, and demonstrates the flexibility which is built into the program should students fail to achieve certain goals.

Figure 2

The Jubilee Centre's Neo-Aristotelian Model of Moral Development



3.3 Criticisms of the Jubilee Centre's framework

While the Jubilee Centre's model is widely used and commended, its weaknesses must be addressed. The framework has been accused of both creating heterogeneity and behavioural outcomes which are susceptible to manipulation by political forces (Arthur, 2005), though work to use universally accepted virtues as the central theme for the framework limits this possibility (Kristjánsson et al., 2015). It has also been accused of being Western-centric and the designers have said that while they are most familiar with a British context, they have gone to great lengths to use universally applicable language (Kristjánsson, 2013).

The Jubilee Centre has recognised the weakest practical point in the implementation of the program is that ethical education is neither part of a teacher's typical role nor their training, and they have found that many teachers feel under-equipped and lack the confidence to deal with ethical issues (Jubilee Centre, 2017; Kristjánsson, 2013). The Jubilee Centre also points out that it is difficult to address this on a wide scale without the intervention of government, given teacher education is tightly regulated (Jubilee Centre, 2017). They advocate for CE to become part of teacher education, but also offer significant free teacher education resources (Jubilee Centre, 2017).

The Jubilee Centre also recognise the inherent difficulty in measuring the success or failure of CE programs, and further that attempts to do so may be counter-productive philosophically, psychologically, and educationally (Jubilee Centre, 2017). CE is difficult to observe without having a deficit approach, self-reporting has limited value, and measuring outcomes would require a long-term perspective (Kristjánsson, 2013). This makes gaining political support for wider adoption particularly difficult given the heavily results-orientated discourse on educational issues, particularly in Australia.

3.4 Strengths as a theoretical framework

There are several ways the Jubilee Centre's framework is used as the theoretical framework in this research. Firstly, it focus on the 'caught, taught, and sought' approach to learning good character and uses this to interpret the impact of the way physical education and sport are discussed in the research school. Secondly, it utilises the way the framework addresses example of weak or undesirable character; by addressing them and creating learning experiences. Finally, it focuses on the importance of school culture and ethos in developing and supporting good character in the students.

The framework's neo-Aristotelian philosophical underpinning also provides a long-term view to both character development and ethos/school culture development. Given the long term approach taken in this research, the model allows for an ongoing perspective on the impact of the culture of the school.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, the Jubilee Centre's CE framework has been explored and described, including its underpinning, justification, and key aspects. The key terms have been explored, as well as the potential limitations of the framework, and its use as a theoretical framework has been justified.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This section describes the methodological approach taken in this research project, including both the literature review and document analysis. Educational research is complex and thus requires a deliberative, considered and iterative process (Cohen et al., 2018). Given the well-established fields of research of CE and masculinity, this project seeks to provide a practical application of the theory which exists in the field, and add to research regarding the role of sports in developing character and masculinity (Cohen et al., 2018). The research was subjective as it sought to establish links between the literature and the research school's practice as determined from the document analysis (Bowen, 2009).

4.2 Research design

The research was qualitative with the use of supporting data from the document analysis. Qualitative research is characterised by the researcher seeking to explore and understand the meaning that individuals or communities place on social problems or incidents (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Such research involves the researcher interpreting the meaning in the data, with a particular focus on the meaning placed by individuals but also understanding the complexity that surrounds the research problem (Cohen et al., 2018; Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Qualitative research is inherently interpretative, and the researcher must recognise the role their own gender, socio-economic background, ethnicity, identity, and biases has on the methodology, interpretation, and results (Cohen et al., 2018; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This is primarily done by identifying the research's worldview, but also by recognising the limitations of various data types and consciously diversifying these where possible (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). For document analyses, a combination of public and private materials assists with this, but it is important to be cognisant that these documents represent the perspective of the author, and they may be incomplete, inaccurate, or bias (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

4.3 Philosophical worldview

A philosophical worldview, or set of beliefs that guide action, often remains hidden in research but given that it influences the nature of the research and methodology chosen, it should be identified (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

This research was aligned to a post-modernist perspective and particularly a social constructivist approach. Social constructivism is derived from the works of Mannheim, Berger and Luckman (1967), and assumes that individuals develop subjective meaning from their experiences (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The meanings are varied and complex, leading researchers who use the approach to analyse a diversity of views and ideas rather than relying on narrow interpretations (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). A socially constructivist approach will find meaning in social and historical norms and focuses on specific contexts in which people live or work to understand the cultural settings (Creswell & Creswell,

2018). The researcher recognises their own world view, and how their experiences will shape their interpretation, but seeks to use this to interpret the meaning of the actions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

The research also uses complementary pragmatist approach as it was concerned with the extent to which current practices in the research school were positively or negatively impacting on their students' character. A pragmatist approach is derived from the work of Pierce, James and Mead (1990) and emphasises the place of actions, situations and consequences rather than antecedent conditions (such as in post-positivism) (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). A pragmatist approach will emphasise the research problem and use pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge about the problem, often utilising mixed methods (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

4.4 Research methods

4.4.1 Literature review

A literature review is an essential part of any research project as it provides insight into the value of the research topic, including whether the topic is worth further investigation, as well as allowing for the identification of any gaps (Cohen et al., 2018; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). A literature review will allow integration, critique existing research, building bridges or links, and build on central issues (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

As CE is broadly researched, significant refinement was necessary. The following search strategies were initially carried out in the 'A+ Education' and ERIC databases, and the University of Adelaide generic portal. The initial searches sought content from 2015 – 2020, however more detailed searches were conducted over longer periods of time. Searches were confined to the education subsets in each database, and restricted to peer-reviewed articles.

Table 4.1

Search terms used

"Character education" AND masculinity

"Character education" AND masculinity AND toxic

"Character education" AND "muscular Christianity"

"Character education" AND implementation AND school

"Character education" AND elite OR "all boys" OR "single-sex"

"Character education" AND sport OR "physical education"

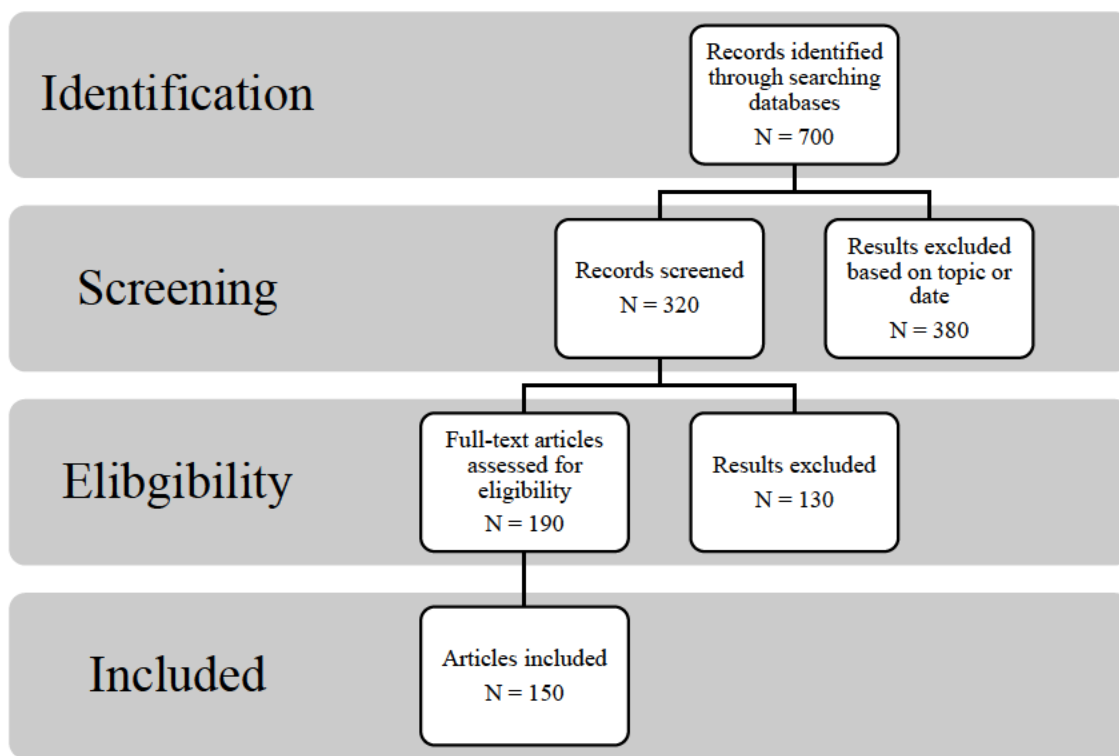
Masculinity AND "physical education"

Masculinity AND elite OR "all?boys" OR "single-sex"

Given the quite different but related themes of this research, multiple combinations were required to isolate relevant articles. Searches were initially carried out without a geographical restriction, then including Australia in the search to isolate articles referencing Australia in particular, though as will be discussed in detail below, there turned out to be very little Australian research. Another vital strategy was using reference lists of key articles such as those by Hickey and Mooney (2018), Ettekal et al. (2018), and Lahelma (2014). Finally, given the reliance on the Jubilee Centre, their lists of recommended reading were very useful.

Figure 3

PRISMA methodology map for database results



Note: Based on the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) method (Moher et al., 2009).

4.4.2 Document analysis

A document analysis is a systematic process for reviewing documents and evaluating their contents to draw meaning, significance, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009). Documents are recognised as ‘social facts’ which are used by society in an organised way, including producing and sharing, and this provides an opportunity to analyse significance (Bowen, 2009). They are particularly useful in qualitative studies as they allow for rich descriptions of a single event, organisation or program and allow triangulation through the use of different sources (Bowen, 2009). Documents may

include advertisements, minutes or agendas of meetings, books, brochures, maps, letters, media, and reports (Bowen, 2009).

Limitations of using documents as a data collection type include reliance on the perception and articulation of the author, difficulty in assessing authenticity or bias, and often significant volumes of data with limited ability to search or otherwise limit content (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

The procedure includes finding, selecting, analysing, and synthesising the documents, then organising them into categories and case studies (Bowen, 2009). The documents can provide context and historical insight, identify themes or tendencies over time, track change or development of ideas, or verify findings, and it is important to consider the usefulness of each document type for each purpose (Bowen, 2009). The process of document analysis involves initially superficial examination (or skimming), then reading and interpreting the data, and this combines content and thematic analysis (Bowen, 2009). Documents should not be treated as evidence, however, and the researcher must not assume accuracy, authenticity, neutrality, or completeness (Bowen, 2009). It is also important for the researcher to recognise the purpose, intended audience, and source of the document as a vital part of the interpretation process, as well as whether the document is first or second-hand, solicited, anonymous, or edited (Bowen, 2009).

A document analysis was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is a useful method when considering the historical evolution of a concept. Historical documents from the school provide an informative representation of the priorities and influences present at each time in the school's history. A document analysis is also a useful tool in resource rich environments like schools, as it is possible to use multiple sources from multiple authors to triangulate the data. Finally, this research focuses heavily on what kinds of students and events the school itself celebrates and promotes as this goes directly to the question of school culture. A document analysis readily provides direct examples that can be interpreted to develop an understanding of this culture (Bowen, 2009).

Thankfully, the research school has kept excellent records and archives, and the researcher had no shortage of documents to analyse. The types of documents included:

Table 3***Document types used in the document analysis***

Document type	Numbers	Data analysed	Advantages	Disadvantages
'The Chronical' – A school magazine containing news, opinion articles, results and awards, letters to the editor, and more.	305 editions from 1884-2019 (tri-annual from 1884-1979, annual after)	Themes and prominent issues raised, headmaster's forewords, awards given to students.	Significant amount of material, well organised electronic database, primary source data.	Difficult to search (around half are transcribed), limited number of authors, marketing document so an expectation of sanitisation of information.
Headmaster speeches (printed in the Chronicle)	Annually for Speech Night, occasionally for special occasions	Themes and significance given to particular events or students, priorities for each year.	Insight into the key decision maker's perspective and priorities, published verbatim so a true record.	Vary in usefulness and content widely.
School blog and website posts	61 posts from 2016–2020	Themes, approaches, and priorities for the school.	Contemporary examples of the school's priorities.	Very sanitised.

4.5 Validity and reliably

In order for research to be valid, it must be reliable, replicable and unbiased (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In a qualitative study, this is achieved through honesty, depth, and richness in the data and research, as well as the objectivity of the researcher (Cohen et al., 2018; Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

This research achieved this by using a breadth and depth of resources, and ensuring that data was considered in light of the source. Given that the majority of the data was produced by the research school, its inherent biases must be recognised (Bowen, 2009). This research therefore focuses on purpose of the documents rather than the validity of the documents, as the purpose of the document is unbiased. The researcher has also been mindful to be cognisant, and transparent, about their worldview and the impact that it may have on the research.

Further, this research is replicable – the documents are available publically online. The literature review process has been outlined in this document.

4.6 Summary

This research consists of two elements; a literature review and a document analysis. The terms and scope the literature review were discussed, including the search terms and databases used to promote replicability. The documents used for the analysis, the justification for that method, and the limitations of the documents were also discussed. Finally, the methods used to ensure validity and reliably of the research were discussed.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

In this section the results of the document analysis are discussed and analysed. The results are presented in the form of key quotes found during the research, organised chronologically by headmaster. These quotes were chosen to provide a clear, insightful, and accurate insight into the priorities, concerns and challenges faced by the school at that moment in time. Especially in the early years, the headmaster wielded significant influence over the school and its direction, and as the research shows, there are strong themes which can be drawn from in each man's tenure. Given the vast amount of data analysed for this research (305 editions of the Chronicle each between fifty and one hundred pages, plus other resources in more recent times), the researcher has chosen indicative quotes that represent wider themes.

Following the results section, the data will be analysed. This is presented in two ways. Firstly, the role and importance of sport as it has evolved over time is discussed with particular attention given to the rivalry between PAC and SPSC. Following this is an analysis of the evolution of the role of sport in the development of the 'Princes Man' – the embodiment of the ideal man which the school moulds from the boys it admits. This is organised chronologically by headmaster.

5.2 Results

In this section, the results of the document analysis will be presented. The information is organised by headmaster, with the left-hand column including the dates, headmaster's name, and key themes of the period. The right-hand column includes key quotes on the subjects of character, sport and manhood. The date and Chronicle volume are included, noting the editions after 1974 are annual and do not use volume numbers.

Table 4

Results of the document analysis

Key details	Notable quotes
1884–1915 Headmaster Chapple	1885(6) The human frame requires a considerable amount of exercise in order to be preserved in a healthy condition; and if we deny it this the consequence will most probably be the loss of strength. And what a loss this is! It should also be remembered that physical vigour adds great force to a man's character and renders him, too, a much more useful member of society.
Founding of the school.	1905(83) Character is not so much protected innocence as practised virtue ... Man's growth begins with struggle and testing and discipline. It is better to be vanquished in the right than to be victorious in the wrong. The glory of character is not reached at a bound, but only by strenuous effort and patient endurance.
1915–1929 Headmaster Bayley	1917(117) She [the school] goes steadily on with her work – the noblest work in the world – the task of moulding the character of the young life of the British Empire; so that in the broader fields and sterner occupations of manhood, the Empire's sons may quit themselves like men, and have the strength to do so.
The First World War	1929(154) No public school boy should ever suffer from a lack of interests in his life ... if everything else fails him, he may even become engrossed in learning. More in sorrow than in anger we mention these misguided souls whose "chief good and marker of their time" is the constant cultivation of their brains. If we were moved by a spirit of bitterness we might say that brains needed such assiduous attentions hardly warrant the trouble ... Unfortunately the bookworm is not the lower form of life in schools [it is the glutton].
1930–1948	1940(187) Today, slackness is closely akin to disloyalty and as a School we must gird up our loins, bear stout hearts, be prepared to play whatever part is allotted to us and, in the words of our own motto, be willing to endure. The critics of college life say that it destroys individuality; its admirers claim that it produces a well-defined and admirable type of

Key details	Notable quotes
Headmaster Ward	<p>character. It is producing today the type that the great public schools of England have always produced – a type which represents something deep down in the British character. Somewhere down inside the bull-necked, obstinate, reserved and yet self-assertive John Bull there is a mine of moral strength and determination to the right to himself and to all men, sprung from the deep-rooted conception of freedom. That is the essence of the character that college life brings.</p>
The Great Depression and World War II	<p>1945(203) What the world needs today, more than anything else, is virile, manly goodness – character. That is the Church’s first commodity, and no other organisation can produce results in this realm equal to those produced by the church.</p>
1949–1969 Headmaster Dunning	<p>1959(234) The advantages given at our school are not merely academic. We have been moulded along the lines of young men with Christian ideals. The spiritual life of our school has been and always will be emphasized as of the utmost importance. May we be bold to say: “We’re Princes men, yes now and always Princes men.” Let us look at the word ‘men’. The dictionary gives us a biological explanation, but is it not better to say that a man is a person who can adequately take his place in the world today?... Drifting with the tide of easy living results in flabby minds in flabby bodies.</p> <p>1965(245) Not everyone can excel or lead in a field, but almost anyone can take part. Only one person can captain a sports side, but the rest can form part of the team. Team games teach one to cooperate with others. These character-building influences are not generally found as much within the classroom as out-of-school activities. For the less physically gifted there are the Chess Club, Debating Group, the Students Christian Movement, Cadets and Scouting.</p>
1970–1987 Headmaster Bean	<p>1975 Today it is generally agreed that some form of physical training is a basic requirement of a good education... In team games, it shows one the value of group coordination and encourages an interdependence pertinent to community life. A measure of success gives the individual self-confidence. Certainly learning to win – and what is more important – to lose graciously can be one of sport’s greatest benefits.</p> <p>1976 The eventual aim of a secondary education in an institution like Princes is to prepare us to face life, and this does not just mean being knowledgeable in five subjects after twelve years of learning. It also means being taught to be kind, courteous and diplomatic.</p>

Key details	Notable quotes
<p>1988–2004</p> <p>Headmasters Webber and Codrington</p> <p>Modernisation of the education sector, and the school itself</p>	<p>1993 Much had been made of the school motto, the Christian manliness that the school promoted in its students, and the tradition and old school ways that most people would associate with Princes ... Which of us has not felt an exultant tremor of emotion when the voices of a century’s history reverberate around the Wesley Church, or when the Old Old Boys rise to sing the old school songs, or when watching an intercol on the front oval? While these moments are what makes Princes unique... they are no longer the mainstream of school life... However, while the school has a profound effect on all who attend it, it would be foolish to assert that this effect is wholly positive for all... As the school moves forward, addressing its faults, and reaffirming its strengths, its effect on its students will change, and perhaps it may lose some of the grandeur that it now has, but in any case, it will remain the place where many of us made or started the transition from boys to men.</p>
<p>2004 – 2020</p> <p>Headmasters Tutt and Fenner</p> <p>Reconciling the past and future</p>	<p>2012 The Princes Man is defined by his academic potential and his all-round development. All round development occurs within many contexts here at Princes – sport, music, drama, outdoor education, and cultural pursuits.</p> <p>2013 The college has been a leader in the education of boys since 1869 and we remain committed to the development of the Princes Man – intellectually developed and all-rounded, ready and able to contribute to his community and the world.</p>

5.3 Analysis

In this section the results of the research will be analysed. The significance sport has for PAC will first be assessed, along with a vital component of this; the rivalry between PAC and SPSC. This is followed by an analysis of the evolution of the Princes Man.

An investigation through the Chronicle magazines clearly shows the significant role that sport (or games, as it was referred to until the 1960s) plays at the expense of both other extra-curricular activities and academics. Sport is mentioned in every single foreword during the tenure of the first two headmasters (1884-1929), and it often the first or only topic mentioned. As a proportion of the magazine, sport content occupies over half of every issue in the first hundred years and often over three-quarters. This includes blow-by-blow records of intercollegiate football and cricket matches – in the 1896 edition, a single football game is recounted over six pages in a sixteen-page edition (PAC, 1886(10)).

In December 1930, the headmaster's end of year address is printed in full over nine pages. On the seventh page, he finishes talking about the school's sporting achievements and moves on to the cadet program. He then spends a half-page discussing academic achievements, before ending the speech with "Although we cannot always decide our occupations, we can be judged on our leisure activities. Healthy sport, preferably with a spice of danger, is worthwhile" (PAC, 1930(157), p. 62).

In 1931, the academic report is moved from the back to the front of the issue though it still only occupies two of the fifty pages in the document, while school sports occupies fourteen and old scholar sports another six (PAC, 1931(161)).

5.3.1 *Rivalry and the intercollegiate*

The rivalry with St. Peter's began with the founding of the school and continues to the present day. It is generally discussed positively, with notes about the benefit of competition as a motivator for the boys, but there are also tensions at times such as the occasional violent or otherwise poor behaviour of players or crowd at intercollegiate games. Given the Chronicle is expected to be somewhat sanitised given its marketing purpose, negative or qualifying statements are noteworthy.

One of the first mentions of the rivalry is a useful example of this;

Rivalry between schools ... when of proper spirit ... becomes another motive for hard work ... it helps uphold honor ... promote energy and hard work. But when this competition amounts to dislike it certainly does harm. And yet the unpleasantness shown on the annual oval match days ... seems on the increase, and last time it showed in a very decided way. The only way to do away with any such feeling in the future ... is for each one to act and feel in a courteous and manly way, remembering that rivalry is not hatred (PAC, 1889(20), p. 1.)

A letter to the editor from an old scholar in 1890 describes regular altercations between PAC and SPSC students, including "many a wordy war, not infrequently followed by fisticuffs or stone-throwing" and even a time when a group of PAC students found a lone SPSC student, assaulted him and put him in a creek under a large stone to prevent him from escaping (PAC, 1890(25), p. 9). He goes on;

There were times when it was extremely unwise – not to say unsafe – for a collegian wearing his distinguished tassel to venture forth alone within the precincts of his rival college. Fashionable pink-and-blue oval matches were unknown to us; but I question whether the fight for pride of place in the field was ever fought so well as in our day and generation (PAC, 1890(25), p. 9).

This represents a reasonably common theme in letters to the editor - bemoaning the ‘softening’ of students of the current day. Poking fun at the new uniforms, this writer suggests that the football games became less rough and competitive over time, and thus associates this with a weakening of character in the modern students. A few years later the Headmaster makes a similar remark on this topic; “Good humoured fun and friendly rivalry is always rife, and although at times rough play is indulged in ... no harm is intended’ (PAC, 1894(42), p. 1). It is clear that an element of physicality is tolerated in the name of sport.

In the early twentieth century there is much greater emphasis on sportsmanship; “Perhaps the greatest force that tends to raise the school spirit is the spirit of rivalry ... throughout there will exist a fine rivalry, free from bitterness or hatred” (PAC, 1922(134), p. 55).

The 1970s and 1980s see greater awareness of the connection between violence and sport, particularly expressing concern over the ‘win at all costs’ mentality at both the professional and student levels of sport. Despite this concern, the school clearly seeks to emphasise the importance it sees in strong competition in sport, and tries to separate this from the negative aspects of the ‘win at all costs’ mentality.

Truly there is ample reason to deplore the physical violence that takes place in some competitive games at the highest level. The fact is that the “will to win” has been over-emphasised and a “win at all costs” attitude has been adopted by a large number of competitors and coaches. The true Olympic spirit has been adulterated... The ranks of the advocates of “non-competition” are swelling, as more people become disenchanted with the behaviour of the participants and the unruly nature of the crowds... If we eliminate this competitive spirit we shall foster a society which already shows a disturbing trend towards accepting and rewarding mediocrity (PAC, 1975, p. 2).

There is clearly a tension between “defeating our great rivals” but not “win at all costs,” and it is an understandable challenge given the deep historical importance of the rivalry. This tension has character at its heart – the school consistently argues that the competition that comes from the rivalry provides excellent character development for its boys, but in order to benefit from this development, the school must not over-emphasise the importance of winning.

There is a clear consciousness of the tension from the 1990s onwards, with an emphasis on sportsmanship in almost all places that the intercollegiate is mentioned, including in the 1991 School Captain’s report: “Of the losing intercol teams it was pleasing to see the great spirit and sportsmanship shown in defeat” (PAC, 1991, p. 19).

Fights and violence during the intercollegiate football games has been common, but 2012 was particularly bad year. SPSC described three or four out-of-play fights and argued there is “no place for that in sport - especially schoolboy sport,” although PAC responded that “The match was exciting and there were a couple of minor scuffles. This would be expected at the level of the 1st Intercollegiate teams” (Nankervis, 2012). There was also an incident in 2005 with PAC students assaulting a SPSC student at a horse race, leading to hospitalisation and a police investigation (Salter, 2005).

Action was taken in 2018 with students from each school developing a code of conduct, as described in the School Captain’s Report as being based on the Princes Man and “aimed to further refine the tradition and history associated between the rivalry between PAC and St Peter’s College” (PAC, 2018a, p. 14).

This is expanded on in a blog post, which describes the code of conduct as including:

- We are Princes Men. *Fac Fortia Et Patere*, we do brave deeds and endure. We stand by our moral values, entrenched since 1869, now and always. Whether on or off the field, we do the right thing by PAC. All of us know what is right.
- We are humble in victory and gracious in defeat. Whichever sport we play, we play with sportsmanship, grounded in a deep respect for our teammates and the opposition...
- We are the RedArmy... we do not look to discriminate against Saint Peters, we chant only for our Princes Men.
- We BleedRed. We commit to the contest with ferocity and intent, protecting our mates in an intense display of comradery. We do it for the guernsey, we do it for the Reds (PAC, 2018b).

The code of conduct places itself clearly in history. There is also significant war imagery – the supporters are the RedArmy, the conduct is described as BleedRed and players will display comradery. The code continues the tension between history and conduct– how can better behaviour be expected when war imagery is used, alongside words like ‘ferocity’?

5.3.2 The evolution of the ‘Princes Man’

PAC was founded with character development as its *raison d’être*. This focus manifests itself in the ‘Princes Man’ – an embodiment of the ideal man which the school moulds from the boys it admits. This term is used from the school’s inception, and this section will explore the basis for this focus, determine which characteristics make a ‘Princes Man’, and the role sport has played in the development of this idea over time. As we will see, while character is the unwavering goal of PAC over its existence, the story told by the Chronicles is very much one of the tension between sport and academics the path to get there.

The section is separated into four periods.

Table 5

Phases of the 'Princes Man'

	Years	Headmasters
The early years	1888 - 1930	Chapple and Bayley
The middle years	1931 - 1969	Ward and Dunning
The later years	1970 - 2000	Bean and Webber
The school today	2000 onwards	Codrington, Tutt and Fenner

Each section is arranged chronologically and contains quotes and observations on character, with particular focus on the connection between sport, academics and character.

The early years (1888 – 1930)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the focus is very much in-line with the philosophical movement undermining the Wesleyan establishment of the school; Muscular Christianity. Less focus is given to academics and the priority is to produce boys who were strong in character and body.

A letter to the editor from an old scholar in 1890 puts it very bluntly: “True, neither the ‘prelim’ nor ‘matric’ was then the be-all and end-all of our school life, and there was time to cultivate the spirit of true manliness which, after all, is better than university honors” (PAC, 1890(25), p. 9). The writer continues:

The visitor of 1890 looks in vain for vestiges of those brawny, whiskered sons of Anak, who, never dangerously intellectual and always inclined for a lark – hearty, healthy, good natured fellows – none of the less won the college its fair name and fame in the golden days of long ago (PAC, 1890(25), p. 9).

The sons of Anak, as described in the book of Numbers in the Hebrew bible, are giants found in Palestine with impressive stature and great manliness, making this an interesting observation with religious undertones. Even in 1890, just twenty-one years after it was founded, its old scholars were lamenting a softening of the students’ manliness.

A speech by a governing member at an old scholar’s event in 1908 continues this theme;

The most admirably constructed steam engine in full steam is only sheer waste until a man has applied its motive power to some wise purpose. And knowledge would be wasted but for the characters of the men in whom the knowledge has been placed ... We are not met in the pride of intellect ... we have higher things than knowledge (PAC, 1908(92), p. 40).

The editorial in 1912 is one of the first times character is defined and includes “courage, conscience, and curtesy” (PAC, 1912(107), p. 32). Sport is seen as the vehicle for reaching these goals, as discussed in 1925:

The truth is that schools of our type have realized for quite a long time that the playing of games is an excellent educational instrument if properly used ... A famous English headmaster gives it as his opinion that “resource, generosity, obedience to rule, and sense of humour are qualities that cannot be generally learned by all boys unless they learn them by games.” To play fair, to learn to be a good loser, and what is perhaps even harder, to learn how to bear success are the really valuable fruits of this side of school life (PAC, 1925(144), p. 3).

It also offers a slight caveat to its claims which is notable for the first century of the school’s existence, cautioning that there is a “danger of hero worship being pushed too far, and schools have sometimes been accused of encouraging pupils to overtax their growing strength in these competitive games” (PAC, 1925(144), p. 2).

The middle years (1931 – 1969)

A constant theme in this period is concern that not all boys are engaging in sport and therefore not benefiting from the lessons it offers. This is expressed in 1939:

Some boys, although suffering from no physical disability, steadfastly refuse to take part in the organised games of the school. But their loss is greater. They miss the benefit of many valuable lessons, whose meaning it is impossible to convey in the classroom – to play fairly at all times and to accept with equal grace both success and defeat – to say nothing of the physical benefit that can be derived from the games (PAC, 1939(184), p. 5).

But comments prioritising sport or character over academics are plentiful well into the twentieth century, as these quotes from during World War II show:

Everybody should try to be a first-class scholar, but it is more important to be a first-class man. If a boy graduates with a sound conscience, it does not matter if he cannot find the mean difference of two numbers (PAC, 1944(199), p. 399).

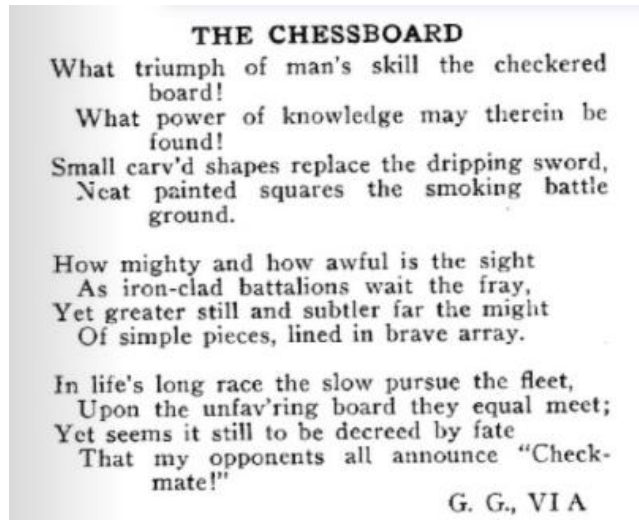
From a national view-point, it is disastrous for us to encourage and employ all our best brains on the work of science. We need all the scientific knowledge we can obtain, but we need, even more urgently, men of high character and understanding. (PAC, 1947(208), p. 193).

Even accommodating for the war context – much of the rest of the editions are filled with stories of bravery and loss of life of serving old scholars – these comments make it quite clear that the school did not consider academics to be the centre of its mandate. There are less blatant examples littered throughout the Chronicles in the period, but these quotes are contained in the editorial section of each issue, prominently displayed as the first piece of content. It is clear this is not just the opinion of a few; it is part of the culture of the school.

It is not until the 1950s, under Headmaster Dunning, that there is a noticeable change in the way that extra-curricular activities are discussed. Significantly more diversity in the content is seen in the Chronicle, and while sport continues to dominate space (volume 218 (1951) contains sixteen of the thirty-seven pages on sport), an arts section is added and students' artwork and poetry begins to appear.

Figure 3

A student poem included in the Chronicle



Note: PAC, 1951(218), p. 188.

The emphasis on character continues to be strong:

The school is more than a place of educational guidance. That is but one of the many aspects of its work. A college such as ours is the training ground for the citizens of tomorrow. Here are taught the ethical and religious concepts that are to shape the world and direct the future of mankind, for it is from the schoolboys of today that the leaders of tomorrow must come (PAC, 1950(215), p. 3).

At times it even devalues the role of sport, including this quote from 1952:

[Headmaster Bayley] was renowned for the frequency with which he quoted William of Wykeham's famous dictum, "Manners Maketh Man" ... The function of this school is not merely to turn out scholars steeped in learning, nor, on the other hand, should independent judges have cause to consider the school a sporting academy, but those who go out into the community should be trained to exhibit the highest qualities of citizenship (PAC, 1952(220), p. 271).

These quotes elude to the interesting way that citizenship, character, and sport interact within the historical context of the school. It also shows a movement away from character and sport being

exclusively linked and towards character as having a more of a citizenship justification. There is a continuous religious undertone to the discussion, but it is notable that it is incredibly rare that specific scripture is used to enforce points about character to the students. References to religion are most commonly general and vague, and used to support, rather than guide, the notion of the Princes Man. This quote from 1959 provides a good example of this:

We have been moulded along the lines of young men with Christian ideals. The spiritual life of our school has been and always will be emphasized as of the utmost importance. May we be bold to say: “We’re Princes men, yes now and always Princes men” Let us look at the word ‘men’... From the viewpoint of years, we automatically become men, but to attain real manhood, means constant striving towards a goal. Drifting with the tide of easy living results in flabby minds in flabby bodies. (PAC, 1959(234), p. 12).

“Christian ideals” are mentioned without description or qualification and it is a notable approach for a school in which religion played such an importance part in its inception. This is also a clear continuation of the importance of ‘Muscular Christianity’ in the school – a true Christian man cannot be unfit in order to serve the community. It is not suggested that religion is not important to the school – it is a constant topic of discussion across the Chronicle – but this quote indicates that it is just one jigsaw piece which makes up the Princes Man.

As the ‘middle years’ end, it is clear that sport is no longer the only activity considered beneficial to the student, though all students are still expected to play sport. Art in particular gains particular popularity and is encouraged as an interest for students;

Not everyone can excel or lead in a field, but almost anyone can take part. Only one person can captain a sports side, but the rest can form part of the team... These character-building influences are not generally found as much within the classroom as out-of-school activities. For the less physically gifted there are the Chess Club, Debating Group, the Students Christian Movement, Cadets and Scouting (PAC, 1965(245), p. 3.).

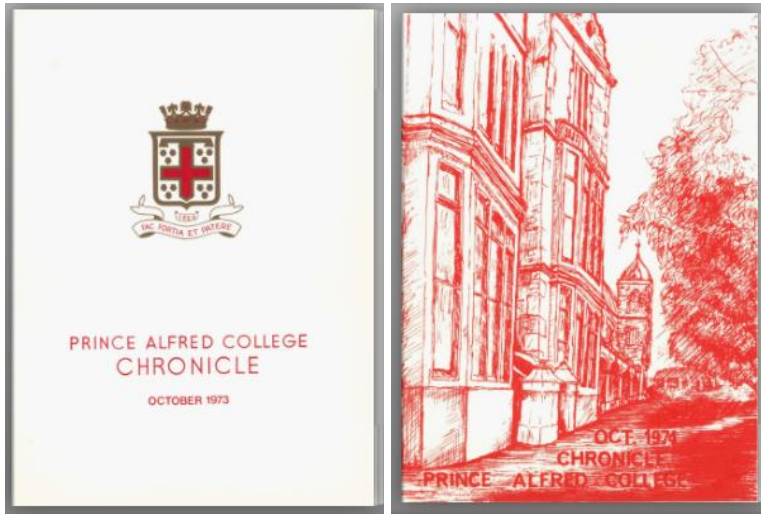
The school indicates a preference for students to engage in sports, but it is novel for the school to promote non-sports extracurricular activities as beneficial to one’s character, or even to discuss sports and non-sports activities in the same way.

The later years (1970 – 2000)

Headmaster Bean brought many changes to the school and there is a notable change in the tone and presentation of the Chronicle. There is also a noticeable reduction in the use of the term ‘character’ and more use of terms such as ‘personality.’ This seems to be an effort to modernise the school as it coincides with a significant redesign of the Chronicle, and a modernisation of the more old-fashioned English which was previously used.

Figure 4

The October 1973 Chronicle cover compared to the October 1974 edition



The tone changes drastically. In 1976 the purpose of the school is described as “to prepare us to face life” and be kind, courteous and diplomatic (PAC, 1976, p. 3.). In 1983, it is to give student ‘a very good education and grow in personal maturity’ (PAC, 1983, p. 2.). These changes in the way character are discussed indicate a sophistication in thinking on behalf of the school. Rather than relying on ‘Muscular Christianity’ to describe the ideal man, and simply referring to this as ‘strong character’, there is nuance evolving in the concept.

The 1975 Editorial provides a rare insight into the thinking of the school as they discuss the merits of sport:

Today it is generally agreed that some form of physical training is a basic requirement of a good education... In team games, it shows one the value of group coordination and encourages an interdependence pertinent to community life. A measure of success gives the individual self-confidence. Certainly learning to win – and what is more important – to lose graciously can be one of sport’s greatest benefits (PAC, 1975, p. 3.).

The edition goes on to discuss the connection between physical violence in sport and the will to win at all costs, offering a call for coaches, players and spectators to consider the issue deeply. Claiming that “The true Olympic spirit has been adulterated,” (PAC, 1975, p. 3.) they argue that the ‘win at all costs’ mentality is corrupting sport and needs to be addressed. The openness to address the negative aspects of sport is notable and commendable, and is rare for the Chronicle.

There is also an awareness that sport is not automatically good for the students’ character, and acceptance that it can impact negatively. This reflects the current literature which agrees with the potential for character development exists when students play sports, but also recognises the downsides when it is not implemented in a thoughtful, considered way by professionals conscious of the situation.

The 1990s see a continued reduction in the importance placed on sports in the development of the boys, particularly when it comes to medals and prizes. The 1991 Chronicle devotes one page, or ten paragraphs, to student achievements with just two paragraphs on sport, a complete reversal of the historical standard. As sports takes a reduced role in the identity of the school, it is understandable to see a struggle develop. This is well articulated in the 1993 editorial;

Much had been made of the school motto, the Christian manliness that the school promoted in its students, and the tradition and old school ways that most people would associate with Princes ... Which of us has not felt an exultant tremor of emotion when the voices of a century's history reverberate around the Wesley Church, or when the Old Old Boys rise to sing the old school songs, or when watching an intercol on the front oval? While these moments are what makes Princes unique, and are the most memorable ones of our time at the school, they are no longer the mainstream of school life...

Like any institution, PAC is imperfect... As the school moves forward, addressing its faults, and reaffirming its strengths, its effect on its students will change, and perhaps it may lose some of the grandeur that it now has, but in any case, it will remain the place where many of us made or started the transition from boys to men (PAC, 1993, p. 2.).

This text reflects a genuine struggle and its inclusion is quite profound when one considers the bullish and determined tone adopted for the vast majority of the school's existence. Having such self-reflection also shows a maturity which is capable of considering the difficult and deeply impactful issues raised in this excerpt. Which aspects of the rich history of this institution are to be celebrated and strengthened and which ones are to be noted and discarded? This is a poignant point to end the later years, as it remains a burning question as the school continues to evolve towards the present day.

The school today (2001 onwards)

At the turn of the millennium, PAC was having an identity crisis and asking which aspects of its history needs to be celebrated and which aspects needed to be relegated. The story of the twenty-first century can be seen as an exploration of this concept; what is the Princes Man?

From 2001, the Chronicle serves a quite different purpose. It is no longer an internal newsletter sharing stories between students and old scholars; it is a sanitised, sleek, marketing document designed to project an image to the world.

In 2012, the Princes Man is defined as an all-rounder: "The Princes Man is defined by his academic potential and his all-round development. All round development occurs within many contexts here at Princes – sport, music, drama, outdoor education, and cultural pursuits" (PAC, 2012, p. 7.). It is clearly no longer a battle between sports and academics and other pursuits; it is about providing varied opportunities for development. This is continued in 2013: "The college has been a leader in the education of boys since 1869 and we remain committed to the development of the Princes Man – intellectually developed and all-rounded, ready and able to contribute to his community and the world. (PAC, 2013, p. 9.).

The appointment of a new Dean of Students in 2018 to oversee the pastoral care and wellbeing programs results in the formalisation of the Princes Man program based on the Jubilee Centre’s framework:

The taught ‘Princes Man’ course is not about the school telling the boys how to be good people. Rather, it is about the school providing the boys with opportunities to find this out for themselves. As part of a survey on this, the boys overwhelmingly felt that kindness, honesty and gratitude among others were of key importance. Our pastoral team want to encourage our boys to act virtuously, to develop practical wisdom and to go out and seek opportunities to act virtuously (PAC, 2018, p. 17.).

The 2019 Secondary School Report emphasises “Being independent, resilient, responding to challenges, engaging in healthy behaviours and making choices to serve others” (PAC, 2018, p. 12.), while the Pastoral Care Report discusses year 10 work on “work on male identity and manhood... stereotypes... identity, relationships, mateship and character without once using the trope of ‘toxic masculinity’” (PAC, 2018, p. 18.).

These quotes show both the depth of the implemented program and the consideration given to its implementation. Implementing a CE program is time-consuming and can never be considered complete as it must evolve with the institution, society, and academic progress in the area. The implementation is segmented, with only the middle and senior schools having the full programs. These quotes fail to mention sports as a vehicle for character development, and indeed sports are not mentioned at all, suggesting a lack of interest or will to incorporate sports and character initiatives.

5.4 Summary

In this section, the results of the document analysis were discussed, showing the changing way which both sports and character have been discussed from 1869 to today. A tension was shown in what the ‘Princes Man’ looks like and what role sport and academics plays in the creating that ideal man. The early years show unanimously that academics are not of great importance – producing a good man is far more important, and sports is the vehicle to achieve this. As the years go on, other extra-curricular activities begin to share the pedestal with sports but the school’s position remains largely the same – these activities are vital in producing good men.

It is only in the 1970s that things begin to change, with academics beginning to sit alongside sport. The school is less obstinate and more considered when it discussed sport, and ‘good character’ is replaced with ‘good personality.’ The possible downsides of sport are also discussed, though it is clear that the school still highly values its role in the development of its boys.

The 2000s saw well-rounded ‘Princes Man’ who is able to represent himself confidently to the world with a wide range of academic and extra-curricular resources. The CE program is formalised using the Jubilee Framework, though the program is standalone and seems to not incorporate sports or other extracurricular programs.

Chapter 6: Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

In this section, three recommendations are presented based on the findings of the document analysis and the literature review. These recommendations are based on achieving the best CE outcomes while considering the history and context of the school.

6.2 Recommendation 1

That schools implement robust character development strategies within their sports programs and embrace opportunities to teach character lessons.

This research has found that there are no shortage of claims about the character development benefits of participating in sport, but that these claims are often not academically justified. This is not to say that these benefits do not exist, just that they must be considered and justified. As literature has shown, there are limited inherent character development benefits to sport, but this can be strengthened with the right frameworks in place and well-trained staff to implement these frameworks (Bredemeier & Shields, 2019; Ettekal et al., 2018; Harvey et al., 2011; Lahelma, 2014).

PAC has, to their absolute credit, committed significant resources to develop and implement their CE program based on the Jubilee Centre's framework. However, this program seems to be limited to the middle and senior schools, and limited to a schedule of classes and programs implemented through the pastoral care and wellbeing program. This academic approach is necessary for the implementation of the Jubilee Framework as students must understand and be able to discuss the ethical terminologies in order to apply them, but the Jubilee Framework must be part of the school culture from the very beginning in order to work effectively (Jubilee Centre, 2017). It must guide all interactions, and this does not seem to be the case in the sports program, especially given the tendency to outsource coaching to professional coaches who are less likely to be familiar with the program. A CE program is a long term proposal which must cover all aspects of the child's education, and if it is confined to the classroom is it unlikely to achieve full engagement from students (Lewis et al., 2011).

Sports also provides ideal opportunities to achieve the third stage of the Jubilee Framework; 'sought,' where students seek out and respond to ethical challenges based on their knowledge and understanding, and this is often the hardest stage for a school to implement (Bredemeier & Shields, 2019; Ettekal et al., 2018; Harvey et al., 2011; Lahelma, 2014). In a highly competitive sporting environment, there are ample opportunities to made unethical decisions to give yourself, or your team, an advantage. This could be cheating, injuring another players, racial or homophobic sledging, or more. Price Alfred College's separation of their CE program and sporting program is unfortunate for this reason – it presents a rare and useful opportunity to give students a real opportunity to apply their CE in a safe and controlled environment (Ettekal et al., 2018; Harvey et al., 2011; Jubilee Centre, 2017).

This is particularly important given the poor behaviour which is associated with the intercollegiate events, with recent examples being brawls, fights, unsportsmanlike conduct, and crowd interference with games. These are unambiguously examples of unethical behaviour, and particularly given the significant attention that these matches are given there is the potential to significantly undermine CE progress in the rest of the school. If students see poor behaviour tolerated in this one context, it makes it more difficult to correct that perception in the classroom (Kristjánsson, 2016; Lewis et al., 2011). Research has shown that providing a school culture which consistently reinforces CE values is vital (Jubilee Centre, 2017; Kristjánsson, 2016; Lewis et al., 2011), and that CE programs which do not apply across the entire school risk undermining the entire initiative (Kristjánsson, 2016; Moroney & Devaney, 2017).

6.3 Recommendation 2

That coaching staff are trained in character development to ensure that positive virtues are reinforced through sport, and negative behaviour is dealt with as a learning event.

The outsourcing, or professionalisation, of school sports coaching is increasing in popularity across Australia as competitions becomes fiercer and professional league scouts pay increasingly attention to school competitions. By recruiting elite sportsman or professional coaches to coach first teams, a school may get a technical advantage and reign supreme, but these people are not educators. A higher score or championship flag may be achieved at the expense of the students' character development (Ettekal et al., 2018; Harvey et al., 2011).

As discussed in Recommendation 1, sports are rife with character dilemmas and provide a useful and rare opportunity for students to put their CE to practice. This can only be done when it is consciously implemented as part of a planned CE program by a coach who is trained and able to deal with ethical dilemmas. This could be a professional coach with the correct training and planning, but it makes it more difficult when it is not an educator. Literature has consistently found that well-trained staff are the most influential aspect of any CE program (Arthur, 2016; Berkowitz & Bustamante, 2013; Hough, 2011; Kristjánsson, 2013). Role-modelling is also a vital component of CE, and as coaches will generally take on this role with students, it is vital their behaviour reinforces positive virtues (Ettekal et al., 2018; Guivernau & Duda, 2002; Stiff-Williams, 2010). Ill-equipped coaches have the potential to do serious harm to the character development of the students (Guivernau & Duda, 2002).

Any reinforcement of a 'win at all costs' mentality will undermine character development initiatives in the rest of the school, and this will be further undermined but a failure to take swift action against non-ethical behaviour in a sporting context (Ettekal et al., 2018; Guivernau & Duda, 2002).

6.4 Recommendation 3

That schools consider the prominence which sport has in their school, and particularly how this may impact those who are not elite sportsman.

Sports tend to loom large in Australia generally, and in independent schools in Australia specifically. It attracts media attention (both internal and external), expensive capital works projects, and significant

time in discussions and speeches across the school. It can provide a united purpose, give an opportunity for comradeship, and celebrate achievement, and promote healthy lifestyle choices, but it can also glorify violence, encourage anti-social rivalries, and make those who are not elite sportsmen feel neglected, excluded or less important (Finkeldey, 2018; Hickey & Mooney, 2018; Lahelma, 2014). If those who are elite sportsmen are treated as heroes, are allowed to skip class or are given other benefits, and are over-celebrated, it is difficult to not give the impression that there is a 'right' and 'wrong' set of skills and abilities in a school (Hickey & Mooney, 2018).

This research of the historical context of PAC has showed (see Chapter 5), the school actively denigrated the academically gifted amongst their student body well into the twentieth century, explicitly treating their skills as less important than athletic prowess. This history must be recognised, and while it is certainly notable that the school has taken great efforts to correct the large over-representation of sport in its awards, prizes, and celebration, it is important not to consider this task complete.

Schools must be mindful not to treat elite sportsman with particular reverence or treatment, as this undermines the good work done in other areas of the school. Research has shown that overemphasising the achievements of elite sports players has deep impact on students who are not elite, including promoting heteronormativity (Hickey & Mooney, 2018; Lahelma, 2014).

In particular, high-profile positions, such as prefects and the School Captain, should not be awarded to those without well-rounded extra-curricular, academic, and character achievements (Hickey & Mooney, 2018). It is also important to treat average and elite players in each sport equally, as failure to do so reinforces that high-achieving sports players are more important to the school. Members of the first team may need to be late for a class or exempt from an assembly due to practice occasionally, but these should be exceptions, lest it be reinforced that members of elite teams are special and above other students (Hickey & Mooney, 2018).

This presents a particular challenge for PAC given its rich history and strong old scholar participation. It should be universally recognised that sport is a means, not an end, for student development, and as such all students are equally valued no matter their talents or abilities.

6.5 Summary

Three recommendations are offered from this research: firstly, that sports have a strong CE program which can utilise the virtue reinforcing or correcting opportunities inherent in competitive sports; secondly, that coaches are vital to this endeavour and must be trained in CE and not professionalised to the extent that a 'win at all costs' mentality is encouraged; and, finally, that schools consider their public presentation of sports and elite sports players, and be mindful of over-celebration of sporting achievements, lest they risk elevating sports above other pursuits in the minds of their students. These are neither simple concepts nor easy to implement, regardless of the context and history of the school which could certainly stifle progress on these issues. PAC must be congratulated for the progress it has made in just fifty years, and it has only just begun its implementation of a formalised CE framework which has been well considered and designed.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

In this section, the research will be summarised and includes a discussion of the significance and strengths of the study, its implications and limitations, and recommendations for future research.

7.2 Summary of Research

This research has investigated how the rich history has impacted the way character is understood at PAC, an independent all-boys' school in Adelaide South Australia. The school has had a continuous goal of its CE; the 'Princes Man', and this research has tracked the CE concept over time.

This research began by asking the following questions:

1. What are the frameworks for character in education?
2. How are sport and character integrated at an all-boys' school?
3. To what extent does sport contribute to character development at an all-boys' school?

The first question was addressed in the literature review which provided a comprehensive analysis of the Jubilee Centre's framework, its operation, and the field of CE as it is understood in the UK and USA and also in Australia, along with the CE connections that exist with masculinity, the all-boys' education sector, and sport.

The second question was explored by reviewing PAC's rich historical records. A document analysis found that the college's grounding in the philosophy of 'Muscular Christianity' and teachings of the Methodist Church heavily influenced its development and priorities, with the college much more concerned with producing strong, athletic, Christian men than scholars. This did not alter significantly until well into the 1960s, with strong Christian character and sports dominating the school, and academic or creative pursuits discouraged. The 1970s saw change, with academic performance, arts and drama embraced as part of the puzzle which produced a well-rounded 'Princes Man', but sports remained a vital component. After 2000, as the college modernised its image and programs, a real tension grew. The historical emphasis on producing strong, athletic Christian men was conflicting with the role of a modern school in producing high-achieving academic results.

The third question was explored as part of the literature review, and applied to PAC. The review found that sport has little intrinsic CE value, but has strong potential in a comprehensive framework with well-trained staff (Bredemeier & Shields, 2019; Ettekal et al., 2018; Harvey et al., 2011; Lahelma, 2014).

PAC implemented a CE program based on the Jubilee Centre framework in 2018 but it is notably confined to the middle and senior schools, and taught largely in classrooms. It is not implemented through the sports program which is a missed opportunity, both as an opportunity for the boys to put their CE into practice and to combat the 'win at all costs' mentality which plays a large part in the school's intercollegiate sporting matches and has led to examples of brawls, fights, sledging, and other anti-social

behaviour. Without ensuring the lessons of CE apply across the school experience, the school risks undermining their excellent progress.

7.3 Significance and strengths of the study

CE is not as prominent in Australia as in other similar jurisdictions, but schools are constantly grappling with ethical dilemmas with students. This study provides a unique perspective on the challenges which one independent school faces when it tries to reconcile its history and future, but it is not a unique position. There are many schools across Australia, and in other similar countries, which have similar rich histories which contain elements they want to celebrate and others they want to confine to history. The link between CE and school culture is profound, and school culture is deeply impacted by its history. This study offers an example of how one school is dealing with these tensions, and provides recommendations which many schools may benefit from.

Sport remains a dominate aspect of Australian culture which permeates many aspects of life, but particularly schooling. Despite this, there is limited research about the impacts it has beyond the health and lifestyle benefits which are self-evident. This research provides a perspective on the interaction between sport and schooling, and in particular sport and CE, which can provide a basis for further research.

The rich archives available from PAC provided a depth of understanding which is unparalleled in many contexts. For research to include primary source documents published each year for over a century allows a unique perspective to develop as it allows one to consider the way in which issues are presented and argued at any one time. For an issue such as character, this provides significant usefulness as we can answer the question of what the school considered a good man at any time in its history.

7.4 Implications

This research encourages schools with rich, long histories to embrace the opportunity to confront and discuss these histories as part of its evolution. There is a tendency for such established institutions to treat their histories as a shackle and this is unfortunate. Institutions such as these can recognise their pasts, and use them to create discussions about what must be embraced and what must be relegated to the past, strengthening the institution into the future.

At the same time, these institutions must ask themselves why traditions are in place. They may create school culture, or encourage school unity, or provide an opportunity to celebrate ones history, but they may also stifle progression or embed regressive behaviours. It is important for schools to have this discussion.

7.5 Limitations

This research considered one school and one context, and this naturally limits its wider application, though general observations are useful for other institutions. The nature of the school also limits the wider use of the research, as much of the influences of the evolution of the ‘Princes Man’ come from

PAC's Wesleyan Methodist and Muscular Christianity philosophies, along with their South Australian and Australian contexts, their war history, and ultimately the great influence wielded by the ten men which held its headmasterships.

7.6 Recommendations for future research

The significance of sport in Australian schooling looms large, but many of the supposed benefits or proposed harms are untested. Further research is needed into the way the sport, particularly competitive team sports, impacts the development of school students. If the existing understanding that there are limited inherent benefits beyond an understanding of physical health and lifestyle, research is needed into how the skills and traits associated with sport can indeed be taught; teamwork, humility, decision-making, leadership, etc.

Research comparing the resources spent on sport (time, money, and staffing) to other co-curricular activities and academics, as well as disaggregating elite sports, would better inform the discussion.

There is also a need for greater research into boys education beyond the tired trope of its overall worth or benefit. All-boys' schools will continue to exist, and how these institutions are influencing the development of young men's character is a vital consideration for society. In the absence of equal contact with girls in their school, society must consider how these boys develop their character and an understanding of masculinities.

7.7 Summary

This research began by asking the question about the relevance of CE in modern Australia. While considering the evolution of one history-rich institution, it considered the evolution of the character development aims over time, assessing the tension between being a good Christian man, a good athlete, and a scholar. The research provides a unique insight into this tension given the rich records at the research school, as well as the context of an all-boys' school and focus of sport as a component of CE.

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