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*“Trapped”:
Gender, identities
and PE*

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A thesis submitted to Durham University for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy (PhD)

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I have learned a lot throughout this process – about gender, Bourdieu, sociology, class; but probably most importantly, I have learned about who I am, what I want to be, and what I am good at. I hope anyone who reads this thesis also learns about themselves and questions who they are, why they think the way they think, and starts to interrogate the “taken for granted”.

ABSTRACT

Physical Education (PE) is one of the most gendered school subjects, and is historically based on a binary which normalises a difference between young men and young women. As young people develop through adolescence, their social lives are characterised by interconnected social fields, including schooling, sport and media. This study sought to explore how young people negotiate their gendered identities within, and across, these interconnected fields using a Bourdieusian analysis. I used a mixed-methods approach of collective case studies to answer three research questions:

1. What role does sport play in the ways young people negotiate their gendered identity?
2. What role do schooling and media messages play in reproducing gender norms for young people?
3. How does social class influence how young people understand sport and their gendered identity?

My methods combined a content and narrative analysis of media messages produced by four online sports media outlets during Rio 2016 Olympic Games with case studies in three demographically different schools in North East England. In each school, Year 11 students completed a questionnaire about their participation in sport and physical activity, coupled with their views of masculinity and femininity. Following this, interviews with 70 young people (33 males, 37 females) were conducted which focused on how young people negotiate their gendered identities within different social fields.

Using Bourdieusian concepts of habitus, field and capital, this study has shown that these young people are strongly influenced by rigid and stereotypical representations of masculinity and femininity which are often conflated with binary notions of biological sex. The internalisation of these norms within one's gendered habitus has meant that many young people expressed a sense of being "trapped" by these rigid notions of "acceptable" gendered behaviours, and consequently reproduce an ideology of difference between masculinity and femininity. Sport is internalised as "natural" within young

men's habitus, where participation and excellence in the "right" sport can lead to the accrual of social status and popularity. In contrast, the "sporty" female is othered, and little capital can be accrued for female participation in sport. Instead, young women are pressured to presenting an image of a "healthy" female appearance (one which is often unattainable as both skinny and curvy) through a symbolic attention to the body. Many young women go to the gym, but do not engage in vigorous exercise when they are there.

Within this thesis, I refer to young people playing the game of gender, whereby there are "rules", tactics, referees and winners/losers. The expectations of the game differ depending on whether the individual is male or female, and also on one's classed position. This metaphor demonstrates an awareness that young people can be simultaneously affected by both structure and agency. By using tactics and strategy to manipulate one's own gendered identity, young people can show agency. However, the rewarding of stereotypical and binary representations of masculinity and femininity through capital often means that many young people feel pressure to reproduce normative behaviours which do not challenge the status quo of the doxa.

This PhD paints a negative image of how schooling and PE reinforce gender norms which prevent many young people experimenting and exploring their own gendered identities. However, through challenging young people's reflexivity during the interview process, I found that many young people can reflect on their behaviours, bringing the often-non-conscious habitus into consciousness. This suggests that to challenge taken-for-granted norms of the habitus, pedagogy and research must encourage this reflexivity and force young people to think about gender in ways they have not done before.

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DECLARATION

Aspects of Chapters 6 and 8 have been published as Metcalfe (2018).

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PART 1: THE WARM UP

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A central premise of this PhD is to challenge the often-held assumption that *all* men reap the benefits of masculinity, and in opposition, that *all* females are disadvantaged. This thesis considers the complexity of gender for young people, in which the relationship between gender, schooling, sport, and (social) media interact to influence the negotiation of gendered identities. Young people spend a large amount of time within educational contexts, thus the role of the school (as a place of learning through both the formal and hidden curricula) is important in educating young people into the social expectations required in adulthood. Furthermore, media plays a significant role in creating and disseminating information surrounding the body and acceptable versions of gender (Bordo, 2003). For young people, these media messages, coupled with their consumption and use of online (social) media (Wakefield, 2016), indicates the importance of studying how different social fields interact and contribute to how gender is socially constructed.

Throughout this thesis one of my aims is to avoid conceptualising gender as a “simple” organising principle but instead as an element of society which interacts with other cultural aspects to (re)produce gendered identities. There is a danger that gender is often reduced through biological essentialism, in which masculinity matches with males, and femininity with females (Schippers, 2007). The complexity and extent to which gender influences the organisation of society is emphasised by Butler (1990), for whom identity categories are created through institutions, practices and discourses. Theoretically, Bourdieu’s (1989, 1990, 2001) conceptual tools are crucial to help explain the influence of gender as intersecting across all social fields. This PhD focuses on the gendered experiences of both young men and women to demonstrate how gender works in practice within co-educational environments. Exploring gender relations in this way, my research considers how gender norms and “rules” work for young men and women in practice,

allowing instances of difference or overlap to be highlighted. The complexity of the study of gender requires a multi-disciplinary approach, and this PhD incorporates theoretical elements and concepts from different social science disciplines – Education, Sport, Sociology and Cultural Studies. Therefore, the interconnected nature of young people’s social fields emphasises the contradictions, tensions and experiences of young people negotiating their own identity and position in social space.

This introduction will outline: my position as a researcher; the research questions guiding this research; the political, educational and sporting context; before ending with a brief overview of the key concepts alongside my theoretical and philosophical assumptions. The interconnection of Bourdieusian fields of schooling, sport, and (social) media, and how these contribute to young people’s negotiation of gender, is important to briefly explain prior to setting the context for this PhD. Importantly, characteristics within the fields of schooling, sport, and (social) media contribute to a hierarchical society in which capital is allocated to individuals who embody a dominant representation of gender and heteronormativity. For instance, within schools, those marginalised as unpopular are constructed as inferior (Francis, Skelton, & Read, 2010; Read, Francis, & Skelton, 2011); and those whose gendered appearance is contradictory to normalised representations of attractiveness and heterosexuality are “othered” and constructed as deviant (Butler, 1990; Constantinou, 2008; lisahunter, Smith, & emerald, 2015). Identity work, and ways of managing one’s identity become increasingly important for young people to meet the social requirements of acceptable bodies within the different areas of their lives – in school, through sport, through social media, etc.

As will be highlighted during the Literature Review (Chapter 3), the purpose of this PhD is centred around three important “gaps” in the literature. Firstly, exploring gender relations with both young men and young women is important to challenge traditional distinctions between the experiences of young men and women as binary, separate and oppositional. Secondly, in using the conceptual tools of Pierre Bourdieu, principally

those of *habitus, field, capital, doxa* and *symbolic violence*, Cicourel (1993) indicates there is a lack of consideration of the child throughout Bourdieu's work. The transitional period of adolescence is a crucial time for the development of one's gendered identity, due to the associated increasing independence and responsibility (Arnett 2000; British Medical Journal, 1954; Marcia, 1980). Resultantly, Bourdieu's field theory, which emphasises struggles and tensions in defining what is viewed as "legitimate", becomes an important tool for exploring the specific experiences of young people. Thirdly, within educational literature which considers the impact of gender in Physical Education (PE), there is a significant gap in the research exploring the experiences of young people at the end of their compulsory school-based education in England (ages 15–16). Gender and educational research often targets younger adolescents, either in the transition between primary and secondary schools (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Hunter, 2004), or earlier in secondary schooling (Azzarito, 2009; Hill, 2015a; Koca, Atencio, & Demirhan, 2009; Mitchell, Inchley, Fleming, & Currie, 2015). These factors illustrate the significance and originality of this PhD in contributing to the understanding of gendered identities in young people. In addressing these "gaps", the voices of these young men and women paint a negative view of their experiences which chimes strongly with the experiences I have had personally, both as an active female, and as a former PE teacher observing the behaviours, practices and attitudes which young people brought to their PE lessons. It was these experiences which led me to conduct this PhD, and therefore it is important to state my own narrative.

WHO I AM, AND WHY THIS RESEARCH IS IMPORTANT

I would not be writing this PhD without drawing on my experiences in sport, with my body, and as a female. This section considers my childhood experiences of school and sport, followed by my experiences as a female, and finally the events which occurred in my (relatively short) career as a PE teacher.

As a child, I was always the “sporty one”. I can still fondly remember, as an eight-year-old, being transfixed by Gail Devers’ talon-like nails at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics; superstitiously sitting in the same place for the duration of the Rugby World Cup 2003 Final; playing “Olympics” in my back garden which involved tying a skipping rope to two stools to practise my hurdling (which I like to think helped my later athletic performances); and generally, being a sports “geek”. It is safe to say that sport was my life. I could, and to some extent, still do today, find it difficult to understand why people do not like sport: it is who I am, and defines me. This realisation contributed to my feeling, that, from quite a young age, I was different to my friends. I felt alone; none of my “girl”-friends had the same relationship to sport as I did.

On reflection, as with many children, I was bullied at secondary school; again, for being different. In hindsight, I was clever, sporty, tall and slim – a clear target. Yet I distinctly remember being accused of cheating, hiding behind a bush, during a PE cross-country lesson because I won convincingly. These accusations upset me, but also made me question who I was – asking myself the question of “was I willing to reduce my effort at PE to ‘fit in’?” and my resounding answer was “No”. So, my secondary education was characterised by captaining my netball, basketball, tennis, and athletics/cross-country teams, as well as playing in every other sport on offer (including football and rounders). Outside of school I trained nearly 20 hours a week for my main sport of tennis where I competed nationally, coupled with extra training for regional representative netball and athletics.

Yet what strikes me now, is the naivety towards gender which I demonstrated during my junior sporting career. All the sports I chose (and I believe it was my choice for my parents would have supported me pursuing any sport) to participate in outside of school – tennis, netball and athletics, are typically characterised by their feminine-appropriate status. Every time I competed at tennis, I would make sure my hair was neat, wore dangly earrings, essentially modelling my appearance and mannerisms on Maria Sharapova,

who, only one year older than me, was the media superstar of women's tennis. At the time, I did not question what I was doing – it seemed “natural” to want to look good on court. Yet a critical perspective now might suggest I was reaffirming the expectation of attractiveness and heterosexuality required of female sportswomen.

Once, when competing in heptathlon in a national competition, a male friend said to me: “Surely you can make it as a tennis player, you don't need to be any good...look at Kournikova – you just need to look like a model.” This stirred something inside me and highlighted the inconsistencies and hypocritical stance which I still am ashamed to say I have. I am passionate about greater equality and awareness for female sport, yet at the same time, I do not transgress or challenge the gender stereotypes in sport; some might argue, I even perpetuate them. Yet I do not feel that this stops me researching this subject – in fact, more might need to be done from within conventional sexualities and identities in sport rather than assuming there is no tension for these individuals.

I always believed I could be a professional athlete, but tennis was too expensive. As a student athlete involved with the UK Sport “Girls 4 Gold” initiative, I entered an intensive rowing training programme with the aim of competing at Rio 2016 Olympics. I enjoyed winning, but ultimately became uneasy with being labelled a “heavyweight” female rower (with a BMI of 19) and was uncomfortable with the impact weight training had on my body. As an athlete, I experienced conflict between being successful which required musculature and physicality, with looking at photos and being happy with my “feminine” appearance.

Following my undergraduate degree, I embarked on a career as a PE teacher – keen with the naïve idealism that I could share my passion for sport with young people to make a difference. Yet, I instantly felt undervalued in the school environment: with a first-class degree, excellent grades, and, at the time, completing my Master's degree part time, I had the academic credentials to be valued. But as a PE teacher I felt dismissed, seen as a

“thing” whose only ability is with the body, not the mind. Despite often struggling to understand how people dislike sport, as a teacher I was sympathetic to this and developed good relationships with the more disaffected students in PE to encourage participation and enjoyment. However, this is not the same for all teachers. Situations where young people experience a cycle of inadequacy can easily be created in PE. However, importantly, through teaching mixed-sex PE, I saw this phenomenon with both boys and girls – not all boys like sport, and not all girls are the “problem” (as per the stereotypes). Thus, my experiences have emphasised the need to approach this PhD from a perspective which listens to both boys and girls.

Some may say I am hypocritical – advocating the importance of this PhD to challenge how young people understand gender, promoting a more gender-neutral approach to PE, yet myself acting in ways in the past which perpetuate these “truths”. Yet, throughout this thesis, by incorporating Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, it is only through reflexivity and self-awareness that we can explore the taken-for-granted truths regarding sport, gender and the body. I will always be sporty, yet I hope this research will identify the social factors which may influence adolescent identities and sport, and thus lead to educational and policy changes to make sport and physical activity accessible to all.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions (RQs) I will address in this PhD are threefold:

1. What role does sport play in the ways young people negotiate their gendered identity?
2. What role do schooling and media messages play in reproducing gender norms for young people?
3. How does social class influence how young people understand sport and their gendered identity?

The primary question I will answer is RQ1, the other two questions are to provide a more nuanced exploration of specific issues which young people face in relation to their

gendered identities. Gender is therefore the primary lens through which young people's experiences are viewed, using class to contextualise how social background and previous experiences may impact on gender across different fields. These research questions are designed to give young people a voice; those experiencing PE and schooling need to be considered to develop educational policies which have a greater chance of being effective. Whilst my own experiences as a student, athlete and teacher have motivated me to complete this PhD, there is a risk (as with any research), that my own habitus may also obscure any findings which differ from my own experiences. However, through awareness of my own positionality, this reflexivity ought to lead to greater nuance and sensitivity to different positions of "truth".

These research questions will be answered using a two-phase, multiple case-study approach. Phase one involves a content and discourse analysis of UK online media texts from the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, considering the different treatment of female and male athletes and their bodies by the mass media. Phase two involves research with young people in three schools chosen based on their different demographics: one independent day school, one middle-class state school, and a state school from a more working-class area. All three schools are co-educational. Questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were conducted with Year 11 (aged 15–16) students in each school. The results from phase one were used in phase two interviews to assess how the messages implicit in mediated representations of the body are understood and interpreted by young people. The empirical research took place over a period of one year between August 2016 and July 2017.

CONTEXTUAL SETTING FOR THIS RESEARCH

My PhD does not sit in isolation, and draws on broader developments in the fields of politics, health and education. The focus of my PhD is to consider how young people develop their gendered identities; set within the scope of active identities and sport. As a

multi-disciplinary PhD which incorporates ideas from education, sport, sociology, and cultural and media studies; the broader contextual background centres on educational policies relating to PE and School Sport (PESS) and the contribution of physical activity to health. These background concepts help to illustrate the current ways of thinking within educational and sporting “fields” which may underpin young people’s experiences. The political context for PESS becomes an important justification for conducting this research, and in my Conclusion chapter I will return to discussing the policy implications in relation to an activist position, through which improvements to young people’s experiences of PESS will be advocated.

GOVERNMENT AND POLICY INTERVENTIONS

Historically, PE has been an integral part of educational curricula in the United Kingdom. Since the introduction of compulsory education in the 19th Century, PESS has played a role, often reflecting the wider requirements of the nation. The development of PE has reflected heavily gendered divisions, leading to separate subjects for boys’ and girls’ PE. (For an overview of the development of PE as a National Curriculum subject in the United Kingdom, both Kirk (2002) and Scraton (1992) provide a detailed analysis.) Since the inception of the National Curriculum in 1992 (Evans & Penney, 2008), PE has been a core subject based on the perceived merits of PE as improving the health and fitness of students (Foster & Adcock, 2016; Penney & Jess, 2004). These historical aims of PE to promote health and fitness, have been marginalised in favour of competition and elite performance, which I argue is detrimental to experiences of both young men and women.

In the UK, education plays a central role in government policy, whereby funding allocated to PESS has been strongly politicised. Crucially, the House of Commons Education Committee (2013) called for an end to PESS being used as a political football, criticising the way school sport has been characterised by an absence of permanence, planning and commitment, stating that “[n]o other national curriculum subject is treated so lightly” (p42). Changes in government policy following each general election have

created a disjointed and often inconsistent approach to PESS. For instance, Tony Blair's New Labour pledged large amounts of funding into PESS, creating School Sport Partnerships (SSPs) which were designed to improve the range and quality of opportunities for children and young people to be physically active by providing different sporting opportunities and allowing specialist coaches to develop expertise within schools (Flintoff, Foster, & Wystawnoha, 2011). The benefits of SSPs in providing opportunities for all were celebrated by the House of Commons Education Committee (2013). Importantly, and linking to the underpinning merits of PESS, the good practice identified by SSP initiatives were deemed as underpinned by educational rather than performance pedagogy (Flintoff et al., 2011). Despite the reported benefits of SSPs, PESS funding since 2010 has experienced a political U-turn following the election of Coalition and Conservative Governments. When faced with economic consequences of the global recession and a need to make significant funding cuts across the public sector, Michael Gove, as then Education Secretary, in an open letter to Baroness Sue Campbell (chair of the Youth Sport Trust), announced that SSP funding was to end. Instead, PE curricula emphasised competitive team sports to improve elite success (Gove, 2010). Gove stated that "the existing network of school sport partnerships is neither affordable nor likely to be the best way to help schools achieve their potential in improving competitive sport" (ibid., p2). Importantly, SSPs were set up *not* to foster competitive elite sport, but instead to develop experience and participation. The removal of funding for PESS through SSPs demonstrates the elitist tendencies of the Coalition and Conservative governments within educational discourse. The ending of funding to SSPs was highly unpopular, as many have emphasised the ways in which SSPs had met their targets (Bailey, Armour, & Kirk et al., 2009; Flintoff et al., 2011; Foster, 2015). The sea-change in educational PE policy towards competitive sports within curricula and the creation of an Olympic style school games "to ensure all our children have the chance to enjoy sport in school, to compete against their peers and to promote and celebrate sporting excellence" (House of Commons, 2012, p32WS), highlights the competition-orientated policies which this PhD

argues are detrimental to many young people. Often, competition in sport represents a turn-off (House of Commons Education Committee, 2013; Wilkinson, Littlefair, & Barlow-Meade, 2013), and can lead to the creation of a hierarchy of ability in which some bodies are constructed as inferior to others. Whilst these policy changes will be welcomed by some – most noticeably the “sporty” students (and arguably PE teachers who themselves have come from “games” backgrounds), the ability of PESS to provide opportunities for health and fitness, as originally designed (Penney & Jess, 2004), is lost.

PHYSICAL INACTIVITY AND HEALTH CONSEQUENCES

Obesity is a serious global health problem. In England, two-thirds of adults and one-third of 11–15 year olds are obese, and by 2034, 70 percent of adults will be overweight and obese (Public Health England, 2015). Obese children have a greater risk of becoming an obese adult, and obesity carries significant health consequences, including cardiovascular disease, cancer, diabetes, and high blood pressure (Foresight, 2007; Mahtani, Protheroe, & Slight et al., 2013; Public Health England, 2015). Economically, obesity places a serious strain on the National Health Service (NHS) in the UK, the costs to the NHS which are attributable to overweight and obesity are projected to reach £10 billion annually by 2050 (Public Health England, 2017). As the previous section highlighted, PESS was originally developed to promote healthy and active lifestyles in young people, and implicit in this assumption is the relationship between physical activity and preventing obesity.

Sedentary behaviour and physical inactivity rates are rising, having more than doubled in the UK in the past 25 years (Foresight, 2007). Physical activity represents a logical way to increase calorie expenditure and theoretically reduce obesity. Yet 44 percent of UK adults do not participate in any physical activity (Foresight, 2007). This statistic is important to consider because habitual physical inactivity is often established in adolescence (Aaron, Storti, Robertson, Kriska, & LaPorte, 2002; Brooke, Corder, Griffin, & van Sluijs, 2014). Recommended levels of physical activity for children and

adolescents is 60 minutes/day (NICE, 2009), yet for UK adolescents aged between 13–15, only 14 percent of males and 8 percent of girls meet these recommendations (Townsend, Wickmasinghe, Williams, Bhatnagar, & Rayner, 2015). Furthermore, physical activity levels have been robustly found to decline during adolescence (Aaron et al., 2002; Kjønniksen, Torsheim, & Wold, 2008; Sallis, Prochaska, & Taylor, 2000), and girls as a group participate in less physical activity than boys (Armstrong, Balding, Gentle, & Kirby, 1990; Brooke et al., 2014; World Health Organisation, 2016). Despite the assumed links between PE, physical activity and “solving” the obesity crisis (and other health consequences), this relationship is not straightforward, and, as I will argue in this thesis, is mediated by different factors including gender, class, and specific school and PE-based practices.

One way that sport has been used to promote health outcomes is through the widespread political belief that hosting major sporting events will increase population physical activity participation levels (House of Commons, 2012). In 2012, London hosted the Summer Olympic Games, a bid successfully won in part due to a promised legacy of inspiring a generation (Griggs & Ward, 2013). No previous Olympic Games had succeeded in achieving a physical activity legacy (Mahtani et al., 2013; McCartney, Thomas, & Thomson et al., 2010; Weed, Coren, & Fiore et al., 2012), thus there is no evidence that elite sport can improve participation rates. Indeed, an emphasis on elite sport as a tool for improving participation demonstrates a lack of understanding of policy implications within sport policy decision making (Griggs & Ward, 2013), and highlights the uncertainty with which sport policies are implemented – is the aim increased participation and physical activity levels, or traditional competitive sporting success? Given the aforementioned perceived benefits of PESS, PE departments often face an unwritten, yet powerful, expectation that they are responsible for solving the problem of physical inactivity and consequent obesity. The disconnect between political aims under the Coalition government to foster competitive and elite sport, with the health burden of

solving the obesity crisis, leads to confusion and an incoherent identity for PESS. From my own teaching experience, PESS has the potential to foster positive experiences for young people; however, as the empirical data presented in this PhD will testify, this is not uniform for all young people and is often shaped by broader societal and gendered expectations.

CONTEXTUAL SECTION SUMMARY

This section has highlighted the political, health and educational context in which this PhD sits. The reduction of funding to PESS has the potential to negatively impact how young people experience being active within school environments. Government policy and funding initiatives for PESS are likely to influence how young people experience PE in state schools in England. Through completing research in two state schools and one independent school, the impact of these initiatives represents a significant background to explore how young people relate to PESS experiences underpinned by different policies and educational ideologies. The assumed link between physical inactivity and obesity emphasises the political importance of “getting PE right”. From a pedagogical perspective, I am passionate about improving the experiences of young people within sport and PE, through which an intended positive side-effect is the development of an active identity. Activist research demonstrates the importance of improving specific experiences of specific groups of young people (Fisette, 2013; Oliver & Kirk, 2016), and knowledge of the difficulties and barriers young people face within PESS provides a setting for challenging the status quo. The focus of this PhD is on the development of gendered identities, and how sport contributes to young people’s sense of self. Therefore, schooling and PE are crucial fields to explore how stereotypical assumptions about “correct” representations of male and female gendered bodies are experienced by young people.

KEY DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

Young people and their experiences are integral to this PhD; in which the primary focus is their experiences of gender and how understandings of masculinity and femininity link to sport. Whilst I will discuss my position with regards to gender more extensively in Chapter 2, this section provides an overview of my perspective and explains the complexities surrounding defining adolescence and the importance of this transitional period on individual identities.

Throughout this PhD, I will use the terminology of “young people” – young men or young women – to describe my participants. This choice of language reflects a conscious decision to allocate agency and responsibility – as young people, the assumption is that their views, thoughts and behaviours are credited and valued. A contrasting term would be to use “boys” or “girls” which are instead associated with a lack of agency and power. The myriad of terms to describe young people, which can include adolescents, youth, children, boys/girls; are all intertwined with power dynamics and agency in differing degrees. Medically, the young people who participated in this research are classed as adolescents, for Roenneberg, Kuehnle and Pramstaller et al. (2004) define the adolescent as an individual who has gone through puberty, but is still dependent on others. For instance, whilst independence and responsibility increase during adolescence, (virtually) all young people still live at home and attend school where their independence is mediated. The tensions and complexities which characterise this liminal state provides a rich environment for the exploration of gendered identities. Gender norms are potentially more salient to an adolescent group than an adult population given the desire of young people to present an “adult” identity and to “fit in” with dominant notions of popularity (Francis et al., 2010; Read et al., 2011).

Specifically in relation to gender theories and gendered identities, young people represent an under-theorised group. Research has been conducted in terms of adolescents and their gendered identities in PE, sport and education (Goldberg & Chandler, 1991; Gorely,

Holroyd, & Kirk, 2003; Hill, 2015a; Klomsten, Marsh, & Skaalvik, 2005), and on their levels of physical activity (Aaron et al., 2002; Kjønniksen et al., 2008; Sallis et al., 2000); however, specific gender theories which identify how young people relate to their own gendered and embodied identity are typically adapted from adult or child theories. Within this PhD, I will be using elements of Connell's (1987) gender order and hegemonic masculinity/emphasised femininity model (which was created with adults in mind); however, there are intricacies within the demographic of adolescents that warrant extra consideration within the theoretical study of gender. Adolescence represents a period of extreme uncertainty, transition and fluidity in relation to one's identity (Arnett, 2000; British Medical Journal, 1954). Williams (2002, p29) suggests that "[a]dolescent girls resist, experiment, and practice gender in a trying-on process", which appropriately indicates the complexities of gendered identities for young women. Tensions with one's gendered identity are not solely confined to young women, and young men can also experience anxiety. If the "trying-on" process is applied to both young men and women, gender identity work is complex, particularly for young people when awareness of one's own proximity to dominant social norms and social status becomes increasingly important (Jackson, 1999; Oakley, 1996; Shakib, 2003). These complexities indicate the importance of exploring gender norms and stereotypes for both young men and women, ensuring a sensitivity to the liminality and transitional period which characterises young people as they progress into adulthood.

Gender is difficult to define (Rasmussen, 2009), largely due to the assumption that gender is a taken-for-granted social category which is presumed as "natural" (Skeggs, 2004). I consider gender a social construction, created through dominant discourses which emphasise how and what masculinity and femininity represent. Gender is an important factor for how people develop their own identities, because being able to classify and identify someone's gender on sight is expected (Ridgeway, 2009; Westbrook & Schilt, 2013). Underpinning the social construction of gender is the way in which an individual's

gendered identity can be viewed as a learned performance which can take on multiple representations depending on the context (Francis, 2010; Paechter, 2003a). As I will explain in Chapter 2, Bourdieu's field theory demonstrates the complexity of young people's lives, through which different social fields overlap and interconnect. Drawing on influential writers such as Judith Butler (1988, 1990), viewing gender as performative demonstrates the way agency can be acknowledged in the development of a gendered identity. Therefore, the underlying premise of this research is that young people's gendered identity formation is reminiscent of a performance in that normative representations of gender are afforded greater social capital and therefore popularity (Francis et al., 2010; Read et al., 2011). Young people learn the "rules" of gender and incorporate these into their own gendered identity, reinforcing dominant expectations of masculinity and femininity.

The key gender theories which I will utilise centre around the seminal work by Connell (1987, 2007; with Messerschmidt, 2005), whose gender order will be used to demonstrate the hierarchies of gender and the subordination of non-hegemonic versions of masculinity (and femininity). Throughout, my main concern is to avoid conflating gender with sex; where masculinity is presumed to map unquestionably onto males, and femininity onto females (Bem, 1981; Paechter, 2006a; Rubin, 2013). Whilst I would not go as far as Judith Butler (1990) in stating that sex is also socially constructed, the dichotomy of sex as "natural" has muddied the area of gender so that gender too has a presumed "naturalness" (Jackson, 1995). With the conflation of sex and gender, one's biological sex is deemed to be a guarantee of one's socially constructed gender, a phenomenon which I will show has negative consequences for how young people negotiate their gendered identities. Linked to the consideration of sex and gender as "natural" is the assumption of heterosexuality which pervades society. Butler (1990, p72) speaks of a "heterosexual matrix" in which, by default, an acceptable gender is one which is heterosexual in terms of attractiveness and desire. Therefore, sexuality and identity

become increasingly intertwined for young people, thus the achievement of a heterosexual performance is a method by which status and social positioning can be claimed (Oakley, 1996). Problematic with biological essentialism is the construction of binary thinking which naturalises difference between the sexes. The historical development of gender demonstrates the power of this binary in subordinating females and celebrating the dominant position of men through patriarchy (Walkerdine, 1989).

Sex as a binary concept which is often dangerously matched with a gender binary is fundamental to my motivation to explore how *both* young men and women experience their own gendered identities. Gender research has typically focused either on girls and their femininities (e.g. Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Cox & Thompson, 2000; Walkerdine, 1989), or boys and their masculinities (e.g. Connell, 1989; Epstein, 1997; Martino, 1999). Their research consequently ignores gender relations in how young people understand their own identities within social fields which create “legitimate” expectations of young men and women depending on stereotypical representations of masculinity and femininity. By failing to explore how young men and women negotiate their masculinities *and* femininities, the essentialist notion which equates sex with gender is reinforced. Feminist scholars have successfully highlighted the fight of women against sexual discrimination (Eagleton, 1996), and in particular, how they can negotiate their complex gendered identities to incorporate elements of both masculinity and femininity (Cox & Thompson, 2000; Goldberg & Chandler, 1991; Markula, 1995). Scraton (1992) outlines the development of the different waves of feminism and the ambitions associated with each wave. Some scholars argue that the specific aims of second-wave feminism to achieve gender equality have been achieved, and thus we now live in a post-feminist society. However, this is a contested area, and Angela McRobbie (2004, 2007, 2011) argues that post-feminism, which promotes freedom to young women, paradoxically represents the undoing of feminism because there is no longer assumed to be a need for feminism. The context therefore for this PhD indicates a fractious scenario where young

women are assumed to now “have it all” (Pomerantz, Raby, & Stefanik, 2013, p185), yet are still faced with discourses which overtly challenges this assumption (for instance, Harvey Weinstein’s sexual assault trial and the corresponding #MeToo hashtag vividly demonstrates the abuse many women face). Despite also contesting whether we do in fact live in a post-feminist society, I am cognisant that young men can also be negatively affected by toxic representations of “ideal” masculinity, and my experiences as a PE teacher strongly contradict the premise that even men who do not embody hegemonic masculinity stand to gain from it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Demetriou, 2001; Donaldson, 1993). The pressures associated with masculinity can be equally restrictive for how young men choose to represent their sense of “self”. The premise that masculinity is beneficial for *all* males is damaging in the same way that post-feminism represents a new form of entrapment, and highlights the importance of exploring gender relations to understand the nuances and complexities for young people in presenting a coherent gendered identity.

This section has outlined the characteristics of adolescence which makes the exploration of gendered identities in young people an important consideration. I have explained my understanding of gender as a social construction, drawing on Butler’s (1988, 1990) concept of performativity to further allocate elements of agency and action in how young people develop their own gendered identity. My understanding of gender as socially constructed aligns with my epistemological and ontological positioning, which indicates my own world view and how this may influence how I come to interpret data within this PhD.

METHODOLOGICAL/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To analyse, evaluate and effectively “make sense” of my research, it is important I know my own starting assumptions and world view. Concepts developed by Pierre Bourdieu are used as the theoretical framework, and I devote Chapter 2 to explaining my

theoretical position. However, I will briefly here outline the main methodological and theoretical principles which will guide my whole thesis.

Epistemologically, I approach this PhD from an interpretivist epistemology of social constructivism. This matches with how I view gender – as socially constructed – and discursively produced through an individual’s experiences with their surroundings such that “each of us participates in the construction of our own world” (Moses & Knutsen, 2007, p192). Through a deeper consideration of constructivism, I aim to develop *verstehen* through incorporating human values, ideas and desires into an understanding of social life (Smith, 2005). A social constructivist perspective demonstrates my awareness of multiple perceptions of reality (Moses & Knutsen, 2007), which ties in with an awareness of the multiple forms of gendered identities which can be adopted by young people. Concentrating on the role of gender norms as influencing how young people view dominant representations of masculinity and femininity reinforces the way in which interpretivism can help explore collective identities (Searle, 1995). Furthermore, a social constructivist epistemology which emphasises individual experiences further prevents a slippage into biological essentialism in which males and females are treated as homogenous groups within their gendered construction.

Ontologically, this research follows an idealist perspective in which “constructions of reality [are regarded] as just different ways of perceiving and making sense of an external world” (Blaikie, 2007, p17). Thus, the multiple case-study approach which considers fields of schooling, sport and (social) media demonstrates the significance of socialisation on developing a socially constructed version of gender. To this extent, through these socialising experiences, young people become “brought up in a culture where he or she simply takes social reality for granted” (Searle, 1995, p4). This embraces a nominalist ontology in which reality is what people perceive it to be (Blaikie, 2007; Neuman, 2006). In concentrating on the ontological assumptions of gender, Searle (1995) states that socially constructed perceptions require a reality for these assumptions to be based on.

With regards to gender, biological essentialism in which gender is presumed to map onto sex indicates how one's sex can be viewed as representing the "reality" from which gender is constructed. An underlying premise for the social construction of a gendered identity rests on the concept of agency (Smith, 2005). As identified, young people experience a period of transition as they move into adulthood, during which negotiations and tensions within one's gendered identity can occur. A discussion of gender which considers the relative weight of agency in relation to external pressures and expectations will prove important when considering how young people negotiate their own gendered identity through Bourdieusian principles of habitus, field, capital and doxa.

The concept of generalisation is one which positivistic social sciences identify as a requirement for high quality research (Aronowitz & Ausch, 2000; Neuman, 2006). Indeed, Trifonas (1995) identifies the increasing number of quantitative studies using experimental, empiricist and numerological methodologies in educational research as an attempt to prove validity in the production of "good" knowledge. However, the subjective nature of individual's experiences of gender emphasises the importance of not reducing such complexities to generalised statements and hypotheses. While the concentration on norms and dominant discourses may be considered deterministic in reproducing the status quo, the individuality and variety in human experiences indicates that interpretation of such norms is not universal. Consequently, the social constructivist perspective is valuable in providing a relative and contextualised version of reality and "truths" for young people in a specific context. The creation of generalised assumptions and knowledge is dangerous, given the potential for stereotypes and assumptions to be made which, over time, can become "taken-for-granted" knowledge.

The theoretical framework underpinning this PhD is one utilising the tools conceptualised by Pierre Bourdieu; principally his concepts of habitus, field, capital and doxa (Bourdieu, 1980, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1990, 1998, 2001). Bourdieu's work aims to overcome the binary classifications which he deemed to exist in social life, including structure/agency;

objective/subjective. Therefore, through overcoming these dualisms, my own attempt to overcome the binaries of male/female and masculinity/femininity are somewhat congruent. The aim of Bourdieu's work is to attempt to change the world through changing how the world is seen (Brubaker, 1993), which strongly links to the social constructivist perspective in which an individual's experience and view of the world influences their representation of the gendered self. In accordance with Adkins (2003), I view gender as cutting across all fields, and thus one's habitus becomes gendered because that gender permeates all experiences. The power of the habitus in recreating social norms (Bourdieu, 1990, 2001; Chambers, 2005), particularly around gender, demonstrates how some versions of gender carry greater capital and value. Bourdieu (1984, p166) highlights that the habitus is both a "structuring structure" which organises the perception of practices, and a "structured structure" which categorises individuals into groups leading to the internalisation¹ of social class divisions and associated tastes. The habitus therefore helps explain how young people organise their social worlds – social groups exist in accordance with different forms of capital and popularity, and young people's understanding of the social world can be shaped by the norms imposed by the habitus. These social class divisions and differences in how the social world is viewed form an important justification for my use of three demographically different schools to explore how class and gender are connected in how young people present their identity. Within this Bourdieusian framework, I will integrate elements of Foucault's (1976, 1977, 1986, 1988, 1990) and Connell's (1987, 1989, 2007; with Messerschmidt, 2005) work, where necessary, to explore how young people engage in practices which reinforce and regulate their gendered habitus. Therefore, Bourdieu's habitus can be considered more of a macro-concept in which more individual behaviours such as surveillance and engagement with emphasised femininity/hegemonic masculinity, represent ways in which

¹ The choice of the word "internalised" throughout this thesis reflects a commitment to Bourdieusian terminology, based on the way in which the habitus is a learned disposition. The contested nature of the phrase "internalisation" may suggest a deterministic reading, yet this is not the interpretation intended, rather referring to a consideration of how young people "take on" meaning through their own histories and experiences, forming a personal belief.

young people may demonstrate and negotiate their gendered identities. The interconnection between these concepts and the Bourdieusian framework will be discussed in Chapter 2.

The fluidity of gender and the ways in which it is discursively produced, justifies the use of a social constructivist framework which considers the voices of individual young people and their experiences. The application of a Bourdieusian framework to gender in young people is less theorised, with many scholars favouring Foucauldian concepts. Through incorporating consideration of the overlapping fields of schooling, sport and (social) media on the construction of gender for young people, the omnipresent nature of the habitus potentially becomes more fitting with the consistency of gender norms for directing practice.

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND THESIS STRUCTURE

Based on my own experiences as an athlete and coach, this thesis is structured around the processes which are required in the lead up to, and performance of, a major sporting event. Each of the five parts of this thesis reflect a stage in a sporting performance, and represents a corresponding stage of research.

Part 1 refers to The Warm Up, and incorporates this chapter – the Introduction. As with a warm up for a sporting event which focuses on preparing the body and mind for the event to come, this Introduction has provided a contextual overview of the wider political and educational environments before summarising the theoretical assumptions which underpin the whole PhD. By providing justification, context and setting for this PhD, the Introduction has “set the scene” and demonstrated the importance of exploring how young people negotiate their sense of a gendered identity. Set in a context where physical activity rates differ for males and females, coupled with the importance of maintaining an active lifestyle for health, unpicking young people’s relationship between gender norms and behavioural practices is important to help overcome often negative experiences of

PESS which may deter young people from pursuing an active lifestyle into adulthood. Within this chapter I have positioned myself in relation to my own experiences, beliefs and assumptions, demonstrating a reflexivity which, in a modest way, will allow transparency of the perspectives from which I write this PhD.

In Part 2, the focus is on the preparation for the sporting event; of which the metaphor is the Team Talk. Within the sporting field, the team talk ensures each player is focused on the requirements of the match, and specifically targets the tactics and strategies to be used. Part 2 includes two chapters: Chapter 2 focuses on the theoretical framework which will guide this PhD; whereas Chapter 3 reviews the literature to identify the gaps where this research will add significance and originality. The theoretical framework describes Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit and applies these concepts to the study of gendered identities with young people. The literature review focuses on reviewing the different fields within which young people negotiate their gender – schooling and (social) media. Chapters 2 and 3 highlight the specific gaps in the literature, paving the way for using Bourdieusian methodological principles to answer my research questions.

Part 3 represents the The Game; the sporting event which is a metaphor for the act of conducting my mixed-methods, multiple case-study research. Chapter 4 considers the Methodology and Methods used during the research and provides an overview of the methodological decisions and choices made to obtain the “richest” data possible. In moving to Part 4, The Post-Match Analysis, these chapters reflect typical discussion chapters which organise and interpret the results of my fieldwork. The Post-Match Analysis is split into six chapters: Chapter 5 explores how young people construct, negotiate and maintain a gendered habitus which is based on concepts of socialisation, historical reproduction of the status quo, and the non-conscious elements of the habitus which pervasively influences practice. Extending the idea of the gendered habitus, Chapter 6 considers how young people are participants in a Game of Gender, following rules of gender to present a socially desirable and valued gendered identity. Within this

chapter I discuss the way in which some young people can manipulate their own gendered identities, using “tactics” to exploit stereotypical representations of gender strategically. As the chapters in Part 4 progress, I narrow my focus to specific Bourdieusian fields: Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the way in which media messages (including my findings from Rio 2016) are interpreted by young people as influencing their own understanding of masculinity and femininity. Chapter 8 addresses the way in which young people develop a sporting relationship with their body; Chapter 9 considers the specific role of schooling and PE in regulating sporting gender norms. Chapter 10 ties the discussion chapters together and demonstrates how young people “live” their identity which requires constant identity maintenance to present an externally validated gendered identity. Sewn within each chapter in Part 4 is the thread of young people being “trapped” in their gendered habitus; this feeling of being “trapped” reflects the pressure many young people face in presenting a gendered identity which aligns with socially constructed norms of masculinity and femininity.

The final part of this PhD is Part 5 – The Press Conference. In keeping with the metaphor, press conferences represent a manager or captain summarising the team’s performance and reflecting on the relative strengths of the match. These sentiments are echoed in Chapter 11, The Conclusion, where I summarise the evidence which answers each of the three research questions, provide suggestions for future research and outline the significance of my research for theory and policy.

PART 2: THE TEAM TALK

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter explains and justifies the theoretical choices which underpin the approach taken to researching young people's negotiation of their gendered identities through sport. Gender is the guiding principle for exploring young people's experiences in this PhD, and this chapter outlines my perspective on what gender is, and reviews existing gender theories and their contribution to this thesis. My theoretical framework centres on the conceptual tools of Pierre Bourdieu, and within this chapter I outline this framework, outlining how elements of Foucault's and Connell's work can integrate into a Bourdieusian approach to explore individual experiences within a gendered habitus. This chapter is structured so that I address the broader theoretical concept of gender before explaining how gender can be used within a Bourdieusian framework. I subsequently discuss the merits and complexities of amalgamating some Foucauldian principles within a Bourdieusian approach, considering the epistemological and ontological inconsistencies between these scholars.

The complexity of the social world emphasises the requirement for an advanced theoretical consideration of the many different elements which contribute to one's gendered identity. Bourdieu's field theory which emphasises the overlapping and hierarchical nature of social fields provides a theoretical position from which the complexity of young people's lives can be explored (Iisahunter et al., 2015; O'Donovan, Sandford, & Kirk, 2015). Therefore, this chapter argues that the use of a Bourdieusian framework is important, concentrating on the powerful nature of the habitus in providing a method of explaining how norms and dispositions become internalised and therefore doxic, taken-for-granted, knowledge (Bourdieu, 1980; Ridgeway, 2009; Skeggs, 2004). The contribution of this chapter centres on the combination of Bourdieu and Foucault in a theoretical compromise to allow for a more accurate and representative explanation of

young people's behaviour through practice (praxis). Callewaert (2006) is critical of the way in which Bourdieu and Foucault differed on some aspects of their work; however, in considering the critiques of both scholars, I argue that through combining the theoretical approaches, this chapter highlights a way to appreciate the nuances of young people's behaviour which includes macro, micro, individual and collective experiences. Importantly, both Bourdieu and Foucault emphasised the flexibility of their ideas and encouraged future researchers to use their ideas, adapt them, and tailor them to their individual needs to explore individual experiences (Markula-Denison & Pringle, 2006; Skeggs, 2004).

GENDER AS AN ORGANISING CONCEPT

Gender strongly influences an individual's life-chances and opportunities (Dillabough, 2004; Hargreaves, 1990). To this extent, Ridgeway (2009, p145) highlights that "gender is a primary cultural frame for coordinating behaviour and organising social relations". Therefore, the significance of gender for young people is demonstrated through their awareness of compulsory sexuality, attractiveness, and how gendered performances correspond with social popularity. This section will briefly outline the key feminist thinkers who I draw upon within my Bourdieusian perspective, before defining gender, exploring the role of the body in the construction of gender, and critiquing Connell's gender order and how this can apply specifically to gender in young people.

GENDER AND FEMINISM

The development of gender theories has been dominated by feminist thought, of which the key writers I draw upon in this thesis include Judith Butler (1988, 1990), Susan Bordo (2003), Sandra Lee Bartky (1997) and Adrienne Rich (1980). Feminist writers have been influential in highlighting the inequalities associated with gender relations, and in exposing the gendered nature of history, culture and society (Bordo, 2003). The key concepts that I incorporate into my Bourdieusian analysis of gender with young people

include the concept of the male gaze (Bartky, 1997, p101), who argues that “women must make themselves an object for the gaze and desire of men”. This gaze emphasises the regulatory role of men in how gender is constructed, and links to the underlying challenge to patriarchy which runs throughout feminist thinking regarding gender relations (Bordo, 1993; Butler, 1990). Linked to the male gaze is the emphasis on compulsory heterosexuality as being critical to men’s control of the female body (Bartky, 1997; Rich, 1980). Butler (1990) used the heterosexual matrix to explain how intelligible bodies are constructed as heterosexual based on binary understandings of male and female. Those who do not conform to these assumptions, are consequently Othered (Bartky, 1997, Butler, 1990), stabilising dominant gender norms as “natural”. Through the “direct grip” that culture has on the body (Bordo, 2003, p16), I argue that these feminist ideas are congruent to the role of the habitus and game of culture which Bourdieu (1984, p4) identifies “there is no way out of”. As I will outline later in this chapter, most feminist and gender scholars utilise Foucauldian concepts, often overlooking Bourdieusian theoretical tools. Through amalgamating both Bourdieu and Foucault’s ideas within my theoretical framework I draw upon key feminist notions under the umbrella of Bourdieu’s habitus.

DEFINITION OF GENDER

As Chapter 1 explored, “[g]ender does not exist outside history and culture” (Brittan, 1989, p1), emphasising the social construction of gender, influenced by culture to reinforce norms, stereotypes and acceptable “versions” of gender. Through creating a binary of masculinity and femininity, gender is reduced to two identities which are non-compatible and reinforces an ideology of difference (Arnot, 2002). The unquestioned reproduction of socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity sustains the discrete and binary categories of man and woman which are assumed to be “natural” (Butler, 1988). I take the work of Arnot (2002) in concluding that gender is not always fixed as being beneficial to see gender as flexible and context dependent for young

people. Therefore, gender requires individual agency to present oneself in the manner which benefits the social situation and personal ambitions. However, as I will discuss later in this chapter, the options for one's gendered identity and presentation are limited by one's habitus and other factors such as class.

Compulsory heterosexuality is a presumed and taken-for-granted characteristic which permeates all levels of gendered identities (Rich, 1980), whereby gender is inextricably linked to one's sexuality (Adams, Anderson, & McCormack, 2010; Butler, 1990).

Dworkin and Wachs (2009, p7) summarise the relationship between gender and sexuality by stating that adherence to the gender order "helps to produce a myth of heterosexuality". Gender is constructed as a binary to preserve the oppositional heterosexual attraction between men and women. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that young people may face social obligations and pressure to present an intelligible heterosexual gendered identity. Gender-crossing behaviours which transgress the traditional heterosexual gender order result in stigmatisation, where "those who fail to do their gender right are regularly punished" (Butler, 1988, p522). However, what is classed as "right" for gender is highly contestable, and indicates the social construction of gender as yielding power in reinforcing taken-for-granted collective knowledge. Theorisation of stigmatisation explains how once a stigma has been attached to an identity or behaviour, the categorisations are taken-for-granted and deemed "natural" (Link & Phelan, 2001). Certain permeations of gender (for instance, an effeminate male or a butch and muscular female) are often stigmatised (Halberstam, 1998; Rich, 1980), and this othering represents a powerful factor in reinforcing socially acceptable behaviour which conforms to heteronormative standards. The labels of masculinity and femininity in themselves are dangerous, as these have been somewhat reified and constructed as "real" characteristics. A negative consequence of the reification of masculinity and femininity is the danger of making generalising statements about gender, whereby *all* males or *all* females should demonstrate similar characteristics, through treating individuals as homogenous groups.

Link and Phelan (2001) outline that groups are created through gross over-simplification, meaning that there is usually variation within groups as well as between groups. This section has outlined my perspective on gender and demonstrates how, by approaching young people's experiences as valued, this research is well placed to explore the intricacies of young people's negotiations of gender. The relational nature of gender, as I will now discuss, further emphasises the importance of researching *both* young men and women to explore gender relations rather than simply the expression of masculinity or femininity.

GENDER AND THE BODY

The body represents a prime area to focus on when considering gender. Gender is embodied (Dillabough, 2004; McCall, 1992; West & Zimmerman, 1987), thus, the body is seen as the "home" of the person (Bordo, 2003, p73). There is a strong relationship between gender and the body. The outward representation of the body is understood as indicative of an individual's gender, and should be visible and intelligible on sight (Halberstam, 1998). This demonstrates the importance of appearance; thus, the body is increasingly seen as the canvas on which gender is portrayed. As these are my two primary fields of analysis, I will specifically review the literature regarding how the gendered body is constructed through education and (social) media in Chapter 3.

The embodied nature of gender emphasises the performative aspect of one's representation of a gendered identity. According to Demetriou (2001) and West and Zimmerman (1987, p126), gender should be considered a verb, to take into account "doing gender" in which the presentation of a gendered self involves a performance. To this extent, Butler (1990, p191) conceptualises gender as a "*stylized repetition of acts*" (original emphasis) which highlights the role that an individual has in performing gender. Furthermore, gender identities are required to be consistent through repetition, and Butler's quote illustrates an awareness of some agency in stylising one's own gender. Butler's work is seminal for considering the performative nature of gender and is useful

for exploring how young people can present their outward gendered identity for external judgement. As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3, research by Becky Francis and colleagues (Francis *et al.*, 2010; Read *et al.*, 2011), has explored the notion of popularity in young people. An important assumption underpinning this PhD is the way in which social status and popularity can influence how young people present their gendered identity. Avoiding public punishment for presenting a “wrong” gender therefore assumes importance for young people, and reinforces behaviours which stabilise gender norms. Furthermore, Williams (2002, p30) suggests that during adolescence, young women “try on” their gender which involves “the process of anticipating, experimenting, retreating, and resisting”. “Trying on” gender supports the concept of gender as a verb, the fluidity of gender, and the perception that gender can be matched to a social situation. Through the “trying on” process, Williams (2002) explains how the young women she interviewed tended to reproduce stereotypical gender appropriate representations of emphasised femininity. This supports the perception of this PhD that individual agency in choosing one’s gendered appearance is possible; however, on some levels, the available choices are constrained through pressure to conform to socially constructed norms. Williams’ (2002) research provides an interesting conceptualisation of the fluidity and individuality of the gendering process in young women; however, it does not consider how males negotiate their identities, and through considering gender relations between young men and women, this PhD is placed to address this unanswered element of young men’s negotiation of gender.

CONNELL’S GENDER ORDER AND HEGEMONY

Connell’s gender order incorporates concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity (Connell 1987, 2007; with Messerschmidt, 2005). The concept of the gender order grew out of the inconsistencies and inaccuracies of sex-role theories, which Connell (1987) critiques as being fundamentally static and undermining the role of power in gender relations. Furthermore, sex role theory ultimately relates back to biological

determinism through a lack of theorisation of structure and agency (Demetriou, 2001). Connell's gender order identifies a hierarchy in which some versions and representations of gender exert more social status and power than others, to the extent that "[t]here is an ordering of versions of femininity and masculinity" (Connell, 1987, p183). The gender order consists of four key gendered identities – hegemonic masculinity, complicit masculinities, subordinate masculinities and femininities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Phoenix & Frosh, 2001). The non-dominant masculinities within the gender order can either be subordinated or marginalised, highlighting the inferior status inscribed on femininity and non-hegemonic masculinities. This is reinforced by Schippers (2007, p87) who highlights that "[w]hen held up against hegemonic masculinity as the ideal, subordinate masculinities serve as the inferior 'Other'". The primary benefit of using Connell's gender order lies in the ability to appreciate the multiplicity of genders and how, in different situations, the dominant version of masculinity may vary. I will now identify the key characteristics and consequences of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity before critiquing the concept and ascertaining each concept's relevance for this research.

Hegemonic masculinity embodies "the currently most honoured way of being a man" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p832), whereby those who can embody the hegemonic version of masculinity demonstrate "social ascendancy achieved in a play of social forces" (Connell, 1987, p184). The importance of the concept of hegemonic masculinity for my PhD is indicated by the relationship between social norms and the dominant definitions of masculinity, coupled with media messages which reinforce notions of hegemonic masculinity. Characteristics of hegemonic masculinity historically include muscularity, strength, aggression and sporting prowess (Bird, 1996; Coles, 2009). Despite hegemonic masculinity representing the pinnacle of the gender order, very few men embody these characteristics (Brittan, 1989; Connell, 2007; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The allure of hegemonic masculinity lies in societal pressure which encourages

men to aspire to reproduce these characteristics. To this extent, I agree with the critique by Demetriou (2001) who states that hegemonic masculinity is a radical social construction – largely idealistic and unachievable, yet works in a myth-like manner through the presumption that all men benefit from hegemonic masculinity.

Furthermore, implicit in the development of hegemonic masculinity is the fear of the feminine and, by extension, the homosexual. Connell (1987) identifies that homosexuality is regularly subordinated within the gender order, and through homosexuality, a dualism has been created between hegemonic and non-hegemonic masculinities which reflect effeminacy and homosexuality (Demetriou, 2001). To this extent, Donaldson (1993, p645) emphasises that “[h]eterosexuality and homophobia are the bedrock of hegemonic masculinity”. This demonstrates the appropriateness of the gender order to relate to the relationship between gender and sexuality, showing that in dominant constructions of gender, heterosexuality is presumed. The subordination of homosexual characteristics is emphasised by Bourdieu (2001, p84), for whom the “worst humiliation for a man is to be turned into a woman”. There is, however, some research which suggests homosexuality may be becoming less stigmatized, and masculinity may be softening (McCormack & Anderson, 2010; McCormack, Wignall, & Morris, 2016). Despite this, the power of hegemonic masculinity and associated compulsory heterosexuality which permeates mediated representations of the “ideal” body contribute to the conditioning of how young people understand their gendered identities through a heteronormative prism.

In addressing the critique of hegemonic masculinity, Connell & Messerschmidt’s (2005) revised concept attempted to overcome the inconsistencies and simplicity of the initial model. In their review, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) addressed the staticness of hegemonic masculinity, and aimed to overcome the generalised statements about gender which typically conflated hegemonic masculinity with males. Within the gender order, by creating dualisms and binary concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised

femininity, the ideology of difference between men and women is maintained, ignoring how men can demonstrate femininity and females' masculinity. However, despite the potential to reduce the gender order to binary thinking, hegemonic masculinity is useful to my theoretical framework through emphasising the power of desired characteristics of gender that most men attempt to emulate. The intersectionality of gender, in which gender cannot be extricated from concepts of class or race (Crenshaw, 1989; Hargreaves, 1990), is often overlooked in how hegemonic masculinity is defined. The complexity of the intersection of masculinity and class is evident, for example, in one's approach to academic and school work (Connell, 1989; Francis, 2009; Phoenix & Frosh, 2001), or in the type of sporting prowess valued (Bourdieu, 1978; Laberge & Albert, 1999).

Furthermore, the concept of hegemony emphasises the potential for social change (Demetriou, 2001). Change in social norms regarding valorised characteristics associated with masculinity are likely to affect the current conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2007). Connell's gender order has been utilised and applied across multiple research fields, including sport (Krane, 2001; Mennesson, 2012), education (Connell, 1989; Phoenix & Frosh, 2001), and in PE (Bramham, 2003; Light & Kirk, 2000), indicating the value of considering the relevance of a hierarchy of genders for young people within this PhD. Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) rethinking of hegemonic masculinity emphasises that the hierarchies of gender can be viewed as pluralities, demonstrating the potential for agential choice for young people in the negotiation of their gendered identities. As I will highlight in the following section, Connell's gender order aligns with Bourdieu's work in terms of gendered capital which gains ascendancy through a gendered habitus.

Connell (1987; with Messerschmidt, 2005) not only theorised masculinity, but importantly, conceptualised how femininity fits into the gender order through a relational, and inferior, position to masculinity. The initial conceptualisation of emphasised femininity involved a compliance with the subordination of women and an orientation to

accommodate the interests and desires of men (Connell, 1987). This exemplifies how emphasised femininity is constructed for male attraction, protecting heterosexuality within the gender order. A sexual double standard exists, in which women are expected to present their gendered appearance for the benefit of male heterosexual attraction within a single heterosexual relationship. This is not reciprocated in the behaviours of males who are glorified and celebrated for sexual achievements without being tied down in monogamous relationships (Frazer, 1989; Girlguiding, 2016; Hollway, 1996; McCall, 1992). Therefore, to present an intelligible feminine identity, many young women emphasise feminine elements of their appearance through hair, makeup, jewellery (Bartky, 1997; Bordo, 2003; Musto & McGann, 2016). Emphasised femininity concentrates on the physical appearance of the body, reiterating a Cartesian dualism in which it is assumed that women are defined by their appearance rather than their mind, positioning the mind as male (Bordo, 2003; Descartes, 1968). In popular culture this can be seen by the WAG (wives and girlfriends) phenomenon (Black & Sharma, 2001; Bullen, 2014), whereby some women strive to attract a famous and powerful male partner as a reward for their hyper-feminised appearance. These behaviours glorify heterosexual relationships and further stabilises the heteronormative assumptions of gender relations. Within socially constructed definitions of emphasised femininity, sporting excellence and associated physicality is often viewed as antithetical, leading to cases where “sporty” females have their sexuality questioned through labels of “butch” or “lesbian” (Bordo, 2003; Caudwell, 2003; Gorely et al., 2003; Halberstam, 1998).

The gender binary predicates that emphasised femininity is a female phenomenon, and it is often assumed that emphasised femininity functions as a form of hegemonic femininity (Schippers, 2007). The positioning of the concept as emphasised femininity rather than hegemonic femininity is discussed by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p848) for whom hegemonic femininity was “soon renamed ‘emphasised femininity’ to acknowledge the asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal

gender order”. To afford femininity power is dangerous and, arguably ignores the struggle for increased visibility and opportunities which the different waves of feminism have sought. This section has outlined my choice of using Connell’s gender order as a basis for how I will be conceptualising gender within this PhD. The binary on which the gender order reproduces expected and valued behaviours of men and women, is problematic for overcoming historical inequalities between men’s and women’s lived experiences. However, the development of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity as concepts through which people understand characteristics which are valued behaviours and identities for men and women, links to using a Bourdieusian framework through which taken-for-granted norms operate through the habitus.

PIERRE BOURDIEU

The work of Pierre Bourdieu, across a variety of academic fields has been influential in exploring the intricacies of the lived social world. Bourdieu mainly considered the role of social class as a fundamental tool of differentiation, explaining how class differences influence how one exists, and therefore views the world (Brubaker, 1985). Bourdieu viewed that class underpins all social distinctions, and thus, is an important factor in exploring how young people from different social backgrounds (linked to their schools within this research) negotiate their gender. However, importantly Bourdieu emphasised that he saw his concepts as fluid and adaptable to different situations and in combination with other theorists (Skeggs, 2004). Whilst Bourdieu himself only limitedly wrote about gender, and from an androcentric position in *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu, 2001), his concepts have increasingly been taken and applied to the study of gender (e.g. Adkins, 2003; Chambers, 2005; Kraus, 1993; McNay, 1999), and exploring gender in specific fields including education (Harker, 1984; Ingram, 2011; Reay, 2004), PE (Hay & Macdonald, 2010; O’Donovan et al., 2015; Redelius, Fagrell, & Larsson, 2009), and sport (Brown, 2006; Pringle, 2015; Tomlinson, 2004). Therefore, the developing body of research which uses Bourdieu’s conceptual tools to explore gender and sport,

demonstrates the resurgence of value in using the concepts of habitus, field, capital, symbolic violence and doxa in exploring the lived experiences of young people in this PhD. Within this section I will outline Bourdieu's main theoretical concepts before demonstrating how these can be applied to gender and education. It is impossible in this chapter to summarise all of Bourdieu's work; Lisahunter et al.'s (2015) introduction provides a succinct overview; however, in this section I will highlight the elements most relevant to my PhD.

HABITUS, FIELD AND CAPITAL

According to Bourdieu, the social world consists of habitus, field and capital, representing three components which are inextricably linked and realised through practice. The relationship with practice is summarised by Dumais (2002, p46) for whom "one's practices or actions are the result of one's habitus and capital within a given field". In *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984, p101), the relationship between these three elements is explained by an equation:

$$[(\textit{habitus}) \times (\textit{capital})] + \textit{field} = \textit{practice}$$

Lau (2004) has argued that the habitus represents a methodological tool for looking at the world. The combination of habitus, field and capital as a practical concept is beneficial for exploring the practical nature of "doing" gender, whereby each of the habitus, field and capital interact to influence the performance of gender.

It would be impossible in the constraints of this chapter to discuss all elements of the concepts of habitus, field and capital; therefore, I will briefly outline and define the concepts before demonstrating how elements of Bourdieu's theory of the social world interrelates with the premise and purpose of my research. Firstly, the habitus reflects "systems of durable, transposable dispositions...principles which generate and organise practices" (Bourdieu, 1990, p53), developed through socialisation processes so that a specific habitus is "acquired" and learned (Bourdieu, 1990, p290). The learned habitus is

strongly linked to education which I will discuss later in this chapter. The habitus operates at both a conscious and non-conscious level whereby the “habitus has the function of overcoming the alternative between consciousness and the unconscious” (Wacquant, 1989, p42). This consideration of dispositions working at a conscious and non-conscious level, demonstrates the strength of the habitus in dictating behaviour, whereby social norms and beliefs hold greater power through being followed without conscious deliberation.

Through the habitus, one is pre-dispositioned to choose from potential practical and behavioural options – however; importantly, Bourdieu emphasises that these choices are not the same for everyone: one’s history, previous experiences, and class-based position influences the options available. The concept of habitus provides a useful tool for exploring the role of agency in individual practice: the habitus allows choice, but only within a “set” of options available within one’s classed, and gendered, habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990; Tomlinson, 2004; Weininger, 2005). A central premise for this PhD is that through the habitus, individual agency in how one presents their gendered identity is limited and restricted by social norms and gendered expectations which dictate “appropriate” representations of the gendered habitus. Therefore, the habitus is an important methodological and theoretical tool for viewing how dominant perceptions of legitimate versions of masculinity and femininity interact, on both an individual and collective level to influence practice.

Through the habitus, cultural knowledge can become doxic, representing taken-for-granted beliefs which are left unchallenged. As lisahunter et al. (2015, p7) argue, “enduring cultural values, beliefs, dispositions and actions are both embodied in the individual and embedded in the social structures that constitute a way of being and behaving”, demonstrating how cultural values of masculinity and femininity can become familiar and taken-for-granted. This familiar and unquestioned understanding of masculinity and femininity can become doxic, functioning as common sense beliefs

misrecognised as a universal point of view (Bourdieu, 1998). To this extent, Bourdieu (1968, p689) argues that “social relations...appear to individuals as natural”. The development of doxic knowledge regarding gender norms works in alignment with Connell’s gender order which highlights the historical reproduction of gender which is relevant to exploring how young people understand and negotiate their gendered identities.

Fields represent specific arenas within the social world which are characterised by their own rules. Individuals within each field are aware of these rules and participate in the game (Bourdieu, 1985; Huppatz, 2012a). Importantly, each field is characterised “as the site of a more or less overt struggle over the definition of the legitimate principles of division in the field” (Bourdieu, 1985, p34), meaning the value of legitimacy varies between fields based on the specific rules and principles defining each field. The specific fields which I consider in this PhD include schooling (through both formal and informal education), sport and (social) media. As Dagkas and Quarmby (2015) highlight, fields can overlap, and within this PhD this can be clearly seen through the provision of PE; which straddles the fields of schooling and sport. All fields have their own understanding of legitimacy, and all individuals who enter a field become accustomed to definitions of dominance and act in accordance with these rules. Linked to the concept of the field is Bourdieu’s *illusio* which “is the fact of being caught up in and by the game” (Bourdieu, 1998, p76), whereby the games played within a field are important to an individual because they matter for the achievement of legitimacy, and therefore, capital. Each field, characterised by its own specific rules, demonstrates there is variability between the fields, meaning that “[t]he same practices may receive opposite meanings and values in different fields” (Bourdieu, 1984, p87). Linking this to gender, this emphasises the multiplicity of genders which can operate in different situations, whereby certain forms of femininity or masculinity will be celebrated, for instance, in a sporting environment, but may be vilified within other social environments, including in the family or school.

Bourdieu outlined four types of capital as regulating one's position in a social field. Thus, "[c]apital – economic, social, cultural and symbolic – denotes the different goods, resources and values around which power relations in a particular field crystallise" (McNay, 1999, p106). The value of capital differs between fields, and although capital has value in all fields, this varies in amount and importance (Huppertz, 2012b). Bourdieu's (1985) original conception of capital as being distributed in accordance with class, and age, indicates the importance of studying young people in this PhD as a separate group to adults. The importance of the four types of capital lies in their pervasiveness across all elements of society, of which symbolic capital arguably represents an important factor in the legitimisation of taken-for-granted gender norms. Mottier (2002) explains how symbolic capital occurs when economic, cultural and social capital are perceived as legitimate. Therefore, through this PhD, the legitimisation of gender norms acts through symbolic capital to control the position of the legitimate cultural arbitrary as dominant in society.

BOURDIEU AND GENDER

Bourdieu considered gender as a secondary organising principle of society, and therefore gender did not feature heavily in his writings. However, his most commonly quoted reference to gender and sexuality emphasises the appropriateness of considering Bourdieu in the study of masculinities and femininities: "[s]exual properties are as inseparable from class properties as the yellowness of a lemon from its acidity... This is why there are as many ways of realising femininity as there are classes and class fractions" (Bourdieu, 1984, p102). Importantly, this quote emphasises the fundamental concept that gender can be multiple, as evidenced through different "ways of realising femininity" (ibid.). Reay (2004, p436) outlines how the habitus can be coordinated to conceptualise gender, through the habitus representing a "method for analysing the dominance of dominant groups in society and the domination of subordinate groups". The historical subordination of women and the hegemonic position of males which represents the paradigmatic form

of symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), suggests that Bourdieu's work can (and should) be applied to gender. In considering how a Bourdieusian approach can apply to gender I will explore the (often) non-conscious nature of the habitus, the embodied habitus, and the role of gender/physical capital.

The non-conscious and pre-reflexive characteristics of the habitus help explain the development of gender as a "natural" phenomenon which is largely taken-for-granted through an ideology of difference between masculinity and femininity (Arnot, 2002; Schippers, 2007). Through considering gender as a social relation, Bourdieu (1968, p689) states that "social relations and institutions...appear to individuals as natural". The non-conscious elements of the habitus make gender stereotypes which legitimise heteronormative representations of masculinity and femininity powerful through their appearance as "natural". For example, as a young tennis player, I went onto court always making sure I looked "acceptable", concentrating on features of my appearance including earrings, hair, type of tennis skirts (which are akin to feminine practices [Bordo, 2003]) – at the time I did not think about this or what it meant, it seemed the "natural" thing to do. The naturalness of the presentation of the gendered habitus is emphasised by McNay (1999, p103) for whom "men and women have deep-seated, often unconscious investments in conventional images of masculinity and femininity which cannot easily be reshaped", demonstrating the role that the habitus plays in ensuring consistency in masculinity and femininity (Huppatz, 2012b). These "deep-seated" representations of masculinity and femininity align with concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity, illustrating the appropriateness of combining Connell's gender order within a Bourdieusian framework.

The naturalness of legitimate gender links to the concept of the embodied habitus; Bourdieu (1990) emphasises that the body is fundamental to the habitus. The body, as a vehicle for one's gender, demonstrates the connection between gender and habitus, for both are expressed through the body (Gao, 2015). The embodied habitus is crucial for

exploring the relationship between the body and the mind by overcoming the traditional Cartesian dualism which positions the body as inferior to the mind. Lawler (2004) suggests that habitus can cut across the conventional mind/body split by incorporating physical embodied aspects (movement, posture, dress, appearance) with cognitive processes (dispositions, attitudes, tastes). Through a gendered habitus (Chambers, 2005), each field offers choices and dispositions in relation to one's gendered identity, emphasising the fluidity and variability of genders in relation to different social situations. If one's gendered habitus is embodied in different fields, this allows a consideration of the way individual choices may vary depending on other social factors (including class or race) in any given situation. One's social position is therefore translated into a set of choices, through which the habitus determines which actions are considered acceptable or vulgar (Bourdieu, 1998). Linking Bourdieu's gendered habitus to Connell's (1987) concept of the gender order, there is a hierarchy of gendered representations which are given legitimacy through the allocation of capital in each field. As previously outlined, each field has a struggle for legitimacy and capital, thus within each field a certain form of masculinity or femininity will be desirable or advantageous (Lawler, 2004). Despite failing to fully theorise gender, Bourdieu did identify women as primarily accumulating capital for the benefit of men rather than having capital for their own advancement (Huppertz, 2012b). This demonstrates unequal gender power relations, and signifies that capital available for females is socially worth less than that of males. Gender and capital therefore exists within a hierarchical power relationship.

In terms of capital, one's relationship with one's body appears crucial. Two adaptations to Bourdieu's concept of capital bear weight for the study of gender. Bridges (2009, p84) considers "gender capital" as a combination of cultural capital and hegemonic masculinity, as "the value afforded contextually relevant presentations of gendered selves". Importantly, Bridges highlights that individuals might not appreciate the gendered implications of their bodies, but the politics of gender still exist. This reflects

elements of the non-conscious habitus which works through practice to demonstrate how socially constructed norms influence behaviour. Through gender capital, overlap and/or difference is permitted between men and women, but a hierarchical relationship remains between masculinities and femininities. A key consideration in the conceptualisation of gender capital is the need to develop a vocabulary of gender without having to call it masculine or feminine, demonstrating the potential danger of these labels in producing gendered behaviour based on stereotypes which equate gender with sex. In addition, Shilling (1991) developed “physical capital” in which the body represents a specific form of capital, through an interrelationship between social location, habitus and taste. The body has an increased value in consumer culture (Featherstone, 1982), evidenced in sport through sponsorship and advertising contracts for the most marketable bodies (e.g. David Beckham or Maria Sharapova). Those who can exploit their bodily appearance and sporting performance are able to achieve greater success through accruing different forms of capital, thus physical capital as a “concept is viable not only because it illuminates the increasing centrality of the body to consumer culture, but because of the body’s importance to the production and accumulation of *any* form of capital” (Shilling, 2004, p479; original emphasis). The commodification of the body has been typically seen as a female phenomenon, with the sexualisation and objectification of females in both sport and popular culture (Bruce, 2016; Bullen, 2014). However, the male body is also becoming more commodified (Dworkin & Wachs, 2009), and exploring how young men understand their own gendered identities and relationship with their body represents an important area to research. Therefore, physical and gender capital legitimise “successful” bodies through affording status to those bodies which can accrue such capital. This demonstrates how a doxic understanding of the socially “correct” body can be created through social practices and institutions (such as the mass media) to infiltrate individual perceptions of gender.

BOURDIEU AND EDUCATION

While Bourdieu rarely theorised about gender, education and schooling are more prevalent in his work. Principally, the school is identified as an institution which “is itself an objectified system of classification reproducing the hierarchies of the social world in a transformed form” (Bourdieu, 1984, p388). Through institutionalised practices, individuals learn their social positioning in relation to their status- and class-based dispositions, thus the school “perpetuates and consecrates a cultural privilege” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p127). To this extent, the use of three demographically different schools in this PhD provides an opportunity to explore how the field of schooling promotes and reproduces classed differences in how young people understand their gender. In this section I will relate Bourdieusian principles to education, considering the role of gender-appropriate choices, the relationship between class, gender and education, and the role of the hidden curriculum in promoting wider ideologies surrounding the body and gender.

Within the gendered habitus, gendered norms are reproduced and rewarded through the allocation of capital; and this occurs through practices and behaviours within the education system. Whilst linguistically, I argue that the concept of “gender-appropriate” reduces gender to sex, whereby feminine-appropriate activities are reserved for females, these norms are a powerful indicator of acceptable behaviour for young people. The school, as an institution which teaches and instils common knowledge, functions as a form of secondary socialisation behind the family (Bourdieu, 1990). To this extent, the habitus reflects that of the dominant group. Within the education system which is based on middle-class views of attainment, social groups who share this habitus are more likely to succeed (Harker, 1984). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) view the educational system as being implicit in the production of a *de facto* hierarchy of subjects, which I argue have been demarcated along Cartesian lines: subjects typically identified as academic, cognitive and “hard” are masculine, whereas the easier, more creative subjects are

constructed as feminine. The creation of gender-appropriate subjects reinforce and reproduce stereotypes which promote an ideology of difference (Arnot, 2002). By considering the role of class in education, wider social experiences influence one's school experience. Messner's (1989) work identifies that the middle class has a more aesthetic relationship to their bodies compared to the instrumental relationship of the working classes. Therefore, in applying this to educational reproduction, this is indicative of the wider educational discourse in which vocational (and practical) subjects which primarily use the body are encouraged for working-class students, whereas academia and further classroom-based study is promoted for more middle-class individuals who meet the dominant cultural arbitrary reinforced through the schooling habitus.

The hidden curriculum represents the elements of a student's education that are not explicitly taught, but are developed through the process of simply "being" in a school. I will further critique the hidden curriculum in educational research in Chapter 3. Apple (1995) highlights the role of the hidden curriculum which teaches important norms and values of the wider society. Linking to my Bourdieusian framework, the hidden curriculum permeates the habitus to reproduce socially constructed gender norms, beliefs and tendencies, which young people (often non-consciously) embody in practice. The power of the hidden curriculum is insinuated by Bourdieu (1984, p18), for whom the school "succeeds in imposing cultural practices that it does not teach and does not even explicitly demand". Furthermore, social power relationships, such as many positions of power in schools being held by men, reinforces versions of patriarchy and assumes that males have a dominant position in society (Bourdieu, 1988). These social power relationships, while potentially not a conscious decision by the school, function as strong socialisation processes which educate on the "natural" relationships between men and women. As Skeggs (2004, p22) writes, "masculine power, institutionalised in the school as a form of symbolic capital...represents accumulated privilege in other fields", demonstrating how the ethos of the school reproduced in the hidden curriculum cannot be

overlooked as an important factor in how young people may leave education with a set of values which reflect the dominant group's view.

OVERCOMING CRITIQUE OF BOURDIEU'S WORK

Despite the contribution that Bourdieu's work has provided to the theorisation and methodological exploration of social life, he has faced strong criticism. In this section I consider how critiques of determinism, reproduction and androcentricism may influence how I intend to use Bourdieu's concepts to explore gender in young people. Through criticism of determinism, Bourdieu's concept of habitus has faced most objection, including that "[s]tructures produce the habitus, which generates practice, which reproduces the structures, and so on" (Jenkins, 1982, p273). The determinist critique of the habitus undermines the role of agency and individual choice in influencing practice. However, whilst there are elements of determinism in the habitus, this is not unworkable, and the habitus can rather be considered as "*generative rather than determining*" (Brown, 2006, p164, original emphasis). Furthermore, through the metaphorical consideration of fields as games, Kraus (2006) suggests that this conceptualisation allows for a consideration of spontaneity and flexibility. The habitus consists of available dispositions, which are multiple, thus indicating some choice between the available dispositions – if an individual has a choice, this cannot be wholly deterministic.

Bourdieu's theory of practice has also faced criticism for an inability to explain and theorise social change. Instead, a criticism of reproduction has been levied, specifically towards gender, and McLeod (2005, p12) highlights that the "field/habitus relation tends towards reproductionist versions of gender socialisation". However, rather than viewing the reproductive nature of the habitus as a criticism, I view the reproductive nature of Bourdieu's social theory as accurately reflecting society. Historically, feminists have fought for women to achieve equal voting rights, greater opportunities in sporting events, and are more recently campaigning for equal pay. These examples, demonstrate that society has been historically reproductive of gender inequalities. Crossley (2001)

highlights that under the concept of the habitus, major social change is often extremely slow, and the cultural arbitrary can be challenged through individual action which cumulatively becomes a collective movement. Therefore, I view the critique of Bourdieu's social theory as reproductive as an accurate reflection of the history of gender relations, rather than detrimental to its use in my research.

Specifically, in relation to gender, Bourdieu's work has been criticised for presenting an androcentric representation of society (Huppatz, 2012b). *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu, 2001) was written as a stand-alone work which considered gender and sexuality, considering gender through the lens of the Kabyle woman and Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, which excluded the experiences of modern women in Westernised societies (Krais, 2006). I support this criticism of Bourdieu's work; however, also appreciate how a historical consideration of society typically demonstrates an androcentric reality – men have generally held power and authority, thus historical accounts have been written from a male perspective. Therefore, whilst this androcentric account is flawed and undermines the achievements of females, it is not an inaccurate representation of how (some) men have benefitted from patriarchal dominance. Yet despite this, Bourdieu is aware of the intricacies of gendered identities, whereby masculine domination is a “double-edged privilege” (Bourdieu, 2001, p75) and men can also be held prisoner to gendered norms and expectations. This is therefore consistent with my conceptualisation of gender as having negative consequences for both men and women. Furthermore, the androcentric nature of Bourdieu's work seemingly falls guilty of collapsing gender into sex: Bourdieu writes: “[t]he masculinisation of the male body and the feminisation of the female body...” (1990, p55). Therefore, it is important to ensure that biological essentialism does not over-simplify gender to a set of binary dualisms which are constructed in opposition to each other. My main objection to the exploration of gender in *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu, 2001) relates to the title – in particular, the “Masculine”. The consideration of the dominance of men in society as

conceptualised in the title as *Masculine Domination* further reiterates the conflation of sex and gender which is problematic. Taken literally, this title suggests that individuals possessing masculinity are in a position of dominance; implying that anyone demonstrating masculinity can hold power, yet this is not the case and historically power has been held almost exclusively by males as a sex regardless of their presentation of gender. I agree with the critique highlighting the androcentric focus permeating Bourdieu's work; however, my aim is to use the work of Bourdieu to emphasise how one's gendered habitus is influenced by previous experience, which allows consideration of gender relations as influencing the doxic taken-for-granted knowledge of the gendered habitus.

MICHEL FOUCAULT

Michel Foucault, a French philosopher, wrote extensively about the history of society and how this impacts on the present through an incisive understanding of the past (Andrews, 2010). The importance of Foucault's work centres on his consideration of the role of the body and disciplinary practices in allowing an individual to shape and create their body through action. A Foucauldian analysis, in addition to the work of Bourdieu, is useful for "considering the tensions and ambiguities expressed in identities and subjectivity within the broader context of social relations and political and economic power structures" (Fisher & Dennehy, 2015, p997). Foucault's theorisation is based on the relationship between discourse and power. The omnipresence of power and its infiltration at all levels of social life exerts its influence through discourse, which Foucault views as being embodied in the ways that individuals think, act, and make decisions (Azzarito, 2009). Importantly, for considering how Foucault's work relates to the concept of gender and Bourdieu's work, the omnipresent power identified by Foucault indicates the hierarchy of power which is evident in society – "the fact that power is not held by any *one* does not mean that it is held equally by *all*" (Bordo, 2003, p262, original emphasis). This idea is highly relevant to the gender order and hierarchical structure of gender through which not

all men benefit from masculinity, in the same way not *all* women are subordinated.

Within this section I will outline the key concepts of the Technologies of the Self (and domination), and surveillance via the Panopticon, before outlining how Foucault's work can be incorporated into my Bourdieusian framework and discussing common critiques of his work.

TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF

Technologies of the Self (ToS) are the use of practices by individuals to “transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality” (Foucault, 1988, p25). Therefore, ToS represent individual practices which are used to transform the body. Practices of ToS exist in a precarious position, whereby the same “positive” practices can easily become technologies of domination (ToD), leading to negative relationships with the body. Within the gender order which prioritises attractiveness and heteronormativity, “physical perfection is increasingly being demanded of men as well as women” (Bordo, 2003, p108). Thus, the increased commodification and reward for attractive masculine or feminine bodies may mean that practices usually associated with ToS can become ToD where one's body becomes docile and dominated (Foucault, 1977, 1990; Rail & Harvey, 2010).

The most common forms of ToS in relation to the body include regimens of diet and exercise, coupled with beautifying methods such as makeup or clothing (Foucault, 1990). Through ToS, individuals aim to achieve self-transformation which, I suggest in this thesis, is in alignment with the socially constructed norms of a legitimate gendered body (one which resultantly is rewarded with social capital corresponding popularity). This demonstrates how Foucault's technologies links to Bourdieusian concepts and the role that the legitimate gendered body, developed through social and physical capital (Shilling, 1991), has in creating the dominant cultural arbitrary. Markula (2004), using Foucauldian concepts, highlights that the body is viewed as a piece of art to be transformed and worked on, which suggests that there are opportunities for young people

to demonstrate agency in their choice of practices used to transform their gendered identity. Regimes of ToS (dieting, exercise, hair, clothing and makeup; Bartky, 1997), are most commonly applicable to females, demonstrating the extent to which Foucault's work has been utilised by feminists to indicate the struggles of women. However, with the increasing commodification of the male body, the use of ToS may prove increasingly important to explore with young men. ToS have been theoretically applied to the study of sport, whereby sport and exercise can be regarded as a disciplinary practice which uses techniques of power to produce compliant and docile bodies which conform to societal expectations (Chase, 2010; Pringle & Markula, 2005). However, in drawing a distinction between sport, exercise and PE, the nuanced differences between these activities could suggest that exercise represents a greater potential to act as ToS/ToD through the aesthetic principles attached to sculpting and toning the body for no other purpose than to look socially desirable. The competitive nature of sport, on the other hand, may reflect a more instrumental relationship with the body to achieve success, potentially reducing the negative relationship between the aesthetic appearance and ToD.

The alignment between the ideal male and female body, which follow gendered norms, and the types of methods used to achieve the desired "look", dictates the type of practice one participates in. Markula-Denison and Pringle (2006, p140) explain how ToS relate to an individual creating oneself within the "truth games of sexuality", which I argue demonstrates the power of socially constructed gendered "truths" about the body in encouraging conformation. Furthermore, the consideration of alignment between ToS as method and its outcome is supportive of the habitus, whereby there are gender-appropriate behaviours and norms which dictate individual action. An example of this would be, when I was teaching, seeing the reluctance of female student athletes to engage in strength and conditioning sessions as part of their hockey and netball training for fear that this would generate muscles incompatible with their conceptions of what constitutes an acceptable and legitimate female body.

A consequence of ToS for individuals is the potential development of an unhealthy relationship with the body. Social media and popular beliefs demonstrate the importance of a “beach body”, achieved through rigorous “regimes” to conform to attractiveness (Jordan, 2007). In utilising Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity which is often unachievable for most men (and the same for emphasised femininity) (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), engaging in regimes (as ToS) can promote an unhealthy relationship with the body through striving for a perfect appearance. Foucault himself warns against “‘valetudinary excess’...the constant vigilance that one applied to one’s body” (Foucault, 1990, p104), whereby an unnatural scrutiny of one’s appearance can have negative consequences. The constant consideration and scrutiny attached to one’s bodily appearance is connected to the increasing rise of young people with eating disorders, as they seek perfection and control to manage society’s high expectations of social success (Bordo, 2003; Ghaznavi & Taylor, 2015; Monaghan, 1999; Rich & Evans, 2009). This demonstrates how Foucault’s Technologies illustrate instances where individuals can become docile and disciplined. Foucault (1982) suggests that individuals must be faced with different possibilities of behaving; however, once the action becomes a ToD, their control over their actions reduces, through becoming a dominated and docile body. Within Bourdieu’s habitus, there are limited choices and possible practices, and with few forms of “acceptable” gendered bodies, socially encouraged practices which align with ToS and bodily regimes emphasise how young people may face pressure to strive to meet dominant expectations of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity. This indicates how Foucault’s concepts can be used within a Bourdieusian framework, whereby the gendered habitus and expectations of appropriate behaviours and appearance become so tightly ingrained so that “truths” are internalised, leading to a loss of agency and individualism.

SURVEILLANCE VIA THE PANOPTICON

Foucault's (1977) concept of the Panopticon is based on Jeremy Bentham's 19th Century prison reform, where the Panopticon "makes it possible to see constantly and recognise immediately" through "visible and unverifiable" power (p201). Through the Panopticon, every individual is the subject of observation and judgement, which leads to self-regulation to avoid negative consequences of failing to meet socially required appearance or behaviours. Surveillance through the Panopticon is an element of Foucault's theorisation of society which has been extensively applied to the regulation of the gendered body where "individuals police and discipline themselves to achieve or maintain a specific shape, size and muscularity to perform ideals of masculinity and/or femininity" (Azzarito, 2009, p21). To this extent, the use of Panopticon in discussing individual regulation of gender is relevant on both individual levels and in specific fields such as schooling.

Surveillance of the body can lead to regulation in line with expectations of "appropriate" gendered bodies. As a result, self-surveillance occurs when individuals "position themselves around a norm and subsequently monitor and order their own behaviour accordingly" (Fisher & Dennehy, 2015, p997). A key idea within this PhD is that young people regulate their own appearance in relation to gender norms to "fit in", avoiding being "othered" for their appearance. The power of social norms is crucial for the success of a Panoptic society; the branding of abnormal is a central concept to surveillance (Foucault, 1977). Rasmussen (2009) identified that public toilets can be sites where bodies are policed through definitions of heteronormative gender identity, and more recently O'Donovan et al. (2015) applied concepts of surveillance within a Bourdieusian framework to consider how changing rooms reproduce gender norms. These experiences in PE can be detrimental to an individual's sense of self-esteem and confidence in their embodied gendered identity which can have negative consequences for how they relate to the physicality of their body.

Importantly in relation to Connell's gender order, the panopticon functions in line with compulsory heterosexuality, so the "'female' must not become unnaturally male" (Foucault, 1986, p214) and sexuality is placed in a binary system of permitted and forbidden (Foucault, 1976). Consequently, this adds details to how the gender order is regulated in a practical manner, where gender norms are realised through the habitus via behaviours which operate to observe and evaluate other's representation of their gendered identities. Through the Panopticon, the body can be linked to popularity, where those with power (for young people, those with social capital and therefore popularity; Read et al., 2011) act so that the body is "manipulated by authority" (Foucault, 1977, p155). This highlights the impressionability of a young person in relation to their body – sources of authority are multi-faceted and can include one's family, friends, peers, media messages, educational messages (as dictated by the formal and hidden curricula). This combination of the idea of omnipresent power within a gendered habitus which operates across many different fields, demonstrates that the struggle for legitimacy in each field can create a hierarchy of power which is dictated by, and can also dictate, the value of capital. Therefore, it is important to consider the different fields (of struggle for power) which impact on how young people understand their gendered identity through dominant discourse.

The Panopticon works through the few observing the many, as suggested through panoptic organisations such as schools or prisons. In contrast, Mathiesen (1997) and Simon (2002) have taken the concept of the Panopticon and adapted it to become Synopticon, where the many observe the few. Within this PhD, this configuration of surveillance is important for considering the field of social media where individuals view, and often chastise, other profiles based on their appearance. To this extent, Simon (2002, p10) explains how "the synoptic function of the media is to produce a more or less homogenous knowledge and culture". This notion taps into the premise of the habitus in

creating sets of dispositions which function as known facts and taken-for-granted assumptions about society.

This section has demonstrated elements of Foucault's work which are relevant, and represent ideas which I seek to utilise within this PhD. Where necessary I have highlighted similarities and strengths associated with combining Bourdieu's and Foucault's work, and the following section will further elaborate on the complexities required when explaining my theoretical framework.

INTEGRATING FOUCAULT INTO A BOURDIEUSIAN FRAMEWORK

In contrast to the work of Bourdieu, Foucault's theoretical concepts have been widely applied to the study of gender, sexuality and sport (Azzarito, 2009; Bartky, 1997; Bridel & Rail, 2007; Markula-Denison & Pringle, 2006; Markula, 2003). In this section I will explore how both writers have been applied to gender, how they consider "facts" and "truths", before considering the implications of common critiques of Foucault. I view gender as unstable, dynamic and fluid, and thus Foucault's theory of subjectification "allows for understanding the constitution of contradictory and unstable subjectivities" (Pringle, 2005, p269). This perspective of gender allows an exploration of the contradictions inherent in the unattainable expectations of gender norms. The concept of Technologies, as practices individuals engage in to lead to personal transformation, function as a form of individual practice which can be incorporated into one's habitus. Therefore, using Bourdieu's equation "[habitus] x (capital) + field = practice" (Bourdieu, 1984, p101), a cyclical relationship is produced so that one's gendered habitus, coupled with the capital associated with dominant representation of the gendered body (within specific fields), can lead to disciplinary practices and ToS/ToD which direct and influence the internalisation of taken-for-granted norms within the gendered habitus. According to Foucault (1982, p779), "banal facts" exist, of which everyone is aware. These banal facts have similarities to the taken-for-granted knowledge of the doxa which

works as “truths” of what represents socially expected gender norms. Banal facts normalise behaviour for young people, and dieting and exercise (focusing on toning and weight-loss) has become almost expected for adolescent girls (Women’s Sport and Fitness Foundation, 2012). The school is an important institution responsible for secondary socialisation of one’s habitus (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), which, coupled with the Panoptic role of the school in disciplining behaviours and practices (Foucault, 1976, 1980), highlights the importance of considering the field of schooling and its associated power struggles. Both Bourdieu and Foucault have written about the power of schooling and the state in reproducing behaviour, and by amalgamating their concepts, the concepts of ToS/ToD and surveillance represent individual micro-practices which work to regulate behaviour and preserve the gender order through the gendered habitus.

Despite this congruence between elements of Foucault’s and Bourdieu’s work, they differ on their perception of freedom. Dillabough (2004) views that through the habitus, an individual is not free because they are constrained by the limits of possibilities realised through the available dispositions for one’s habitus. In contrast, Foucault (1982) suggests that for power relationships to occur, there must be freedom, so individuals are faced with possibilities of behaving. These two statements seem contradictory; however, my reading of Bourdieu emphasises how choices *are* available, they are just limited to what is suitable to a certain position, disposition or social milieu. Thus, there are in fact choices within the habitus, but the limits of these choices indicate the power of the social norms to influence behaviour, thought and action.

Foucault, like Bourdieu, has been criticised for being androcentric and blind to how resistance can occur against dominant groups. Bartky (1997) argues that Foucault, in *Discipline and Punish* (1977), treats the male and female body as homogenous, collapsing differences and being blind to the intricacies and inconsistencies of feminine embodiment. Yet, Foucault’s epistemological perspective is that of a historical philosopher, making metaphors from history. Therefore, the historical subordination of

the female body is reflected in Foucault's observations. The omnipresent nature of Foucault's power suggests that social change and transformation is unlikely due to being unable to identify the presence which needs challenging (Markula-Denison & Pringle, 2006). However, in a similar vein to the criticism of reproduction in Bourdieu's work, the lack of explanation of change is largely unobservable in historical representations of the body, therefore, can be considered accurate rather than a criticism.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THEORETICAL FLEXIBILITY

Bourdieu's and Foucault's writings differ both epistemologically and ontologically. Foucault wrote from a historical philosophical position, whereas Bourdieu wrote from a social sciences perspective. This difference is explained through variation in the focus of their work, where Foucault primarily focused on man and society, whereas Bourdieu focused on social practice and networks of interactions (Callewaert, 2006). Despite these differences, each theorist's work can be viewed as running in parallel, with elements of similarity. In terms of these similarities, both writers conceptualise and consider the workings of power – for Foucault, as omnipresent and “polymorphous” (1976, p11), and for Bourdieu, as operating through the habitus (Adkins, 2004; Bourdieu, 1968). Thus, Huppertz (2012b, p10) emphasises that “Bourdieu's notion of power is similar to that of Foucault's in that domination is invisible and gentle”. I argue throughout this PhD that this broader conceptualisation of power as being all-encompassing and pervasive works to inculcate dominant norms within one's habitus.

Both writers have faced criticism regarding the consequences and perspectives of their writing, principally Bourdieu for being ahistorical, and the anti-modernity of Foucault through a blind focus on the past. Rather than focusing on these criticisms, I argue that incorporating historically-based concepts such as Panopticism and the repression of sexuality with the ahistorical habitus, which considers experience to (re)produce dominant expectations of social norms, adds depth and social significance to how young

people can negotiate their gendered identities. Therefore, the addition of Foucauldian concepts to a Bourdieusian framework allows for a more nuanced and detailed explanation of how young people negotiate their individually gendered habitus and identity in light of broader institutional expectations of the socially constructed “ideal” body. I will incorporate Foucault’s ideas of Technologies and Panopticon into this PhD conceptually using Bourdieusian terminology to explain practices where young people are motivated to maintain social, symbolic and gendered capital to achieve popularity through orientating themselves with the cultural arbitrary which conforms to dominant gendered identities.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In summary, this chapter has highlighted the theoretical concepts I will use to explore how young people negotiate their gendered identity. Through exploring gender (conceptualised as multiple, fluid, dynamic, and not conflated with sex through biological essentialism) via a Bourdieusian perspective, I will incorporate elements of Foucault’s work to provide theoretical explanation of actions and behaviours which can be used to regulate one’s gendered body. Adapting a Bourdieusian framework to incorporate gendered practices and a consideration of the body through reflecting the work of Connell and Foucault, I argue this framework makes ontological sense such that these principles can be methodologically explored through empirical research. To this extent, Markula-Denison and Pringle’s (2006, p199) conclusion has resonance, stating that Foucault “argued that ‘ideas’ are only valuable if they are practically examined, tested and used”. Within this PhD, utilising a Bourdieusian framework which incorporates Connell’s gender order and Foucault’s ToS and Panopticon, can contribute to theorising how young people negotiate the tensions of adolescence to present a coherent and intelligible gendered identity. The structure of my theoretical framework is depicted in Figure 1, which provides a summary of the different concepts and how these connect.

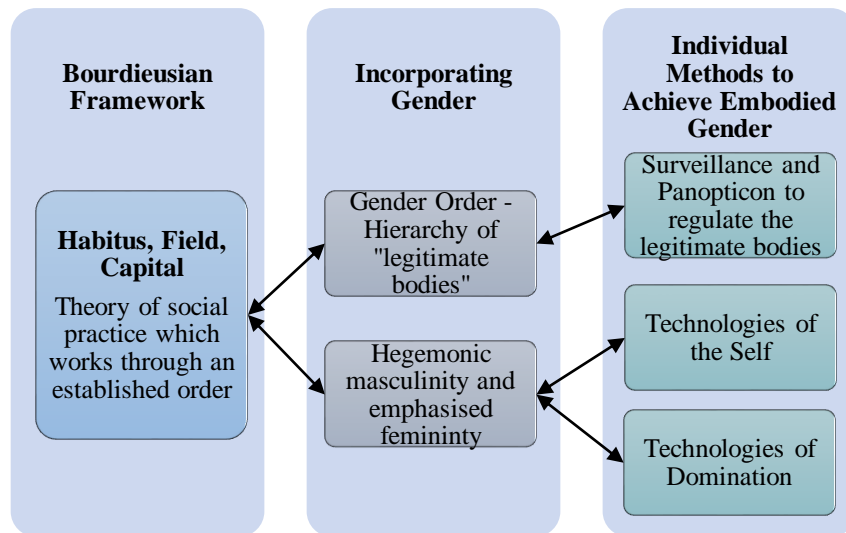


FIGURE 1: BOURDIEUSIAN FRAMEWORK INCORPORATING CONNELL'S GENDER ORDER AND FOUCAULT'S CONCEPTS

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to explore previously published literature and research regarding the role of education and media in how young people understand and experience gender. This review will consider two broader theoretical disciplines – education and (sports) media, before sub-analysing how specific practices relating to physical education (PE) and young people’s engagement with social media can contribute to the development of a (sporting) gendered habitus. Extensive research has been published about both these disciplines; therefore, this analysis highlights the literature most pertinent to the significance and originality of my thesis to contribute to scholarly debate. This literature review treats these two topics separately, reflecting the way that previous research has been conducted. However, the integration of young people’s experiences the different fields of schooling, media and the blurred boundaries between school, home and online spaces, provides an initial gap for this thesis to explore the holistic gendered experiences of young people. Such a critique is informed by a Bourdieusian framework which incorporates elements of Connell’s gender order (1987, 2007).

EDUCATION

Bourdieu viewed education as “a central ideological and cultural site of socialisation” (Dillabough, 2004, p490), thus, the hierarchy of gender, as outlined in Chapter 2, can be considered reproduced through the educational system. It is this reproduction of gender which I seek to explore; and thus, this literature review will analyse previous research which has explored the construction of gender by, and in, schools. Throughout this thesis, I am cognizant to acknowledge that *all* schools are not the same, and to reify schools becomes problematic to explore individual tensions or inconsistencies with the experiences of young people. Each young person will have a different experience of “school”, even despite there being some characteristics which are relatively consistent within the UK educational system. Therefore, within this thesis, “school” refers to the

establishment, practices and typical events that occur within the boundaries of a school site, and co-contribute to the development and understanding of gender.

This review of educational research relating to gender will analyse the discourse of achievement which permeates educational rhetoric, and the role of the informal school including the regulation of young people's bodies and class-based differences in experiences. Within each of these sections, I firstly consider broader educational literature, before narrowing to focus explicitly on PE. Due to the characteristics of the young people participating in my research, this literature review will preferentially focus on research conducted in secondary school environments in the UK to draw conclusions about how gender interrelates with schools and their practices.

DISCOURSE OF ACHIEVEMENT

Through formal education, students obtain educational qualifications, which, using Bourdieu's conceptual framework, represents a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Thus, the ethos and practices of a school are permeated by a focus on educational achievement. This section considers the development of a moral panic within UK educational literature around the under-achievement of males, the consequent achievement of females, the positioning of non-academic subjects within the discourse of achievement, and the subsequent impact on PE within broader school rhetoric of achievement.

Over recent years in the UK, a moral panic has been created and reinforced through media and politicians highlighting the presumed under-achievement of male students (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003; Gorard, Rees, & Salisbury, 1999; Heyder & Kessels, 2013; McCartney, 2016; Ringrose, 2007). A key consideration in this discourse is the relationship between the under-achievement of males with the presumed achievement of females. Dillabough (2006) and McRobbie (2007) discuss and critique the trend to view a post-feminist girl as "having it all", including an identity framed around academic

success and consequent career development set in a world without gender inequality. However, by treating male and female students as homogenous groups, whereby it is often assumed that *all* male students under-perform, this existing body of research reinforces a male/female dichotomy which ignores individual experiences which may explain or contextualise academic achievement. Connell (1996, p216) outlined how school regimes represent a “vortex of masculinity” through the social construction of boys’ subjects, discipline and the primary role of sport for young men. Although dated, Connell’s research demonstrates the way in which practices and assumptions reinforced by the school can replicate dominant representations of gender. More recently Francis (2009) explored the construction of a boffin identity for young people (aged 12–13), suggesting that laddish practices are oppositional to those promoted and rewarded by the school, because learning is often perceived as associated with femininity. Francis’ (2009) research highlights that the social construction of academic success is gendered. Despite being conducted on participants younger than those in my study, her conclusions are important to consider in relation to the way that academia and gender are interconnected and influence how young people understand their own gendered subjectivities. A further key trend for literature which focuses on the under-achievement of males is that the school is often viewed as a separate “thing”, existing in isolation in the lives of young people (for example, see Barker, 1997; Francis, 2009; Jackson, 2006). Failing to acknowledge explicitly the interconnection between school-life and wider social fields that young people engage in, previous research often reifies the school as an institution and lacks a consideration of the holistic construction of gender throughout young people’s lives.

The development of male under-achievement is problematic due to the relational nature of the male/female dichotomy which carries significance because male under-achievement is pitched against the presumed achievement of females. As Arnot (2002) has outlined, the academic performance of girls challenges the historical premise of the

structure of education: the prioritisation of male education and achievement. The construction of sex-appropriate subjects reinforces the assumption that academic achievement traditionally has been “male”, leading to a split in subjects whereby males have been pushed towards science and maths, and females toward arts and languages (Heyder & Kessels, 2013). This historical dichotomy which positions male education as superior to female education, is an example of a Cartesian dualism, in which one of the oppositional pairing is believed as superior (Davis, 1996; Descartes, 1968). Problematic for the development of equal education for males and females is the consequence of this dualism, because the conceptualisation of males and females as different often becomes essentialised and naturalised (Krais, 1993). The Cartesian dualism helps explain the masculinisation of science and maths subjects, for the mind is dominant to the body: “[t]hose which depend on the body...scarcely deserve to be taken into account” (Descartes, 1968, p112). This dualism has been mapped onto the educational experiences of young men and women, for whom the mind is viewed as being “male” (and consequently masculine) (Paechter, 2006a). The prioritisation of “academic” subjects within the educational discourse helps contextualise the moral panic around male under-achievement, and indicates the relative exclusion of PE from debates regarding achievement. The masculinisation and historically “male” identity of PE as a school subject carries less educational relevance due to its primary focus on the performance of the body.

The historical development of male and female physical education as separate subjects based on an underlying ideology of difference has had a legacy in terms of how PE is perceived in current discourse (see Scraton [1992] for an overview of the history of PE). In general, male students demonstrate a more positive attitude and relationship towards PE, and the consequent assumption is that males are more successful at PE (Berg & Lahelma, 2010; Bramham, 2003; Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Fagrell, Larsson, & Redelius, 2012). Using observational analysis of 14–15-year-old students in Swedish PE

lessons, Fagrell et al. (2012) found that PE is often dominated by males, leading to girls being marginalised during game situations; and within PE, female students must manage their performance in line with dominant perceptions of hegemonic masculinity, whereby they must not be *too* good for this can challenge masculinity. Their research makes important considerations for the relationship between gendered norms and performance in PE; however, it lacks a consideration of how young people explain their own lived experiences. Other research which considers the gendering processes within PE either use observational methods (Redelius et al., 2009) or interviews with PE teachers (Berg & Lahelma, 2010; Wright, 1997). Bramham (2003), through exploring boys' experiences of PE across four schools found that boys typically outperform girls in PE, and suggests that PE is "*the* site for the construction and display of hegemonic masculinity in schools and schooling" (p60, original emphasis). The relationship between masculinity and PE is consistently identified, and thus the gendered habitus which promotes maleness with masculinity emphasises the social expectation for males to demonstrate ability and succeed within PE. Males who do not conform to expected levels of performance in PE are also marginalised, and some research acutely illustrates this (Bramham, 2003; Croston & Hills, 2017; Fagrell et al., 2012). Despite this, research which considers male or female performance in PE in isolation cannot explain fully the intricacies of PE practices on developing a gendered habitus which reinforces correct behaviours for young people.

Scruton's (1992) influential book, *Shaping up to Womanhood: Gender and Girls' Physical Education*, has illustrated how, in the 1980s, PE practices, stereotypes and assumptions affected the provision of PE for young girls. For this research, Scruton interviewed PE teachers, heads of departments and PE advisors across a large northern English city. Whilst this research demonstrated a strong trend for girls' PE to be marginalised, leading to negative engagement with sport and PE, one aim of this research was to overcome a shortage of PE-based research which focused on girls. In contrast,

current literature demonstrates a greater emphasis on the experiences of girls in PE, based on the assumption that girls represent the “problem”, treating all girls as a homogenous group (and equally all males as enjoying PE) (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Mitchell et al., 2015). By blaming girls, the system of PE and wider educational practices are not challenged. To this extent, there is a relative lack of current research which explores male and female experiences in PE simultaneously.

Achievement in PE involves the physical performance of the body. Pervasive stereotypes which match the masculine (and thereby male) body with sporting prowess prevail within PE discourses, indicating how male “success” in PE is deemed “natural” (Frosh et al., 2003; Klomsten et al., 2005; Redelius et al., 2009). Within PE discourse, what constitutes ability is negotiable and depends on the discursive contexts in which it is produced (Wright & Burrows, 2006). Despite this suggestion that conceptions of ability can vary and *should* be fluid, the dominant perception is that ability in PE is associated with males (Croston & Hills, 2017; Evans, 2013; Hay & Macdonald, 2010; Wilkinson et al., 2013). Young’s (1980) influential work which explored the embodiment of physicality, demonstrates how the socialisation of boys leads to them using more physical space with their bodily actions; through being physically more competent, the physical nature of PE rewards those individuals who can embody physical capabilities, and thus young men are *able* to use space more successfully. Importantly, Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and capital have been used to explore the construction of ability in PE. Drawing on notions of habitus to indicate the way in which able students and their PE teachers often share a set of beliefs, this shared habitus often prioritises games players and dictates which bodies are rewarded (Hay & Macdonald, 2010; Redelius et al., 2009). Using a systematic appraisal of articles documenting the construction of ability in PE, Wilkinson et al. (2013) concluded that the social construction of ability means that only a few (usually males) can achieve. The dominant discourse around ability reinforces a binary between male and female bodies within PE, reinforcing the “problem” of girls as lacking ability.

Ability-as-male has negative consequences for both females, and un-“able” males, and reinforces the importance of challenging the presumed differences between young men and women as homogenous categories.

Contrary to the dominant discourse within education which prioritises academic success, and for males, the underpinning assumption of sporting prowess, many young men and women appear less motivated to conform to academic expectations. Research by Becky Francis (2009, and with colleagues; Francis et al., 2010; Read et al., 2011) has demonstrated that young people are required to perform complex identity work to ameliorate academic achievement with social status and popularity. The discourse of achievement is therefore less important to many young people than being popular: the stigmatisation associated with the term boffin “functioned as a powerful deterrent to ‘excessive’ performances of achievement, for all pupils” (Francis, 2009, p645). Their research supports Goldberg and Chandler’s (1991) conclusion that membership in the “popular” group is the most important factor for social acceptance for young people. Francis’ research has demonstrated the role of sport in the construction of male popularity (Francis et al., 2010), but has ignored how sport may contribute to female popularity; and this omission simplifies the complex relationship between young people, their gendered identity, and sports participation. The reconceptualisation of adolescent “success” in education – to develop social popularity – potentially threatens the traditional mind/body dualism which prioritises academic achievement above other indicators of success. It is therefore important to consider the relationship between sport and social status, using Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts of capital and habitus, for *both* young men and women. This section has considered two underlying discourses of achievement which permeate young people’s experiences of school – overall academic achievement and what is classed as “success” in PE. The prevailing educational discourse promoted by schools, government policies and media rhetoric, is one of academic achievement in which success with the mind is valued over success with the body. This has a negative

consequence for the educational “value” of PE. Furthermore, the prevailing assumption of the masculinisation of PE which positions ability as congruent to the male body also has a negative consequence for those young people whose bodies do not match dominant notions of ability. Set in an environment where educational success is highly valued in “academic” subjects, young people’s understanding of achievement rests more heavily on social success, in which academic success is often othered. These different expectations of achievement which young people are required to negotiate are important in positioning my research – young people’s experiences of PE must be contextualised within broader educational rhetoric to demonstrate an awareness that young people’s habitus is influenced both by experiences beyond the PE lesson and beyond the boundaries of school. The discourse of achievement is an explicit part of the ethos of many schools; however, less obvious discourses which permeate at both the explicit and implicit level can influence gendered norms and expectations. These other ideologies and discourses will now be discussed in relation to how these perpetuate dominant gender norms.

SCHOOL IDEOLOGIES WHICH REGULATE GENDERED BODIES

A school is not a neutral space. The “hidden curriculum” (Connell, 1989, p300) or “informal school” (Gordon, 1996, p302) teaches important norms and values of the wider society (Apple, 1995), and consequently, young people learn what is expected of them in relation to both gender and class. As Connell (2010) argues, gender is embedded in a school’s curriculum, organisation and routines. Within this literature review, and subsequent data collection/analysis, I will be using the term hidden curriculum to explain instances where school practices implicitly reinforce gender and classed norms. This section considers how the broader educational practices within schools reinforce stereotypical gender norms and regulate gendered bodies, before concentrating specifically on the practices of PE.

The traditions and norms which are emphasised within the structures and practices of schools typically prioritise representations of gender which reflect stereotypical

requirements of masculinity and femininity. My thesis is based on the presumption that the implicit development of gender stereotypes is reflected within one's habitus and are reinforced and reproduced through the hidden curriculum. Apple (1995) suggests that systems of domination and exploitation exist in schools without being consciously recognised, and through the hidden curriculum, important norms and values are taught. Through rewarding dominant representations of gender through the hidden curriculum (Arnot, 2002; Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Francis et al., 2010; Gordon, 1996; Popkewitz, 1997), fewer possibilities exist for non-conformist gendered identities. As outlined in Chapter 2, the non-conscious nature of the habitus in relation to gender (McNay, 1999) supports the consideration of the hidden curriculum on the development of adolescent gendered norms through the habitus. Literature which focuses on the hidden curriculum typically demonstrates the power of the informal and implicit practices within a school; however, the development of norms, assumptions and stereotypes which may be influenced by the hidden curriculum are often overlooked. Consequently, the interconnection between a school's hidden curriculum and other social fields which contribute to the development of internalised gendered norms (e.g. media discourse), represents an important area to consider, exploring the extent to which young people are influenced by a combination of social ideologies which reinforce gender norms.

One feature of the hidden curriculum which is pertinent to the development of a gendered habitus is the way that implicit rules, norms and expectations regulate bodies. As Arnot (2002) suggests, the transmission of sex stereotypes through the fabric of school can function as a form of control. Consequently, male and female bodies are regulated to conform to dominant expectations of traditional embodied forms of masculinity and femininity. Swain (2003) explored how schools influence the development of masculinity, finding that through surveillance, schools control their students and reward dominant constructions of masculinity. However, Swain focused solely on British boys in Year 6 (aged 10–11; much younger than my participants), which ignored the relational

aspect of gender and, by implication, through discussing masculinity with males, Swain's research reflects an assumption of biological essentialism where masculinity is believed only appropriate for male bodies. The hidden curriculum dictates which bodies are rewarded (Arnot, 2002; Kehily, 2001; Paechter, 2006a), and provides a regulatory reminder of what constructions of the body "fit" with wider social discourses. To this extent, the interconnection between the school's hidden curricula on the development of gendered bodies within the context of social class must be explored.

Class influences the development of one's habitus, whereby "[c]lass groups possess 'homogeneity of the habitus'" (Bourdieu, 1977, p80). Thus, the hidden curriculum which reinforces practices, interactions and rules, contributes to how young people learn the gendered norms which are expected of both their sex, and their social class. Arnot (2002, p137) suggests that private schools "are likely to set up a different set of relations between male and female pupils than state schools", suggesting the way that a collective gendered habitus can be created and reproduced through schooling. Ingram (2011), in exploring the experiences of working-class boys from a deprived Catholic school in Belfast, demonstrated that the working class continue to be pathologised in educational discourse, and discourses of achievement are classed so that academic success is constructed as oppositional to being working class. In utilising Bourdieu's theoretical framework, principally habitus, Ingram demonstrated the potential to explore gendered norms which are mediated by classed experiences and expectations. However, in only researching one working-class school, a comparison (or awareness of similarities) between classed positions in relation to gender across different types of schools was not possible. In contrast, Phoenix and Frosh (2001) explored the construction of masculinity at a variety of schools (both private and state) in London, describing how future aspirations and career prospects have classed differences. By comparing three schools in this PhD, an understanding of different assumptions which influence how gender is constructed through class can be explored. The hidden curriculum varies depending on

the priorities, ethos and ambitions of the school – comparing different schools in awareness of the school’s classed identity may illuminate the extent to which gendered assumptions within both collective and individual habitus can influence the construction of gendered norms.

As a compulsory school subject, PE represents a vehicle through which the hidden curriculum of gendered norms and stereotypes can be reinforced. The initial segregation of lessons to focus on either boys’ or girls’ PE indicates the power of a binary which pitches males and females as separate and oppositional (Francis & Paechter, 2015). As the previous section outlined in relation to the social construction of ability, there remains a prevailing discourse within PE which promotes difference between male and female students. As Hickey (2008) discussed in relation to hyper-masculinity, PE discourses reproduce the importance of sport to masculinity, and PE lessons represent a powerful site for the distribution of gender capital. Despite not considering gender capital through a Bourdieusian framework, Hickey’s (2008) article demonstrates how the embodied nature of PE is strongly intertwined with the development of gendered identities, and supports my use of Bourdieu’s theoretical framework to explore how young people negotiate their gendered identities within the field of PE. Other writers have specifically used Bourdieu’s concepts to help illustrate how the practices of PE can reinforce dominant ideologies: Hills (2006) and Hunter (2004) have demonstrated how the gendered norms on which the practices and organisation of PE is based can influence how young people understand their gendered identities. A methodological strength of Hunter’s (2004) paper is that it simultaneously explored the experiences of young men and women to demonstrate how “the *field* of physical education, create[s] discursive spaces for constituting the *embodied subjectivities* of those within the social space” (p176; original emphasis). However, her participants were 11–12-years-old which is much younger than those in my study. A trend in PE literature is to explore experiences of younger children, either primary school ages (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Paechter & Clark, 2007); during transitions between

primary and secondary schools (Hunter, 2004); during early adolescence (aged up to 13–14 years: Azzarito, 2009; Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Fagrell et al., 2012; Hill, 2015a; Koca et al., 2009; Mitchell et al., 2015); or contrastingly, during late adolescence (aged over 17 years: Garrett, 2004; Hay & Macdonald, 2010; Light & Kirk, 2000). Therefore, there appears to be a gap in research exploring how young people relate to their gendered identities in PE at age 15–16, an important time in the school-life of British adolescents – this is the period when young people are leaving compulsory school-based education after completing their GCSE exams². As identified, adolescence is a period of transition and a liminal state between childhood and adulthood; thus, the significance of leaving compulsory school is an important area to consider in relation to one’s sporting and gendered identity.

In similarity to the regulation of bodies within the broader school environment, PE regulates the development of gendered bodies through inscribing notions of success/failure. As Clarke (2002) highlights, young people learn the required masculine and feminine codes within PE, because “[t]he schooling process defines and regulates what is socially acceptable through adherence to the required heterosexual gender regimes and through the activities on offer” (p51). As a result, the assumptions on which PE is based reinforce the naturalness of male sporting achievement and simultaneously distances characteristics of emphasised femininity within PE practices (Garrett, 2004). If one’s body is stigmatised and labelled as failing (Wilkinson et al., 2013), this can have a negative impact, leading to individuals not continuing to engage in physical activity once leaving school (Curtis, McTeer, & White, 1999). Most empirical research on the regulation of bodies in PE has been conducted on the experiences of girls (Beasley, 2013; Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Evans, 2006; Garrett, 2004; Walseth, Aartun, & Engelsrud, 2017), which is problematic because this assumes that all girls have negative experiences

² GCSEs (General Certificate in Secondary Education) are the traditional exams which occur at the end of Year 11 in England. Students are required to sit exams in English, Maths and Science, and have the option of choosing a selection of other subjects to study.

in PE, and fails to consider that the dominant representation of sport equalling masculinity may also be negative for males who fail to meet these standards. Whilst Hills and Croston (2012) caution against using gender to explain behavioural differences because this reinforces heteronormativity and demonstrates a danger in binary thinking, separating analyses based on sex cannot escape this consequence, and thus more research must explore young men and women's experiences of PE complementarily. Notable exceptions to this gap in the literature include Webb, McCaughy, and MacDonald (2004) who used a Foucauldian analysis of power and surveillance within PE in Australia by interviewing teachers; and Azzarito (2009) who also utilised Foucault's concept of surveillance and discipline to explore the normalising and disciplining practices within PE using interviews with 14–15-year-old American students. These two examples demonstrate the power of normalising practices within the hidden curriculum of PE to regulate young people's bodies, and their strengths lie in the simultaneous and relational exploration of male and female experiences. However, applying these concepts to a UK sample, and using Bourdieu's theoretical framework to illuminate practices through the formation of a habitus, indicates the need to conduct quality research with young men and women reflecting on their PE experiences.

In Bourdieu's original writings, sport has classed origins, and participants in different sports are more likely to be from social classes which share the values and assumptions implicit in the characteristics of that sport (Bourdieu, 1978, 1984). The relative importance of sport to different classes also varies. Skelton (2001) identifies the importance of sporting success and physical prowess to working-class masculinity, and the sporting body can provide a vehicle for social mobility through professional contracts and prize money (Giulianotti, 2016). In contrast, Light and Kirk (2000), in their exploration of rugby union in elite Australian private schools, demonstrate that rugby is used to distinguish the private, middle-class schools from state (less elite) schools which are viewed as inferior. This illustrates the ideological power of sport to promote a desired

collective identity, and through using Bourdieu's concepts, the authors demonstrate the role of underlying gendered, and classed, assumptions on how school sport can emphasise difference. However, Light and Kirk's (2000) study focused solely on one school and its practices – greater insight might be possible through comparison between demographically different types of school. Such a comparative approach was utilised by Koca et al. (2009) who analysed two secondary schools in Turkey (one was a middle-class school with an ethos of academic achievement, the other located in a very working-class area), and found that PE is used differently depending on the type of school: in the middle-class school PE was used to enhance the capital of young people, contrasting to it being used to create good, social citizens at the working-class school. Through this comparison, Koca and colleagues (2009) explored both differences and similarities in how PE can develop gendered identities, concluding that in both schools PE rewards dominant students who match the requirements of the subject, and this excludes most others from participating in PE. These important findings demonstrate the importance of comparing different school types and the structures/practices involved to establish the way in which class can intersect with gendered practices during PE in the UK.

This section has demonstrated the way that the hidden curriculum and implicit gender norms which permeate school and PE practices regulate how young people understand gender. The prevailing gender ideologies implicit in the hidden curriculum regulate “appropriate” gendered bodies and potentially limit opportunities for other gendered identities to flourish. It is clear from the literature that the hidden curriculum provides a constant and powerful reminder of dominant forms of masculinity and femininity. What is less known is the way that young men and women interpret the hidden curriculum and how these messages are enacted, embodied and performed by young men and women throughout their lives. Gendered discourses permeate all areas of young people's lives, and the field of schooling does not exist in isolation – research is therefore required to

approach the school as one component which influences the development of young people's gendered identities.

MEDIA

Media messages can create, recreate or promote ideologies about the gendered body which influence how young people understand their own embodied gender. As Creedon (1994) highlights, the media create, preserve, and transmit important cultural information. The development of media technologies in recent years demonstrates how mediated messages have saturated young people's lives, and this section considers how both mass media (through TV, newspapers, online sources) and social media can contribute to how young people understand gender norms. This review will focus briefly on the extensive body of research which describes the dominant media messages which the sport media promote in relation to male and female athletes, before considering how a Cartesian dualism regulates the prioritisation of male sport, and the way in which social media allows individuals to actively, and publicly, create their own gendered identity. An important premise of this thesis is that sport-media messages influence how young people understand their own embodied (sporting) gendered capacity, often being enacted in multiple and varying fields (including in the school). The development of the adolescent gendered habitus occurs through socialisation (Bourdieu, 1990; Lovell, 2000), and thus the media contributes to this as a form of secondary socialisation, alongside the school.

GENDER IDEOLOGIES REINFORCED THROUGH MEDIA MESSAGES

Sport is a primary social institution through which hegemonic masculinity is celebrated and normalised (Connell, 1987; Fink, 2015). Consequently, the dominant sporting body is male, and this prioritisation of the male body is demonstrated through a consistent quantitative finding that female athletes receive approximately 10 percent of media coverage (Bruce, 2015), and the coverage that female athletes receive has traditionally been sexualising and trivialising to their achievements (Bernstein, 2002; Daniels, 2012;

Fink, 2015; Godoy-Pressland, 2014). These trends have been consistently demonstrated across many countries, including the UK (Harris & Clayton, 2002; King, 2007), USA (Billings & Eastman, 2002; Jones, Murrell, & Jackson, 1999), multi-national comparisons (Crossman, Vincent, & Speed, 2007; Vincent, Imwold, Masemann, & Johnson, 2002; Yu, 2009); and also across different media types, including newspaper (Crossman et al., 2007; Godoy-Pressland & Griggs, 2014), TV (Capranica & Aversa, 2002; Eastman & Billings, 1999), online websites (Yip, 2016) and magazines (Jones et al., 1999; Weber & Carini, 2013). This extensive body of research clearly shows that female athletes have been systematically under-represented in sports-media coverage, and little can be gained from simply repeating a media analysis to indicate this phenomenon. In contrast, the purpose of this literature review is to highlight the requirement for greater understanding of how young people interpret these media messages, linking to how their gendered identities are subsequently presented.

Despite the consistent empirical finding that female athletes are negatively depicted in sport-media coverage, Bruce (2016) highlights the progress and developments which are challenging stereotypical representations of female athletes. Bruce (2016) identifies 13 rules of traditional media coverage, suggesting there are emerging rules which are subverting the traditional representations of women in passive, sexualised and trivialised ways: athletes are increasingly depicted in action as serious athletes, presented as model citizens which positions the female athlete as legitimate, and a new discourse is prevailing in which sportswomen's athletic performance can be simultaneously pretty *and* powerful. This research demonstrates a potential changing of how sportswomen are represented; however, the important question remains as to whether these "new" rules are interpreted and understood by young people whose development of a gendered habitus is partly formed through mediated messages which dictate appropriate male and female bodies. As I discuss later in this chapter, Lines (2000) highlights that less is known about how media messages are interpreted, understood, and acted upon, by audiences. It is

therefore an important area of sport-media research to explore the potential consequences on young people of how sporting bodies are depicted.

One potential explanation for the prioritisation of male athletes within sports media discourse is the continued legacy of a Cartesian dualism. As explored in relation to the dominant discourse of education, the Cartesian dualism is based on the premise that one element of the binary is superior (Bordo, 1986). To this extent, and specifically in relation to media messages, masculinity is traditionally constructed as superior to femininity, and this can help explain how the male sporting body is viewed as superior to the female body. However, in contrast to other areas of society (principally education), sport represents a field where the body has greater significance than the mind. This is emphasised by Johns and Johns (2000), who, in their Foucauldian analysis of surveillance in elite athletes, identified that athletes are inherently aware of the importance of their bodies, in part due to the increased commodification of sport. Despite being written from a Foucauldian perspective, Johns and Johns' work explains the way in which a "successful" body can accrue capital, for the body represents currency in the field of sport. This Cartesian dualism which prioritises the success of the body in the field of sport suggests a tension can exist between the dominant discourses of sport (focusing on the body), and education (focusing on the mind). The tension between the mind and body within the field of sport is further developed when considering that the body can be used as a cultural good for an athlete, leading to the provision of financial capital and rewards. This is exemplified by the contradictory treatment and media coverage of David Beckham (Vincent, Hill, & Lee, 2009) and Graeme le Saux (Cashmore & Cleland, 2011); both are former international (England) footballers, yet Beckham's use of his body for modelling and advertising has created a "brand" which has transcended sport. In contrast, le Saux's intellect and middle-class tastes (art and literature) have led to him being "othered" and labelled as homosexual. With performances of the body rewarded over the mind in sporting contexts, using Bourdieu's framework, this highlights the need for one's

habitus to match the field in which one exists. This example demonstrates the importance of exploring the tensions and contradictions between media discourse and other prevalent ideologies which shape and direct the behaviours of young people. As the discussion regarding educational ideologies suggested, considering school as a singular, isolated field does not adequately explore the interconnection between different cultural fields and how these may influence the development of a gendered habitus in young people. The same can be said of media research; there is a need to consider how media messages influence broader social norms and expectations with regards to gender, and the way that these messages may (or may not) be internalised by young people into their gendered habitus. This literature review has highlighted, therefore, the need for research to approach gender in a holistic manner, incorporating an awareness of how different forms of socialisation (school, media, peers) can influence dominant understandings of gender.

Further to the construction of gender norms through traditional media outlets, is the recent proliferation of social media, and its monopolisation by young people (Dobson, 2014). Social media, through user-generated content, provides an opportunity for young people to create, modify and enhance their public self-identity. Dominant social media sites which are currently popular include Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat; through which the use of images has become a form of social currency which can be exchanged for “likes”, “friends” or “followers” as indicators of social success (boyd, 2008; Schwarz, 2010; Tiidenberg & Gómez Cruz, 2015). In considering the role of self-portraits within digital media content, Avgitidou (2003) suggests that these self-portraits are often stereotypical representations of the gendered self, reinforcing normative ideas of femininity and masculinity. Influential scholarship by Buckingham (2008) demonstrates that gender identity is not a free choice, must be confirmed by others, and relates to popularity and social status. He identifies that little research has been conducted on the conformist cultures of young people, and thus it is important to explore how young people collectively identify with gender norms and use these to develop their own

identities. Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, which can be both individual and collective, is an important theoretical addition to explore the conformist cultures – a collective identity reflects shared tastes and ideas of a group, and thus is comparative to the idea of conforming to dominant norms.

Most research conducted using social media has focused on the impact that social networking sites have on women (e.g. boyd, 2008; Dobson, 2014; Perloff, 2014; Tiggemann & Slater, 2013; Tiidenberg & Gómez Cruz, 2015; Willett, 2008). Fardouly and colleagues (Fardouly, Diedrichs, Vartanian, & Halliwell, 2015; Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015) have shown that social media usage can lead to young women negatively comparing their own bodies with others, increasing negative mood and bodily concerns. Fardouly's research focused on women aged between 17–25, meaning the experiences of both men and adolescents are under-researched; and by excluding males from these research projects, the prevailing assumption is that only females are negatively affected by social media's influence on identity negotiation. There continues to be a risk that by only researching females, the experiences of one sex are treated as homogenous, consequently underplaying the negative consequences that normative expectations of masculinity can have on young men. Furthermore, Fardouly and colleagues' research focuses on the impact of consumption on identity and bodily issues: identity formation is active, dynamic and agential (Buckingham, 2008), and therefore research must focus on how engagement on social media influences how young people construct their gendered identities. A key piece of research which addresses these inadequacies is by Schwarz (2010) who used a Bourdieusian analysis of Israeli teenagers' use of social media in the presentation of the self. Schwarz found that young people are often influenced by surveillance which impacts on how they believe they should present themselves, and online identities are important to social status and feelings of self-worth for young people. My PhD demonstrates the relevance of using Bourdieu's concept of field to

explain cultural consumption, and through researching a similar age of participants, indicates a need for research to address these issues with young people in the UK.

Stern (2008) further suggests that there is little consideration of *why* young people use social media, rather research tends to concentrate on *what* is posted. This critique emphasises the need for research to target individual experiences and practices which young people engage in on social media, and offers a suggestion that social media cannot also be singularly considered as removed from other areas of young people's lives.

Furthermore, Weber and Mitchell (2008) suggest that there is a danger of researchers misunderstanding what growing up in a digital age is like from the perspective of young people who do not know life without digital media. Therefore, considering the *why* of young people's engagement with social media can help contribute to exploring the perspective of young people rather than imposing the "adult" perspective which has historically reinforced a moral panic over the perceived negative consequences of social media and internet use of young people (Stern, 2008). This section has highlighted the characteristics of media messages and how these can regulate perceptions of normative male and female bodies. The next section will explore two consequences of media messages before summarising how this thesis will contribute to addressing gaps in the literature.

CONSEQUENCES OF MEDIA MESSAGES

A content analysis of media messages cannot illustrate the consequences of these media messages for an audience. There are two potential consequences which this literature review will consider on how young people may relate to gendered norms and assumptions promoted by the media, and the potential impact these messages can have on the development of their own gendered identities. The first refers to the potential for sports-media messages to "create" role models, which traditionally are male; and secondly, the lack of research which addresses how young people interpret media messages in relation to their own gendered identities.

The commercialisation and globalisation of sport has led to increased visibility of top athletes. Consequently, some athletes become role models; however, the sex of available role models typically reflects the male-domination of media texts which prioritises the achievements of male athletes (Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Bruce, 2016; Meier, 2015). Despite being dated, Biskup and Pfister (1999) showed that sportswomen do not function as role models for young women, and a vicious circle exists between a lack of sporting role models and a lack of girls' interest in sport. There is assumption in Pfister's findings that role models only function for young people of the same sex – ignoring the possibility that male athletes can be role models for young women (and vice versa). Pfister's research was conducted with a similar age group to my study, and makes a valuable contribution in linking sporting role models with wider gender norms. Vescio, Wilde, and Crosswhite (2005) used a mixed-methods approach (focus groups and surveys) with Australian girls aged 13–17 to explore the lack of female sport role models. Their main conclusion was that a lack of female role models may reflect the perception that sport is not a relevant domain for girls; and this concept is important to consider in relation to the development of a gendered habitus which directs and influences behavioural options available to individuals. Thus, a Bourdieusian framework may illuminate the way gender norms influence the likelihood of sportswomen becoming role models for young people, and help contextualise the consequences for young people's awareness of gender norms operating within the field of sport. These pieces of research demonstrate the need to explore how sporting role models can contribute to the development of gender norms which promote male sport and underplay the significance of female sport to a “successful” gendered identity.

Another under-researched topic in relation to (sports) media messages lies in the way in which media messages are interpreted, and consequently acted upon, by young people. As the previous section highlighted, research depicting the disparity in coverage between male and female athletes is saturated, but Lines (2000) clearly highlights that less is

known about audience interpretation of media messages. In attempting to overcome this shortfall, Lines (2007) suggests that media discourses can influence young people's values and attitudes about sport participation, whereby watching sport motivates young men to want to participate in sport at a greater level than young women, suggesting that young women consequently do not perceive sport as an important part of being female. This conclusion suggests that media messages can influence the development of gendered norms and beliefs; however, Lines' (2007) research considered the impact on participation, and thus, the impact of media messages on the understanding of gender remains unclear, and would benefit from explicit research addressing this. Non-empirical scholarship by Budgeon (2003) suggests that understanding one's self and one's body is mediated by the mass media's display of socially constructed idealised bodies which are consequently incorporated into an individual's beliefs. Thus, the potential impact that media messages have on how young people understand their gendered self (through the gendered habitus) becomes increasingly important. More recent work by Pritchard and Cramblitt (2014) explored how women internalise media messages and compare their own appearance to mediated ideals. However, through only exploring mainstream mass media (TV and magazines), the authors have failed to explore how social media may alter how young people understand, and construct, their gendered identities. These media interpretation studies have focused on the impact of media in confined fields, and methods have tended to be "staged" or manipulated (Daniels, 2012; Kane, 2006; Pritchard & Cramblitt, 2014), rather than addressing the natural responses to media messages in "real life". As I have mentioned previously, there are advantages to exploring the holistic relationship between fields of media, and other social fields (e.g. schooling and sport), which would add to an understanding of how young people negotiate and understand gender norms throughout different areas of their lives.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This literature review has explored the key research produced in the realm of education and media, specifically concentrating on how gender is constructed in both these fields. For ease of argument, I have separated the analysis of these two fields. However, throughout this literature review, a primary critique of the literature has been the way in which studies focusing on, for instance, education, ignore the interconnection with other forms of socialisation or the broader experiences of young people outside of school, and the impact that this can have on how young people understand gender. To address this, more research must explore the holistic relationship between different, but related areas of young people's lives. This literature review has focused on how schooling and media messages can help construct gendered norms and assumptions – these two fields are not the only areas of young people's lives which affect gendered norms, but in taking a more rounded view of the lived experiences of young people, a more integrated approach to gender can be developed. In summarising this literature review, I will identify the key knowledge which has been produced within the fields of education and media, before specifically stating the gap in the literature which I aim to address in this thesis.

Within the educational research field, a discourse of achievement permeates what is understood as “success” and dictates which subjects carry most cultural significance. The under-achievement of boys in educational discourse has produced a moral panic (Heyder & Kessels, 2013; McCartney, 2016; Ringrose, 2007), and emphasises the prioritisation of success with the mind over the body. Yet, the prioritisation of “academic” subjects has ignored the differences in “achievement” in so-called marginal subjects, including PE. A dominant critique of these studies is that they focus on the homogenous experiences of *all* boys or girls; lacking any nuanced appreciation that not *all* girls under-perform in PE, and that not *all* boys under-achieve academically. The danger in treating young men and women as homogenous groups is that this difference is reified, and can lead to more entrenched behavioural expectations which reinforce this difference. A gap in the

literature exists for research to explore male and female experiences of school and PE simultaneously, avoiding conflating sex into gender. Furthermore, through an analysis of the hidden curriculum, scholarship has demonstrated that important norms and values are reinforced through the implicit practices of schools (Apple, 1995; Arnot, 2002), and these practices can also reinforce expectations of class and gendered behaviours. In my opinion, educational research ought to focus on the practices of multiple schools to draw similarities and differences, which would enhance an analysis of the way different school ethos and practices (which are often classed) can reinforce gender in disparate ways. In exploring the specific practices of PE on shaping gendered norms and assumptions, extensive research has explored how ability is constructed and has focused on the construction of difference within PE curricula (Croston & Hills, 2017; Wilkinson et al., 2013; Wright & Burrows, 2006). Within this body of knowledge, the relationship between PE and gender has been explored for young people aged between 9–14 or 17–18. A gap therefore exists to explore the experiences of young people aged 15–16. As an under-researched age, the end of compulsory school-based education (age 16) in the UK represents a significant gap which my thesis will address.

With regards to current knowledge about (sport) media messages and how these influence the development and embodiment of gendered norms, this chapter has demonstrated that the continued under-representation of female athletes has potentially negative consequences for the development of female role models for young people (Bruce, 2016; Meier, 2015; Vescio et al., 2005). As Lines (2000) highlighted, little was known about how audiences interpret media messages, and this remains true today. Media institutions contribute to the formation of gendered norms and beliefs (Creedon, 1994), therefore, it is crucial to explore the interpretation of media messages for how young people understand and perform gender norms through sport. Rather than repeating the consistent findings of how female athletes are under-represented, this literature review has instead focused on the emerging forms of new digital media which have the potential to challenge traditional

representations of gender (boyd, 2008; Buckingham, 2008). The majority of social media research focuses on how young women are influenced by the discourses of attractiveness and stereotypical femininity (Dobson, 2014; Perloff, 2014; Tiggemann & Slater, 2013). Less is known about how young men interact with gendered norms and expectations through social media. Buckingham (2008) has identified a need to study the conformist culture of young people, and through the collective habitus, my study is positioned to be able to achieve this.

Through focusing on a holistic view of young people's experiences with gender, my research will attempt to overcome these shortfalls by appreciating how experiences in one social field are not isolated from other areas of young people's lives. Whilst this may complicate the exploration of the development of gendered norms and assumptions through the habitus, my conceptualisation of a gendered habitus which intersects across different fields, provides a theoretical tool for exploring the interconnection of gender across schooling, sport and media. This aim therefore combines a theoretical need to address the lack of the child in Bourdieu's work (Cicourel, 1993), with the literature gaps whereby young people's experiences are considered in isolation from other areas of life, and to overcome treating young men and women in homogenous terms by reducing gendered experiences to the sex of the individual. The methods and methodology used to address this gap will be explored in the next chapter.

PART 3: THE GAME

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

This chapter will address the methodological and philosophical questions underpinning my research choices made to examine how gender operates across the interconnected fields of schooling, sport and media for young people. Importantly, “[t]he research problem itself often dictates the methods” (Williams & May, 2002, p130) and consequently, “methods can be understood as problem-specific techniques” (Moses & Knutsen, 2007, p4). Throughout the development of the methods and instruments used in this research, I was mindful of exploring individual experiences using Bourdieu’s conceptual tools. The mixed-methods case-study approach was designed to study how young people negotiate their gender in different Bourdieusian fields. The three schools selected were chosen to reflect how different “types” of school can lead to the formation of a classed habitus, and qualitative interviews explored how young people negotiate their gendered habitus across the interconnected Bourdieusian fields of schooling, sport and (social) media. Within this chapter I will outline my own positionality and epistemological position; the methodological choice of my mixed-methods approach; before outlining my specific methods and instruments used and analysis conducted.

METHODOLOGY

POSITIONALITY AND METHODOLOGICAL AWARENESS

As outlined in Chapter 1, my research topic is heavily influenced by my own experiences as an athlete, coach, PE teacher and female. I cannot escape my own experiences, and my epistemic knowledge which developed from my own experiences will help to contextualise and understand the meanings which may arise from my research (Reed, 2008). However, rather than claiming to be value-free and independent from my research, Madill, Jordan and Shirley (2000) recommend that my own experiences must be

disclosed in relation to data collection and consequent interpretative decisions. To this extent, Bourdieu (2003), in discussing the role and responsibilities of an anthropologist, highlights that a researcher must regularly refer to his/her own experiences; without one's own knowledge of the world, the researcher cannot recognise the logic of practice being observed.

Bourdieu (1996) advocated reflexivity to achieve understanding between the researcher and participant. Throughout the process of completing this thesis, I have been aware that my own experiences, prejudices or beliefs could sway, influence or silence some responses. My own biography is an unavoidable part of the research process (Giardina & Laurendeau, 2013; Williams & May, 2002), thus interpretation is crucial for the exploration and development of knowledge regarding socially constructed norms and behaviour. Bourdieu argues for a craft of sociology, a feel for the game, which is demonstrated through a research habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Consequently, my experience as a teacher practitioner has developed my research habitus in the way in which I am comfortable to conduct research with young people in schools. Therefore, with elements of a shared understanding between my own experiences and those of the young people I researched, I hoped to make sense of their experiences in a meaningful way (Reed, 2008).

THE TRUTH?

This section links my theoretical framework (as discussed in Chapter 2) to the underlying philosophy which has influenced my choice of methods. This thesis is based on exploring how young people understand their own gendered identities and how these identities are formed through, and influence, sport. As a result, my commitment to understanding the lived experiences of young people assumes that through qualitative research methods, a researcher will learn about the participant. Obtaining data through interviews suggests that participants present information about themselves which can be viewed as “truths” which document their own experiences. This section will briefly outline the way in which

I approached young people's experiences and data, emphasising the importance of taking young people's experiences as meaningful to them at the particular point of data collection.

Bourdieu's theorisation of the nature of truth, and what this means for research, centres primarily on the autonomy of the individual (Kale-Lostuvali, 2016). Bourdieu's focus on autonomy, emphasises the view that the dominant culture's tastes, dispositions and expectations contribute to the formation of individual truths within society, reaffirming legitimate culture as a truth (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In contrast, truth and its relation to knowledge and power is a central component of Foucault's work, representing a historical question to be considered in relation to its practices and effects (Weir, 2008). Foucault conceptualised regimes of truth which operate through discourse, and games of truth occurring through practices (Foucault, 1980; Peters, 2003). Power is a crucial component to the production of discourses involving truths, demonstrating that truth is always implicated in power (Peters, 2003; Weir, 2008). Weir (2008) identified different types of truth formulae, of which symbolic and common knowledge truths are important for my research. If common knowledge indicates that truth represents a normative standard where individuals are held morally accountable and evaluated by themselves and others (*ibid.*), this links to the role of the habitus in regulating "legitimate culture" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p23).

This thesis is based on giving young people a voice, where their opinions will be heard, and importantly, *listened to*. Therefore, given my commitment to the multiplicity and fluidity of gendered identities, a philosophically coherent understanding of truth would allow for multiple truths to exist. To this extent, I concur with the premise underlying Sikes' (2000) reflective article in which qualitative research concerns being able to "present a *genuine* subjectively perceived reality" (p259, original emphasis). By looking to achieve genuine understandings and reflections, I will learn more about each participant, and they too should develop a sense of self-understanding (Peters, 2003), in

line with Bourdieu's notion of encouraging reflexivity for both the researcher and the participant (Chambers, 2005). It is impossible to ignore the potential power relations which exist in an interview situation, and as a researcher, if I presume to "know" the truth, then "claims to have knowledge of the truth...obscures others' rights to their own truths" (Blum, 1999, p256). As I will discuss later in this chapter, the interviewer can be seen to be in a position of power, particularly when the interviewee is a school student (David, Edwards, & Alldred, 2001). This chapter will now address the research methods used to explore the subjective realities lived by young people.

MIXED-METHODS APPROACH

The complexity of gender as a social phenomenon suggests an in-depth methodological approach; of which a mixed-methods design is well suited. Through a social-constructivist approach to gender, a mixed-methods approach "attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions and standpoints" (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007, p113), importantly not assuming that each young person will have the same perspective on their gendered identity. Mason (2006) highlights the benefits and uses of mixed methods in social sciences, and my use of mixed methods is "to ask questions about connecting parts, segments or layers of a social whole" (p6). Through combining methods, a greater overview of the situation can be achieved which aids contextualisation of results to make sense of the data obtained (Brannen, 2005; Fuller, 1987; Pouliot, 2007; Reed, 2008). As outlined in Chapters 1 and 3, gender and sport for young people is a complex relationship, taking place across different and overlapping Bourdieusian fields including schooling, media and wider peer relationships. Therefore, a mixed-methods approach is sympathetic to the complexities of these different fields, providing a more holistic understanding of how gender comes to be understood by young people.

In utilising a Bourdieusian analysis of gender, a mixed-method approach aligns with many of the principles of Bourdieu's research and the operationalisation of his concepts. Bourdieu himself used different methods to explore his areas of interest, ranging from

ethnographic participant observations in Kabyle (Bourdieu, 1990), questionnaires and surveys (Bourdieu, 1984), or interviews (Bourdieu, 1996). Therefore, to use methods which mirror those used in Bourdieu's original empirical work suggests these methods allow his concepts of habitus, field and capital to be explored in "reality". Bourdieu (in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p104) suggests that "analysis in terms of field involves three necessary and interconnected moments": 1) the power contained within the field; 2) relations between agents and institutions for legitimate authority within the field; and 3) the habitus of agents within the field. Directly linking this to my own research, the three components are: 1) power and influence of structures of the school and media in directing beliefs/norms; 2) relations between young people and their competition for social popularity by conforming to gender norms; and 3) the habitus as individual understandings of behaviours, tastes and actions in relation to gender. An interconnected mixed-methods approach is required to explore how dominant social norms shape the gendered practices or habitus of young people.

As outlined previously, the research questions guide the methods used (Moses & Knutsen, 2007; Williams & May, 2002). The three research questions which this PhD considers are:

1. What role does sport play in the ways young people negotiate their gendered identity?
2. What role do schooling and media messages play in reproducing gender norms for young people?
3. How does social class influence how young people understand sport and their gendered identity?

Figure 2 (below) provides an outline of the mixed-methods approach utilised in this research, providing an overview of my research design. The following sections will justify and explain the methods used throughout the data collection process.

Media Analysis	School Questionnaires	School Interviews
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Content and Narrative analysis of 4 UK online media outlets and their sports coverage of period including Rio 2016 Olympic Games •Analysis of 2541 articles and 2051 photos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •All students in Year 11 at three demographically different schools completed a questionnaire (n=332) •Questionnaire responses used to select young people to be interviewed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Semi-structured interviews conducted with 33 young men and 37 young women •Observational notes about student behaviour or practices were made during interviews and school visits

FIGURE 2: OVERVIEW OF MIXED-METHODS APPROACH

CASE-STUDY DESIGN

A case-study design represents a way to explore complex issues (Flyvbjerg, 2006), of which gender is one. A case study allows the unit of analysis to be intensively studied, providing a nuanced view of how young people understand their gendered reality.

Flyvbjerg (2011) highlights that the choice of a case study is not so much a methodological choice, but a choice of what is to be studied. Thus, the complex relationship between class and gender requires three schools to be explored, each of which represents a “case”. By selecting three demographically different schools as cases, this research represents a collective case study (Stake, 2011) involving a joint study of a number of cases in order to investigate a phenomenon – gender. Furthermore, as identified by Moses and Knutsen (2007, p222), “when constructivists employ comparisons, they do so in a way that is designed to preserve the qualities associated with thickly descriptive narratives” and a collective case study of young people’s practices and experiences at three schools can elicit similarities and differences whilst maintaining descriptive depth.

A case-study design is most appropriate for studying the complexity of gender for young people, and as a method, case studies can identify deep causes rather than simply describing the frequency of a phenomenon (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Thomas, 2011). In this way, the use of a case study can delve into the layers of individual experience and add to the existing body of knowledge. Importantly, the use of a case study is suited to applying and

developing theory through greater understanding of the sensitivity of the concept to the context (Flyvbjerg, 2011). This is important in relation to my theoretical framework to explore how Bourdieu's concept of the habitus ties in with a gendered identity in young people. Utilising Bourdieu's theoretical concepts as both a research and analytical tool emphasises the need for research to attend to an individual's background, experiences and position within the field of study. Using in-depth analysis through a case-study design will best allow my thesis to explore the relationship between young people's gendered habitus, "the ruling principles of logic of the field" (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007, p61), and sport.

Each school was selected based on variations in socio-economic status, identified through percentage of free school meals used as a proxy (FSM) (David et al., 2001). The socio-economic status of a school is implicitly associated with class, whereby those schools in more affluent areas are likely to have lower FSM data and linked to a more middle-class educational identity. In 2017, the average number of students receiving FSM at secondary schools in England was 12.9 percent (Department for Education, 2017); identifying schools with above and below levels of FSMs provides an opportunity to explore how socio-economic status can influence how young people understand gender. As explained by Moses & Knutsen (2007, p232), constructivists tend to "employ comparisons as a way of thinking differently about a given subject". Each school was purposely chosen, being analysed both individually and in combination with the other schools to assess the way gender and class overlap within one's habitus. As I will explain in greater depth in the next section, all three are co-educational schools in North East England, and after being selected and approached, each school agreed to participate in the study (see Appendix 1 for example letter to schools).

One critique of case-study research is the lack of generation of cause and effect (Stake, 2011). This is not an intention of my research, and instead, it is more important to understand the experiences of young people and to theorise on the basis that they are a

specific social group – so they are no longer treated either as adults or children in academic literature on gender (see Chapter 2). Flyvbjerg (2006, 2011) outlines that one of the five misunderstandings about case-study research is the presumed inability to generalise on the basis of an individual case, thus it is often believed that case-study research cannot contribute to scientific development. To counter this, Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests that formal generalisation is over-rated as the main source of scientific progress, and I agree with Sil (2000, p523) for whom case studies “offer valuable insights and information about how persons, beliefs, practices, events, and social relations combine to produce particular historical sequences or recurrent patterns, a feat that cannot be duplicated by variable-based approaches”. I am aware that generalisation may not be possible from these three schools in North East England, yet patterns of behaviour and beliefs of young people in relation to their gendered identity may be insightful for theory production which treats young people with a primary focus. This section has outlined my reasons for using a mixed-methods collective case-study approach within this thesis; and I will now describe the specific sites of data collection.

SITES OF DATA COLLECTION

THE SCHOOLS

Three schools selected in North East England represent the primary site of data collection. At each school, I spent approximately one half term³, where I could appreciate each school’s practices, ethos and principles. Throughout, I was aware that each school was different – this was, after all, why they were chosen; however, there are some structures which are consistent, such as students following a timetable, wearing uniform and PE kits, and, the role of discipline in maintaining “good” behaviour. These consistencies link to the development of the formal and informal school (Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2001), operating through the hidden curriculum (Apple, 1995;

³ The school year in UK is split into three “terms” – Autumn, Spring and Summer. These terms are split into two, known as “half-terms”, usually lasting 6-8 weeks.

Popkewitz, 1997), as discussed in Chapter 3. Through concentrating on different schools and the practices therein, this helped in being able to address and answer RQ2 and 3, looking at the more macro-structures of the school in influencing the development of gender norms. Therefore, through utilising a Bourdieusian analysis, and an awareness of Arnot's (2002, p137) assertion that "private schools...are likely to set up a different set of relations between male and female pupils than state schools", these three schools were chosen to explore how class and gender are interconnected within one's habitus. Within the broader Bourdieusian field of education, each school's rules, norms and ethos also indicate the individual struggles and tensions which characterise sub-fields. Therefore, an exploration of fields is possible through this selection of demographically different schools which reflect a different set of "rules and regularities" (Huppatz, 2012a) in relation to gender.

School 1 is a co-educational 11–16 state school. At the time of data collection, the school was rated by Ofsted as "Good" according to the Ofsted assessment framework (Ofsted, 2016) (having previously been "Satisfactory", and since data collection as "Requires Improvement"), and serves a very diverse catchment area in a typically less-privileged location. There are nearly 700 students enrolled, thus it is smaller than a typical secondary school, yet has higher numbers of students eligible for pupil premium, FSMs (22.5%) and students with special educational needs than the national average. Students are required to leave and attend elsewhere for their education post-16. The ethos of the school is about raising aspirations and transforming lives. School 1 is considered a working-class school, with lower SES, suggesting the presence of a different classed habitus to the students (and parents) of Schools 2 and 3. GCSE PE is taught, and all students receive two hours of PE per week in curriculum time; however, academic PE occurs simultaneously with "core" PE lessons, thus those opting for academic PE lose out on time for practical PE to the theoretical component of the GCSE course. Extra-curricular activities are offered, and the school is the venue for community-based external

sports activities and clubs. For facilities, the school has two sports halls, three netball/tennis courts, four grass football/rugby pitches and a 7-a-side 3G football facility. Despite the extra-curricular clubs and the relatively extensive facilities on offer, the school rarely achieves sporting success at either local or regional level.

School 2 is a co-educational 11–18 state school, which is very well respected academically both regionally and nationally, and has consistently been graded “Outstanding”. The school has 1500 students on roll, including 350 in sixth form. Whilst the 11–16 part of the school is comprehensive, with a wide catchment area serving a variety of local communities, the selective sixth form is heavily over-subscribed and has a much narrower, middle-class demographic. Thus, School 2 represents a more middle-class state school, and using FSMs as a proxy for socio-economic status (David et al., 2001), the school has a less than average proportion of disadvantaged students (8.1%). The middle-class identity is reflected in the ethos of the school, with the primary message of its mission statement indicating a desire for students to achieve academic excellence coupled with social justice and contributing towards a global future. Sport plays a large role in the school’s ethos; the school has a strong PE department with a history of excellent sporting results regionally and nationally across a variety of sports, including tennis, athletics, football, cross-country and basketball. The school has recently been rebuilt, and the PE department facilities consists of a modern purpose-built sports hall, dance studio, gym, six tennis/netball courts, one artificial 3G pitch, and three rugby/football pitches. The school teaches PE at GCSE, BTEC and A-Level, usually with a good uptake of students and a history of successful academic results (“top” grades).

School 3 is a co-educational independent day and boarding school with approximately 550 pupils aged 7–18. The fee-paying nature of the school indicates a class-based element to the students enrolled – parental income must be sufficiently high to be able to afford the termly attendance fees. However, there are bursaries and scholarships offered to students who meet academic or sporting standards of excellence, offering potential for

social mobility for these students to enter a different social circle, escaping their classed habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). Arguably, bursary students may demonstrate a disjunction between their habitus and the field, with their tastes and dispositions not aligning with the practices and ethos of their independent school. The fee-paying nature suggests that parents are literally paying into the ethos and standards of the school. The school was formed in the 15th Century, when it was established as an all-boys school. It remained as an all-boys school until the 1980s when it became co-educational; however, there are still approximately twice as many boys attending the school as girls. The school's ethos is of high expectation, thus is indicative of a higher-class milieu in terms of Bourdieu's consideration of class-based tastes in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984). Sport represents an important part of the school's life, the first XV rugby pitch takes precedence, and much of the school's regional and national status emanates from the performances of the exclusively male rugby teams. School students regularly feature highly in local, regional and national competitions across a variety of sports. The sports facilities are extensive, with an indoor sports hall, squash courts, swimming pool, strength and conditioning room, cardio gym, indoor rowing room, artificial sports pitch, five netball courts, six tennis courts, four rugby pitches, all on-site; and off-site a boat house with river access for rowing. Both GCSE and A-Level PE is taught. Each year group receives 4½ hours of compulsory PE and sport a week which includes PE lessons, games lessons, swimming lessons, and options for extra-curricular sport and activities.

As well as viewing each school holistically, when I conducted my research, I experienced different spaces which were important to exploring how gender is constructed in, and by, schools. The different spaces included PE changing rooms, PE lesson "venues", the rooms used for interviews, and extra-curricular activities. Other examples of spaces where I participated, include the procedure for a fire drill, break-times, and simply walking through the school during breaks and/or lunchtimes. These examples are examples of when the hidden curriculum may operate, and my experiences were often

linked to dominant gender norms (Apple, 1995; Riddell, 2012). These spaces where I participated in were used to contextualise information obtained during interviews. For the rest of this thesis, each school will be referred to as either School 1, 2 or 3.

THE YOUNG PEOPLE

Through conducting research with young people, individual experiences and behaviours became apparent, contributing significantly to addressing RQ1. Within this study, the young people were in Year 11, aged 15–16 years (average age 15.7 years; SD = 0.4). This age group was chosen for two reasons; the development of independence during adolescence corresponds with the end of compulsory school education which symbolises the start of a transition into adulthood, and the increasing responsibility and adult behaviours which are encouraged and expected at this age.

Adolescence is a transition period between childhood and adulthood, and is often associated with increases in perceived independence (Corbin, Pangrazi, & Le Masurier, 2004; Marcia, 1980). As discussed in Chapter 1, older adolescence (15–16 years of age) represents a key time in the decline in levels of physical activity (Aaron et al., 2002; Brooke et al., 2014; Telama, Yang, Laakso, & Viikarii, 1997). Furthermore, in England, Year 11 students are in the final year of their GCSE examination period, thus it is increasingly likely that this is a period where other priorities may take precedence over physical activity. Also, in all state schools in England, at the end of Year 11, compulsory PE provision ends, removing a timetabled period for young people to engage in physical activity, after which opportunities to participate must be individually sought.

This research provided an opportunity for an under-researched social group to talk about their own experiences. For many young people aged 15–16 who live at home and attend school, expected behaviours are imposed on them by people in authority, e.g. parents or teachers. In speaking with these young people, I found that they appeared to enjoy the opportunity to share their own views and experiences.

THE MEDIA

Coupled with my school-based research, I conducted a media analysis of the way that gender was represented in written and photographic news coverage of the Rio 2016 Olympic Games (from now on Rio 2016). Through a social constructivist lens, the media represents an important form of socialisation for how young people may construct their gendered identities. As discussed in Chapter 3, how young people interpret media messages is under-researched, and the findings of my content and narrative analysis were used to frame questions within my interviews with young people to explore how media messages can become inculcated within a person’s habitus. The field of schooling, as the arena in which gender identities are played out (in this PhD), may be influenced by broader norms and expectations developed through media messages – by analysing how these are interpreted, it is possible to explore the overlapping and interconnected nature of Bourdieusian fields.

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The data collection methods and schedule followed a four-stage process, incorporating the media analysis of Rio 2016 followed by the three school case studies. Within each school case study there are two complementary components: questionnaires administered to all Year 11 students in attendance on the day of data collection, and semi-structured interviews with a purposely selected sample of young men and women. The data collection was conducted over a period of 10 months, between August 2016 and May 2017, which can be seen in the timetable below:

TABLE 1: TIMETABLE OF DATA COLLECTION

	Aug-16	Sep-16	Oct-16	Nov-16	Dec-16	Jan-17	Feb-17	Mar-17	Apr-17	May-17
PHASE 1	Collection of Rio 2016 Olympic media data - 5th-21st									
	Content and discourse analysis of media data			Writing up media analysis						
PHASE 2		School 1 data collection	Data analysis							
PHASE 3				School 2 data collection	Data analysis					
PHASE 4							School 3 data collection	Data analysis		

MEDIA ANALYSIS

The purpose of the Rio 2016 media analysis was to gauge the extent to which the media reflect and (re)produce gendered discourse in which narrow definitions of “acceptable” bodies are created. As well as constituting a stand-alone methodology, the results of my Rio 2016 analysis were incorporated into the qualitative interview schedule to elicit how young people’s understanding of gender is influenced by media messages.

The four online outlets chosen were *The Guardian*, BBC Sport website, Sky Sports News website, and Twitter Moments. Online media outlets were used because this is where many are increasingly looking for news and media, and furthermore, is more appropriate for use with young people, for whom engaging in internet use plays a large role in their creation of reality (Madden et al., 2013; Williams, 2009). In July 2016, I conducted a small pilot study with 25 young people at the school at which I used to teach, asking young people where they would look online for sports results or news. The two most popular outlets identified were the BBC Sport website and Sky Sports News website, hence why these two outlets have been included. Importantly, the BBC is viewed as being impartial, and as the main TV broadcaster of Rio 2016, Olympic coverage would be expected to feature strongly. Sky Sports News represents a specialist sports news outlet, with its own feature programme and webpage dedicated to Sportswomen. *The Guardian* was selected because it represents a free-to-view online newspaper which has a liberal perspective to its reporting, and represents a traditional newspaper in common with previously conducted textual media analysis research (Crossman et al., 2007; Godoy-Pressland, 2014; King, 2007; Vincent et al., 2002). Finally, Twitter Moments was chosen as it is a social media platform, providing a contrast with traditional news outlets.

Data collection started on day 1 of the Games (5th August) and finished one day after the closing ceremony in Brazil (22nd August). One day post-Rio 2016 was included to reflect the time difference, whereby events completed on 21st August in Brazil would only be reported in the UK the following day. To ensure consistency, data collection was

completed at the same time each day – between 08:00 and 08:30 GMT, where the homepages of each webpage were saved as a linked PDF file to which I could return later for analysis. Only articles positioned on each website’s homepage were analysed. The editorial choice of which articles are displayed on the homepage is revealing as to what news is deemed important. With online news outlets, online updating of content can occur – by collecting my data sample at the same time each day, I minimised the impact of updating on which articles were included in my sample. Whilst data collection occurred during the timeframe of Rio 2016, I analysed both Olympic and non-Olympic news. The only exclusion to the media articles and photos analysed were those which were adverts or invites to vote in online polls. All other articles, including video articles were analysed.

The media analysis involved a two-step process, incorporating both content and thematic analysis. On a macro-level, the main form of content analysis was whether the article or photo depicted male or female athletes. Following this, articles and photos were categorised, using criteria established from previous research (Daniels, 2012; Godoy-Pressland & Griggs, 2014; Vincent et al., 2002). The categories used to analyse the articles and photos are outlined in Table 2. The frequency within which different sports were featured in articles or photos was also recorded to demonstrate which sports are prioritised within these UK sports media outlets. With categorising photos and articles, researcher subjectivity can influence judgement of category, thus a selection of articles and photos were second-coded by a fellow researcher to check for inaccuracies. When a discrepancy in coding arose, we discussed justification of coding and came to an agreed decision. Discussions tended to be around sexualised photos, particularly the extent to which a photo was sexualised or not. With this category, the allocation of photos is relatively subjective, and is influenced by broader social norms of what constitutes “appropriate” sexualisation. The table below provides descriptions of each category used during my analysis:

TABLE 2: METHODS OF CATEGORISING ARTICLES AND PHOTOS

Article	Photo
1) Match report: a factual reporting of the event/sport/result	1) Action photo: the athlete is in full kit (either training or competition) and is completing a technique essential for success; e.g. kicking a football/running a race
2) Behind the athlete: article commenting on personal stories or background of the athlete	2) Non-action but in kit: the athlete is in kit, but is not performing a skill essential for success; e.g. celebrating a goal/on the podium/drinking water
3) Commentary, preview or opinion: article about an upcoming event, or an in-depth analysis of performance, often written by “experts” or within editorial articles	3) Non-action, non-kit: the athlete is not wearing performance kit and is not on the area of sporting action; e.g. press conference/walking around athlete village
4) General male or female sport story: not commenting on a team or athlete, but instead about the sport in general/or about multiple athletes within a sport	4) Posed: the athlete is positioned in a way which is not “natural” to their sporting performance; e.g. for a photoshoot
	5) Sexualised: the individual is presented in a way which can be interpreted as sexual or suggestive (including nakedness beyond “normal” requirements of sport; suggestive facial expressions – pouting, sultry eyes) (Buisse & Embser-Herbert, 2004); e.g. photoshoot of an individual wearing only underwear

Following the content analysis, a thematic analysis was conducted to explore messages implicit in the reporting of sport across each news outlet. Under a Bourdieusian framework, media represents a secondary form of socialisation which has the potential to influence how an audience views the world (Bourdieu, 1999); the thematic analysis sought to explore the implicit messages promoted by media coverage of sportsmen and women, forming a basis for exploring how these messages are interpreted by young people within the framework of a gendered habitus. All instances which described an athlete’s performance, appearance or personality were collected, producing >31,000 words to analyse. Emerging themes were noted during the collection process and used within a thematic analysis to produce eight themes.

TABLE 3: DESCRIPTIONS OF THEMES EMERGING FROM MEDIA COVERAGE ANALYSIS

Theme	Description
Battle/War metaphors	Descriptions of the sporting performance using military or war descriptions (e.g. “That soldier-in, soldier-out mentality will be tested more than ever this time around” <i>The Guardian</i> 12/08/2016)
Superhuman talent	Referring to athletes possessing superpowers or “unnatural” talent, referring to athletes as heroes (e.g. “Bolt received a hero’s reception as he walked out into Rio’s Olympic Stadium... Usain is an extremely gifted athlete”, <i>The BBC</i> , 15/08/2016)
Emotional prevalence	References to the display of emotions by athletes in relation to their performances (e.g. “The duo exchanged a warm embrace at the net and a tearful Djokovic then left the court”, <i>Sky Sports News</i> , 8/8/2016)
Reinforcing heterosexuality	Comments reinforcing normative heterosexuality (e.g. “Simone Biles is officially the best gymnast on the planet, but she may also be the biggest Zac Efron fan in the world”, <i>Twitter Moments</i> , 17/8/2016)
Emphasis on attractiveness	Descriptions which comment on the requirement for athletes to present an attractive appearance (for both sportsmen and women) (e.g. “Attitude magazine once named Mears the seventh hottest man on the planet and readers of its website are invited to drool over his ‘smoking hot 2016 calendar’”, <i>The Guardian</i> , 10/8/2016)
Challenging stereotypes	Instances where stereotypes are challenged (e.g. “Brazil’s judo gold medallist Rafaela Silva made a point of recognising the sacrifices her girlfriend Thamara Cezar made in helping her to the podium, including looking after the couple’s three dogs”, <i>BBC Sport</i> , 11/8/2016)
Trivialising athletic performance	Examples of undermining performances of athletes, commenting on irrelevant information or infantilising athletes (e.g. “People think Louis Smith’s man bun threw him off balance”, <i>Twitter Moments</i> , 9/8/2016)
Animalistic references	References which compared athletes to characteristics of animals (e.g. “Yafai, in a blue singlet and lean as a hungry wolf”, <i>The Guardian</i> , 8/8/2016)

Following the completion of the media analysis, key findings and themes were used to inform media-related questions within my interview schedule. These questions targeted to what extent the young people were aware of the discrepancy in how males and females are represented and how this made them feel in relation to their own participation in sport. Adding these findings and questions allowed the young people to interrogate what

they thought of as “normal” within the field of sport, and to explore why this knowledge may become considered “natural”.

SCHOOL ANALYSIS

QUESTIONNAIRES

Each student in Year 11 (aged 15–16) was given a parental consent form which outlined the aims of the research alongside an explanation of what the research would entail (Appendix 2). Consent forms were given out at the start of a PE lesson. Parents provided consent through an opt-out technique (no parents declined their child participating). The following week, during a PE lesson, I introduced the research to the young people, providing an overview of the research aims, and administered the questionnaires (Fife-Schaw, 1994) (Appendix 3 and 4). All students present during the PE lesson at the time of questionnaire administration completed the questionnaire (there were no young people who declined to participate). I received 107 questionnaires from School 1 (63 male/44 female), 173 from School 2 (98 male/75 female) and 52 from School 3 (34 male/18 female), producing a total of 332 questionnaires (195 male/137 female). Within the questionnaire, students were asked whether they were willing to be considered for interview. At School 1, 36 percent of students expressed a willingness to be interviewed, 30 percent at School 2, and 52 percent at School 3. Whilst one might argue that those who have chosen to be interviewed might be inherently “different” to those who did not (Bryman, 2012), the large numbers of students who identified being willing meant that I was able to choose a varied sample of young people to speak with.

The questionnaire topics and wording were piloted with students at School 1 in July 2016. I spoke with students who were, at the time, in Year 10 regarding their understanding of the concepts included in the questionnaire, such as masculinity and femininity. These students were then part of my research in September 2016 when they

were in Year 11. The students I spoke to were lower set⁴ GCSE PE students.

Academically, School 1's attainment results are weaker than School 2 or 3, therefore ensuring my instruments were understood by lower ability students at School 1 would improve the chance that young people from each school would also be able to engage meaningfully with the questionnaire and interview schedule. During the pilot research, some young people had never heard of the terms masculinity or femininity, yet could freely describe and discuss "characteristics which are usually associated with being male/female". Consequently, this alternative wording was added to the questionnaire to assist with young people being able to answer this question. Whilst I would have preferred to avoid the biological essentialism which equates masculinity to males and femininity to females (Dworkin, 1996; Paechter, 2006b), if this is how these young people understand gender, the questionnaire needed to speak a language which was familiar. Cognisant that the wording of this question may be viewed as leading, the development of how young people understand masculinity and femininity was further explored during the interviews, where young people were asked to explain the origins of their beliefs, and challenged the construction of gender as a binary.

The primary purpose of young people completing the questionnaire was for it to function as a tool to select young people to be interviewed. Secondly, the questionnaire allowed an overview of physical activity levels for young people which could be analysed based on school (used as a proxy for socio-economic status) or sex (differences between young men and women). The questionnaire therefore provided background knowledge and contextualised the role of sport and physical activity in the lives of the young people researched (Greener, 2011) (Appendix 5). Although self-reported physical activity is prone to error, including floor and ceiling effects and/or social desirability (Samdal, Tynjälä, & Roberts et al., 2007; Thomas, Nelson, & Silverman, 2005), this was the most

⁴ "Lower set" refers to a pedagogical practice where, for GCSE subjects, students are streamed into similar ability groups. Lower set refers to the less academically "able" students.

appropriate method of gauging existing levels of physical activity for the young people in this study. For the question relating to participation levels, I specifically referred to exercise and sport conducted *outside* of PE lessons, indicating young people who participate voluntarily. Furthermore, the questionnaire posed questions relating to peer and familial involvement in sport (Brown, Frankel, & Fennell, 1989; Keegan, Harwood, Spray, & Lavalley, 2009), and more qualitative questions asked students to explain if and why certain sports might be considered more suitable to men or women, and what they thought the terms “masculinity” and “femininity” meant. These questions were open ended allowing the young people to have control over their answers, presenting their own thoughts and beliefs (Fife-Schaw, 1994). The final questions referred to their parents’ employment status and their own career aspirations. I included these questions as indicators of class (Bourdieu, 1990; Dillabough, 2004; Lovell, 2004), whereby socio-economic status as a proxy for class can be determined. Historically, class has been determined by the father’s job (Bourdieu, 1990); however, the role of the father as the “breadwinner” is often no longer the case. Occupations were classified using the National Statistics Socio Economic Classification (NS-SEC) which has eight categories, using the higher category of parental job as an indicator of SES (to alleviate issues with single-parent families) (Education Committee, 2014). There are limitations in using such a scale, such as those students whose both parents are retired – the only available option of “unemployed” fails to accurately map this circumstance. However, given the typical mapping of employment onto class status, there were only a very small percentage of students whose parents were retired and to whom this anomaly applied.

Reflecting on the quality of questionnaires returned, I used the data both to gauge an understanding of the whole group of young people, and to provide individual information to help select individual student cases for interview (Brannen, 2005). Across the whole number of questionnaires collected (n=332), only 36 included incomplete responses, of which these were non-response to the question about parental occupation. Some students

left the questions regarding masculinity and femininity empty; however, this is an important consideration of the role of the habitus in recreating norms and beliefs regarding gender which are taken for granted and presumed “natural” (Skeggs, 2004). Between data collection in each school I made small adjustments to the questionnaire, such as adding a question about GCSE PE study because in School 2 the questionnaires were administered in “core” PE where all students were together, rather than in separate lessons as in School 1. Furthermore, I edited the types of sports listed – adding cycling which emerged as a common sport listed as “Other” from responses by students at School 1. This shows reflexivity and an ability to seek to improve my research, viewing the process as continual learning to make the description of the phenomenon more meaningful (Bourdieu, 1996; Williams & May, 2002).

INTERVIEWS

Young people interviewed were selected based on their questionnaire responses to provide a varied sample. I sought to select a sample of young people who had differing views on masculinity and femininity, and varying levels of participation in sport and physical activity. In total, I conducted 51 semi-structured interviews, 26 with young men and 25 with young women, running to a total of 39.5 hours. Importantly, students were given the option of being interviewed individually or with a friend (who also answered questions), cautious that the interview situation may have been threatening or intimidating for some students (David et al., 2001). Therefore, I spoke with 33 young men and 37 young women. Those who chose to be interviewed in pairs all elected a friend who was of the same sex as themselves. Bourdieu (1996, p18) himself speaks about the power relations in interviews, suggesting that “various kinds of distortion are embedded in the very structure of the relationship”. The relationship between the interviewer and interviewee is often difficult; however, the option of being with a friend was designed to foster a more supportive environment without the one-on-one dynamics which could be perceived as threatening.

The interview schedule was semi-structured (see Appendix 6) so that the young people could speak freely while simultaneously focusing on the research aims and objectives. When discussing a sensitive and potentially fluid concept, such as gender, subjective methods are required to allow for individual exploration of personal experiences (Blaikie, 2007). The interviews took place during PE lessons or, in School 1, in a specially timetabled lesson for critical thinking and study skills. Interviews lasted between 30–75 minutes (average length = 46 minutes) and were all recorded and transcribed verbatim; however, notes on the interview were documented immediately post interview and during the transcription process, because “transcription cannot capture the rhythms and tempo of the spoken word” (Bourdieu, 1996, p22). Furthermore, I made notes about my own experiences of the interview, making observations about the young people, their answers and their gendered bodily hexis (Bourdieu, 1984; Huppatz, 2012b; Williams, 2002). These observations helped to explore individual tensions or inconsistencies between embodied behaviours and spoken ideas, highlighting the utility of using Bourdieu’s habitus and field as a framework to explore individual gendered tensions and struggles. By solely relying on the transcription of the spoken word, instances of struggle, as demonstrated through non-verbal behaviours – e.g. reluctance, stuttering, confusion, postural changes or facial expressions – may be ignored, and may hide instances of negotiation for young people with their gendered identities.

Bourdieu (1996) identified the importance of emphasising how interviews are a two-way process which can be beneficial for both the researcher and the participant. I organised my interview schedule into four parts: 1) introductory questions about school and PE; 2) questions about the media coverage of sport; 3) masculinity and femininity and how this interrelates with their own identities and representations; and 4) the impact of social media on the social hierarchy for young people. The same schedule was asked of both young men and women: this was to encourage the young people to reflect on experiences of both men and women, and to link their own knowledge to broader ideas of gender

fluidity and performance whilst being mindful that male and female experiences are not necessarily binary and oppositional. The introductory questions about school in general were an attempt to create a supportive environment and develop a rapport with the young people (Bourdieu, 1996). While some of my early interviews were stimulating, and offered important information, on reflection there were times when I was too keen to follow the schedule rather than following up on important leads. During another interview, the school bell rang during a particularly poignant response, and this interruption severed my line of thought and I forgot to follow up on what the young person had just said. These instances are examples of Bourdieu's (1996) criticism of researchers finding it difficult to give conscious attention to what is being said whilst simultaneously thinking about what the next questions should be to maintain relevance and flow. The final question of the interview schedule was whether the interview had made the young people think differently about gender, and for the majority, they said that it had increased their awareness. This demonstrates the importance of using research to challenge the social world (Brubaker, 1993; Chambers, 2005; May, 2001), allowing young people the opportunity to reflect on their beliefs, dispositions and practices in relation to gender norms and assumptions within their habitus.

In specific acknowledgement of the development of interview questions, all questions were asked through an initial lens of sport; however, other ideas around identity and the body became important beyond the confines of talking about sport. Specifically, inspiration for questions were taken from previous research (in brackets) and questions were framed to help:

- Explore how sport is viewed by young people in relation to their identity, including individual relationships with sport, such as participation and future intentions (Coakley & White, 1992).

- Discuss how media messages infiltrate and influence how young people understand their own gendered identities (Lee, Macdonald, & Wright, 2009; Lines, 2007).
- Explore how understandings of gender affect the social construction of the ideal male/female body (Azzarito, 2009).
- Discuss what young people understand as masculinity and femininity and how this is embodied (Paechter, 2006a; Schippers, 2007).
- Consider the relationship between young people and popularity in terms of relationships of power (Martino, 1999); exploring relations between habitus and fields to explain a social hierarchy.
- Discuss how young people internalise gender pressures and what effect this has on their relationship with their body (McCabe, Ricciardelli, & Ridge, 2006).
- Encourage reflection by students on their own experiences and the gender pressures that they face (Hills, 2006).

Where necessary during interviews, various visual techniques were used to help stimulate conversation and provide a method to start discussing difficult topics (Prosser & Loxley, 2008). When discussing the media representations of athletes, I used a video of #CoverTheAthlete (CoverTheAthlete, 2015) to discuss the differences in male and female media coverage. Furthermore, young people were asked to discuss the embodiment of masculinity or femininity in ten images of sportspeople, where the images depicted bodies which either conformed to socially constructed norms of gender, and others transgressing these (Appendix 7). These images were used to encourage some young people to think about the relationship between sex and gender, and to see past biological essentialism. Gorely et al. (2003) used a range of photos as prompts to discuss the role of gender with school-aged youth, and my choice of photos was influenced by the images used in their research. Clark-Ibáñez (2004) outlines the strengths of using photos during interviews to promote discussion. When choosing the photos to be used, I was keen to use

bodies of athletes that would not likely be “known” by the young people. For instance, using a picture of David Beckham would elicit other opinions about his body which may not be the individual’s own beliefs, rather reflecting how his “brand” has been socially constructed.

A semi-structured interview schedule allowed for similarities of responses to “core” questions to be elicited, but also encouraged young people to take the interview in their own direction. Coakley & White (1992) suggest that with young people, follow-up questions of “why?” are not appropriate and it can be problematic to ask young people to extend their ideas. They instead suggest asking “how things happen” or “how did you feel about xxx?”. I used their recommendations, as far as possible, and avoided asking “why?”. This links to my conceptualisation of the habitus as important in influencing practice: the non-conscious nature of the habitus helps to explain behaviours which “just happen”, therefore to ask “why?” may prove difficult to answer and potentially cause distress for young people during interviews.

ETHICS

Ethical approval was given by Durham University School of Education Ethics Committee on 9th February 2016 (see Appendices 8 & 9 for form submitted and ethics approval).

Ethical considerations are greater when research is based on children (i.e. under the age of 18; Punch, 2002). During the process of data collection, ensuring adherence to ethical principles was a continual process, basing my decisions on ESRC ethical guidelines (ESRC, 2015a). In accordance with the six key principles outlined by the ESRC ethical framework, I will discuss the steps taken to achieve informed consent, protection from harm, confidentiality and anonymity, participant free will, and my own position and reflexivity.

ESRC (2015a, p4) guidelines state that participants “should be given appropriate information about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their

participation in the research entails and what risks and benefits, if any, are involved”.

Following these guidelines, all participants and their parents were provided with an information letter which outlined the principles of the research, the procedures which the young person would be involved in, and parents provided their informed consent through an “opt-out” method which was agreed by each school’s headteacher. Furthermore, prior to completing their questionnaires, each student received the same talk by myself regarding the purpose of the research and the expectations of their involvement (BERA, 2018). Young people did not have to complete the questionnaire and were given the option of not completing it, effectively withdrawing from the research; however, none did (Heath, Charles, Crow & Wiles, 2007). Whilst parental and headteacher consent was deemed sufficient, I view 15–16-year-olds as able to make an informed decision about whether they want to participate, thus by giving young people a choice, this correlates with respecting the development of autonomy during adolescence (Christensen & Prout, 2002; Punch, 2002). Smith (1995) highlights the importance of respecting the autonomy of participants and their decision-making capabilities, and this ought to extend to young people by providing an opportunity within research to make an informed decision.

At all stages of the research, I was committed to ensuring participants did not experience harm or distress. Given the personal nature of some of the questions asked during the interviews, there was the potential for some young people to become upset. To mitigate against such harm, the purpose of the interview was explained to participants and they were pre-warned about the expected topics to be covered: their gendered identity and their body. At this point, the young people were given the opportunity to withdraw their participation, and it was explained that the young person could withdraw at any point should they wish (BERA, 2018). No individuals withdrew their participation or declined to continue after receiving instructions about the content of the interview. Smith (1995) identified a risk of over-disclosure during focus groups. Whilst my research design did not utilise focus groups, the use of paired interviews might show some similarities to

Smith's observations about focus groups. Through debriefing the participant which involved a reflection on the interview, I assessed the impact of the interview on the young people: no participant became distressed, and most said that they had learned something about themselves in the process of talking about their gender, sexuality and their body.

Confidentiality and anonymity can be difficult to achieve, particularly when interviews are conducted with more than one student. By introducing a "group" (albeit a small group of two) element into the interview, participant A cannot be entirely sure what participant B might disclose to others about the interview after the event (Smith, 1995). Furthermore, during the interviews, some students discussed examples of other students by name; of whom some of these students were also to be interviewed. In these situations, it was important not to disclose any prior knowledge I had of any students (from previous interviews), ensuring confidentiality throughout. However, during the introduction to the interview where I explained the purpose of the interview, I explained that personal information should not be shared beyond the interview, and I had to trust that the young people would keep to this standard. Furthermore, to ensure anonymity for those who completed the questionnaire, each completed questionnaire was given a school and individual numerical identifier. For interview participants, pseudonyms were allocated during transcription, with the pseudonym name reflecting their self-identified sex; where a student identified as non-binary (and had changed their name to an androgynous one) their pseudonym respected this. Data was stored securely throughout, with only the researcher being able to access personal documents through password protected files (ESRC, 2015b).

As previously discussed in relation to informed consent, I view each young person as able to make their own decisions regarding their involvement. It is important to consider the role and position of the school and researcher in encouraging participation. As an adult, I may have been in a position where my authority pressurised the young people to complete the questionnaire – my explanation and instructions to the students were

intended to make clear that participation was voluntary. However, research participation in schools is encouraged, often through being legitimised by teachers' presence and encouragement, so that the school's power relations can make it difficult for students to opt out (David et al., 2001; Heath et al., 2007). Thus, in accordance with David et al.'s (2001) recommendations, the whole-group explanation session prior to the questionnaire administration helped ensure consistency with how the research was portrayed to the participants. Another form of coercion could have related to students giving socially desirable responses – such as presenting post-feminist ideals of gender equality which is assumed as desirable. Throughout, I emphasised a “no right or wrong answers” approach (David et al., 2001, p359). In practice, I did not feel that the students were shielding their “true” beliefs, and indeed, some of the personal stories or reflections of their experiences are testimony to this.

An ethical consideration of which I was constantly aware throughout the research process was that of researcher positionality and reflexivity. Punch (2002) highlights that reflexivity should be a central part of the research process with children, linking epistemologically to the way in which children's knowledge is framed in an “adult” academic world. As a former PE teacher, I initially wanted one of my case studies to be my previous teaching school. This was because I believed that because I was known to the students, I could generate a good rapport with them, and create a “safe” environment for disclosure of personal information. However, on completing my interviews in School 3, where I did not know any of the students, nor staff, it became apparent that proximity to the students was not essential for the development of a “good interview”. Based on this reflexivity, the choice of School 3 was changed, I felt that to go back into my teaching school would place both myself and the young people in a difficult situation: through previous relationships as teacher-student, there was a risk that prior assumptions or prejudices might influence the interview. I concluded that my ability to “listen” to their voices would be lessened precisely *because* I knew them too well. Therefore, across all

three school “sites”, I had no connections with any of the students, yet, as a former PE teacher, I “fitted” in to the habitus of each school’s PE departments.

On reflection, one of the most difficult decisions was what I was to wear as a researcher during a PE lesson: questioning whether to dress “as a PE teacher” in tracksuit and trainers, or more casually in “normal clothes”. I decided on the latter, choosing to position myself outside the role of a “teacher”, reducing the illusion of being in a position of power to the young people. As both an adult, and a former teacher, in an adult-child interview relationship, some may argue that my own habitus may have negatively influenced the interview relationship through these inherent power inequalities. However, through this reflexivity, considering my own appearance and embodied identity, I attempted to reduce the power dynamics which could negatively affect the interview. On reflection, I felt I developed a good rapport with these young people, which is reflected in the depth of personal narrative provided.

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Each component of the data collection was individually analysed and then collectively brought together to highlight and contextualise findings from other areas. In combining the data from each stage of this research, the aim was to look for both similarity and difference. Elements of each phase addressed different Bourdieusian fields – the media analysis specifically targeted the field of (sports) media, whereas questionnaire and interview data covered the fields of sport, schooling and how media is interpreted. By combining these methods, the possibility for overlapping fields was explored. In this section, I will discuss each method of analysis separately, considering the media analysis, questionnaires, interviews and observations.

The media analysis was split into two forms of analysis, content and a thematic analysis (as discussed above). The day-by-day content analysis of the number of articles and photos which featured male and female athletes were plotted onto a spreadsheet

(Appendix 10) for each media outlet. Using SPSS software, descriptive statistics were performed to illustrate the differences between the amount of coverage of men and women (calculated using percentage of coverage). Descriptive statistics were used to demonstrate the frequency of which different sports were covered (calculated using percentages to demonstrate how much coverage consisted of specific sports). By analysing the difference in coverage between men and women, this data was used to inform interview questions which explored how young people interpret media messages in relation to the under-representation of sportswomen. For the thematic analysis, themes were identified based on both data- and theory-emergent ideas (Aronson, 1995; Madill et al., 2000; Pouliot, 2007). Once the themes were identified, each instance which “fitted” into a theme was separated into whether the quote was specifically about a male or female athlete, or a generic sporting comment (Aronson, 1995). This differentiation between comments about male and female athletes allowed distinctions to be made in how the media report on men’s and women’s sport. During this process of analysis, some initial themes were condensed and combined with others, producing sub-themes within a broader idea (Appendix 11). Theoretical concepts which emerged as interwoven with the data-driven themes included Connell’s concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity (Connell, 1987, 2002), or Rich’s (1980) compulsory heterosexuality. The results of the media analysis are discussed in Chapter 7 in relation to how young people interpret and act upon such media messages.

Primarily the questionnaire responses were used to select students to be interviewed. To supplement interview data, statistical analyses were performed to explore the differences between how young men and women engage with sport or physical activity. As outlined in Chapter 1, NICE (2009) physical activity guidelines specify that children should participate in 60 minutes of physical activity daily. Therefore, by using the data obtained from self-reported physical activity, (plus known time spent in PE lessons) percentages of young people meeting these guidelines could be calculated, separated by both school and

respondent's sex. Independent samples T-Tests (P value set at 0.05 level) explored the differences between self-reported sporting ability for young men and women. A multiple regression analysis (using the factors of sex, self-rated ability, family involvement in sport, friend participation, and own subjective feelings towards being active) was conducted to demonstrate the relationship between these factors on the number of hours of participation in sport and exercise (Appendix 12). The results of these analyses are presented in Chapter 7 and 9 where appropriate to contextualise the results of the interviews.

A thematic analysis of interview data was chosen to ensure that I remained sensitive to the Bourdieusian principles guiding this PhD, principally the way in which young people's habitus is linked to their position in the field, relations with other agents in the field and the way that power influence the field. A hybrid approach was used which utilised both inductive and deductive coding to develop themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Coding and analysis were undertaken manually. I initially attempted to use analytical software (NVIVO); however, my own style of working preferred visually "seeing" the data in front of me using hand-written notes and pens and highlighters, rather than through a computerised screen. This was also the method used during my MA dissertation, and the method with which I felt most comfortable. After personally transcribing all interviews to ensure proximity and familiarity with the data, I made more notes about each interview (approximately one page of A4 per interview). All interview transcripts and notes were read, re-read, and relevant excerpts were highlighted in accordance with either data-emergent ideas, or with theory-driven themes based on Bourdieu's conceptual tools. The initial themes were conceptualised on a mind-map (Appendix 13).

Moving between my data and the literature, Bourdieu's key theoretical ideas which helped inform the development of my thematic analysis were: taken-for-granted norms within the habitus, regulation of gender norms and surveillance, gender as performative,

and the role of sporting capital to prioritise certain representations of the body/sport. These theoretical principles were then linked to the words of young people. Through re-reading and analysing both the thematic tables and interview data, the themes were revised and edited to reflect a “flow” of ideas, forming more of a progression through each idea (Appendix 14 demonstrates how the initial mind-map progressed to a more logical representation of themes). Appendix 15 displays an example of a completed thematic table with specific student quotes within each theme and sub-theme.

Thematic table quotes were created for each school, producing three documents in which quotes were separated for male and female interviewees, allowing easier searching and synthesis of quotes during writing-up. Theme “titles” changed during the process of collating student quotes, and differences between schools emerged, with some sub-themes being less important for School 1 compared to School 3, for example. When this was the case, I made notes on reasons why a theme had more significance, using my own observation notes and experiences to contextualise the significance of themes to broader theoretical ideas in relation to classed differences. By separating thematic tables by school, an analysis of how classed norms (developed through education and socialisation) may influence gender, was possible. In total, seven over-arching themes emerged from the data, which are broadly: media messages, adolescent construction of gender norms, judgement and surveillance, gender as a game, popularity and gender, sport in constructing an “acceptable” identity, and social media in creating popularity. Whilst (re)reading and listening to the transcripts, two over-arching concepts appeared to underpin each theme; that of young people identifying instances where they have become “trapped” in narrow gender norms, and the influence of power and social status for young people, arguments which will be threaded through each section of the discussion. A diagrammatic version of my thematic analysis is shown in Figure 3.

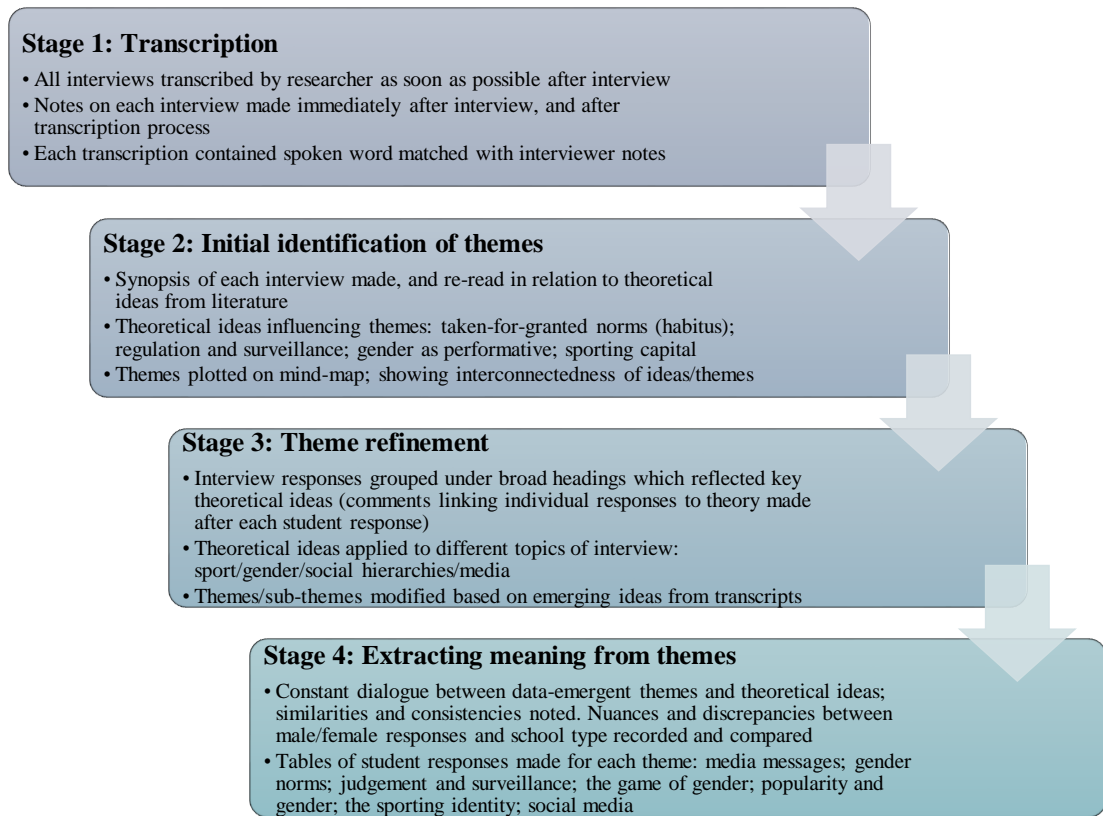


FIGURE 3: DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE THEMATIC ANALYSIS PROCESS

Throughout my interview analysis, I attempted to weave the interview transcripts into a narrative capable of making theory tangible in the representation and interpretation of the spoken word (Bourdieu, 1996). The interconnected nature of sport, gender and the body is integral to my PhD, but the linear presentation inherent to a thesis, may not convey the interconnectedness which the young people identified. The research was positioned through the lens of sport, yet sport did not always present itself as a primary point of discussion. Therefore, the discussion chapters demonstrate a progressive narrative depicting the layers of a young person's gendered identity, yet, at no point do I assume that any chapter exists independently of any other. Throughout the discussion chapters, the role of habitus, capital, doxa and relations of power are integral elements to how young people negotiate their gendered identities; therefore, the chapters represent the best "fit" for each idea, with the intention of avoiding duplication or confusion.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined the research methods and underpinning methodology which were followed during this research, in doing so, I have articulated the rationale for the methods used and the way in which they are suited to my research using a Bourdieusian framework. My use of a mixed-methods approach to include an online media analysis with a three-site case study of 15–16-year-old young people has provided a wealth of data, much of which is too voluminous to be presented in this thesis. I have outlined the procedures followed for both collecting data, and for analysis; and noted that the linear way the results will be presented in the form of a PhD thesis may, at times, underplay the complexities and interconnectedness of fields within young people’s negotiation of their gendered identity. Underlying my methodological choices has been a desire to listen and tell the stories of the young people experiencing tensions with their construction of a gendered identity. It has been my aim throughout, to follow the words of (Bourdieu, 1999, p17): “the function of sociology...is to reveal that which is hidden. In doing so, it can help minimise the symbolic violence within social relations”.

PART 4: POST-MATCH ANALYSIS

This discussion explores the lived gendered experiences of these young people. Young people's gendered identities are complex and, as such, each section of this discussion should not be considered a stand-alone idea. Instead, during data collection and analysis, a lot of overlap of ideas and experiences existed; the representation of themes in this discussion reflects, in my opinion, the best way to present the viewpoints of young people without repeating ideas or confusing reality. Throughout this discussion, two conceptual threads are paramount to the way that young people negotiate their gendered identities: an over-arching feeling of being "trapped"⁵; and, the existence of strongly entrenched power relations which shape gendered norms. Young people are not "victims" of top-down power relations where gendered norms are imposed from above, but can create and consolidate their own gendered norms, which emphasises how certain students can use their social power to direct norms. These two threads are integrated throughout the discussion. Whilst these two threads represent a general gendering of behaviours and practices for young people, there are instances whereby some individuals demonstrate elements of resistance. The word "trapped" may appear deterministic and prevent an accurate discussion of agency, and where appropriate, instances of resistance or challenge will be highlighted. My conceptualisation of being "trapped" reflects more a state of feeling pressurised to act in a certain way, with few other options. I do not mean "trapped" in a wholly deterministic sense, and to this extent, trapped will always be written as "trapped" to indicate the contested nature of this word choice. My RQs will be addressed within each discussion chapter, summarised in each conclusion section. The complexity of young people's experiences across different fields prevents each chapter

⁵ The notion of being "trapped" draws on elements of Foucault's Technologies; considering how domination may lead to docility and an inescapable situation where young people are compelled to pursue an idealized gendered identity. Drawing at times on ideas of docility and regimes, I use the word "trapped" to align with Bourdieusian terminology whilst being mindful of Foucauldian principles which underpin this idea.

being able to succinctly address a single RQ. Therefore, in my final Conclusion Chapter, I will tie the arguments together, drawing on the whole narrative to answer each RQ conclusively.

Within each chapter, the voices of the young people I spoke with are prioritised, and their experiences are supplemented with data from either my Rio 2016 media analysis or through questionnaire data⁶. This discussion also addresses the relationship between gender and class, either interspersed throughout the discussion, or, if required, positioned as a stand-alone section. As a brief overview, Chapter 5 explores the development of a gendered habitus, using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital to explain the way in which gender operates at both a conscious and non-conscious level for these young people. Moreover, Chapter 5 provides an overview of the characteristics and underlying gendered beliefs held by the young people, before using this to suggest in Chapter 6, that young people are participants in a "game of gender", following etiquette and gendered expectations to regulate legitimate identities. Subsequent chapters apply the gendered habitus to specific fields, and in Chapter 7, I unpick how sports media messages can contribute to the development of a gendered habitus, exploring how these young people understand and interpret wider sporting media messages and the way these media messages have become internalised in the gendered habitus to influence behaviour. Chapter 8 considers the way in which sport interacts with the adolescent gendered body, linking to how this forms part of one's identity, before explicitly addressing the issue of the school and PE on regulating sport and gender norms in Chapter 9. And finally, Chapter 10 discusses the way that young people are pressurised into constant identity maintenance, through which there is no "off-time" for the presentation of an acceptable identity, considering the presence of social media as a constant reminder of the importance of the presentation of the stylised self.

⁶ With the subsequent discussion chapters, all quotations are taken from the semi-structured interviews with the young people, and where data is taken from questionnaire results, this is identified (specifically in relation to definitions of masculinity/femininity and physical activity participation rates in Chapters 5 and 8).

Throughout, this discussion highlights the original contribution of this PhD. By applying Bourdieu's concepts to sport, gender and young people in a school environment, this exploration of different fields and how they hierarchically interact and overlap, extends previous research which has concentrated on sporting sub-cultures (Thorpe, 2009, 2010), education (Dumais, 2002; Grenfell & James, 2004; Harker, 1984), an explicit focus on PE (Hunter, 2004), or a theoretical application of Bourdieu to gender (McLeod, 2005; McNay, 1999; Skeggs, 2004). As Dagkas and Quarmby (2015) highlight, the overlapping of social fields can create complexity for young people, and this discussion demonstrates how young people negotiate their gendered identities across, and within, the fields of schooling, sport and media. Through considering the role of education and media as institutions which can influence the habitus, this discussion provides empirical evidence which supports the use of habitus to explain the way in which young people negotiate and perform their gendered identities. By discussing the way in which young people are "trapped" in their gendered identities, both by adult expectations which formulate how broader institutions such as the school and media can influence the habitus, and, by peer-created power dynamics which can construct social norms, this discussion demonstrates an emancipatory element in a commitment to improve the experiences of young people negotiating their place as they transition to adulthood.

CHAPTER 5: THE ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT OF A GENDERED HABITUS

This chapter explores how the young people I spoke with understand gender and the way that this influences their ways of thinking, behaviour and identity choices. The gendered norms and assumptions held by these young people become important in subsequent chapters when discussing how gender explicitly interacts with fields of media, schooling, sport and PE. I address the gendered habitus, discussing the characteristics and norms which construct the “appropriate” embodiment of masculinity and femininity for young people. Furthermore, I explore the origin of these beliefs, the way capital is allocated to “successful” representations of gender, and the way in which the gendered habitus operates at both a conscious and non-conscious level to influence behaviour. A discussion of the class-based differences of a gendered habitus will end this chapter, being cognizant that the lived environment can influence the development of one’s habitus (Garnham & Williams, 1980).

Throughout, I argue that young people are “trapped” in their gendered habitus, which provides a limited set of options for their gendered identity, bearing in mind that choices are never “free” due to the way in which capital is allocated to successful representations of gender (Bourdieu, 1990; Connell, 2007). Davies and Harré (1990) identify that the development of the self involves five stages: learning social categories of male/female; allocating meanings to categories; positioning oneself in relation to these categories; becoming a member of a category and viewing the world dependent on one’s social position; and, the embodiment of identity positions. I view Davies and Harré’s (1990) conceptualisation of the self as being linked to one’s habitus and how the development of distinction indicates one’s social position in space. Thus, these stages are being undertaken by these young people in the development of their gendered habitus: because the habitus is both an individual and a collective entity, identity is developed through

“fitting” in with the dominant social norms which are reflected through one’s gendered habitus.

GENDERED NORMS OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

The premise of this PhD centres around my personal position that gender is socially constructed, formed through human experience, dialogue and norms which reinforce social expectations about what is deemed masculine or feminine. As this chapters shows, binary thinking and essentialist notions of masculinity and femininity are still commonly identified by these young people. In response to being asked what were the characteristics of masculinity and femininity in their questionnaires, all young people provided a description which matched previously documented binary gender norms (Bordo, 2003; Connell, 1987; Hargreaves, 1994; Klomsten et al., 2005). This section discusses how masculinity and femininity are constructed as oppositional, before discussing class differences in expectations of gender, and the way in which the relational aspect of gender promotes biologically essentialist viewpoints in which gender and sex are conflated in the gendered belief structures held by these young people.

MASCULINITY

When asked to describe masculinity, 27 percent of all questionnaire responses identified it as being associated with “strength” and being “strong”. The other most frequent responses to masculinity were “muscular/athletic/powerful” (16%), and being “big/tall” (12%). A breakdown of the different questionnaire responses by school is shown in Figure 4. These descriptions of masculinity are all in-keeping with previously documented definitions of masculinity: Klomsten et al. (2005) suggest that strength has been so strongly tied to masculinity that it has become a truth; muscles are identified as a key signifier of masculinity (Gorely et al., 2003; Wacquant, 1995); and Swain (2003) identified how size and athleticism is important in young boys’ constructions of

masculinity. Importantly, expressions of masculinity suggest that these stereotypes have been reified, and have taken a position as “truth”, for example, Suzie (School 3) suggests:

...if you see a man who's manly, then they're kind of expected to be more muscly, that's just what the stereotype is...like people say things and then you kind of believe them, so like if a boy is like "I'm really masculine, look at my muscles" then you think that is true.

This demonstrates the way in which gendered norms and beliefs are believed to be “true”, consequently creating standards that young people may feel pressured to conform to, an idea developed later in this chapter.

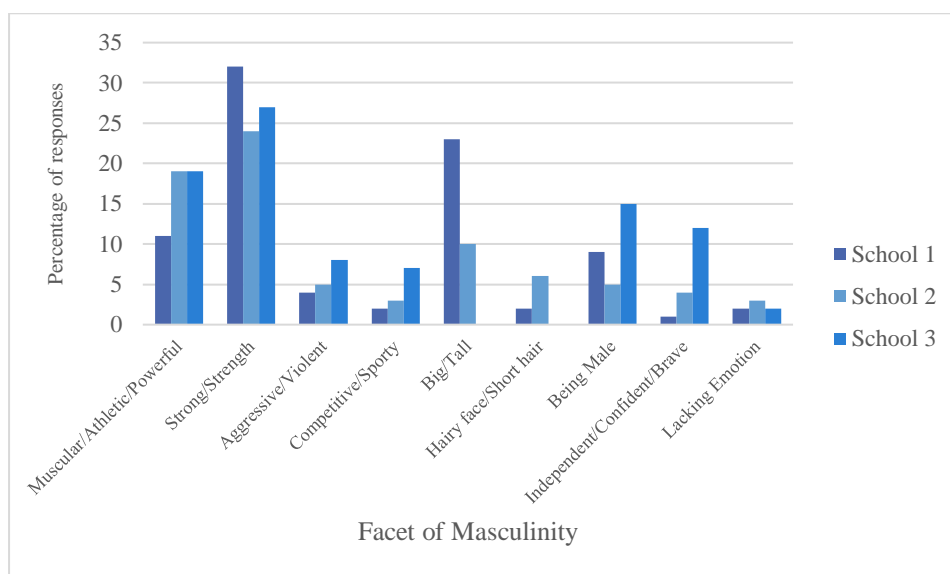


FIGURE 4: DESCRIPTIONS OF MASCULINITY BY SCHOOL

Quantitative findings which emphasise the way in which the physical body is indicative of masculinity demonstrate the embodied nature of gender. The habitus “describes dispositions and embodied ‘ways of being’” (McLeod, 2005, p13), and thus is aligned with the lived gendered body. Masculinity as embodied was expressed during interviews: “for a male, a lot of people go to the gym a lot to stay muscular, so I guess that sort of look, is about body image. And that’s important to a lot of men” (Cameron, School 2); and “I feel like as if, like personality is blocked by our body, inside I would rather be one of the sporty ones, but I’m not because of how I’m built” (Craig, School 3). These quotes indicate the way in which an individual’s gendered identity is written onto one’s body,

forming the outward expression of an inner person. Craig's idea of personality being blocked by one's body demonstrates a perceived link between a "successful" adolescent identity as being dependent on the outward body as a vessel for one's personality – without an appropriate bodily representation of masculinity, one's social status is limited.

Many researchers have challenged the suggestion that we live in a post-feminist world where gender equality has been reached (Dillabough, 2006; McRobbie, 2011; Pomerantz et al., 2013), and across many interviews, males were identified as more able and "better" than females. Jake (School 2) expressed, at times, quite stereotypical ideas around the superiority of males, describing masculinity as:

...about being stronger, and I guess manly is the wrong word, but that sort of thing. And I think there are other things as well as physical strength, men are generally seen to be better at problem solving, so like in engineering there are a lot more men and that is partially a stereotype, but men are generally better at problem solving than women.

This is an example where gender stereotypes which conflate sex and gender are believed to be real, and knowledge about abilities and traits are gendered. This reification of stereotypes to influence perceptions of appropriate behaviours and skills, is an example of what Laberge (1995, p134) describes as "stereotypes relating to gender (e.g. masculinity/femininity, strength/softness) in fact constitute cultural expressions of our social mythology". These persistent stereotypes, are dangerous in perpetuating what is viewed as gender appropriate through reinforcing binary classification systems.

In relation to the binary classification of gender which positions masculinity and femininity as opposite, Butler (1990, p9) outlines that "the presumption of a binary gender system implicitly retains the belief in a mimetic relation of gender to sex whereby gender mirrors sex or is otherwise restricted by it". The young people I spoke with mirror this statement in identifying a close link between maleness and masculinity, and femaleness with femininity. Danny (School 1) outlined: "a male body will always be masculine because it *is* a male body, but there's so many different kinds of masculine

body, like there isn't one definite type of masculine body, but they are all still masculine" (his emphasis). Interestingly Danny refers to multiple possibilities of masculine bodies, suggesting some awareness of different types of masculinity (and not just the hegemonic, idealised version), yet he still refers to masculine as being implicitly male. In trying to explain and justify the biological essentialism which underpins adolescent expectations of masculinity, Chris (School 2) explains "anyone can view themselves as [masculine or feminine], but when it comes down to basic biology, it's more about the hormones and genetics", thus suggesting a view that one's outward display of gender is socially constructed, but due to biological and scientific underpinnings, the "real" gender of a person is mimetic of one's biological sex. Moreover, the references to "hormones and genetics" by Chris (School 2) reinforces the "natural" aspect of gender, and reduces any consideration of agency for young people to present their gendered identity. The way in which some young people viewed the biological nature of sex differs from Connell's (1990, p89) theoretical suggestion that "masculinity is not inherent in the male body". By viewing masculinity as "male", this way of thinking is dangerous and can form a constraint on individual expressions of identity, whereby pressures to conform to social norms may "constrain what we can think and who we can be" (Paechter, 2006b, p262). I will explore the suggestion that young people are "trapped" in reproducing biological essentialist versions of "ideal" gender later in this chapter.

Figure 4 also indicates class-based differences in how young people view the construction of masculinity. One's social field influences the development of a habitus (Bourdieu, 1984), and in this case, each school has its own rules and struggles for legitimacy (Allard, 2005). The possession of different forms of capital suggest that young people at the private school (School 3) are from a different social class to those from School 1: greater economic capital required to pay school fees; more cultural capital demonstrated by valuing educational qualifications from what they view as a "better" school; and more social capital through old-boys' networks associated with sending their child to a

prestigious private school. Consequently, differences in how masculinity is “understood” are indicative of a classed variation in the gendered habitus. Principally in relating to the characteristics of masculinity, young people from School 1 were more likely to value the physicality of masculinity (when defining masculinity, 23% of all questionnaire responses listed “big/tall” compared to no responses from School 3). The physicality of masculinity is explained (using interview data) by Alexa (School 1): “a masculine body is like strong, tall, you have to be like a builder, something like that”, and by Carly (School 1): “that’s all boys are bothered about, looking big and that they’re dominant”. These two quotes demonstrate the way in which masculine physicality is highly valued, suggesting that manual labour usually associated with more working-class occupations, such as being a builder (Alexa), indicates that for working-class males, a physical body is crucial for their ability to accrue economic capital (Huppatz, 2012b; Phoenix & Frosh, 2001). In contrast, the desire for physicality and size as a marker of successful masculinity is replaced by more cognitive attributes at School 3 (12% of questionnaire responses identified masculinity as “being independent/confident/brave” at School 3 compared to 1% at School 1). Young men at School 3 also valued academic achievement, reflecting a desire to achieve academically to obtain a better job and access further education: Ethan (School 3) highlights that “[I] always try hard, I aim for the highest grade as possible”, and for Tony (School 3), “now I need to study, and to do more work, revision”. These interview quotes emphasise the requirement for academic success, and the internalisation of educational qualifications function as a form of capital, in a way which was not referred to during interviews at School 1. This exemplifies the way in which school context helps define the acceptability of educational performance and engagement (Francis, 2009; Mac an Ghail, 1994). Despite greater awareness of the importance of schoolwork, the construction of masculinity as antithetical to educational effort was reinforced through some interviews, for instance, when talking about other boys in his year, Ethan (School 3) identified that:

...a lot of the rugby players aren't as smart, and they think that if you're revising, which I do, or trying to do well in lessons, then that isn't masculine, or cool... A lot of the time, they're pretending, trying to impress their friends in lessons, being rude to teachers, whereas a lot of them are, if they actually worked, quite bright. Like some of them might still work, but a lot of them don't want to be seen, when the results day comes, they don't want to be seen as getting As and Bs if their friends are getting Cs and Ds, they don't want to be seen to have betrayed their friends, almost.

Within this quote, Ethan suggests that a tension exists for young people at School 3 – whether to engage in educational effort to benefit their future career and social status, or to try to remain “cool”. Educational achievement is not prioritised by *all* males at School 3, and universally undervalued in favour of physicality at School 1; however, the general trend across interviews was that masculinity is constructed in ways which mirror classed expectations, supporting the conclusions of Martino (1999, p247) that middle-class boys’ academic success “must be achieved apparently without effort and without any visible sign of excessive mental labour or studiousness”. Ethan’s emphasis that his peers are “pretending”, indicates that young people are aware of gender norms and how these relate to social status and popularity, coupled with behaviours acting in accordance with social values which may be viewed as more important – those of maintaining a “cool” image of masculinity. Important in this quote is the status of the “rugby players” within the nexus of gender and social hierarchies, and the positioning of sport and how this intersects with popular conceptions of gender is discussed in Chapter 8.

FEMININITY

In contrast to the way in which masculinity is constructed by these young people, femininity was positioned as oppositional, emphasising the perceived “natural” differences between men and women. Often, young people spoke of masculinity and femininity in the same sentence, judging one by the other: “masculinity [is] kind of more controlling, and more kind of an aggressive personality, whereas being feminine is more quiet and more in submission” (Sol, School 1), and “when you put [femininity] against a man, then it would be more of like a stick person who was more fragile” (Harriet, School

3). These quotes illustrate how, for these young people, oppositional descriptions of gender which polemically place masculinity and femininity as contrary, further categorises gender as a binary (Francis & Paechter, 2015; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Harriet's response, in which she compared females (and femininity) as being inferior to males (and masculinity), is an example of females believing a "reality" in which masculinity is positioned as superior to femininity, reinforcing the gender hierarchy (Connell, 2007; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This is further demonstrated by Lucy (School 2): "women aren't taken seriously...and a lot of men, and some women, feel like that should still be a thing". By constructing gender as oppositional, the tastes, norms and beliefs which are part of a different gendered habitus for young men and women, have become inculcated as "truths". In linking to a Bourdieusian approach, in *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu (2001, p23–24) writes:

Existing only relationally, each of the two genders is the product of the labour of diacritical construction, both theoretical and practical which is necessary in order to produce it as a body socially differentiated from the opposite gender...i.e. as a male, and therefore non-female habitus.

Despite Bourdieu conflating sex and gender, Bourdieu's quote highlights the way in which through constructing gender as oppositional, differences are presumed as "natural". An ideology of difference (Arnot, 2002) is created, which becomes internalised within one's habitus and "lived" by these young people. It is crucially important therefore, to explore how the development of a gendered habitus, based on an ideology of difference between males and females, can influence "natural" behaviours and practices for young people.

Bartky (1997) considers three categories of practices which reflect the feminine body: those which produce a body of a certain size and shape; those which produce a set of gestures, postures, or movements; and those which display the female body as an ornamented surface. Despite Bartky (1997) writing using the Foucauldian principle of ToS to regulate the body, the habitus as incorporating bodily hexis overlaps with these

categories of practice. Across all questionnaires, the most common response was that femininity concerned being “weak/delicate/weaker than men” (14%), followed by being “girly”, “slim/skinny/toned/small” and “being female” (all 10%) (Figure 5), reflecting the size and image of the feminine body.

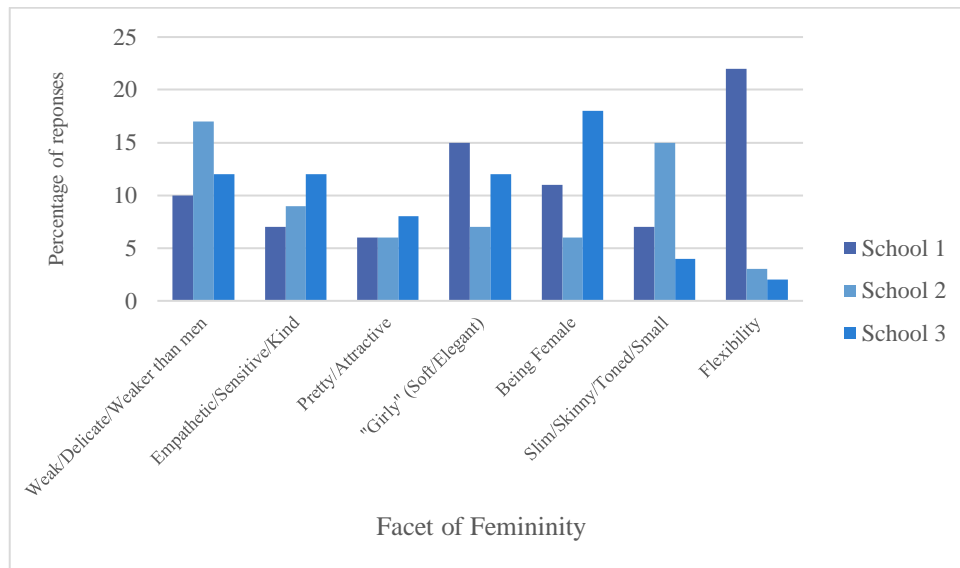


FIGURE 5: DESCRIPTIONS OF FEMININITY BY SCHOOL

In a similar vein to the dominant construction of masculinity, these descriptors are all reflective of previously documented social norms regarding femininity: Beasley (2013) identified that social norms indicate girls should be attractive, thin and delicate; the Women’s Sport and Fitness Foundation (2012) identified that being girly (into hair, makeup, clothing) was the type of girl that many young women aspire to be; and Klomsten et al. (2005) demonstrated that the ideal female body for young women was thin and slender. Bourdieu (1984, p149) emphasises that appearance for females can accrue capital: “beauty thus acquires a value on the labour market, has doubtless helped to produce...a whole set of changes in ethics and a redefinition of the legitimate image of femininity”. Primarily for these young people, the construction of femininity reflects aesthetic principles which emphasise appearance:

Howard (School 1): *Women are seen as the gender who are supposed to look good and stand there and look pretty and be the catch on everybody’s arm...*

/ Phillip (School 1): Ask a female and they generally take more pride in their appearance, they take more time doing their hair, doing makeup.

Stereotypically you should look short, slim, maybe a little bit curvy but not too curvy, you should wear girly things, not trousers all the time, paint your nails, have nice hair, do your makeup. (Jojo, School 1)

I feel like everything is about how we [women] look like. Girls in general, everything is focused on what we look like. (Ruth, School 2)

Like every girl wants to be beautiful. (Tony, School 3)

Social capital is allocated to stereotypical representations of femininity, and these quotes indicate the requirement for young women to be attractive to conform to notions of acceptable femininity. Jojo's quote above suggests a set of "rules" and expectations of femininity, which are specific and potentially unachievable, for instance, being "curvy but not too curvy". Through highlighting strict requirements of what constitutes attractive femininity, my data indicate that these young women are increasingly "trapped" in attempting to portray an image which does not challenge traditional notions of femininity – thus avoiding being considered too masculine (Paechter, 2003a):

It's really hard because if you don't wear makeup then they say you look ill, but if you wear too much makeup then people are like "do you want a trowel for that?", you can never get it right can you, there's always something, people just want so much. (Caroline, School 3)

Expectations of femininity can be negative for how young women relate to their own body and gendered identity, many feeling frustration because "you can never get it right". Some of the young women discussed how they feel expected, as females, to look perfect: "you've got to be perfect...to be noticed...like big bum, big boobs, skinny waist, pretty face" (Alexa, School 1). Rules and expectations of femininity are strongly ingrained in the gendered habitus of these young women, with idealised versions of feminine-as-attractive as the taken-for-granted common goal for an attractive female body. These characteristics of gender which function as rules and expectations form part of a "game" which young people play to accrue social capital; this "game of gender" will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Given the emphasis on appearance within the adolescent construction of femininity, the body as a vehicle of such attractiveness has increasing importance. The body, through its appearance and bodily hexis, reveals the deepest dispositions of the habitus, emphasising the importance of the habitus in reflecting one's embodied gender (Bourdieu, 1984; Gao, 2015; Kraus, 2006). The body therefore becomes as a signifier of identity. Pippa (School 3) discusses the embodied nature of gender: "the more elegant you are the more feminine you are seen... [femininity is] the way your body is. And your mannerisms. The way you walk, the way you greet people, the way you act towards others". The habitus is a useful tool for exploring the way in which gender is internalised within a gendered identity, because the habitus produces "a system of signs" (Bourdieu, 1984, p166). If gender must be readable on sight (Halberstam, 1998; Paechter, 2003a; Rasmussen, 2009), the gendered body forms a series of signs which are decoded socially as indicators of an individual's gender. Socially constructed characteristics of masculinity and femininity form a type of check-list in which one's gendered identity is either deemed legitimate within one's social field, or marginalised. Across these interviews, young people consistently identified the normative characteristics of masculinity and femininity forming expectations and "rules". The development of these norms in relation to a historical inevitability to the gendered habitus demonstrates how young people are reproducing these norms in their lived practices.

HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY TO ADOLESCENT GENDERED NORMS

Socialisation theories of gender describe the way in which "individuals internalise gender norms that were salient when growing up" (Deutsch, 2007, p107), and have been critiqued for a deterministic approach which fails to allow for challenge or deviation from historical gender norms (Connell, 1987; Deutsch, 2007). However, the views of these young people seem to suggest that gender norms are "learned" and have developed, in part, through socialisation during childhood and into adolescence (Connell, 2007;

Epstein, 1997). The biological base for how these young people view gender indicates that stereotypical norms of masculinity and femininity have become internalised within their own gendered habitus, leading to instances where young people reject gendered characteristics which are not congruent to their own idealised version of the self (Schmader & Block, 2015). In considering socialisation as occurring through the process of “being”, a gendered habitus accumulates through a range of experiences (Taylor, 1993). This is demonstrated by Luke (School 1), who explains that his understanding of gender has developed from “an accumulation of lots of different subliminal messages which you receive over your life”. One’s habitus is an accumulation of past experiences which influence future opportunities (Bourdieu, 1990), and the exposure to gendered norms and events contributes to the formation of a gendered habitus once a child reaches adolescence. These young people regularly identified formative experiences as being responsible for the development of their gendered beliefs, providing evidence for the cumulative habitus (Cicourel, 1993):

Blokes are allowed to chug down pints and eat enormous amounts and have food all over them. Whereas girls are supposed to be dainty. But at the same time, I think that’s just how we’ve been brought up. From being very little, with the toys of cooking and stuff, the baby dolls and the colours. It’s drilled into you as you grow up. (Jill, School 2)

So, as a child there are the stereotypical things that boys want to play with, for boys it’d be trucks and stuff like that, as opposed to girls who want to play with horses. (Nate, School 3)

I think a lot of what makes guys, guys, and girls, girls, is our society, and what our society tells us to think and act. (Cameron, School 2)

These quotes illustrate how the reproduction and replication of normative gendered behaviours solidifies appropriate behaviour which reflects stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity. Through associating femininity with horses, cooking, and dolls, and masculinity with trucks and drinking (as Jill and Nate suggest), these practices become embodied experiences which help to locate the individual’s appropriate place and space within the social world (Arnot, 2002). This consequently helps confirm expected

gender norms and perpetuate a gendered habitus in which masculinity and femininity are constructed as oppositional.

Gender role theory has been critiqued for the deterministic nature of socialisation and the static nature of gender norms (Connell, 1987). Despite this critique, the young people identified their socialisation and historical experiences as explaining the way they have come to understand gender. For instance, Lucy (School 2) explains that “stereotypes...people grow up with them, so that they become kind of normal, making people think certain ways”, suggesting that the consistency of gendered messages received over a lifetime accumulate to form the “acquired, permanent and generative dispositions” within one’s gendered habitus (Bourdieu, 1990, p290). Bourdieu’s concept of the habitus has also been critiqued as reproductive and deterministic (Jenkins, 1982; King, 2000). Yet, these young people seem to suggest that gender norms *are* relatively static and reticent to change:

...you have your society and women were always seen as very fragile, and they’re very domesticated and do the jobs for the family. And that goes back to as long ago as we have records of the family, that’s how it is...I think too many people are sitting there and saying, “it’s always been this way, so why try to change it now?”. (Sam, School 1)

Sam, a young person very aware of the intricacies of gender (they identify as non-binary, and has changed their name within school from one which was very stereotypically female to an androgynous one to reflect their dislike for gender binaries), explains their views of how history contributes to how modern society understands gender. Bourdieu (1990) discusses the way that past experiences lead to consistency over time, which is evident in the how these young people’s gendered habitus is constructed. By “seeing” historical symbolic violence, in which males and females are differently constructed, reproduced in modern society as “normal”, these norms are internalised which leads to socially constructed expectations of what is “correct” behaviour for young men and women. Through historical differences in expected behaviours of men and women being constructed as “deep rooted perceptions” (Gus, School 2), these differences become

misrecognised as facts (Bourdieu, 2001; Dillabough, 2004). In considering the reproductive nature of the habitus, these young people were aware how social norms can be reproduced, referencing notions of hegemony and power to explain the proliferation of gender as symbolic violence:

When you've started with lots of men in positions of power, it's quite hard to then get it to change. It's a bit like racism, where you had white people at the top in the Western countries like Britain and America, it's hard to re-address that balance to make it more equal. So, you have all these men at the top... because these systems have existed, it's harder for women to get to the same positions because of the way things were. (Cameron, School 2)

I think that males will always have to be the dominant ones...and [history], it's kind of like... proof that they've always been like this, having power, and they could be like "why should they stop now?". (Millie, School 1)

These quotes show how these young people are aware of gender and power inequalities which render women as subordinate. Through the symbolic violence which reinforces an ideology of difference, the reproduction of these norms becomes unquestioned and difficult to challenge. Through the collective habitus, based on shared beliefs, societal norms of historical gender inequalities become a powerful player in influencing what young people understand as “normal” for gendered identities and behaviours. This supports the work of McNay (1999, p102) who suggests that changes to gender identities are difficult because “conventional images of masculinity and femininity... cannot easily be reshaped”.

Despite the importance of historical norms in reproducing gender inequality, young people suggested some positive elements to how gender is “lived”. Eddie (School 1) emphasises that “[my] generation is much more accepting of stuff than the last one, and this will like go on and on”, which suggests that a less rigid understanding of gender may be possible for future generations. Importantly, this implies that change takes time. If one’s habitus is formed from early experiences (Garnham & Williams, 1980), immediate change within one’s habitus is unlikely due to a required wait for these young people to

be in a position to shape future generations' beliefs regarding gender (in)equality.

Reflecting on the speed of change, Ellie (School 2) suggests that:

...if you want to change something properly, you have to do it on a large scale... [gender inequality] is something that's always been there, ever since man came to life, women have always been perceived [as inferior]. Like in Victorian times, women wore dresses and wouldn't talk at the dinner table until the man spoke to them. So, in a way we've come very far from the fact that we can be alone in a room with an unmarried man, and we can be unmarried, and stuff like that.

This quote demonstrates that despite critique of the habitus as being reproductive, the lack of change experienced by young people demonstrates the strength of habitus as a conceptual tool to explain the state of gender relations within this study. The potential for change excluded, the young people identified the pressure of gender norms, and it is these norms which function as “rules” and influence how young people display their identity within the confines of “the game of gender” (see Chapter 6).

As this section has demonstrated, the gendered habitus influences all embodied representations of a gendered identity, supporting the conclusion of Chambers (2005, p343) for whom “the gendered habitus is even less susceptible to change than is the habitus more generally...for it survives transition between fields”. Therefore, the importance of this section is in highlighting how a post-feminist understanding of gender, without inequalities, is not lived consistently through the gendered habitus of these young people. Instead, for these young people, gendered identities largely reflect traditional, stereotypical gender roles and behaviours which recreate a gender order which places masculinity and femininity in a hierarchy which results in the differentiated allocation of capital. So far in this chapter, I have discussed the most highly-valued versions of gender for these young people, and it the allocation of capital to these valorised representations of “successful” gender which I will discuss next.

HIERARCHY OF GENDER – ALLOCATION OF CAPITAL

In using Bourdieu's theoretical tools, the previously discussed characteristics of masculinity and femininity do not exist as abstract concepts. Instead, and as this section demonstrates, capital is allocated to "successful" representations of gender, creating distinction for some young people. As such, the tastes, dispositions and behaviours associated with a gendered habitus mirror a broader cultural hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1984), in which young people's social status is linked to the embodiment of legitimate characteristics of masculinity and femininity. This section explores the way capital is allocated to successful bodies, comparing this to negative stigma used to regulate behaviour which challenges heteronormativity, before outlining how the fight to accrue gender capital leads to a tighter regulation of masculinity compared to femininity.

Gender norms exist in a hierarchy, where proximity to idealised versions of masculinity and femininity equates with greater social status and capital. Bourdieu discussed the way in which a struggle within a field leads to the determination of those properties which can function as capital (Bourdieu, 1988). Consequently, young people who conform to stereotypical gender-binary characteristics, in which a male is masculine and female is feminine, can accrue more social capital. The closer a young person's gendered identity (and body) is to conforming to idealised versions of gender, the greater the exchange value of that body and its ability to accrue social capital is enhanced (Featherstone, 1982). This expectation of gender to fall into binary classifications, and therefore be intelligible, is highlighted by Anna (School 1): "if you're not one or the other [masculine or feminine], not a girl or a boy, like in the middle, then it's just critical". This quote illustrates the power of biological essentialism in which being a boy or a girl is required to map onto masculine or feminine respectively. Importantly, avoiding *not* conforming to social norms of gender seem a critical factor in the maintenance of a gendered identity:

I feel that if I wasn't so masculine, my mum wouldn't appreciate me as much, and not really like me as much, and if I was more feminine, maybe some of my friends, like they wouldn't openly dislike me but maybe they wouldn't

involve me in certain things, they might not ask me to go and play football because they might assume that I wouldn't want to do that because that would be associated with being more feminine. (Danny, School 1)

The symbolic removal of capital, and the corresponding social exclusion, represents an important motivating factor for ensuring one's gendered habitus fits in and replicates socially constructed gender ideals. Therefore, this quote is indicative of the power of capital, both in its presence and absence, as motivation for one's gendered identity. The withdrawal of capital suggests that there is a form of social punishment for getting gender "wrong", supporting Butler (1990, p190) in stating that society "regularly punish[es] those who fail to do their gender right".

Gender norms are often strongly correlated with an association with expected heterosexuality, which becomes normalised (Atkinson & DePalma, 2009; Bem, 1981; Hillier & Harrison, 2004; Ingraham, 1994; Rich, 1980). Across all schools, and all interviews, a norm of heterosexuality was perpetuated. For instance, when faced with the question of whether there is pressure to have a boyfriend, Claire (School 3) identified, "I wouldn't say pressure, but yeah, it's kind of expected". To this extent, these young people demonstrated an understanding that there is capital available when in a heterosexual relationship. The most explicit example of a young person gaining capital from being in a relationship was explained by Alicia (School 1):

I was going out with like the most popular boy in the school... he was really nice, but then we argued and stuff. Like I was really happy at the end of the six weeks before we broke up for the summer because everyone liked me, it was like "Alicia this, Alicia that, we'll invite you to this"...

This quote demonstrates the potential accrual of capital from a heterosexual relationship with a popular boy. Also, through identifying that she is no longer friends with the "popular" people after splitting up with this boyfriend, this demonstrates the temporal nature of such capital. The different allocation of capital for young men and women in a heterosexual relationship demonstrates how struggles over legitimate identities is often

based on different “rules” for young men and women. Howard (School 1) emphasises this point, suggesting that females are not “complete” without a male partner:

You don't need [to have] a woman to be a man, men can be men by themselves, but women show off their women attributes better with a man, that's what I think anyway. It's easier for women to get noticed if they are with a man who is popular, whereas to get noticed without being with a boy, you'd have to have invites to all the parties and it'd be much harder.

This quote demonstrates the different way in which capital in relation to heterosexual relationships is valued by young men and women. Thus, a struggle exists over what is classified as appropriate sexualised behaviour, and different behaviours are allocated capital depending on whether the individual is male or female. As Bourdieu (1990) discusses in relation to Kabyle women, kin relationships are arranged in order so that one, or both, of the individuals benefit from the other's capital. For these young people, females in a heterosexual relationship can capitalise on male popularity in a far greater way than for males in a heterosexual relationship. In contrast, social capital exists for young men who demonstrate sexual prowess with multiple girls:

Some people think that they have to get themselves a girlfriend...unfortunately with teenage boys, I think a lot of them just want a bit of action. (Dylan, School 2)

*I know that some lads would [talk to multiple girls at once]. That, as human nature, their friends would encourage them to do that. I know it happens, like they see as many girls as possible and just try to tick them off [a list].
(Connor, School 2)*

In discussing power dynamics in terms of sexual relations, these quotes demonstrate a belief that men hold the power in heterosexual relationships. This is an example of a sexual double standard (Frazer, 1989; Girlguiding, 2016; McCall, 1992), which Maisie (School 2) suggests as occurring when “boys go around and brag about how many people they've got with, but if a girl did that, they'd be left out, have no friends”. Bourdieu (2001, p79) states, “differential socialisation disposes men to love the games of power and women to love the men who play them”: this quote aptly explains how young men possess the symbolic power in their relationships, and young women are conditioned to

want a boyfriend to “show off their women attributes” (Howard, above), respecting and reproducing heteronormativity through their behaviours and practices.

The expectation of heterosexuality leads to sexuality being regulated and enforced.

Atkinson and DePalma (2009) draw on Butler (1990) to explore the heterosexual matrix where gender is conflated with sexuality. This can become dangerous if behaviours do not conform to stereotypical notions of masculinity (male) and femininity (female), leading to individuals having their sexuality questioned. When asked what might happen if a male was to demonstrate feminine characteristics, young people outlined that the individual would be called gay (or derivatives, including “puff”, “fag” or “pussy”). The (il)logic of the progression from feminine behaviours to being gay is summarised by Danny (School 1):

...there's certain aspects of being feminine which aren't involved in the male, like a high pitch of the voice, the way they walk, speak differently, things that a ["normal"] male wouldn't do. Like they can still be feminine...but they'd be called gay.

To this extent, the use of the term gay to describe feminine behaviour in males, functions to justify deviant behaviour:

I have a friend, who, he doesn't do...sport. And he cares about his appearance quite a lot, and he's friends with lots of girls, but not in a flirtatious way. I think generally, he is kind of, because of those things, he is stereotypically more feminine, and personally I think he is feminine, but not in an insulting way. But then you see social prejudice when someone would ask me if he was gay and it's kind of frustrating that if a lad is more feminine then it is assumed that he's gay, kind of to explain it. (Connor, School 2)

I think, usually people find it easier [for a male to be feminine] if there's an explanation, like if they were gay or something. I think people would find it easier to deal with if there is something which says that they're different somehow. (Cameron, School 2)

These quotes therefore demonstrate the wide assumption that femininity in males is characteristic of homosexuality (Dean, 2013; Epstein, 1997; Frosh et al., 2003), and the action of labelling this behaviour as deviant and different regulates what is deemed an acceptable gendered identity for young men. Through constructing feminine behaviour as

deviant by labelling this as gay, those bodies cannot accrue social capital in the same way that a heterosexual masculine body can. Consequently, there is a suggestion that young men may overly-assert their heterosexuality to ensure their sexuality is immediately intelligible (Jackson & Warin, 2000). Alfie (School 3), was quite clear that some of his male peers would demonstrate hyper-masculinity if threatened: "...some men would definitely show off their masculinity if they were called feminine, like responding with violence...showing off how much of a man they were". This phenomenon demonstrates how some young men are motivated by distancing themselves from the Other – in this case, the male homosexual. This links with Connell's (1987) gender order which identifies the subordination of marginalised masculinities. Furthermore, Jonny (School 1), during his interview was keen to distance himself from a homosexual identity: "[gay] can be used as a joke, or it can be offensive. If you have someone in your family who is gay, or you're secretly gay, *I'm not like that obviously*, but I don't have a problem, I think it's fine" (his emphasis). This quote demonstrates the perceived lack of capital which can be accrued from presenting a homosexual identity, and therefore, presenting an intelligible heterosexual identity assumes greater importance for many young men.

Assumptions of heterosexuality as "normal" infiltrate how these young people view broader society. When discussing sexuality, some young people seemingly stencilled heterosexual norms onto homosexual relationships to make sense of these. For some young people, relating the "unknown" to heteronormative standards, made homosexual relationships appear more "normal" and intelligible. Pippa (School 3) summarised this: "if you see a gay couple, there always seems to be like a male gay and a female gay...and I think that's quite nice". By following heterosexual norms, based on the principle of opposites attracting, a gay relationship can be "nice", and approved through a heterosexual lens. Not only did self-identified straight young people suggest that heterosexual norms be followed in all relationships, but Jill (School 2; identified lesbian)

reinforced the heterosexual appearance of gay couples, and actively identified her creation of a friendship group reminiscent of a nuclear, and heterosexual, family:

My dad has this thing, like there's a difference between butch lesbians and bird lesbians. Well they're called "lipstick lesbians" actually. Like a lesbian who has short hair, who likes to do manly things or dress up like a boy, then that person is a butch lesbian. And a girl who wears dresses, makeup, gets dressed up, that's a "lipstick lesbian", and the two categories, which I do kind of agree on because I see a lot of people. Like if you see a lesbian couple, there is always a butch one with a "lipstick one", and I don't know why, but that's more common. And I think it's just them trying to stereotype their relationship into being a boy and a girl...like it kind of stereotypes themselves within a straight couple...

I'm the only fully gay girl in my [friendship] group, and then there's two bisexual girls and a bisexual lad. And there's a top of the group. Like we don't have a thing where if someone is higher than them they can boss them around, it's more like because I'm the oldest, and it kind of goes down to the youngest, and it's a bit like a family where everyone squabbles like siblings, fighting like brothers and sisters. So then me and my friend Joel, who's the other fully gay boy, we're like the parents and tell them off.

Connell (1987, p248) discusses the way “[h]omosexuality threatens the credibility of a naturalised ideology of gender and a dichotomised sexual world”, and thus, Jill’s quote reiterates the way that, by comparing homosexual relationships to a heterosexual standard, the potential disruption is limited and the relationship can be viewed within “safe” parameters. The construction of heterosexuality as “normal”, and thus homosexuality as a deviant Other, regulates young people’s behaviour and emphasises heterosexual behaviours as taken-for-granted within their gendered habitus.

The meaning of the word “gay” is a heavily contested topic, with polemic views which oscillate between homophobic usage, and “softer” banter (Atkinson & DePalma, 2009; McCormack & Anderson, 2010; McCormack et al., 2016). In this thesis, my position is that, if “gay” is used to differentiate and regulate gendered behaviours, marking those different as Other, this use of language is dangerous through reproducing a hierarchy of gender and subsequent marginalisation. The extensive use of the word “gay” (or derivatives) by these young people is indicative of how gender is policed, demonstrating that language which classifies homosexuality as different, is indeed pervasive. When

discussing the choice of the word “gay” to regulate gendered behaviour, some young men suggested it is meant as a “joke” rather than being homophobic: “people might say he was gay but I don’t think they would mean it as in the definition of being gay, it’d be said as a joke” (Shaun, School 3), and, “it’s not genuinely questioning someone’s sexuality, it’s just kind of, like calling someone gay is not always associated with calling someone homosexual, as much as it’s just used as an insult” (Craig, School 3). If homophobia is viewed as a dislike or prejudice against homosexuals, the use of the word gay as a “joke” is indeed homophobic, for this verbal act symbolically positions homosexuals as inferior to heterosexuals and ostracises “gay” identities as Other. Importantly, when speaking to Gus (School 2), a self-identified gay male, he expressed that “it bothers me that it [being gay] is seen as an insulting thing”. This critically explains the way in which the use of the word “gay” can never be a neutral “joke”, for the interpretation of the word can be harmful, offensive and divisive for many young people.

As a consequence of the use of the word “gay” to regulate and control male behaviour to meet stereotypical norms of heterosexual masculinity, across all schools, masculinity appeared more closely regulated than femininity. Young people identified that males face pressure to present an identity which is clearly *not gay*, often because male effeminacy is constructed as more socially damaging than for a female demonstrating butch or lesbian characteristics. The differential treatment of homosexuality for males and females was identified by these young people:

...there’s a lad in our year who’s really feminine, like he dances and has a high-pitched voice, and everyone calls him gay, but he’s not gay, then there’s this really butch girl and she doesn’t get questioned that she’s a lesbian.

(Alexa, School 1)

...girls don’t get as much abuse as boys, but there’s that homophobic stereotype that a lad being gay is bad. But there isn’t as much homophobic abuse, well there might be throughout the world, but not here at school in a limited area, that it isn’t abusive to call a girl gay. I don’t understand it, and it’s kind of moronic to think that it’s bad for a boy to be gay but not for a girl. (Connor, School 2)

Male homosexuality is consequently constructed as more negative than being a lesbian for the development of a successful gendered identity, and is less able to accrue social capital. This contradicts Rich (1980) who suggested that lesbian women are treated more negatively than male homosexuals. The explanation of this change in treatment of lesbian women may reflect sexualised norms in which the eroticisation of lesbians, for male consumption, has legitimised their social presence: “when lads in our year think of lesbians, they think of two really skinny, attractive supermodels being lesbians” (Caroline, School 3); and “when girls are gay it’s seen as hot almost, whereas boys see it [being gay] as being shameful” (Chloe, School 2). The eroticism associated with lesbians, as defined by what “lads in our year think”, demonstrates how males possess social power to legitimise certain behaviours as attractive, and therefore legitimate. With less negative consequences associated with the female lesbian identity, the female gendered identity is arguably more flexible, supporting Waldron’s (2016) claim that women are less constrained by the binary notions of gender and sexuality.

This section has shown that within the hierarchy of acceptable versions of gender, capital is allocated differentially. My data suggest that gender is an important organising principle for young people, and their outward representation of identity often aligns with gender norms which can accrue social capital. Capital is allocated differently to masculinity and femininity, based on different “rules” and expectations. So far in this chapter, focus has been on what young people understand by gender; focus now turns to how these gender norms influence practices and behaviours within the often non-conscious habitus.

THE NON-CONSCIOUS GENDERED HABITUS

The habitus, by “overcoming the alternative between consciousness and the unconscious” (Wacquant, 1989, p42), allows for practices to be influenced by non-conscious thought, by taken-for-granted beliefs. The habitus therefore governs practice in a non-conscious

manner (Brubaker, 1993). The previous sections have demonstrated that these young people were aware of the gender norms which can influence behaviour, but reflected that often, they have become so accustomed to these norms that they operate at a non-conscious level. These taken-for-granted doxic norms of the gendered habitus, in practice, “operate below the level of consciousness and language as a ‘feel for the game’” (Adkins, 2003, p24), representing a non-conscious response to external environments which reproduce stereotypical and idealised versions of gender. However, if the habitus was completely non-conscious, young people would not be able to talk about it; instead, in interviews, the interplay between reflexivity and practice allowed the taken-for-granted gendered behaviours and dispositions to be “seen” and discussed:

By this time in life, you're not so much aware of [gender] because it's happening all the time, like always happening. The stereotypical expectations...that's kind of inbuilt. You become used to it and it's nothing that you notice. (Gary, School 2)

...in day-to-day life you don't think about [gender], you plod along doing what you're doing without really thinking why. (Max, School 2)

Discussions about gender pressures operating at a non-conscious level occurred following interview questions which asked young people to reflect on whether the process of talking about gender during the interview had changed their views or made them learn anything about themselves. These questions were highly reflexive, and encouraged young people to link gender norms to their own experience. Through encouraging reflexivity in one's habitus, the interview process has the potential to increase young people's gendered consciousness and their awareness of the gendered symbolic violence which affects their lives (Chambers, 2005; Reay, 2004).

The non-conscious element of the habitus describes the way that humans act in accordance with tastes and dispositions, occurring in a seemingly “natural” manner without conscious thought when the habitus and field are aligned (Bourdieu, 1984; Lawler, 2004; Mead, 2016). That is, when the field places requirements on the gendered habitus, the habitus matches these expectations and behaviour occurs. Through practice

occurring without conscious thought, the reproduction of dominant gender norms becomes more apparent. Across many interviews, young people reflected on the non-conscious nature of gender:

Like [gender] stereotypes, I've never really thought about them [before], but they're definitely true... it's quite scary, you don't even think about certain things but they have such a big impact. (Jojo, School 1)

We don't think about them [gender norms], because if we were to think about them every time, we'd have much more analytical and critical thinking about what we're going to do. It has to be unconscious to spread about so easily. (Gus, School 2)

When made to think about [gender], like say for this, I can see it more clearly but I wouldn't think about it normally. Like none of the questions you've asked today would I ever think about myself. (Craig, School 3)

I think I might be aware of it [gender] on a subconscious level, but I'm not really aware of it daily. (Shaun, School 3)

What these quotes demonstrate is the way that, on reflection, these young people could “see” how gender (through gender pressures and expectations) operates at a non-conscious level, being aware that the non-conscious element means that gender norms and stereotypes are powerful. One’s gendered habitus is both conscious because young people know the gender norms, and un-conscious, affecting young people’s behaviours without conscious thought. Young people’s classification of masculinity and femininity becomes powerful through the gendered habitus, because these characteristics and expectations are not consciously thought about prior to, and during, practice. Change to the gendered habitus is therefore problematic: if the reproduction of stereotypical gender norms occurs at a non-conscious level, there are few overt opportunities to challenge stereotypical and historical representations of masculinity and femininity.

Across many interviews, different terms were used to signify the way in which gendered expectations operate at a non-conscious level. Chantel (School 3) stated, “you’re kind of *brainwashed*, your mind then thinks certain things...you’re made to think a certain way, which might not be how you “normally” think, but then it becomes normal to think that way” (emphasis added). The habitus is an important conceptual tool for exploring how

gender norms are believed as “real” and acted upon by young people. Similarly, Jill (School 2) stated, “I’m aware [of gender] sometimes, but mostly it’s just *background noise*” (emphasis added). Characteristic of these descriptions is the way that cognitive action is underplayed in the exploration of gender norms. Gender is seen by these young people as “natural”, forming taken-for-granted knowledge within the doxa. The fact that gender operates within *all* fields, in *all* social situations and in *all* human interactions, yet is described as “background noise”, provides a dangerous reminder of the reproduction and perpetuation of symbolic violence which normalises a gender ideology based on difference. The very act of these young people being involved in the interview process may be positive in encouraging reflexivity; increasing consciousness of gender can highlight symbolic domination (Adkins, 2003; Deutsch, 2007), and has the potential to challenge the way in which gender operates surreptitiously to penetrate all areas of young people’s lives.

Linked to the way that gendered expectations operate at a non-conscious level through being considered “natural”, these young people identified feeling external pressure to conform to gendered norms. As discussed earlier in this chapter, capital is allocated to individual representations of gender which meet idealised versions of masculinity or femininity, therefore, conforming to gender norms ensures a good fit is created between the field and habitus (Huppatz, 2012b). This good fit consequently makes the gendered habitus appear “natural”. With capital allocated differentially to different representations of masculinity and femininity, in theory, young people have a choice about which gendered representation to display. Reay (2004) argues that the habitus can generate the potential for a wide range of possible actions, whilst simultaneously predisposing individuals towards certain ways of behaving. Extending this, it is the role of capital in rewarding certain representations of gender which acts to predispose individuals to conform to gendered norms, leading to a reproduction of valorised versions of masculinity and femininity within one’s gendered habitus. The power of gender norms is

emphasised by *allodoxia*, which Mead (2016, p62) describes as “the belief that something is ‘for me’”. If gender norms are internalised as being “for me”, young people willingly enter social situations where portraying an acceptable gender is not only expected, but essential. An outward display of gender which is intelligible (Rasmussen, 2009), is crucial for adolescent social acceptance, and conforming to social norms takes on greater importance:

Everyone is expected, like to be masculine then you are expected to act in a certain way...there is a lot of pressure put on males but it is not as obvious [as for females]. Like everyone is expected to fit into these two definitions of masculinity and femininity, and not everyone does, like people who are non-specific with their gender, it makes them have to fit in. (Vicky, School 1)

This quote illustrates the pressure that young people face to display an intelligible and recognisable representation of masculinity or femininity. Vicky is astute in highlighting the way that pressure is faced by men as well as women, countering traditional ideas in which only women are pressurised by gender (Bartky, 1997; Bordo, 2003). Through expressing that individuals “have to fit in”, Vicky is demonstrating a lack of agency in the way young people are able to approach their own expression of identity. A sense of being “trapped” in reproducing dominant versions of gender becomes internalised within the non-conscious habitus which directs behaviour.

As discussed above, women have traditionally faced more social pressures to conform to gender norms of femininity and attractiveness. The act of being interviewed may be positive for these young people in encouraging reflexivity, whereby increasing consciousness of one’s gendered habitus can highlight and challenge the symbolic domination which penetrates the way gender shapes young people’s experiences (Adkins, 2003; Oliver & Kirk, 2016). The social pressures faced by young women was identified by Carly (School 1): “I’ve never really explained all of this before...but now I kind of understand why there’s so much pressure, and how ridiculous it all is that we feel so much pressure to look a certain way.” Many other young people said that only during these reflexive questions that they could “see” the gender pressures they face. Through

these instances of reflexivity, these young people understood how the desire to conform to expectations of masculinity and femininity was based on a need to “fit in”, to match the requirements of their social field, and have their gendered identity validated through social and symbolic capital.

The allocation of capital reinforces the requirement of young people to present stereotypical representations of their gendered identities. An example of this was the pressure many young women faced in relation to creating a feminine appearance using makeup. Makeup is often viewed polemically, either as a “normal” part of being female (Bragg, Buckingham, Russell, & Willett, 2011; Valentine, 2000), or for being a sexualised and demonised element of adolescence (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). The regularity in which makeup was discussed, suggests it is a fixed part of an expected female gendered identity: “feminine things are linked to makeup and stuff stereotypically...there is a pressure that girls have to wear makeup” (Lucy, School 2). Wearing makeup for the young women I spoke with had become habitual and essential for feeling feminine: “she just feels like she’s more comfortable wearing makeup, she doesn’t feel confident going out with no makeup on...[she thinks] people might judge her, and say that she’s ugly or stuff like that, or saying that she needs makeup” (Helen, School 1). This preoccupation with appearance, enhanced using makeup, is indicative of a consumer culture and the way that femininity is constructed as what is lacking: Bordo (2003) and Paechter (2003a) discuss how femininity is constructed as what masculinity is not. Through using makeup, women are conditioned to look for faults and cover these up, and the quotes above reinforce what Bartky (1997) highlights as makeup being part of the art of disguise. The frequency of reference to using makeup demonstrates the taken-for-granted and internalised norms of femininity influencing practice. The internalisation of gender norms within the non-conscious gendered habitus highlights how young people can feel constrained to reproduce stereotypical gendered behaviour without consciously challenging these norms.

Connell (2007) argued that the hegemonic position of males atop the gender hierarchy, has historically positioned men as impervious to gender pressures. Yet my data shows that some young men identified a new pressure based on appearance, supporting the idea that “being a man...implies an ought-to-be” (Bourdieu, 2001, p149). Masculinity consequently represents a form of pressure for young men to reproduce valorised versions of one’s gendered identity:

...masculinity has been created by society, so that it is like “here is an idea of masculinity and this is what it is to be it”, not necessarily meaning that it is right. You might then feel odd not doing what everyone else is doing and not following the norm. (Graham, School 2)

Graham’s quote demonstrates an awareness of masculinity as a social construction which influences males to conform to the dominant social norm, placing pressure on young men not to be different. Carrigan, Connell, & Lee (1985) discussed that historically, males have been oppressed by male role demands and expectations, and this is exactly what Graham is insinuating in his analysis of current gender pressures. Arguably, highlighting the subordination and symbolic violence against women has improved the relationship that women have with their gendered identities, yet this has not followed for men:

I think guys are more trapped than us [females]. They’re trapped in their stereotype and since everyone has been focusing on women and their rights, and ways of thinking, the cage has been opened for us, we’re free to be who we want. (Ellie, School 2)

Implicit in this quote is a sense of post-feminist thinking, being “free to be who we want” is an example of the “girl power” narrative of post-feminism (Pomerantz et al., 2013). Linking to the overall theme of young people being “trapped” in their gendered habitus, the cage that Ellie speaks of is a metaphor for being trapped, and highlights the way that the narrow definitions of masculinity are indeed limiting to how young men feel able to demonstrate their gender. By opening the cage of gender, young women have more options within their habitus and can demonstrate greater agency in choosing their gendered representation, for they may face fewer consequences for overtly challenging gender norms. This section has demonstrated the way that gender operates at a non-

conscious level, with the gendered habitus leading to practices and behaviours which reflect socially constructed and dominant gender norms. Both young men and women are “trapped” in these gender norms, yet with reflexivity, these young people demonstrated an awareness and critique of the insidious consequences of gender norms. Furthering the way individual adolescents demonstrate their gender, Chapter 6 will discuss how gender norms function as “rules” within the game of gender to explore how gendered expectations influence how young people negotiate their gendered identities.

CLASS-BASED DIFFERENCES IN A GENDERED HABITUS

Similarities in how young people understand gender have been discussed so far in this chapter. This section, however, explores class-based differences in how young people understand and internalise gender norms. By considering schools as a proxy for a collective classed habitus, schools have their own standards, practices and gender norms which can both overlap and differ (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), reflecting the way that an “individual habitus tends to manifest many group specific characteristics” (Crossley, 2001, p84). In this section I discuss the different conceptualisation of masculinity between working- and middle-class young people, the prioritisation of traditional gender norms at the middle-class private school, and consequently a varying awareness of gender fluidity. Classed differences in the construction of masculinity were more severe than femininity, which was considered more homogenous in its characteristics and embodiment by these young people.

Masculinity often differs depending on whether it is constructed within middle- or working-class milieu. Typically, working-class masculinity is constructed as hyper-masculine (Laberge & Albert, 1999), whereas for middle classes, masculinity is usually “softer” and includes leadership, sociability and consideration of future employment (Williams, Jamieson, & Hollingworth, 2008). My data show that rather than changing how masculinity is constructed, middle-class boys viewed masculinity as negative. Ethan

(School 3), expressed: “being properly masculine is cowardly really...I don’t want to be seen as [masculine], no. If people think that to be masculine you have to be big and bully people, I don’t want to be seen like that”. Masculinity is not always an image which everyone aspires to; with middle-class boys valuing social skills more than an “obvious” masculinity: “I wouldn’t want to be cocky” (Kyle, School 2). In contrast, discussions about masculinity at School 1, the working-class school typically glorified the physical aspects of masculinity:

...being a good footballer is about having loads of people chanting your name and being popular, and being famous, rich and, say, having a six-pack is associated with getting loads of girls and having a good life. Like [masculinity] is associated with what your idea of having a good life is about. (Luke, School 1)

At no point in this discussion does Luke identify any “softer” version of masculinity as desirable, instead concentrating on stereotypical notions of heterosexual prowess and being popular as important facets to how he wishes to construct his masculinity. These different constructions of masculinity are indicative of Bourdieu’s (1984, p87) argument: “the same practices may receive opposite meanings and values in different fields”. Luke (School 1) discusses the embodied aspect of masculinity as a positive, whereas the different perspective of the same practice is highlighted by Dylan (School 2): “you see it at the gym, the guys who want to be ‘It’, coming in in their tank tops, showing off their muscles, thinking they’re the kings of the universe”. The presence of muscles is viewed by Luke (School 1) as having capital which can be rewarded by “getting loads of girls”, Dylan (School 2) views these muscles as negative, being scathing of men who are only in the gym to look a certain way. Masculinity for these working-class males appears to congregate around a physicality-as-important, whereas the same characteristics appear to be viewed derogatively by more middle-class males.

Schooling, as a field with its own rules, norms and expectations, functions to influence the development of a collective habitus. A difference was noticed between the two state schools (Schools 1 and 2), and the private school (School 3) in relation to awareness of

gender fluidity. All state schools are required to follow the same curriculum, often with similar resources and opportunities (Department for Education, 2014), which is not the case for independent schools in the UK. Young people at Schools 1 and 2 could speak of the social construction of gender and the fluidity of gender in ways which was not the case at School 3, suggesting that the assumption of private schools as being replicative of traditional social hierarchies and power norms continues. Craig's (School 3) response to being asked whether a male can be feminine demonstrates a lack of knowledge and discomfort when talking about gender identities:

I'm not really sure how to answer. There are extreme males trying to be feminine, like transvestites who are genuinely trying to be female, and then they would be classed as feminine...[pause]... I really don't know how to answer this.

This quote is an example of young people at School 3 fumbling around trying to put together an answer. In contrast, I had discussions with young people at the other two schools as to the social construction of sex and gender; with Gus (School 2) answering the same question by quoting Judith Butler's work and whether this should mean that gender should be abolished:

[there are] essentialists who see gender and sex as completely linked and then you have people who say they are different. I think there is a middle ground, and you see these super progressive people who want to abolish gender, and I don't know whether that is even possible to do.

The way that this conversation was sensitive to individual gender, and the intricacies of gender identities lies in stark contrast to the way that Craig blundered through answering the same question. It became apparent that discussions about gender were not abnormal for young people at School 1 or 2, and consequently, these students were equipped with vocabulary and an awareness to verbalise the intricacies of gendered identities. In contrast, awareness, vocabulary and a sensitivity to gender was not as evident in the way young people from School 3 addressed these issues. An interpretation of this may lie in the role of the National Curriculum, coupled with PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) lessons in equipping young people in state schools with a broader

understanding of the embodiment of gender. To this extent, my results confirm that, in terms of gender awareness and sensitivity, “private schools...are likely to set up a different set of relations between male and female pupils than state schools” (Arnot, 2002, p137).

The differences between how young people at private or state schools understand gender as a social construction is further explored using the concepts of monoglossia and heteroglossia (Francis, 2010). Monoglossia considers the way that dominant gender forms represent the views of dominant social groups, and this reflects the way that the young people at the private school (School 3) have a very rigid view of gender which reflects traditional norms. In contrast, heteroglossia refers to gender fluidity, contradiction and resistance at a micro-level, reflecting the nuances in gender of which young people from Schools 1 and 2 appeared to be more aware. The nuances involved in the heteroglossic understanding of gender from state school students explains how there is arguably more choice within the gendered habitus of young people who share these views: “I think in this school...it would be acknowledged that it was someone stepping out of what would normally be accepted as normal, and I think that would be viewed as a good thing” (Graham, School 2). If choices are constructed as being “accepted”, this increases the chances of behaviours different from socially constructed norms occurring. For instance, across interviews at School 1, I spoke with two self-identified non-binary females and a further gay student, at School 2, I spoke with one non-binary and gay female, and one gay male. At School 3, no young people identified as gay, and mentioned no instances of being friends with, or aware of, peers who transgressed heterosexual expectations. Exposure to different configurations of gender and sexuality can work to break the doxa, which in turn challenges what are viewed as “normal” behaviours within the gendered habitus, leading to an imposition of categories of thought which are more sensitive to gender. As Risman (2004, p431) suggests, individuals “compare themselves and their options to others in structurally similar positions”, which for young people

implies that the norms of the school are important in setting the collective norm. If school practices replicate traditional and conventional binary notions of gender and sexuality as per School 3, a variety of gendered identities remain unavailable for many young people.

This section has demonstrated how class-based differences exist, and can be influenced by the school environment. Familiarity with different representations of gendered identities appears important in overcoming historical and stereotypical representations which “trap” young people into gender and sexual binaries. Schools therefore play an important role in dictating the capital allocated to gendered identities, shaping which options are possible within a gendered habitus.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The habitus operates at both an individual level to predispose an individual to act in certain ways, which, dovetailed with the collective component of the habitus that reflects broader social norms, means that individual agency is often limited in the choice of an individual’s gendered identity. The interview quotes presented in this chapter show how gender is an important factor in the classification and categorisation of young people’s experiences, with social capital allocated differentially for gendered representations in relation to their proximity to valorised ideals. Interview data has shown how most young people are “trapped” in their gender norms, often without realising, which demonstrates the power of the non-conscious element of the habitus in determining practice. Despite this conclusion, some students did express individualised and non-conformist gendered identities, and this should be celebrated alongside a concern that historical gender norms are often reproduced in ways which emphasise difference and reinforce a gendered hierarchy.

In addressing the research questions of this PhD, this chapter addresses RQ1 and RQ3. In relation to how young people negotiate their gendered identity, reproduction of traditional norms carries greater social value and capital, and consequently, draws young people into

reproducing this representation of gender. The performance of one's gender identity is often non-conscious, occurring through the synchronisation of the habitus with field, so gender is often not regularly thought about. A lack of reflexivity in one's gendered identity is dangerous, for this reinforces the reproduction of gender roles and behaviours which do not challenge male hegemony and continue to position masculinity as superior to femininity. In returning to Davies and Harré's (1990) five stages of self-development, the gendered habitus supports the way in which these young people live their gendered identities:

1. *Learning social categories*: these young people often fell back onto biological essentialism in which masculinity and femininity are mapped onto male and female, indicating that categories of gendered bodies and identities are easily identifiable through a simplistic notion of gender-equals-sex.
2. *Meanings are allocated to categories*: interviews demonstrated that by allocating capital and reinforcing the most valorised versions of gender, dominant and legitimate versions of masculinity and femininity are understood.
3. *Positioning oneself*: engaging in gendered practices which reflect socially constructed norms of masculinity or femininity helped young people to position themselves within the gender hierarchy.
4. *Individuals see the world dependent on the position one adopts*: throughout interviews, young people reflected on their social position, indicating how previous experiences and values influence the development of one's habitus.
5. *Experience of contradictory positions*: whilst many young people often had not experienced contradictory positions through the regulation and reproduction of the gendered habitus in mirroring traditional gendered norms, through encouraging reflexivity during the interviews, some young people were able to (safely) explore contradictory experiences which led to greater understanding and awareness.

These stages of identity development support the use of the gendered habitus for theorising how young people negotiate their sense of a gendered identity. This chapter has not considered the role of power in the production of identity in school environments, and this will be built upon in the coming chapters. In relation to Davies and Harré's (1990) identity development model, stage three and four emphasise the way young people are "trapped" in their gendered habitus, for to lose social capital, and with it popularity, has importance for young people in ways which is less applicable for adults.

The final section of this chapter explored class-based differences, addressing RQ3. I have demonstrated that how young people view gender differs depending on classed origins, highlighting that hyper-masculine identities are desirable for working classes and simultaneously negative for middle-class males. Importantly, frequency and awareness of gendered vocabulary increases young people's comfort at discussing gender, leading to a more nuanced understanding of gender at both state schools (compared to the private school). When different permutations of gender are normalised through vocabulary and language (as in Schools 1 and 2), this allows for non-traditional representations of gender to be accepted to a greater degree within the field of schooling. A plethora of factors might be responsible for this, including the role of the national curriculum, traditional gender roles and power relations, family pride etc.; however, the difference in how gender is understood would support further research to explore the way that knowledge can influence options within a gendered habitus. Naivety with gender appears to indicate a more limited and restrictive habitus, and this demonstrates the role of education in challenging stereotypical assumptions and promoting greater choice within one's gendered habitus.

The development of a gendered habitus provides the base for how young people negotiate their gendered identity. A gendered habitus "is even less susceptible to change than is the habitus more generally...for it survives transition between fields" (Chambers, 2005, p343). This chapter has described the gendered habitus for young people, subsequent

chapters explore how the gendered habitus operates within different fields: through the “game of gender”, Chapter 6 explores how gender interconnects with popularity and social status, Chapter 7 explores how media messages influence the development of the gendered habitus, Chapter 8 explores the sporting gendered habitus, and the role of the school and PE is discussed in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 6: THE ADOLESCENT GAME OF GENDER

Through considering the gendered habitus as influencing all areas of a young person's life, this chapter explores the way in which gender can be viewed as a game. Using Bourdieu's concept of *illusio*, this chapter is based on the premise that culture, in the sense that gender is a part of the enactment and representation of cultural norms, "demands that one takes part in the game and be taken in by it" (Bourdieu, 1984, p247). Young people are involved in such a game in relation to gender. Implicit in this chapter is the way in which gender "rules" are linked to one's classed habitus, reflecting the differences in how young people from different social classes understand idealised versions of masculinity and femininity (as discussed in Chapter 5). The purpose of this chapter is to document the intricacies of the "game" which operates across different fields, before applying the structures of the game to more specific fields of schooling and sport in subsequent chapters.

According to Suits (1967, p148), "[t]o play a game is to engage in activity directed toward bringing about a specific state of affairs, using only means permitted by specific rules...The goal of a game...is winning the game". This definition explains the practices, commitment and expected outcomes of engaging in a (sporting) game, which all apply to the configuration of gender as a game. Through viewing gendered behaviours as a form of practice, Adkins (2003, p24) asserts that "competencies, know-how, dispositions, [and] perceptions...operate below the level of consciousness and language through a 'feel for the game'". Following the "rules" of gender represents the non-conscious habitus influencing practice, whilst the oscillation between the non-conscious and the conscious allows for instances where young people can challenge gender "rules" and "play the game" differently.

This chapter will initially explore general gender "rules" which are salient to how these young people understand gender, before exploring the way in which the game of gender is "refereed", through peer-policing. In linking the game of gender to the allocation of

capital, this chapter explores how popularity is enhanced through “winning” at the game of gender, considering how young people can tactically exploit the “rules” of gender to their advantage. In *The Logic of Practice*, Bourdieu (1990) explains how bodies are born into the game. Therefore, the embodiment of both one’s habitus and gendered identity, juxtaposed with socialisation processes in which gendered norms are internalised, demonstrates the utility of the game analogy to explain the way young people can negotiate their own gendered identity. Consequently, this chapter specifically contributes to answering RQ1 in relation to how young people negotiate their gendered identity through the game.

THE GENDER GAME: “RULES”

The taken-for-granted assumptions of the gendered habitus explain how expected representations of masculinity and femininity for young people reflect biological essentialism and create sex-specific behaviours in which masculinity maps onto being male, and femininity onto female. These assumptions and stereotypes form gender norms which function as “rules” or etiquette⁷, becoming unwritten rules within the gendered habitus. The importance of exploring adolescent gender “rules” is expressed by Connell (1987, p219) who states that the “peer milieu has its own gender order”, suggesting the order is regulated and contains its own “rules”. As Bourdieu (2001) discusses, individuals understand the code of gender and have a doxic acceptance of the gendered structure of society. In justifying the use of the term “rules”, Mottier (2002, p349) states that “[f]ields possess their own regulative principles”. To this extent, “rules” signify a regulative principle which can influence individual behaviour and practices. Because gender cuts across all fields, and is not limited to a specific field, gender “rules” operate across fields. Fields are characterised by struggles for legitimacy (Allard, 2005; Bourdieu, 1990), and

⁷ Etiquette, referred to as a set of customs and rules of appropriate behaviour, is more appropriate than using the term rule which is more deterministic. Therefore, in using the word “rule” (placed in quotation marks), I am referring more to notions of etiquette which directs acceptable behaviour, allowing an awareness of agency in whether these rules are followed, or modified. Linguistically, “rule” reads better, and it is for this reason that I use it within this thesis.

thus, the “rules” which are followed and refereed are indicative of the representations of gender which have been validated and valued by young people.

Taylor (1993) considers the way in which rules operate within a Bourdieusian framework, stating that some rules form background understanding, which in this PhD represent the taken-for-granted gendered norms of the habitus. Gender “rules” have power because they are “explicit formulations of the normative order” (Davies & Harré, 1990, p44). The ubiquitous nature of gender “rules” was illustrated repeatedly through my interviews, suggesting that “rules” exert limits on how young people can represent their gender: “Only to a degree [do young people have a choice in how they represent their gender]. You can’t really, like be too sort of creative or a bit crazy with it, you have to fit within certain parameters” (Gus, School 2). These “parameters” are indicative of the way gender “rules” establish what is understood as acceptable representations of gender. By all students demonstrating awareness of gender “rules”, this is an example of what Bourdieu (1998, p142) considers to be “universalisation... the universal strategy of legitimation”. This awareness of gender “rules” legitimises the “rules” within the game. In further considering Gus’ statement above, he considers the role of agency in one’s gendered identity, suggesting that there is only a degree of choice. Young people can choose whether they want to play the game, and how much investment they make in following the gender rules. However, given the salience of social groups and popularity in adolescent social fields (Francis, 2009; Francis et al., 2010; Read et al., 2011), motivation to wish to play the game of gender is likely, for most young people, to be high due to fearing negative social consequences for being different from their peers.

Chapter 5 demonstrated the basis for the gender “rules”, documenting that expectations of masculinity and femininity are positioned as oppositional and often conflated with sex. Moreover, classed differences in how masculinity is viewed by young people between Schools 1 and 2, and the more elitist School 3, indicate that nuanced “rules” of gender can also reflect the classed histories and backgrounds of young people. Primarily, the

different rules for young men and women is shown by Ricky (School 1), for whom “the main competitions in life, for males, males are more about sport, stereotypically, and females are more about appearance, so that’s their main competition, that’s what you want to be winning at”. Sport therefore was identified consistently as an important “rule” for young men, and aesthetic appearance as an important “rule” for young women. The concept of winning is important in relation to capital; individuals who closer approximate the idealised representation of gender “rules”, can accrue more gender capital. Within the analogy of a game, there must be “winners” and “losers”. Winners, by conforming to gender rules accrue capital. The specificity of gender rules is exemplified by Suzie (School 3), who discusses the rules of clothing: “even school shoes, you have to have the same school shoes as everyone else, in the right style, and the Nike trainers, all the same stuff as other people, and if you didn’t you’ll be judged as different”. This demonstrates the way that external image is important in positioning oneself within acceptable markers of one’s gendered identity. Suzie talks about being labelled as different; however, within my Bourdieusian framework, this difference is associated with negative social stigma associated with the removal (or negative gain) of social capital. Gender “rules” therefore hold power by influencing how, and why, gender capital is allocated. Gary (School 2) further explains this, stating:

...you wanna act a specific way so that you don’t receive any criticism. As soon as someone doesn’t act a specific way then the criticism, the name calling starts, then you kind of refuse to act that way [against gender “rules”] so you don’t get hurt.

Gary’s comment suggests that the belief in the legitimacy of the “rules” (and associated capital) creates a form of gender hierarchy (Arnot, 2002; Shakib, 2003). If capital is allocated for those who follow the “rules”, these gendered identities and representations hold more social and symbolic capital, allowing these bodies to be recognised as such. Gendered identities are required to be readable on sight (Francis et al., 2010; Halberstam, 1998), thus the successful enactment of gender “rules” which promote dominant

representations of masculinity and femininity, result in a reinforcement of gender binaries which leave the doxic gender order unchallenged.

To allocate capital in accordance with gender “rules”, judgement must be passed on whether a gendered identity is “winning” in the game. The relationships of power in allocating capital within the game of gender is now discussed.

REFEREEING THE GAME

As with any game, a person in authority is required to ensure that participants are conforming to the “rules” and standards expected. Within this section, the relational workings of power from within are considered, rather than top-down power often discussed in relation to young people (Marcia, 1980). Relevant to a sense of the game, King (2000, p420) suggests that “individuals act according to a sense of practice which is established and judged by the group”, highlighting the importance of peer-policing for the allocation of capital. Within this section, I take influence from Foucauldian concepts of surveillance and panopticon (Foucault, 1977); however, within my Bourdieusian framework I use the term “peer-policing” to explain the relationships between judgement, surveillance, and the gendered habitus.

Gender “rules” match the requirements of the field (allowing individuals to “win” the struggle for legitimacy), therefore, following these “rules” leads to a reproduction of the habitus. Through the gendered habitus, where dominant representations of gender are allocated greater capital, peer-policing and judgement maintain a social hierarchy. Young women in particular, are aware of peer-policing occurring as a regular event: Niamh (School 1) suggests, “you could walk past them [the popular girls] ... and you wouldn’t say nowt, they’d just look you up and down as though you’re not as perfect as them”. The creation of an “us vs them” dialogue results in gender “rules” reinforcing a gendered hierarchy which is heavily based on stereotypical gendered norms. Gender identity for young people is dependent on peer legitimation, and therefore any differences which can

be stigmatised through failing to conform to social rules (Link & Phelan, 2001), have the potential to strongly influence a young person's social status. Important for this section is the idea that every young person is both a classifier and classified (Weininger, 2005), indicating that power is not a top-down entity, instead each person's classification of the self and others impacts on the legitimisation of an individual's gendered identity.

Three permutations of peer-policing became evident during my interviews: female-on-female, male-on-female, and male-on-male. Importantly, young men did not identify being judged by young women. The extent of the network of peer-policing demonstrates the importance of an external representation of gender, explaining why conforming to gender "rules" represents a method for young people to have their gendered identity legitimised by their peers. This contradicts Paechter (2006b, p259) who suggests gender is "centrally concerned with who one considers oneself to be, not how one appears to others". For these young people, peer-policing emphasises the way in which an outward coherent gendered identity is critical for their acceptance within their social field.

Underpinning the way in which young people peer-police gendered bodies and identities is a form of "symbolic dependence" (Bourdieu, 2001, p66), where gendered acceptance occurs when the body more closely approximates legitimate representations of gender. Of the instances of peer-policing, judgement cast on the female body was the most severe and regular: "girls, as soon as you see a girl, like if a girl sees a girl, they judge them on their hair, their makeup, what they're wearing, the trends, like 'urgh she's wearing last month's trainers' ...that happens a lot" (Helen, School 1). This quote shows the variety of embodied aspects which are judged and evaluated by other females. Furthermore, Alicia (School 1) states, "[the girls] are so judgemental, like if someone, if you don't have a big bum, then you'll get judged by someone who does, and they put you down because you haven't got what they have". These quotes are examples of Epstein and Johnson's (1998, p158) conclusion that "[g]irls police themselves and each other", and support the idea that there is little solidarity between girls against the symbolic violence and sexist

expectations they receive (Riddell, 1989). By participating in their own peer-policing and gender scrutiny, these young women perpetuate their own symbolic violence, reproducing the expectation that femininity equals attractiveness. This is reinforced by Kate (School 2): “the judgement comes from girls, but that’s because of boys, so the girls think that because they think that’s what the boys want”. This suggests that these young women have internalised the gender “rules” and are competing with each other for capital (given through boys and heterosexual relationships), and female solidarity against this form of symbolic violence is unlikely.

Interestingly, class differences exist for the way in which peer-policing of young women occurs. Girl-on-girl policing was evident at both state schools (Schools 1 and 2), but there were no instances of this occurring at the independent school (School 3). For instance, Pippa (School 3) explains that “usually the girls, like there is a lot of drama, but here [at this school] they’re much more laid back and there isn’t that bitchiness which usually follows girls”. At School 3, there are typically two to three times as many males in a school year than females, consequently, young women are more likely to stick together in solidarity against the judgement and power held by young men. In contrast, with similar numbers of males and females (and a much larger numbers of females) at Schools 1 and 2, there is less need for the girls to stick together, instead more factions are likely which can manifest in greater “bitchiness” (Pippa, School 3). This lack of collegiality is demonstrated in a conversation with Eliza and Mia (School 2):

Mia: I feel like girls are a lot more vicious about what they say, whereas boys don’t really think about what they say and just say it and move on with their day. But with girls it will be really malicious.

Eliza: And boys are more likely to feel bad about it, I know that sounds weird, but a girl could say something and not care that they’ve just upset someone, she just wouldn’t care about anything she’s said, and even if someone brings it up to her then she’s like “yeah, but what are you going to do?”, but a lad would feel bad about it...

Interviewer: So, every girl is affected by the same pressure but there isn’t that feeling of being together...

Mia: It doesn't make sense, we're all going through the same thing, and when you're more violent and malicious with what you say than people who don't understand, there's something wrong.

At the two state schools, the young women face scrutiny, judgement and policing from both their male and female peers. This scrutiny perpetuates the gender hierarchy in which the expected femininity-as-attractive trivialises the female identity by encouraging a focus solely on aesthetics rather than embodied achievements. If other young women are also taking part in this gender judgement, the hegemonic position and authority of masculinity remains unquestioned, allowing young men to continue to accrue benefit from the social configuration of the gendered hierarchy.

In contrast to different configurations of female peer-policing, all young women interviewed were unequivocal in their description of the judgement that their male peers make of the female body, and, by extension, the gendered identity. Many young women view judgement from young men as threatening (Jackson & Warin, 2000): “there’s just sniggers and whistles and stuff like that [from boys], it makes you feel uncomfortable” (Alexa, School 1). This explains the way that young women’s bodies are objectified by young men (Morgan & Davis-Delano, 2016). Whilst the young women did not like this judgement, it was largely accepted as “something you have to live with, you just get used to it” (Rachel, School 1). Importantly, in relation to the manifestation of power in the lives of young people, young men hold the power in the game of gender, setting the “rules” for “successful” femininity. As Millie (School 1) discusses, boys “make girls feel vulnerable about themselves. They’re the sort of people who will mock you for the way you look, because they...think that ‘she needs to look better to be with me’, like that’s how it is”. Not only does this quote explain how boys regulate the game of gender, but this also links to the expectation of heterosexuality and the capital which can be accrued from a heteronormative relationship (as discussed in Chapter 5). This regulation of femininity demonstrates that young men have social power to accept a female as a

girlfriend, implying that the female gendered identity must match with male standards, rather than the male accommodating to the wishes, desires and standards of females.

In contrast to the way in which peer-policing of young women reflects gender norms of attractiveness, male-on-male policing is more akin to traditional bullying. Male popularity for these young men is dependent on representations of masculinity, through which “slating someone is kind of like a way of gaining popularity. If you’re seen taking the mick, making fun of someone, if it’s funny to everyone else, then you’re seen as popular” (Howard, School 1). Male peer-policing which concentrates on “taking the mick” emphasises that appearance “rules” for males are less important for the display of a “successful” gendered identity. Embodied actions (including physicality, sporting prowess and academic displays), are policed (Gill, Henwood, & McLean, 2005), whereas judgement based on attractiveness is instead used to judge young women. Linking to Jackson’s (2002, 2003) work on self-worth protection strategies, through playing the game of gender by emphasising dominant representations of masculinity, young men are presenting a valorised, often hyper-masculine image to prevent social criticism, stigma and the removal of capital as a result of identity deficiencies elsewhere. As Kyle (School 3) suggests:

...there are some [boys] in my class, they annoy people because they take the mick out of everyone. They sit at the back of the classroom, because that’s when everyone turns around they know that they’re getting attention... they do that because they aren’t clever. They know that they can be taken the mick out of for not being clever, so they try to reverse things, and try to get themselves out of their cubby hole by saying that they’re the funny ones. It tries to deflect other people’s minds off the fact they’re not 100 percent clever.

Linking this to the game of gender, some young men are motivated to present aspects of their embodied gender which match traditional valorised representations of masculinity to preserve their social status and accrue social capital. The game of gender therefore differs for young men and women, with the female game revolving primarily around appearance and emphasised femininity, and the male game more orientated around sociability,

sporting prowess and “boy’s banter” (Harriet, School 3). A difference is also demonstrated in the fact that across interviews, young men did not identify young women as passing judgement or policing their gendered identity. This might reflect young men not wanting to admit to being “affected” by this judgement, and pretending it does not exist. However, by omitting instances of being judged by females, young men maintain their position atop the social hierarchy of gender.

Foucault’s (1977) concept of the panoptic arrangement of the prison, in which, at its most successful configuration, inmates are not aware of being watched, is applicable to these young people’s experiences of peer-policing. Young women expressed a fear of being judged:

...you don’t know when people are judging you, people can just be sniggering and that, like when you walk past and they whisper it makes you wonder if it is about me or not, then it makes you more wary because you don’t know. (Alexa, School 1)

Chloe: ...it’s horrible when someone makes a comment because then you start to think that something’s wrong...you’ll continue to wonder whether...the other people are right in making a criticism / Ellie: And then you start to panic about random things, like walking down the corridor because you feel like you’re being watched. (Chloe and Ellie, School 2)

I don’t care if they say “what’s Claire wearing today?” or whatever, that doesn’t bother me. But it bothers me that they might think it. It’s not that what they say is affecting me, but the fact that someone might think it and I don’t know what they think is what bothers me. (Claire, School 3)

These young women are expressing a fear of judgement which leads to greater conformity to the “rules” of gender to reduce the likelihood of peer-policing. A fear of potential peer-policing is indicative of the way that young women have internalised the “rules” of gender, knowing how to manipulate and present a feminine identity to avoid criticism, thus “playing the game”. By fearing judgement, these young women are presenting a narrowly defined image of femininity, which further maintains a gendered habitus and sets what is valued as an appropriate female identity.

As a response to peer-policing, and the internalisation of gender “rules”, many young people turned this scrutiny onto themselves, leading to self-comparison of their gendered identity to others around them. Linking to the broader analytical theme of this discussion, the self-comparison and self-scrutiny indicates a feeling of being trapped, agreeing with Bordo (2003, p182) that women who strive to meet gender norms “are anything *but* the ‘masters’ of their lives” (original emphasis). Self-comparison is described by Jenny (School 1):

...it's what we're so used to doing, it becomes natural. The comparison thing, like she looks like that, but I look like this. It's kinds of like completely different body types or comparing hair if I had short hair and she has long hair, or an athletic build and I don't... the comparison thing isn't good, but you do it anyway.

Previous research has typically suggested that self-scrutiny is a female phenomenon, with Bartky (1997, p107–108) suggesting that “self-surveillance is a form of obedience to patriarchy”. However, some young men also suggested they also compare their gendered identities, both to idealised norms, and to other people. Craig (School 3) admitted comparing his body and identity “almost constantly. Like to my friends. For example, my roommate Kyle, he’s built like a rugby player, big, tall, well-built and I often think how nice it would be to be like that”. In addition, Graham (School 2) suggested that “there are no specific people for me [who I compare to], just an idea about what you should be”. This quote demonstrates how, if gender “rules” are considered representative of gendered norms and expectations, the “idea about what you should be” results in self-comparison and scrutiny to ensure one’s own gendered identity matches the socially constructed ideal. Self-comparison represents a method by which young people can increase their likelihood of accruing gender capital, and “winning” at the game of gender. By comparing one’s own gendered identity, individuals are attempting to bridge “the gap between ‘is’ and ‘ought’ in the realm of the body” (Bourdieu, 1984, p149). Through the *illusio* and feel for the game, the internalisation of gender “rules” demonstrates the power of gender norms to regulate behaviour in line with dominant perceptions of masculinity

and femininity. Young people also identified comparing their identity to images on social media: “on Instagram...when you flick through and they’re in their bikinis or a nice outfit, it’s kind of like I want to see that outfit with my figure. It makes you feel bad, definitely” (Caroline, School 3). Social media provides an emerging field for social comparison, and “winning” on social media becomes another field for the game of gender, which will be explored further in Chapter 10.

This chapter so far has addressed how young people are conforming and following the “rules” of gender, reproducing dominant gender norms to accrue social capital. The next sections consider how young people may choose to play the game differently, negotiating their identity through tactics or strategy. Playing the game is not a straightforward reproduction of “rules”, and these tensions demonstrate some agency for young people in how they present their gendered identity.

SCORING: WINNERS AND LOSERS

For young people, popularity is associated with conforming to the “rules” of gender, which results in the accrual of capital. My definition and understanding of popularity is similar to that of Francis et al. (2010) who suggest that those who are most popular are not necessarily the most liked; with this succinctly summarised by Mia (School 2) who suggests that “a lot of people don’t actually like them, so they aren’t actually popular, they’re just, everyone knows them”. Presenting a socially-validated gendered image is important for young people, and this represents “winning” at the game of gender.

To participate in the game of gender, in accordance with *illusio*, there must be a belief in the benefit of the game. The accrual of social capital, and consequent potential popularity, functions as a benefit for young people to conform to gender “rules”. To this extent, gender authenticity is an important determinant of whether an individual can benefit from gender capital. Crossley (2001, p103) identified that “[a]gents are knowledgeable of their situation and their knowledge is integral to the successful accomplishment of ‘doing’ of

that situation, it is an embodied know-how". This applies to the "embodied know-how" of the gendered habitus, suggesting that individuals know the "rules" of their situation and act accordingly. In relation to class, "the same practices may receive opposite meanings and values in different fields" (Bourdieu, 1984, p87), indicating that the behaviours valued and rewarded in the "game" may differ for young people at different schools. Those who "win" at the game of gender do so because "gender can be a form of cultural capital but only *if* it is symbolically legitimated" (Skeggs, 2004, p24, original emphasis). Through peer-policing, judgement and the allocation of capital to successful representations of gender, legitimation can occur. What is deemed as "successful" is class and field specific, and whilst the "rules" mirror the classed differences outlined in Chapter 5, young people's participation in the "game" remains important regardless of their class and field. This section discusses power within the gender hierarchy in relation to those who "win" at the game, instances of individual tension and negotiation of their engagement with gender "rules", and the potential negative consequences of overly conforming to the "rules".

The nexus of power for young people is often assumed to be external, being recipients of power from above, imposed by parents, teachers, sports coaches etc. (Apple, 1995; Buckingham, 2008; Kane, 2006; Marcia, 1980). Yet within the game of gender, those who "win" by conforming to socially constructed gender "rules", possess power through the allocation of social capital and popularity. This hierarchical power relationship is explained by those students who do not possess gender capital: "they're really bitchy and will do anything to make you lower than them to make them feel higher" (Millie, School 1). Those in the "higher" social group use their power to maintain an elevated social status, using gender norms to peer-police others who threaten or challenge the gender "rules". By critiquing and judging peers who do not meet gendered expectations, the popular group are distancing themselves from the (gendered) Other, further stabilising their position atop the social hierarchy. The power associated with social popularity

allows these individuals to create and redefine gender norms which perpetuate their position of dominance. According to Taylor (1993), rule and action have a reciprocal nature, where actions can transform rules. Consequently, those with gender capital (popularity) can set their own rules and “trends” through their actions. Howard (School 1) suggests that “because they [the popular girls] are so superior, and they [are] seen as so superior... they aren’t scared to step out of line”. This demonstrates there is more freedom and choice in the gendered identity of popular young people, for their status and symbolic capital provides a buffer through which they are not as heavily peer-policed. This argument that popular groups hold symbolic power is reinforced by Bourdieu (1985), who suggests that categorising and imposing meaning is a way of maintaining symbolic power. The allocation of capital and consequent status provides a visible indicator of those who “win” at the game of gender; however, changes to gender “rules” within the field can threaten the position of those who are currently “winning”.

Adhering to gender “rules” which follow stereotypical notions of femininity and masculinity allow some young people to “win” and be “successful” through the accrual of capital. By rewarding those who mirror stereotypical gender norms, engaging in the game of gender leads to a reproduction of a gender binary for most young people. Eliza (School 2) reflects on the way that social norms reproduce the “same” image of femininity in the popular girls: “they’re all thin, like similar. They do the same style. Long hair, straight, tight trousers, short skirts”. The reproduction of gender norms, according to Rachel (School 1), leads to a lack of individualisation: “they’re all followers, they all go along with each other, rather than going their separate ways”. To this extent, participating in the game of gender can lead to docility, and the unquestioning of gender norms in the search for social capital and status. By following gender norms and “rules”, for those caught up in the game, the standards required to accrue capital become more closely defined and policed. With homogenous representations of gender encouraged, demonstrating individual points of distinction can become increasingly difficult. By embodying

homogenous gender “rules”, young people are avoiding misrecognition of their gendered identity, choosing to participate in the game of gender because this is less challenging to their sense of position in social space (Schmader & Block, 2015). The homogenous nature of gender which is reinforced through the game of gender supports Bourdieu’s (1984, p458) theoretical concept of obsequium which reflects a “deep rooted respect for the established gender order”. By closely adhering to the “rules” of the game which reproduce gender norms, young people are demonstrating a respect for gender stereotypes through their habitus, practices and beliefs.

In accordance with field theory, each field is a site of struggle (Bourdieu, 1990). Whilst those who can accrue gender capital and popularity are able dictate the “rules” of winning, power relations are not unidimensional. As Wacquant (1989, p40) writes, “[t]hose who dominate in a field are in a position to make it function to their advantage, but they must always contend with the resistance...of the dominated”. Within the game of gender, those who do not conform to traditional gendered norms can, and do, challenge what is considered “normal” gendered behaviours:

I look very different to the way that most of my class do, and they don't like that, I'm not bad at sport because I do it all the time, like the only thing they can really talk about me is the way I look, because I don't wear make-up and I don't do my hair properly, so they pick on me for that, because I don't wear leggings, I wear shorts. (Kiera, School 1)

In this quote, identifying that “they don’t like that” shows that Kiera is able to disrupt the conventional “rules” of the game, and threaten the status of these popular girls. Her embodied actions (her ability in PE) align with behaviours of the “popular” girls, and therefore, it is her feminine appearance which is challenged so that distinction can be maintained between those with power (status and capital), and those without (Kiera).

Whilst the “rules” of gender regulate how young people represent their gendered identities by encouraging conformity, there are some instances where individuals openly challenged these norms. Jarda (School 2) discussed her progression to accepting herself for *not* conforming to gendered norms regarding clothing and fashion:

I think that as a person I really stand by the idea that you should wear what you want, and I do wear what I want – I'll wear crazy patterned shirts, but that's taken a lot of time, like wearing fishnet tights or ripped jeans when it's been non-uniform day, I've said to my mum that I really want to wear them but I said I was scared I'd be judged for what I was wearing because it isn't the feminine look, and I definitely have had a panic on those days, and I've worn something else because I thought I'd get too judged for wearing that outfit. It takes a lot of time to build up the confidence, like it's a confidence thing to say "you know what, I don't care" and wear the outfit anyway because you're happy and feel comfortable.

Whilst examples of resistance were relatively limited within the young people I spoke with, this quote demonstrates there can be some individual agency in whether one conforms and commits to playing the game of gender. Whilst knowing the “rules” of the “feminine look”, Jarda appears content in challenging these norms and resisting conformity. The accrual of social capital through conforming to gender “rules”, whilst on the one hand can be viewed as “winning”, individualisation in this example provides a more convincing situation where young people who challenge the gender “rules” are able to “win” through being content and happy in their own authentic gendered identity. In contrast to these individual examples of resistance, most young people were caught up in the game, often unaware of their involvement until this was highlighted through reflexive questioning, highlighting the influence of the non-conscious habitus on practice.

In considering the *illusio* and the process of being caught up within the game of gender, for most young people there is a perceived obligation to meet dominant requirements of masculinity and femininity. To this extent, agency is reduced through options available in the habitus reflecting those representations of gender which can accrue gendered and social capital. Examples of young women highlighting the “rules” of gender include:

Nobody actually says that you have to be feminine, you just think you need to because you need to fit in. So, if you're not different, then you don't stick out, and then if you don't want to stand out it's easier to be normal, and not different. (Chantel, School 3)

Like for females, you have to be skinny, you have to be pretty, and you pretty much need a full face of makeup on at all times. (Sam, School 1 – their emphasis)

These quotes demonstrate the power of gendered norms, and rules, in regulating expected behaviour. Chantel discusses the requirement to embody femininity “rules” to “fit in” to be accepted as legitimate. Sam discusses as sense of “have” in relation to the gendered identity, suggesting there is little choice once an individual enters the game of gender. In this regard, my interview data agrees with Wacquant’s (1989, p45) conclusion that “[w]e can always say that individuals make choices, as long as we do not forget that they do not choose the principle of these choices”. On entering the game of gender, the state of *illusio* dictates that these young people follow the “rules” of gender which reflect stereotypical notions of femininity for females, and masculinity for males.

Despite the potential benefits from “winning” at the game of gender through accruing capital and corresponding social status, the attention on stereotypical representations of gender is simultaneously beset with potentially negative consequences. Through considering the habitus as a method of exploring relations of power between the dominant (in this case, popular groups) and the dominated (others) (Reay, 2004), the power that the popular groups have in peer-policing and creating gendered “rules” can lead to negative consequences. Bullying can occur for those who are different and do not conform to socially expected “rules” of gender. By not conforming to stereotypical “rules” of femininity-as-attractive, Suzie (School 3) outlined that she “was bullied...because I was different, like I wore glasses, I have braces and my teeth were a bit sticky out. I was different”. Similar situations arise for young men who do not embody the expected physicality associated with masculinity:

... say there were two boys who were really close... they'd still bully each other about what they look like. I feel that sometimes it really does get to some of them, like they try to act like it's banter and brush it off, but I think it really does get to them. There's this guy who's really close to the popular people but they call him fat all the time, and I think it really gets to him but it's not like he can ask them to stop because they'd be like "oh you puff, why are you crying about it?". (Caroline, School 3)

Continued social denigration and abuse regulates the boundaries of gender, and represents an extreme form of peer-policing. Willer, Rogalin, Conlon, and Wojnowicz (2013)

suggest that if men insult other men's masculinity, their own masculinity is strengthened. This is indicative of Caroline's example of male bullying; however, it does not suitably explain female-female bullying. With less power socially attributed to femininity (Schipper, 2007), female-female bullying arguably forms a way of highlighting gender distinction and a means to demonstrate one's space within the social world. By distancing themselves from deviant representation of gender, bullies can maintain their position atop the social hierarchy and continue to accrue social capital and power.

A further negative consequence of the game of gender is the relatively high prevalence of examples of disordered eating which became evident during interviews (Rich & Evans, 2009). Engaging in disordered eating represents, for some girls, a way to highlight a commitment to the idealised feminine identity, creating a relationship with the body which demonstrates a commitment to improvement. Eating disorders represent an example of ToD, and although "winning" at the game of gender involves, for many, conforming to gender "rules", and eating disorders is an example of extreme over-commitment to the "rules", which consequently leaves the victims as "losers" in the game of gender, without capital or power. Rich and Evans (2009) suggest that the body is a comparative project and eating disorders represent an attempt to conform to normative gender cultures. Across the three schools, there were five girls who identified having had problems with eating or extreme weight loss, and a further four instances where girls identified friends or people they knew who had these problems:

Like people were saying, there was this big thing about having a thigh gap, and I lost a lot of weight due to it, because I stopped eating for a while... it made me quite ill. I wanted to have the thigh gap. (Alice, School 1)

I used to want to be really skinny all the time. Like a year ago, like just not skinny, like nothing. It was just in my head...It worked, but too well. It didn't make me happy, I just looked ill. (Ruth, School 2)

I feel like there are some girls in our year, and I don't want to say names, but they definitely do have eating problems because they're so bothered [about people's judgement]. Like even if they haven't actually been called fat by the boys, they're so bothered about what the boys might say, then they start thinking that they might be saying that about me. (Caroline, School 3)

Dieting and eating disorders represent an extreme disciplinary process as a result of excessive self-comparison (Bordo, 2003; Markula, 2003), and these quotes demonstrate the danger of being too involved in the game of gender. The extent to which these young people had experience or knowledge of eating disorders, demonstrates how the game of gender can negatively affect how young women see their own bodies. Ruth's quote which refers to wanting to be skinny to be happy, provides a stark reminder of the dangers of "rules" which prioritise appearance. Girlguiding (2016) showed that over the five years to 2016, the percentage of young women (aged 7–21) who were happy with how they looked declined from 73 percent to 61 percent. Interview data quoted here indicate that many young women have an extremely negative relationship with their body, becoming "trapped" in the game of gender, striving to meet unrealistic expectations which are enforced by young people.

This section has demonstrated the way in which capital can be accrued for the "successful" representation of gender, resulting in some young people "winning" at the game of gender. This is not without negative consequences, and the internalisation of gender "rules" (which often may be unattainable), can be a source of discomfort or low self-esteem for some. This section has discussed how there are different workings of agency within the game of gender, and in the next section I explore how some young people are able to capitalise on the gendered "rules" to their advantage, manipulating their gendered identity to benefit from the game of gender.

GENDER TACTICS

This section considers the way some young people can manipulate their gendered identity across a variety of situations, effectively playing the game in their own way. As Paechter (2003a, p541) suggests, "how we enact masculinities and femininities changes as we move between groups, between places and spaces, and through time", and this section considers how young people change their gendered identity depending on the audience,

the way gender can be manipulated to capitalise on stereotypes and gender capital, and the way that individual exploitation of gender norms demonstrates some agency in choosing one's presentation.

Across all schools, both young men and women identified being aware of peers changing their gendered identity depending on who they were with. This was often viewed negatively, suggesting that changing identity reflected wider issues of power and a social hierarchy, evidencing how young people demonstrate a desire to fit in and present a coherent, and intelligible gendered self. This desire to fit in is explained by Craig (School 3), "I realised recently that I used to laugh at things that weren't even funny. I've stopped doing that now, but I was definitely laughing just to be friends with the person who was saying it". By laughing along with these jokes, Craig was sharing in a collective humour, positioning himself among those he valued to have social power and influence. The varying nature of identity is emphasised by Buckingham (2008) who suggests that identity can vary depending on the social situation. Regulating one's identity shows a knowledge of the "rules" of the game, and a motivational desire to play along.

For young women, the changing of identity and gendered performance typically involved the presence (or absence) of young men. The changing nature of the female identity is demonstrated by these quotes:

...they try to be someone else all the time, especially depending on who they're around. A lot of people change depending on who's there, which is quite annoying because you could be talking to someone, and someone else would come over and that person would totally change their personality.

(Helen, School 1)

I know that some people will change who they are around boys, and around people they think are popular so that they can become popular.

(Alexa, School 1)

... [these girls] just change when you're around them compared to when there are boys. Like they speak different with the boys, say different things.

(Zara, School 3)

By changing one's gendered identity, behaviour and practices in the presence of males, these young women are demonstrating the belief that men hold power within their social

field. As Brace-Govan (2002) suggests, women can be disempowered by the evaluative gaze of others and lose control of what is deemed acceptable femininity. By changing their gendered identity for the benefit of males, arguably these young women are conceding power which leads to the continued definition of their femininity from a male perspective.

In contrast to young women conceding power to men through their changing gendered identity, young men reinforce masculine power through overt demonstrations of hyper-masculinity as a justification of their social status. By emphasising masculinity, these young men are reinforcing their claim to social capital and their proximity to the socially constructed gender ideal:

I feel like when I stand around people and how they behave to try to fit in, they want to act like they're the tough guy, and they let their mouth go a bit. And I know, if I stand with them by themselves, they'll be a completely different person, they'll be a lot kinder and be who they really are. But if someone's in a big group and there's lots of pressure, then they'll start to change, put an act on, just so they can fit in... for some people, when you're with a group of friends, you're afraid to show any weakness, so you shut everything out and you make stuff up about yourself just so there's no weakness there. Yeah, because I know people who have made stuff up, or said that they've done this or that, just so people respect them more. (Gary, School 2)

This explains the way in which young men are conditioned to present a valorised masculine identity to fit in (Valentine, 2000). Interestingly, Gary explains that he “knows” people act differently and that some people construct an alternative version of themselves because they have “made stuff up”, yet he does not suggest that he calls his peers out on this identity misdemeanour. By not challenging his friends’ behaviours, this behaviour is legitimated, and each representation of his friends’ self is authenticated. Should Gary pull his friends up on the inconsistencies, their identity would no longer be authentic or legitimate, and would lose capital within the game of gender. Therefore, by young people identifying that people can, and do, possess multiple identities; regardless of authenticity, the similarity between one’s gendered habitus and the “rules” of the social field is what is important for how young people can accrue social and gendered capital.

Linked to the way in which young people can change their gendered identity depending on the social situation, is the way that gender can be manipulated so that young people can capitalise on gendered stereotypes for their own advantage. As Link and Phelan (2001) argue, people know the stereotypes which apply to them, and can live up to, or indeed, play down, their stereotypical representations. Young people's gender identity reflects a strategic manipulation of gender norms. Ellie (School 2) is unequivocal in the way she often exploits the stereotypes about femininity, to her own advantage:

I know there is a stereotype for females to be small and cute, and I take advantage of that sometimes. I trick people into thinking I'm small and cute, and then if things go bad, I come out of my shell and show them who I really am. It's quite good because people expect less of you if you're expected to be small and cute, they don't expect you to be feisty, and then again, they don't know the real you...I'm quite good at manipulating the situations to the way I want it to be.

Ellie demonstrates how an awareness of gender norms allows these to be manipulated and used to her advantage. Her use of the word manipulate demonstrates a higher level of thinking to assess each gendered situation and consider how her gender can be read. Rather than viewing a small and cute femininity as a negative, Ellie flips this construction and challenges the assumption that femininity is inferior. However, by hiding behind this stereotype, it can also be argued that the stereotype is reinforced through being used as a "default" feminine position. Whilst Ellie's quote demonstrates using a negative stereotype as "cover" for the "real" femininity she possesses, interviews with young males show how manipulation of masculinity centres around proving proximity to the most desirable construction of hegemonic masculinity. As William (School 1) states, "if you think you're masculine then you act, like if you act it, then you are it...especially when you're under pressure from someone to act like that you act more manly...to prove a point". This ties in to the idea that masculinity is often constructed positively, whereas femininity is lacking or a negative in comparison. An interesting interview with Gus (School 2; an identified gay male) demonstrates how he feels he can capitalise on

hegemonic masculinity (and historical patriarchal benefits) through promoting a straight image:

...[whether you get the benefits of masculinity as a straight male] depends on how you present and come across, and how you're read by employers, stuff like that. I mean, there's a scale, so I could probably come across as straight quite easily and get the benefits, but it would be nice not to have to do that.

This supports the hierarchical nature of Connell's (2007) gender order which asserts that non-hegemonic masculinities can still benefit from hegemonic masculinity precisely due to their masculinity as not-feminine. By being aware of benefits associated with heterosexual masculinity, Gus is reinforcing the expectation of heterosexuality which operates within adolescent gendered relationships. A willingness to pass as straight demonstrates how, by conforming to the assumption of heterosexuality, a "normal" identity can be promoted (Pronger, 1990). This links to the discussion in Chapter 5 in stating that heterosexuality is preferred and can accrue capital in ways which is not possible for homosexual identities.

These instances of young people exploiting their gender and manipulating their identity to suit their own purpose, is indicative of the way that agency within the gendered habitus is possible. The active negotiation of a gendered identity, as evidenced in this section, is indicative of "agents...being able to actively negotiate [social structures]" (Akram, 2013, p51). In considering social norms and conventional representations of gender as a structure through rules and obligations, this demonstrates how negotiation occurs. In keeping with the concept of the game of gender, "there is often an opportunity to 'play the game' in more than one way" (Adams, 2006, p515). Some young people have shown flexibility and agency within their gendered habitus through challenging the gender "rules" or manipulating gender norms to suit their purpose. However, in counter argument, young people who described modifying their behaviour in response to their social field, typically reflected stereotypical representations: Ellie used the stereotype of females being "small and cute" and Gus considered capitalising on a straight

representation of masculinity to accrue social benefits. There is therefore a suggestion, that many young people are “trapped” by gender “rules” and stereotypes to present an identity which is expected in a given situation. For some young people this may lead to feelings of not being able to be who they want to be: Jill (School 2) explains this sense of feeling that she cannot be her “real” self:

When I did my work experience, I did it at...like a school for special needs kids... when I was there I was always dressed proper nicely, and I was kindly spoken and polite, but as soon as I got back in the car, all that kind of rage left me, like what I'd been covering up all day. I can change who I am depending on who I'm around. I want to make a good impression...

This quote shows how Jill was cognizant of presenting a stereotypically appropriate gendered identity, not being threatening or “different” for the young people who she worked with. As an identified non-binary young person, Jill was very aware of her gender, and disliked not always feeling able to be her true self, but accepted that this was a consequence of the gender “rules” operating across society. If young people feel pressure to conform to gender “rules” which reproduce stereotypical representations of gender as authentic, I disagree with adolescence representing a *trying on period* for gender (Francis & Paechter, 2015; Williams, 2002). Instead, young people are compelled, through social hierarchies and the potential allocation of capital to get their gender “right” within the game of gender. The game of gender leads to a “forced choice” (Bourdieu, 1984, p173). By meeting these expectations, young people can obtain the social status associated with a coherent and intelligible adolescent representation of gender.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed the way in which young people are participants in a game of gender. Within this game, the gender norms which form one’s gendered habitus (as discussed in Chapter 5) are reconfigured as “rules” to follow. Mindful of the way in which this thesis has demonstrated that young people often feel “trapped” in their expected representations of gender, the game of gender has offered both instances of

being trapped, and a few moments of agency and resistance to the oppressive rules of gender. Bourdieu (1984, p4) writes “there is no way out of the game of culture”, and I have applied this concept to the game of gender, suggesting that the internalisation of gender norms, and the belief in the value of capital allocated to legitimate representations of gender, means that for many young people participation in the game is expected. Despite this, the extent to which young people are taken in, and participate in the game, can vary. Those who have strongly internalised the requirements of masculinity and femininity rigidly conform to these ideals, and use their social position to regulate the gendered identities of others. Conversely, those who reject the notion of the game of gender linking to popularity, are not as strongly bound by the requirement to present a coherent and intelligible gendered identity, and can show instances of individual negotiation and resistance. In addressing RQ1, this chapter has shown that through the game of gender, young people can negotiate their gendered identity. In using the metaphor of the game with its associated “rules”, conforming and reproducing these “rules” is common. Yet despite this, negotiation and tensions do occur with how young people choose to play the game, using strategy and tactics to increase their chances of “winning” and accruing social and gender capital.

Through the development of the game of gender, young people demonstrate agency and power in identifying gendered identities which are socially valued. Characteristics of gendered identities (and habituses) which are valorised and socially rewarded through capital (and social popularity and status) differ from those which might exist within an adult version of the game of gender. Therefore, it is no longer sufficient to unquestionably apply adult gender theories to young people. Within field of schooling, struggles for legitimacy occur and the “rules” of gender help to identify groups and individuals who can demonstrate distinction in accordance with gender norms. The differential allocation of capital and distinction within the game of gender creates and reinforces power relations. “Popular” young people can demonstrate their power through

creating gender norms and “rules”, peer-policing and regulating the social hierarchy. Yet it appears from these interviews across three schools, that it is primarily young men who possess the most power within the game of gender, supporting previous research (e.g. Connell, 1996). This power manifests itself through the unequal configurations of peer-policing: young women are heavily criticised and judged by young men, yet, young men are not affected by, or consider judgement from their female peers as problematic. Furthermore, much peer-policing of young women occurs *because* of young men: “the judgement [mainly] comes from girls, but that’s because of boys...the girls think that because they think that’s what the boys want” (Kate, School 2). Despite these workings of power, small instances of resistance have been discussed, supporting Demetriou’s (2001) assertion that wherever there is power, there is resistance. It is important to conclude that these elements of resistance occurred on individual levels, which do not threaten the established gendered expectations and power relations within the gendered habitus, and the corresponding requirement to abide by gender “rules”.

According to Connell (1987), a successful gender theory has three requirements: allow for social contradiction and individual contradiction within personality; recognise the effects of power; and understand the historical. The conceptualisation of the game of gender meets the requirements outlined by Connell. By demonstrating that young people can manipulate their gendered identity on an individual level to develop their own position within social space, individual instances of contradiction are possible. The relationships between young men and women and the influence this has on peer-policing and gender regulation demonstrates how power can operate within the game of gender. And finally, through incorporating the gendered habitus as the basis for gender rules and norms, the socialisation process which forms the habitus through past experiences is implicitly associated with an understanding of the historical. Through conceptualising gender as a game, this chapter has identified a new way to explore the development of young people’s gendered identities, and the development of this game across more

specific social fields will be considered in the following chapters; concentrating on sport (Chapters 8 and 9) education (Chapter 9) and media (Chapters 7 and 10).

CHAPTER 7: THE ROLE OF THE SPORTS MEDIA IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A GENDERED HABITUS

Using media-analysis data coupled with interview quotes, this chapter explores the way in which these young people interpret and understand media messages and how these influence their lives. As explored in Chapter 5, the gendered habitus is formed through socialisation and institutions (Bourdieu, 1990), of which media represents one method of socialisation. It is important to understand how media messages are internalised, and the impact that these messages have on how young people understand gender norms and expectations within their habitus.

As explored in the literature review, women have historically been under-represented and trivialised by traditional mass-media outlets (Bernstein, 2002; Bruce, 2015, 2016; Fink, 2015). Yet, a critique of the many media studies which focus on representation is that the interpretation of media messages is largely unknown (Lines, 2000); this chapter addresses this gap by exploring the way online sports media can contribute to the adolescent gendered habitus, particularly how young people view sporting bodies as representing an identity congruent (or not) with how they understand norms of masculinity and femininity. This chapter covers how young people interpret the under-representation of female athletes, the reinforcement of gender-appropriate sports, and expectations of female attractiveness. It is important to remember that not all young people I spoke with were avid watchers of sport, or indeed readers of sports news and events. Yet, their interpretation of sports-media messages is just as important to consider because of the legacy of media messages and the dormant affect this has on influencing societal views through one's habitus.

UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF FEMALE ATHLETES

Analysis of 2541 articles and 2051 photographs produced by *The Guardian*, BBC Sport, Sky Sports News and Twitter Moments during Rio 2016 showed a continued under-representation of female athletes, supporting and extending previous research which has demonstrated this phenomenon (Billings, Angelini, MacArthur, Bissell, & Smith, 2014; Bruce, 2016; Buysse & Embser-Herbert, 2004; Capranica & Aversa, 2002; Eastman & Billings, 1999; Godoy-

Pressland, 2014; Godoy-Pressland & Griggs, 2014; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994; Knight & Giuliano, 2001; Vincent et al., 2002; Wensing & Bruce, 2003; Yip, 2016; Yu, 2009). Across the four online media outlets including both Olympic and non-Olympic coverage, only 14 percent of articles and 20 percent of photographs featured solely female athletes (significant at the $P < 0.05$ level; both $P = 0.01$), compared to 67 percent of articles and 69 percent of photos for solely male athletes. When excluding non-Olympic sport, the difference in coverage reduced, with male athletes receiving 56 percent compared to female athletes receiving 33 percent. This numerical discrepancy demonstrates the continued symbolic annihilation of female athletes in the mass media, a situation identified as far back as the 1970s by Gerbner and Gross (1976). Worryingly, 96.5 percent of all female articles were written about female Rio 2016 sports, compared to 37 percent of all male articles. This indicates that there was 18 times more non-Rio 2016 coverage of male sport than female, so once major sporting events conclude, the symbolic annihilation is likely to continue.

Across all interviewees ($n=70$), all except one young person expected sportsmen to receive more sports-media coverage than sportswomen. When discussing sports media coverage, young people were asked what percentage of coverage they thought would be written about sportswomen compared to sportsmen, before revealing the results of my media analysis as a starting point for a discussion about whether discrepancies in media coverage is “right”. A consensus across the interviews was that male dominance of media coverage “has been like that for a long time, like the history” (Hayley, School 3), because “in the media, men’s things are seen as more important” (Jenny, School 1). The “naturalness” of the way in which male athletes dominate media messages was expressed as a universal idea, whereby “everyone views sport as being more male orientated...so there is a kind of focus on males” (Sol, School 1), and “women’s sport isn’t that important to the wider community in the way that men’s are” (Kiera, School 1). These ideas in which male sport is positioned as superior were frequently expressed across all interviews, demonstrating the power of media messages to influence ideas and beliefs in one’s habitus. In terms of the symbolic violence through which Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) identify gender as the paradigmatic form, the experiences of the young people interviewed reinforces Kraus’ (1993, 2006) work in which, through

symbolic violence, differences between males and females are naturalised. To this extent, many of these young people view media messages which position male sport as superior as taken-for-granted: “I don’t think you really notice it [the differences between how male and female athletes are treated in the media] until it’s pointed out, because it’s so normal” (Chloe, School 2). This supports the use of Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and symbolic violence as influencing how young people view and understand gender relations through sport, so that the non-conscious acceptance of media messages as discussed by Chloe, fails to challenge the hegemony of male sporting dominance. An ideology of gender difference therefore appears to operate at a doxic level.

Not only were female athletes under-represented in terms of numerical quantity, but the quality of coverage also indicates differential treatment of male and female athletes. It is this difference that is reproduced within one’s habitus to influence how male and female sports are considered as appropriate (or not) for young people. Billings and Eastman (2002, p368) used this argument for the case of televised media, whereby “the identity stereotypes embedded within the television coverage can readily become this young audience’s perception of reality, setting expectations about gender”: and this sentiment is also true in my study for written and photographic media. As this section will demonstrate, media messages which emphasise the trivialisation of female athletes fall under three themes: the undermining of female achievements through comparing to male athletes; the naturalness of the male athletic body; and the celebration of non-sporting abilities of female athletes.

When female athletes are compared to male athletes, male sport continues to be constructed as “natural”. For instance, elite female Olympic champions were compared to male counterparts, and often not even those in the same sport/event: *The Guardian* writing about Nicola Adams (GB boxer) suggests, “she’s rugged, determined, she’s very brave. She has all the qualities that the men have” (12/8/16), and writing about Charlotte Dujardin suggesting her performances “confirmed her own progression from novice champion in 2012 to the sport’s outstanding star, the Usain Bolt of dressage” (16/8/16); and BBC Sport writing about Laura Trott stating, “she reminds me of [former England rugby union player] Jonny

Wilkinson” (16/8/16). By media messages comparing female athletes to males, and not the reverse, the achievements of female athletes are undermined, positioning female sport as different, and inferior to the male equivalent (Bruce, 2016). If male sport is constructed as the standard against which achievement is measured, women’s sport continues to be positioned below that of men’s, drawing a symbolic line between male and female versions (of the same sport). Gender marking has been shown to negatively construct female sport as inferior to men’s sport (Higgs, Weiller, & Martin, 2003); however, comparing female athletes to men, and not the reverse, further positions women’s sport and its athletes as lacking. For instance, the young people I spoke with often viewed men’s and women’s football as two different sports, characterised by a different set of skills, qualities and tactics, which positions the male equivalent as superior, consequently warranting more media coverage:

Like when you hear about women’s football, there’s always a comment like “why would you watch that?”, it’s a man’s sport and [women are] just not as good; people don’t watch it and don’t talk about it which is why men’s football is everywhere. (Carly, School 1)

This quote demonstrates the way in which men’s sport, particularly football, is viewed as dominant. Across all three schools, despite class-based differences in participation (discussed in Chapter 8), the hegemony of football in the mediated construction of a common male sporting identity which normalises the societal role of sport was understood by these young people.

Dovetailed with the comparison of female athletes to males is the way in which the male athletic body is celebrated and normalised as being “natural”. Across the four media outlets, 100 instances referred to male athletes being constructed as talented or, indeed, heroic, compared to only 26 positive statements for female athletes (and a further seven were negative in terms of the athlete’s lack of talent)⁸. Whilst these numbers reflect the greater media coverage in general afforded to male athletes, the prevalence of these messages means they are likely to continue to permeate the doxic understandings within the gendered habitus.

⁸ The ratio of male:female articles for both Olympic and non-Olympic sport is approximately 4.8:1. The ratio of instances of talent being used to describe athletes between males and females is 3.8:1.

For instance, “Brazil’s new national hero, as he is now” (*The Guardian* about Brazilian pole vaulter Thiago Braz, 16/8/16); “the sight of an ultra-elite human trotting among mere mortals is particularly striking” (*The Guardian* about Kenyan runner David Rudisha, 12/8/16); “Flawless and untouchable, the triple triple sealed his legend” (BBC Sport on Jamaican sprinter Usain Bolt, 20/8/16); “On day 13 of the Rio Games, Bolt made history and cemented his GOAT [greatest of all time] status” (Twitter Moments about Usain Bolt, 19/8/16). These statements indicate the way that the male athletic body is naturalised as being “superhuman” within the field of sport. Through normalising male sporting achievements through a “natural” ability and predisposition to succeed, the media reinforces the taken-for-granted assumption within one’s habitus that sport equates with masculinity. In contrast to the celebration of the male athletic body, the female athlete was constructed as inferior, lacking the “natural” talent which explains male athletic success. *The Guardian* referred to GB tennis player Johanna Konta’s “persistence and nerve” (9/8/16) as being responsible for her victory, and Sky Sports News suggested that Cindy Ofilii (GB Hurdler) needed luck to obtain a medal (18/8/16). These examples ignore the athleticness of the female athlete, subtly positioning the athletic male as dominant and “natural” which was reflected in the way the young people justified and explained their interpretation of sports-media coverage.

In relation to the young people interviewed, the naturalness of male athletes was explained through characteristics associated with the sport and through reference to editorial choices made by the media institutions. For instance, Luke (School 1) said:

The media coverage is more favoured towards men, because I think in their eyes, to sell the papers, they want to portray them as heroes, and I think they find it easier to depict the man as a hero than a woman, but also selling papers, people are going to respond more to a male role model than a female one.

The hero narrative of mediated messages is absorbed and used to justify the prioritisation of male athletes in the sports media. Interestingly the young people were aware of the way in which media messages are chosen by editors and those in power, considering economic and market forces as a justification of the way in which male athletes are prioritised: Craig (School 2) suggests that:

...from a media point of view, you have to produce content that people are going to look at. So, if the majority of people interested in sport are male, or if the majority of sports watched are played by men, then the coverage is going to be male, that's how the media works.

The under-representation of sportswomen implicit in media coverage was absorbed and understood by the young people I spoke with. Given that only one interviewee did not predict greater media coverage of male athletes, the assumption that this is inherently “natural” and reflective of the quality of male athletes and sport is mirrored in the way that media differences are naturalised by these young people. By students accepting “that’s how the media works” (Craig, School 2) and failing to question the processes through which female sport is marginalised, these young people are falling victim to the narrative which positions male sport as superior, reinforcing the view in which male sport is realised as “a lot more higher profile” (Danny, School 1).

Using Bourdieu’s concept of capital, the sports media allocates capital to certain bodies, and thereby legitimises certain gendered bodies and identities. In terms of economic sporting capital, that is, the ability of an athlete to accumulate financial benefit from their achievements, the under-representation of female athletes contributes to a perceived lack of opportunity for sportswomen to gain economic capital. Because males received five times as much total media coverage than females in my analysis, the potential accrual of sponsorship, investment and financial rewards are higher for males who have a visible (global) platform (Braunstein & Zhang, 2005). In purely economic terms, the media “can send out the message that men should do sport because they’re going to get more representation and more wealth and fame from it” (Mia, School 2), coupled with the way in which sport is constructed as a “worthwhile” career for men:

There’s a massive industry for male athletes to go into, there’s thousands and thousands of male footballers our age who are getting paid, but that’s not the same for women...so I think it’s more difficult for women to get involved in sport. (Howard, School 1)

These quotes indicate the way men’s sport is constructed as superior through having a greater market value and higher financial investment and rewards for athletes (Giulianotti, 2016; Walsh & Giulianotti, 2006). Young people are aware of the financial opportunities available

for men's sport (and those unavailable for women's sport), which creates a perception that sport is constructed as a male entity, legitimising male participation and success in sport. However, this discussion regarding capital tends to favour gender-appropriate sports, whereby football was identified as being synonymous with the accumulation of capital for male athletes: "all the coverage [of football], like it's always in the papers, it's always on the news... whereas like smaller sports, like table tennis, don't [get the same coverage]" (Phillip, School 1). It is the way in which the media creates and reinforces gendered understandings of "appropriate" sports that I will now address.

GENDER-APPROPRIATE SPORTS

Considering the way that media coverage of certain sports can influence the sports which are "seen" as being socially appropriate, my findings demonstrate a strong gender-appropriateness to sports-media coverage. The most common male sports reflected traditional notions of masculinity, and female sports of femininity. For males, the top five most covered sports were non-Rio 2016 football (41% of all male coverage), cricket (8.7%), Rio 2016 athletics (8.2%), Rio 2016 swimming (7.4%) and Rio 2016 cycling (5.1%). In contrast, for female athletes, the top featured sports were all Rio 2016 coverage of athletics (22.5% of all female coverage), swimming (13.4%), cycling (13.1%), gymnastics (10.5%) and hockey (6.2%). In accordance with previous research which demonstrates sex-typing of sports (Archer & McDonald, 1990; Matteo, 1986), the aforementioned sports are all either gender-appropriate or gender-neutral, which influences the potential of sports to be constructed as "acceptable" possibilities for participation within a young person's habitus. The reproduction of media messages which promote masculine sports for males and feminine sports for females contributes to the construction of sports which challenge or transgress traditional gender norms as Other. In total, 696 articles (28% of all articles) were written about football (both Rio 2016 and domestic competitions), demonstrating the dominant position football enjoys in the UK as the national sport (Adams et al., 2010; Liston, 2006). However, of all articles written about football, only 14 were written about women's football (2%), indicating the way football is reinforced through media coverage as a "man's game". This idea was echoed by

the voices of the young people: “the big popular sports are like men’s football. Women’s football, you never really see it” (Millie, School 1); and “football is the most popular sport in the world and when you think of football, when you think of good football players you always think of men” (Stevie, School 1). Under my Bourdieusian framework in which taken-for-granted norms can become doxic knowledge, within the fields of sport and media, the media coverage reinforces a hierarchy of sports, legitimising certain sports over others (Graham, School 2):

Men’s football is more popular [than women’s] ...and I suppose you could say that [the media coverage] makes football more suitable to men because the dominant consensus is that football is seen as what’s normal, but that’s probably because of stereotypes and what people think should be happening.

Through making football “normal”, the media have contributed to developing a social norm which prioritises football, understood through the gendered habitus, and which celebrates masculinity, particularly for young people from more working-class backgrounds. The relationship between sporting choice, class and gender will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 8.

When considering which sports were prioritised by the sports media, more articles were written about female athletes than males in seven sports: equestrian, fencing, gymnastics, hockey, judo, rowing and taekwondo. Arguably this reflects; for equestrian, gymnastics and hockey, a historical association between participation in these sports and the feminine female body such that they are deemed appropriate (Hargreaves, 1994). In contrast, increased media coverage of fencing, judo, rowing and taekwondo more likely reflects the sex of the athlete who was successful during the competition rather than the sport they compete in, per se. Wensing and Bruce (2003) identified that during major sporting events, nationalism can overcome gender divisions in the desire to promote Olympic success. I would suggest a desire to promote home athlete successes may reflect increased female coverage in these sports, and as these sports can be considered “minor” sports (gymnastics only received 3% of all coverage), the potential for this coverage to challenge male media hegemony is limited. Yet, the variety of coverage of female sports indicates a greater flexibility of opportunities for

female athletes, whereby the regulation of female-appropriate sports is less marked than male-appropriate sports, which heavily rely on football and cricket as masculine to regulate what is “normal”. I will discuss the variety of opportunities as differing for young men and women further in Chapter 8 when exploring how sport connects with individual gendered identity negotiation.

As Messner (2013) suggests, a chicken-and-egg situation exists in relation to funding and visibility of female sport, whereby a lack of visibility is inherently connected to a lack of financial investment. This idea was identified during my interviews and used as a justification for the under-representation of female athletes, suggesting a self-fulfilling prophesy for media coverage which leads to audiences “conceptualis[ing] athletes within male-female binaries that position women as almost always Other” (Bruce, 2015, p383). As Luke (School 1) explains:

I think some stereotypes are only relevant because you make them relevant...like the stereotypes...[that] men are typically more interested in sport, I think that's because the media think that, so they make sport more appealing to men, and it kind of goes around in one big cycle.

The awareness of the self-fulfilling prophesy which positions female sport as inferior was identified as a “natural” occurrence, but one that was difficult to change: “maybe the only reason [men] follow [male sport] is because there is stuff written about them, like it’s a vicious circle which is hard to break out of” (Jake, School 2). Ridgeway (2009) highlights the way that gender shapes social relations, and thus, stereotypes can be hard to break to instigate change. The self-fulfilling prophesy of the nature of sports-media coverage which prioritises male sport also reinforces a stereotype which is hard to overcome, and, through the habitus, male sport continues to be naturalised. Thus, my media analysis and interviews paint a negative picture of the way sport is understood and linked to idealised binary versions of gender. These media messages have been absorbed and internalised by these young people; even those who were not avid sports fans could identify the situation whereby sportswomen are symbolically annihilated. The power of the media in influencing norms, which happens through the gendered habitus, is summarised by Gus (School 3), for whom “the media, it all sort of goes together to influence what we, as a society, think”. The media’s self-fulfilling

prophecy, which reinforces dominant messages of male achievement and visibility, has negative consequences for the way in which sport is understood through a gendered lens, and it is these consequences of media coverage which I will now address.

Resulting from greater media coverage and visibility of male athletes, men have a wide variety and range of sporting role models for aspiration and motivation, a situation which is not the case for female athletes (Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Meier, 2015). Across all days of analysis in all media outlets, only seven female athletes were afforded more than one article on more than one day: Laura Trott, Lizzie Armitstead, Becky James (all GB Cyclists), Jessica Ennis-Hill (GB Heptathlete), Simone Biles (US Gymnast), Katie Ledecky (US Swimmer), and Nicola Adams (GB Boxer) (see Appendix 16 for images of athletes). Not only are these athletes incredibly successful at their sport (they are all world/Olympic champions), but six of the seven athletes (Nicola Adams excluded), all conform to traditional notions of femininity through appearance or heterosexual desire (e.g. long hair, slim, use of jewellery/adornments, “visible” boyfriend/husband: Bordo, 2003; Rich, 1980). As I will discuss in the next section, the emphasis on feminine attractiveness and appearance has important consequences for how young people understand appropriate sporting bodies. However, the way in which these athletes have typically achieved sporting success in gender-appropriate sports (cycling, athletics, gymnastics and swimming) reinforces the idea that female media visibility is only likely if an athlete conforms to socially constructed norms⁹. Despite my media analysis highlighting seven potential female role models, the young people in interviews only mentioned Laura Trott and Jessica-Ennis Hill as having the “power” to be able to direct and influence how young people view women’s sport. However, young people’s perceptions of Laura Trott’s Rio 2016 achievements, rather than challenging male sporting hegemony, often reinforced stereotypical beliefs about (sports)women.

⁹ It is important to note the media presence of Nicola Adams, a black, bisexual female boxer who subverts many of the media “rules” which have become normalised through the regular stereotypical representation of female athletes. Whilst beyond the scope of this chapter, Adams’ media presence has the potential to disrupt how audiences view female sport through the habitus, and indeed as Stevie (School 1) said: “Since the Olympics, like there’s loads of, like that female boxer and people are looking at her and thinking they can do that because it’s normal, well not normal, but people can.”

As a four-time Olympic champion, and Great Britain's most successful female Olympian, Laura Trott deservedly received extensive media coverage throughout the period of my media analysis. However, the young people I spoke with picked up on the way in which the media coverage noted Trott's relationship with Jason Kenny (to whom she is now married with a young son), rather than exclusively her sporting achievements. As Vicky (School 1) highlighted:

I realise that a lot of articles that were written about women were comparing them to males so I felt like that was quite unfair, and I read one of them and it was talking about two of them who are getting married and it was like "thingy's wife" and I was like, she's a woman too, like she's a person, she's not just his wife. She's a sportsperson too, and she's a professional, so they should be writing about her, not about the fact that she's his wife...it feels like women are less important than men I think, and it really bugs me, because I would say I was quite like, I'm all about the equality and it bugs me that women are kind of being swept under the rug and classed as people's wives, daughters, rather than people.

Interestingly, this quote explains the way in which the media coverage of Laura Trott positions female athletes as less than males, and locates sport as a secondary identity behind those that are "natural" for a woman, such as being a wife, mother or daughter. Vicky's comment is mirrored by media coverage which regularly referred to Trott's home-life in a juxtaposition with her sporting achievements: "Trott, the fiancée of Jason Kenny" (BBC Sport, 13/8/16), and "[for] Trott, now Great Britain's most decorated female Olympian in terms of gold medals won, it was a third gold to add to the four her boyfriend, Jason Kenny, has contributed to the household" (*The Guardian*, 13/8/16). By referring to Kenny during a discussion of Trott's achievements, these statements suggest that Trott's status and achievements are dependent on, or at least, secondary to a male – her fiancé (Bruce, 2016). Through emphasising Trott's heterosexuality, the media messages reduce her achievements to a "safe" place where her identity as a blonde, petite, heterosexual female does not threaten to subvert traditional gender norms in an arena where there is pressure to conform to stereotypical notions of femininity when participating in a "male" activity, such as sport (Sherry et al., 2016).

Beyond discussing what Cameron (School 2) described as the "big furore" regarding the depiction of Laura Trott, the over-arching perception of the creation of role models was that

there were very few female athletes positioned in a way to inspire or foster excitement for (female) sport. This differs from the findings of the Girlguiding (2016) *Girls' Attitude Survey* in which 82% of young women aged 7–21 thought that female Olympic and Paralympic athletes are good role models. As interviews with students showed, many young people were unable to successfully identify female role models:

... there's less interest in women's sport, you never hear about it, like I could say a few famous male footballers, but I couldn't tell you one famous female footballer. Like I know Jessica Ennis, that's about it, and like, what's she called, something like Pendleton, like I know her, well I don't, but I know who she is. (Alice, School 1)

I just think, you think of boxing, you think of Anthony Joshua, with running you think of Mo Farah, swimming you think of Michael Phelps, like you don't think of women being the dominant ones in those sports. The big names are all men...I don't have anyone that I really want to be like, like a role model. (Claire, School 3)

I just don't think [women's sport] is highly talked about at all. It's just all about Michael Phelps, Andy Murray, Djokovic, Chris Hoy, all the famous people are men. Although Jess Ennis is famous. I feel like when [women athletes] are really successful and have a medal, only then do they kind of get covered and noticed. (Ruth, School 2)

Like the world's most famous female soccer player, oh...what's she called, she's American...erm, her last name might be Hope, she plays for Lyon but her name escapes me, but she was on the cover of FIFA at one point. Anyway, it doesn't really matter what she's called...oh wait, Alex Morgan, that's it I think, she's like basically famous, but no man I know has actually watched her play, but she's known to be attractive as well. (Max, School 2)

These quotes demonstrate the extent to which female role models do not exist in how young people understand sport, therefore the potential impact that they might have on young people's participation is limited. As Max's quote indicates, even the "world's most famous female soccer player" is nameless, thus her status and potential power to challenge societal norms through her media representation is lost. Without female role models, the construction of female sport as a worthwhile activity is restricted. The juxtaposition of the lack of female role models with the economic capital available to male sport works to further position female sport as Other, a situation which, I will argue in Chapter 8, fails to motivate young women to engage, and maintain participation in sport. This negative consequence is highlighted by Kate (School 2), who suggests that "if women were more in the media for sport, you would kind of try to aspire to be like them... because you just see men, that doesn't really happen". Within

the above quotes, Max highlights the association between sport and female attractiveness as a requirement for media coverage, and in the next section I will discuss the consequences of this media emphasis on attractiveness on how sporting bodies are understood.

EXPECTATION OF FEMALE ATTRACTIVENESS

Previous research had documented a sexualisation of female athletes, suggesting that presenting females in sexualised images/positions robs women of their athletic legitimacy (Bernstein, 2002; Bruce, 2016; Daniels, 2012). However, I found very little evidence of sexualisation – only seven photos (out of 2051; 0.003%) featured elements of sexualisation, and four of these photos were of male athletes. Whilst this can be interpreted as progress being made in the representation of female athletes, qualitative interview findings indicate that young people still *expect* female athletes to be sexualised and for emphasis to be placed on their attractiveness. Despite Bourdieu’s concept of the habitus being heavily criticised for its reproductive nature preventing social change (Adams, 2006; Garnham & Williams, 1980), the conclusions of Thorpe (2009) are important, emphasising how the entrenched and dominant views of embodied gender which permeate sport and society reinforce the domination of masculinity. I argue this occurs through the way in which the (entrenched) media messages have become taken-for-granted knowledge for young people.

Across all interviews, an awareness of expected female attractiveness and heterosexuality was mentioned as a precursor to media coverage. As Mia (School 2) describes, “I feel like they only care about the sport if the [woman] looks attractive doing it”. The emphasis on female athlete attractiveness reflects traditional expectations of femininity (Bordo, 2003), but simultaneously indicates a fission between sporting achievement and maintaining a heterosexual appearance (Cox & Thompson, 2000). An example of the way that attractiveness is emphasised by the media is discussed by Sol (School 1):

Women are more about appearance...[their] appearance is valued over their ability to actually do the sport...the way women are literally shown [by the media] to do sport, like they’re shown towards their appearance rather than their actual abilities, whereas for men, they ignore “them” and just focus on their sport, so females are more under pressure.

This quote highlights the pressures that sportswomen face, and suggests a lack of agency because female athletes have learned the “rules” of sport media, and are consequently pressured to exaggerate feminine characteristics to comply with socially constructed norms. A discussion of agency is further emphasised by William (School 1), who suggests “[the media] wanna more show off the girls, like the men don’t want to be shown like that, [the media] want the females to act like they get, like sexualised...they get forced to show off more”. By suggesting the “men don’t want to be shown like that”, William is suggesting sportsmen can control their projected image and appearance to a greater level than sportswomen, for whom greater pressure exists. Interestingly, in discussing the perceived benefits or costs for women emphasising their attractiveness in sport, Pippa (School 3) suggested:

...you might get more coverage if you’re pretty, it depends on how good you are. Like if you’re not at the top-top, then it might help if you’re more attractive, but if you’re really good and you’re the best, it shouldn’t matter.

In bringing talent and ability into the discussion of the requirement for female athletes to be attractive, there is a belief that female capital is primarily accrued through stereotypical attractiveness, and secondarily through sporting achievement. This quote links to the conclusions of Harris and Clayton (2002), and their exploration of the coverage of Anna Kournikova which indicated that her attractiveness did not challenge the male hegemony of sport: Pippa’s argument supports the idea that the sports media “emits a message that female sexuality is of greater importance than athletic ability” (ibid., p408) because attractiveness can trump ability in achieving media coverage.

Despite the evidence that the young people were aware of media “rules” which position female attractiveness and heterosexual allure as important in gaining media coverage, many young people viewed these as negative and detrimental to the way in which men’s and women’s sport are viewed. In discussing the media coverage of sportswomen, Patrick and Jake’s conversation (School 2) identifies:

Patrick: It’s kind of emphasising that they’re different [male and female sport]. It’s sort of patronising really... women aren’t being valued for the same thing even though they’re doing the same sport

Jake: *I think in male sport coverage, they are looking for powerful people, or people who are really good at their sport, but it's more sexualised in women's sport.*

Patrick's understanding of the consequences of different media coverage as emphasising difference demonstrates that young people do have an awareness to unpick mediated messages, which reflects an ability to critically consume mediated ideas, rather than passively receive messages as a consumer (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2006). Rather than taking female attractiveness for granted, many young people were critical of the differences in media expectations despite consistently identifying its presence, supporting Bruce's (2016) discussion of heterosexuality and the requirement to emphasise female appearance as a persistent rule of media coverage. The association between attractiveness and "success" is highlighted by Gary (School 2) who suggests, "[the sportswomen] who receive the most coverage and the only ones you're really aware of, are generally the ones who are successful and more attractive". The positioning of the "successful" female athlete as attractive further reinforces a hierarchy where male sport is viewed as superior because sportsmen are respected solely for their performances rather than their appearance. This hierarchy has negative connotations for the way in which sport is internalised within a gendered habitus and identity, and will be discussed further in relation to participation in Chapter 8.

As Bourdieu (2001) writes, society produces the domination of masculinity which occurs through institutions. The central argument of this chapter is that the media represents an institution which has the potential to demonstrate ideological power through presenting particular interests as universal (Bourdieu, 1979). One particularly dangerous ideology that the sports media presents is that of female attractiveness as a non-negotiable entity, which all students identified. The way in which these messages can become inculcated in one's habitus became apparent through interview questions discussing whether media messages are experienced by the young people in their lives. The translation of media messages into the lives of young people represents an empirical expression of the way a gendered habitus operates across fields. Media messages within the field of sports media which have become internalised within one's habitus, influence how young people present their own gendered identities in specific fields, whether that be in sport (Chapter 8), in schooling (Chapter 9), or

on social media (Chapter 10). Through viewing the mediated messages which position female athletes as inferior to males through an expectation of attractiveness rather than athletic prowess, this “familiar” world becomes taken-for-granted as it seeps into young peoples’ lives (Bourdieu, 1989). As Alicia (School 1) suggests, “I think that men get more credit than what females do, like for everything”, demonstrating the way in which the dominance of men has influenced broader understandings of a gender hierarchy, whereby Alicia views females as being negatively treated across all fields.

The reflection of the impact of media messages emphasising attractiveness on young people’s lives links to the way in which men and women are perceived to be able to accrue capital. As Shaun (School 3) discusses:

Men are judged more on their ability to do certain tasks and women are judged more on their physical appearance... that happens for me too, like a boy won't be judged on what he looks like, but he'll be judged on his ability to perform in his sport, but a girl would want to be more beautiful than a good hockey player.

This quote demonstrates the appropriateness of the use of Bourdieu’s habitus and capital to explain the way in which media messages influence how adolescents view, and act, in accordance with gender. Shaun identifies that for women there is more pressure to look attractive, mirroring the mediated messages through which these young people have come to expect sportswomen to look good: “the [popular] media, where women have a lot of pressure to look a certain way...I feel that reflects back into how women are expected to look in sports” (Jojo, School 1). Pressure to look a certain way for young women was identified by Alice (School 1) as influencing specific behaviours:

[media emphasis on attractiveness] can apply to us, like our uniform, our PE kit, some girls are like “oh I hate these, it’s so baggy, I need to tuck it in”, and I’m like “just play sport, it’s about sport, not what you look like”.

By conforming to ideas around sporting attractiveness which are emphasised through mediated messages, females who look “good” can accrue capital. This idea of media messages influencing the lived experiences of young people extends previous media research which describes media trends, demonstrating the ideological power of sports media to permeate how young people understand gender. Horkheimer and Adorno (2006, p45) state

that with cinematic production, “life is to be made indistinguishable”, and this can apply to sports-media messages: if the written media mirrors and reflects society, mediated messages are more easily absorbed and inculcated within the habitus, whereby the dominated position of female athletes becomes recognised as universal. This is an example of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1979), whereby, because men’s sport has ideological power, the subordination of sportswomen is believed, by young people, to be a universal occurrence.

Despite young people identifying female attractiveness as a dominant ideology (re)produced by sports media, my media analysis findings do not align with the perceptions of these young people. Unexpectedly, my narrative analysis showed twice as many statements were written which addressed the aesthetic emphasis and appearance of sportsmen compared to sportswomen. These statements were often irrelevant to performance and reflected the expected stereotypes of appearance and fashion which female athletes are judged against. For instance, *The Guardian* described US hurdler Devon Allen, “with his hair immaculately coiffed and twin diamond studs glimmering in the camera lights” (17/8/16); the BBC about GB F1 driver Lewis Hamilton, “F1 and fashion – a perfect marriage for him” (18/8/16); and Sky Sports News about Manchester United footballer Paul Pogba, “[he] shows off his new Manchester United themed hair cut” (16/8/16). These quotes illustrate elements usually attributed to maximising emphasised femininity in female athletes, including references to hair, jewellery and fashion (Bordo, 2003; Rich, 1980). In a subversion of traditional emphasis on male sporting prowess and hyper-masculinisation, these examples demonstrate a softening of the male sporting image, reflecting the work of Johns and Johns (2000), who suggest that interest in the male body has increased in parallel with the commodification of sport.

The commodification of sport in relation to the increased emphasis on the male body (Johns & Johns, 2000), appears to have been only recently portrayed in media representations of male athletes. As previous research into the media construction of male and female athletes has shown, historically only female athletes have been subjected to criticism regarding their appearance (Bruce, 2016; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Knight & Giuliano, 2001). The objectification of female athletes and their bodies, as discussed above, has been inculcated

into the habitus of young people, influencing the way in which they view “appropriate” sporting bodies. As Bourdieu (1978) discusses, sport represents a struggle over the body, and can contribute to what is considered a legitimate body. Consequently, the historical objectification of the female body by sports media has had a lasting effect on the collective habitus. This was indicated by the young people fully expecting female attractiveness, and overlooking the increasing requirement for males in sport to present the “correct” image of attractiveness and virility. The difference between the media messages and young people’s interpretation indicates the consistency of the habitus in positioning female athletes as inferior to males. This reflects a delay in the habitus aligning with reality, and extends the idea of a “habitus tug” (Ingram, 2011, p290) in which “conflicting dispositions struggle for supremacy and the individual can at times feel pulled in different directions”. There is therefore a time lag between the media messages commenting on male aesthetic appearance and the incorporation of these messages within young people’s gendered habitus. In considering the way in which change can occur within a habitus, change is often identified as being a slow process requiring slippages in a doxa (Harker, 1984). The representation of male athletes in my media analysis as being subjects of objectification represents an example of such slippage and potential disruption to the dominant habitus, which, involving repetition over time, may lead to more equal representation of male and female athletes in the eyes of young people. However, the question must be asked whether increasing aesthetic emphasis on male athletes and their bodies represents a step forward for media messages, given that this would align with how women are depicted, or should equality in media coverage instead focus on value-free and neutral reporting in which the ability of both male and female sporting bodies are valued beyond its aesthetic appearance?

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONSEQUENCES OF YOUNG PEOPLE’S MEDIA INTERPRETATION

This chapter has highlighted the way mediated messages which construct male and female sport as different have become ingrained in the habitus of young people. These media messages have become translated into lived experiences, indicating the way gender pressures

are “trapping” young people to replicate the dominant media messages they encounter. This section discusses school-based differences in the interpretation of media messages, before highlighting how young people are “trapped” by media messages which dictate legitimate views and beliefs about sport, and assessing how this chapter has contributed to addressing RQ2.

Whilst similarities in the way young people from the three schools interpreted the media messages are discussed above, a few small discrepancies were apparent, primarily concerning the depth of analysis of media coverage. Whilst all-but-one student interviewed identified that female athletes would receive less coverage than their male counterparts, those from the more working-class state school, School 1, described the media coverage as a “natural” occurrence: when Jonny (School 1) was questioned about if he had any ideas why women receive less media coverage, he stated “they just do”. This indicates, an uncritical acceptance of media messages compared to those from the middle-class state school (2) and the private school (3). Those attending Schools 2 and 3 expressed a more nuanced interpretation of the gendered media messages, understanding the power relations which operate to exert ideological power through the media (Bourdieu, 1979). As Nick (School 3) summarises, “there are always people who...always want to be at the top, like the men who want to maintain who they are and their power”, thus demonstrating an understanding of the way in which hegemony and power relations operate in a patriarchal society (Talbot, 2002). Nick’s quote demonstrates the greater depth the middle-class students could use to discuss social inequalities. In contrast, Alicia (School 1) deemed unequal media treatment as “just sexist” because the media are “saying ‘we’ll do an article on the male because he’s more important than the female’” (Greg, School 1). These quotes ignore the contextual and power relations inherent in social fields, thus limiting the potential change to social norms by drawing social inequalities into one’s consciousness.

Furthermore, a difference in media interpretation occurred in relation to the interpretation of media messages emphasising attractiveness by young women. None of the young women from School 3 identified pressure from the media as a driving force in their understanding of

their gendered lives. This contrasts to the examples from Jojo and Alice above (School 1) who directly associate media messages with influencing their own behaviours. This reflects the way capital is allocated to gendered bodies, which differs by class. McNay (2004) has argued that for working-class women, educational or occupational success is unlikely so they instead invest heavily in their body because this is their only way of accruing capital. Therefore, for the young women in my research from working-class areas, the potential accrual of capital is less varied and less extensive than for those from School 2 or 3, and consequently, the way gendered media messages influence their behaviour is more pronounced.

A sense of being “trapped” by media messages which promote male sport as “natural” and female attractiveness as expected, was identified in the interviews. Given that one’s habitus refers to a “system of acquired, permanent and generative dispositions” (Bourdieu, 1990, p290), and media can influence the development of one’s habitus, the permanent dispositions can limit individual thoughts, actions and beliefs. The habitus determines what is possible or not in one’s life, and ambitions and aspirations are developed accordingly (Dumais, 2002). The gendered media messages which reproduce expectations of acceptable male and female bodies can limit or enhance ambitions which are both gendered and classed. On reflecting on the messages that the sports media present to young people, Stevie (School 1) identified that “it’s showing girls that because they don’t see it [female sport] as often, it’s not like they would think ‘I can do that’”. This indicates that the “normal” behaviour and beliefs within a habitus reflect the construction of sport as a predominantly male activity, consequently limiting the opportunities for young women to participate or excel. Hayley (School 3) supports this view, stating: “especially for women hearing and seeing all the stuff which is written about men’s sport, they’d think that ‘we shouldn’t be doing sport’”. This demonstrates how young women may perceive that they are “trapped” in presenting a gendered identity which conforms to socially constructed norms, and importantly, *not* in sporting situations. As Reay (2004, p433) states, “Bourdieu views the dispositions which make up the habitus, as the products of opportunities and constraints framing the individual’s earlier life experiences”, indicating a limited range of practices are possible. If the media represents an indicator of

opportunities or constraints, the power of the habitus in “trapping” young people into stereotypical representations of an acceptable sporting gendered identity is realised.

Rather than only viewing the under-representation of female athletes as negative, the positioning of the male athlete as “natural” can also cause young men to feel “trapped” in their understanding of what a male *should* be. The internalisation of male media dominance has reified the superiority of male athletes: “although some people might not want to admit it, they might see men as superior to women” (Shaun, School 3); and “I think that men dominate more in sport, like [men’s] sports might be better. Men are stronger and maybe they’re able to do sport better” (Zara, School 3). These quotes illustrate how mediated messages which prioritise sportsmen naturalise male sport as superior, and therefore make presumed biological advantages in sport *real* within a gender hierarchy (Dworkin, 1996). I further elaborate on the way in which presumed male superiority within the field of sport can be a negative for many males who do not conform to athletic stereotypes in Chapter 9. Therefore, it is important to consider the way in which mediated messages influence a habitus to dictate suitable behaviours and identities for young men and women, causing the young people I spoke with to feel “trapped” in an expectation to meet these requirements.

In addressing RQ2, this chapter has specifically addressed the role of the media. Through linking the results of my Rio 2016 media analysis to the way in which sports-media messages influence and are acted upon by young people, the media contributes to the development of a gendered habitus through which “the social order is progressively inscribed in people’s minds” (Bourdieu, 1984, p473). In considering the way in which the under-representation of female athletes is an example of symbolic violence, the structure of the field, in this case sport media, perpetuates the “durable relations of domination” (Bourdieu, 1990, p130) which are realised by these young people. The male habitus is constructed in cultural opposition to the female habitus through the inculcated beliefs and calls to action (Huppatz, 2012b), thus the construction of the successful male sporting identity as “natural” is oppositional to the identity of a female athlete, whose visibility is conditional on being attractive and meeting broader societal expectations. Consequently, the role of sport in the reproduction of gender

norms is perpetuated for males and symbolically ignored for females. The unequal coverage of male and female athletes in the sports media represents symbolic violence because of the unfaltering acceptance of this by young people, agreeing with Chambers (2005, p320, original emphasis): “Gender inequality is *symbolic* violence because women (and men) comply willingly, with no need for coercion, and because its effect is to create symbolic normative images of the ideal gendered behaviour.” In relation to sport, the media creates normative images of ideal sporting behaviours for young people which differ for men and women. As my interviews have shown, mediated messages which position the male athlete as superior have been translated into how young people understand gender. Because the gendered habitus operates across different fields, including sport and broader embodied appearance requirements, I conclude that the media creates and emphasises “gender norms, [as] the symbolic violence, occurring throughout society” (Chambers, 2005, p332).

To conclude this chapter; the media reproduces and emphasises gendered differences which operate across many different fields, including sport. The way that young people are aware of the inequalities in media representation of male and female athletes is worrying due to the impact that this can have on perceived available sporting opportunities within a gendered habitus. As Lucy (School 2) summarises, “because of male dominance in the sport world, when you think of sport, you naturally think, men obviously are quite dominant, so you associate sport with men because of their dominance in the media”. Through the habitus, the entrenched nature of an individual’s gendered identity is realised (McNay, 1999), thus expected stereotypes and norms are inculcated, and will be discussed further in relation to behaviours in specific fields in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 8: A SPORTING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ADOLESCENT BODY

This chapter considers the way in which young people relate to their body and sporting identity, reflecting assumptions and internalised beliefs around appropriate gendered identities. As an underlying premise, participation rates and engagement in sport and physical activity play an important role in contextualising the need to further explore how young people relate to their sporting bodies. As discussed in Chapter 1, young women participate in less sport and physical activity than young men (e.g. Brooke et al., 2014; Greenfield, Almond, Clarke, & Edwards, 2015; Townsend et al., 2015; World Health Organisation, 2016). This chapter discusses participation rates of young people, using questionnaire data juxtaposed with qualitative interview findings which seek to explain, contextualise and explore practice. The internalisation of gendered norms and beliefs around sport and physical activity within the gendered habitus leads to observable differences in practice between young men and women in sport and PE settings. This chapter relates to subjective beliefs and their corresponding sporting behaviours which form the basis of the “rules” of the game of gender which apply to the field of sport. More specifically, the next chapter considers the role of PE and the school environment in reinforcing and replicating the gendered habitus in ways which promotes sporting prowess and participation for males, and simultaneously distances the ideal female body from engagement in PE.

Quantitative questionnaire analysis indicates that young women continue to participate in less sport and physical activity than young men. Only 34.6 percent of young people in this research meet NICE (2009) guidelines of 60 minutes of moderate physical activity daily (taking into account self-reported out of school activity and weekly PE lessons). This differs for young men and women, with 40.5 percent of males and 26.3 percent of females achieving over seven hours of sport and physical activity each week. Qualitative findings show how, particularly for young women, other priorities prevent continued

participation in sport and physical activity: “In Years 7 and 8, all of my group, my friends, we all played netball, and then through the years they all dropped out, only like three of my friends do it [sport] now” (Helen, School 1). To explain this, this chapter explores how young people view sport in relation to their own gendered identities, considering the way sports are hierarchically organised in relation to the accrual of social capital, before exploring dualisms in the development of gendered identities: the distinction between viewing sport as an identity or an ability; and differences in participation between sport or gym. Sport has historically been constructed as a binary where male and female sport is characterised by difference (Hargreaves, 1994), and the differences inherent in the structure and organisation of sport are reflected in how young people understand their embodied gendered capacity.

In continuing the argument of Chapter 6, the game of gender applies to sporting participation and norms. Social and symbolic capital can be accrued through sporting participation, and different “rules” regarding sport exist for young men and women. The internalisation of gender “rules”, leads to the relationship with one’s body becoming indicative of wider tastes, dispositions and beliefs within the habitus, representing more than just the outward surface of the (athletic) body. “Rules” of gender apply within the field of sport, where sex-appropriate sports replicate wider beliefs about what constitutes “acceptable” gendered behaviour. As Bourdieu (1984, p4) states, “there is no way out of the game of culture”; sport functions as a field, containing “rules”, norms and standards through which struggle for legitimacy occurs. The body is integral to sporting participation and success, and thus the importance of exploring the nexus of sport, gender and capital is crucial when considering that acts of the body are often highly charged with social meanings and values (Bourdieu, 1990). This chapter concentrates on how young people’s understandings of the gendered habitus links to their participation in sport. Whilst questionnaire results have shown that more young men are active than young women, it is important to bear in mind that this is not the case for all young men or

women; and during this chapter I present instances of both conforming and resistance to these norms.

HIERARCHY OF SPORTS AND THE ALLOCATION OF CAPITAL

In considering sport as a Bourdieusian field, this section discusses how capital can be allocated, leading to the development of a hierarchy of sports which are both gendered and classed. Clement (1995) discusses the contribution of Bourdieu's work to the sociology of sport, suggesting that field theory allows exploration of agential action within the domain of sport and physical activity. Within the game of gender, "rules" operate to regulate behaviour, reinforcing normative representations of the idealised gendered body which are mapped onto sporting participation. The primary concern of this section is the hierarchy of sports created for young men and how this sporting hierarchy is policed and maintained. Whilst some sports are deemed more suitable for young women than others, the extensive prioritisation of male sport in the lived experiences of young people indicates that capital is unlikely to be positively accrued for many young women from participating or excelling in sport and physical activity. This prioritisation of male sport is emphasised by Ricky (School 1) who states that "males are more competitive in sport, you look at lads, they want to be better than other lads at football, and you look at girls, they want to be better than each other at makeup". Ricky's comment makes a point which was repeated by many young people – that sport is important to the construction of a male identity in ways which are completely incongruent to a female one. Therefore, this section concentrates on how class and popularity link with sporting participation for young men, considering the way social capital is classed in its allocation to sport, the regulation of sex-appropriate sports, and the use of sport to justify a dominant male identity.

Social capital is allocated differently depending on the type and qualities of a sport. The main sports discussed in relation to representing the idealised and most highly-valued

activities for young men were football and rugby union. It is often assumed that football and rugby union are indicative of different classes, with football associated with a more working-class habitus compared to the elite public school image of rugby (union) (Baker, 1979; Nauright & Chandler, 1996). Despite the different classed identities of the two sports, both are associated with masculinity (Bramham, 2003; Bryson, 1990). Sport and capital are both classed (Shilling, 1991), and the value of capital varies in different fields (Bourdieu, 1978; Bridges, 2009). Thus, football was strongly internalised into the habitus of young men at schools 1 and 2, and rugby union at School 3. The struggle for legitimacy of which (sporting) identities are valued in each school as a classed sub-field, dictates which sport is valued, and consequently rewarded. This demonstrates how the “rules” of gender are influenced by classed characteristics to direct which sporting practices are valued within the collective habitus. The different sporting habitus can be explored through looking at the experiences of young people who have changed schools:

...before I came here [to School 3] I'd never played rugby, I hated it. I thought it was a stupid sport. I saw it on TV once and just thought they were doing pile-ons! I really liked football, but then [here] in Year 7 you do rugby, that's what you have to do, after a few weeks I realised I actually really liked it. (Nate, School 3)

This example indicates how, when entering an environment which prioritises and values a certain form of capital, one's habitus can adapt to share the values and dispositions of those around them. At School 3, rugby union is integral to the game of gender, and immersion in this field ensures that young men know, and abide by, gender “rules” where rugby union dominates. These (upper) middle-class boys appeared to have internalised a dislike of football, which to them, represented negative characteristics very different to the middle-class connotations of rugby union: “if you go to other schools, they might do football...I don't like football...it's just the attitude they have, I think they're actors, like with the diving, and their attitudes towards the ref[eree]” (Ethan, School 3). This negative generalisation of football is indicative of the Bourdieusian concept that the middle classes seek to distance themselves from other groups by questioning their virtue in line with

their understandings of success as a (middle-class) male. The social capital allocated to rugby boys is shown by the symbolic status which “able” young rugby players can accrue at School 3: “[the rugby team] can skip the lunch queue, but the first team netball, hockey or cricket, they aren’t allowed to do that” (Ethan, School 3); “the [rugby] first team would literally be like the celebrities of the school, everyone used to know who they were” (Nate, School 3). Moreover, the reputation of the school as being a good “rugby school” functions as capital in relation to broader reputations and for young males who select their school based on the prestige associated with rugby. When asked whether there was status attached to being a rugby player, Kyle (School 3), an England age-group player, identified, “I think so, yes, especially in this school. This school gives a high priority to rugby...and that’s one of the reasons I came here, for the rugby”. Rugby players at School 3 have status amongst their peers, suggesting that for middle-class young men, excelling at rugby is a way to accrue social capital, and is indicative of “winning” at the game of gender. Having economic capital (through his family’s ability to pay school fees) allows Kyle to choose a school which values rugby, allowing him to elevate his social capital and status by emphasising his sporting success. For those without economic capital, the sporting options available within one’s habitus are limited by those on offer in their school environments; and typically, in English state schools, this means football. In contrast to the dominance of rugby union in the habitus and identity of young people at School 3, football assumed a similar role for young people at Schools 1 and 2, where it was the most commonly participated sport for young men (using questionnaire data, 46% at School 1; 37% at School 2). The relationship between class, school and sport was explained by Caroline (School 3):

...[at School 3] rugby is the only male sport that counts. But outside this school, like my boyfriend, he doesn’t go to a private school and his whole life revolves around football...because you don’t go to a state school and find rugby.

A dislike of football by the young people from School 3 demonstrates how sport can be indicative of the way in which “[a]version to different lifestyles is perhaps one of the strongest barriers between the classes” (Bourdieu, 1984, p49). Football is prioritised within more working-class environments, becoming an important signifier of identity:

I think that stereotype for the lads influences them to enjoy football more and keep doing it, it feels like more of an available option to the lads because of that...I personally don't try to like football just because it is expected that I should. I don't like it, full stop. But there is a pressure, like kind of hidden, but there is a pressure...because it is seen, in quite discreet ways, as a masculine sport, that if lads enjoy it and are good at it, then they get labelled as a sporty person. And others don't, even if they do a lot of other sport, it doesn't matter because it isn't football. (Connor, School 2)

Football therefore represents an available and dominant option within a more working-class habitus. Conceptualised as football being an “available option”, this quote links directly to the habitus in providing opportunities and options for individuals to follow – even though nothing is physically preventing these young men from playing other sports (including rugby), the “rules” of their classed and gendered habitus reinforce what are viewed as “appropriate” sporting behaviours. The dominance of football for these young people is unchallenged: “we all just play football, it's as simple as that” (Danny, School 1). This association with masculinity and football is indicative of taken-for-granted norms of the habitus in which the dominance of football is unquestioned and remains doxic. The status which can be obtained through football for more working-class males reinforces previous findings of Clark and Paechter (2007) and Martino (1999) where football is often viewed as synonymous with masculinity and social status.

As Chapter 5 demonstrated, the gendered habitus, which reinforces taken-for-granted assumptions and “rules” which reflect what young men and women *should* be, can apply to the way in which only males are able to accrue meaningful capital through sport. Young men can face marginalisation if they do not demonstrate strong, sporty and skilful bodies (Azzarito, 2009), thus, sporting prowess becomes an important part of their gendered display. In contrast, as has been previously documented (e.g. George, 2005;

Hargreaves, 1994; Hill, 2015a; Krane, 2001; Krane, Choi, Baird, Aimar, & Kauer, 2004; Malcom, 2003), the “rules” for females to embody femininity and attractiveness are often incongruent with participation in sport and physical activity. The potential for young women to develop social capital through sport is limited (Blume, 2003; Hills, 2006). The experiential understanding of the lack of social importance of female sport is explained by Caroline (School 3): “you go to [girls] hockey matches, and if the first team are playing, then there are like three people watching, but the whole school has lessons off to go and watch the [boys’] rugby”. This institutional prioritisation of male sport indicates the way that social capital is consequently mapped onto male sporting prowess (Adjepong, 2015; Matteo, 1986; Messner, 1992), with little opportunity or motivation for young women to challenge this status-quo and manufacture ways in which sporting participation and excellence is valued and rewarded. The prioritisation of male sport functions as a form of symbolic power (Brubaker, 1985), whereby the misrecognition and allocation of symbolic capital legitimises the role of sport in the expression of masculinity. This legitimisation of masculinity through sport represents a “rule” within the game of gender, and participation in socially valued sports (which are sex-appropriate) can accrue more social capital, leading to young men “winning” at their game of gender. The development of sex-appropriate, and class-appropriate sports, function as a “forced choice” (Bourdieu, 1984, p173). The regulation of sex-appropriate sports is more heavily enforced for young men than young women, with less variation in “acceptable” male sports within the habitus. Males can accrue more capital from participating in sport, therefore, there is more pressure to do the “right” sport. In contrast, a lack of capital allocated to *any* female participating in sport means that there is potentially more freedom within their sporting habitus to explore different sports (should they wish). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990, p78) consider the enforcement of gender-appropriate school subjects to be “unconsciously guided by the prejudice”. In applying this concept to sex-appropriate sports, the prejudice where male sport is prioritised and normalised guides opinions about

what is deemed acceptable behaviour: Sol (School 1) reinforces these prejudices and stereotypes in stating, “there are definitions of what the sport requires, if it’s a sport based more on strength then it’s classed as more masculine, whereas if it needs more flexibility, something like dance, then it’s more feminine”. The unquestioned prioritisation of rugby union and football as dominant for young men demonstrates less variation in “masculine” sports compared to those viewed as “feminine”. Across all questionnaire responses, rugby union and football were unequivocally identified as the most popular male sports; representing 69 percent of all responses to the question: “Are some sports suited to males (provide examples)?”. In contrast, more variety was shown in answering the question: “Are some sports suited to females?”. At School 1 netball and gymnastics were identified most often as female sports (73 percent), compared to netball and dance at School 2 (65 percent), and netball and hockey at School 3 (58 percent). Qualitatively, interview data shows the greater variation in options for females in sport:

...there are campaigns, like if you go down the PE corridor, then there’s “This Girl Can” up on the walls and stuff. So, I think it’s like, [girls doing a “male” sport] is seen as very positive, almost better than doing a girly sport because maybe that’s bringing down some type of stereotype. (Max, School 2)

Linking to the concept of peer-policing explored in Chapter 6, male participation in sports is regulated to reinforce the “right” sport and the ability to accrue capital. Strong prejudice around the formation of sex-appropriate sports means that deviations from what is considered “normal” are often met with criticism: however, heavier criticism is levied at young men for participating in the “wrong” sport compared to young women. Interview excerpts suggest that consequences for young men deviating from sex-appropriate sports often involve homophobic taunting (Chimot & Louveau, 2010) (as discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to broader gender expectations):

...if girls do rugby they are less likely to receive [negative] comments because... a boy doing ballet would get more stick than a girl doing rugby. Maybe boys are harsher or maybe they give more criticism about stuff like that, but they would say he was gay. (Dylan, School 2)

...a lot of females can get away with doing male sports, whereas males can't get away with doing female sports as much. (Helen, School 1)

On the one hand, the derogatory and negative treatment of males who wish to explore different sporting opportunities and embodiment represents a negative consequence of the “rules” of gender in reinforcing normative behaviour. The regulation of male sporting participation limits the development of alternative sporting masculinities because these representations are unable to accrue social capital and social status. However, conversely, the lack of negativity towards young women who may wish to participate in stereotypically male sports demonstrates progress in overcoming the stigma of a lesbian identity which has previously been identified as plaguing female participation in sport (Cox & Thompson, 2000; Griffin, 2002; Waldron, 2016).

As a consequence of negative treatment for males breaking the “rules” of the gendered sporting habitus, a key theme emerged from interviews which showed a reluctance for young men to explore different sports. The rigidity of masculinity in sport has been documented previously (Chimot & Louveau, 2010; Hargreaves, 1994; Wright, 1996a), based on the premise that male participation in sport shows respect for traditional masculinity and its associated benefits. In contrast, some young women were keen to try different sports, often without fearing criticism for challenging norms. This is possible if it is considered that for young women, no capital is gained from participating in the “right” sport, so, capital cannot be withdrawn by participating in the “wrong” sport. Young men spoke of a lack of willingness to try other sports, stating, “you’d maybe get one or two girls who want to do rugby, but no boys who would do netball” (Craig, School 3). The fear of negative consequence is explained by Patrick (School 2):

I think if [boys] were offered and actually took the chance to do dance or netball, there'd be a social stigma from other students. So, people would wonder why, as a boy, you were doing dance. I wouldn't take it [the opportunity to do dance or netball] because I feel there would be backlash against me...around school people would give you weird looks or funny comments.

This demonstrates the power of gender norms dictating male-appropriate sports to promote a desirable image and identity to others and chimes with the argument made in Chapter 5 that masculinity is more closely regulated than femininity. Within the field of schooling, this quote demonstrates the importance to present a gendered identity which matches the dominant expectations of the field. Importantly, participation in masculine sports can be used by young men to justify and enforce a legitimate male identity to cover instances of engaging in non-male-appropriate activities. Greg (School 1) is a very talented dancer, having grown up in this field because his mother runs a dance studio. However, during our interview, he expressed his desire to participate in football, viewing that as an important part of his identity. As another young person explained, “some popular people, like when they do dance, they have to do football as well, kind of for balance...to balance out themselves” (Leah, School 1). The capital gained by engaging in a socially constructed masculine sport (football) allows for dancing participation to be legitimated. This idea is further explored by Nate (School 3) who suggest that if he were to stop playing rugby and do a “feminine” sport, “[his friends] would probably encourage me to still do rugby too”, so that his participation in a masculine sport allow for deviations elsewhere within his gendered sporting habitus. This further represents an example of young people playing the game of gender to monitor their own gendered identity and manipulate how they appear to others.

In addition to the way in which participation in certain sports can protect from criticism and judgement, young people expressed that ability and/or popularity can also offset participation in a “wrong” sport. Being “sporty”¹⁰ for males, aligns the performance of the body with a strength and physicality often synonymous with masculinity. A “sporty” able male body even carries currency during stereotypically feminine activities, such as

¹⁰ “Sporty” in this chapter refers to individuals who are able across different sports, embody an athleticism and have internalised sport into their sense of self. It was a word which was commonly used by young people to describe either themselves or others.

dance. At School 1 a handful of young men were able dancers, and could accrue some respect (symbolic capital) from their participation:

If a male plays a feminine sport and they're really bad at it...like they would be targeted more [with criticism]. But like [a boy in their year], he's a really good dancer, and he's not targeted as much... (Howard, School 1)

...like he's gained the respect of people, it's like if you're not very good you're going to get ridiculed, but as you play more and get better at that chosen sport, you get more respect. (Philip, School 1)

There are boys in our year who do gymnastics and dance, and a good example is a lad in Year 9 who's just come back from the NE Championships and he came third or something, because he's so successful no one says anything to him about it, but when he first started doing it, obviously, people said something. But now he's proved them wrong because he's really successful. (Helen, School 1)

These quotes highlight how success and physical capability is valued by young men. The ability to control and use one's body in a physical environment is respected, allowing some capital to be allocated despite the choice of sport (i.e. dance). Consequently, young men who are successful with their bodies can accrue physical capital regardless of their choice of activity, yet the suggestion remains that on their initial entry into a non-male-appropriate sport they may experience prejudice and stereotyping before they are able to demonstrate their athletic prowess. Interestingly, Greg (School 1; considered above in relation to his dance) has an interesting relationship with his sports participation, balancing football and dance. Despite his understanding of football as the pinnacle of masculinity within his classed and gendered habitus, capital accrued within his participation in dance can be transferred to other settings:

...street dance, I guess is a more masculine version of dance, whereas ballet might be more feminine...I've just kind of stuck with street [dance] because that's what I'm good at...people say to me if I'm out at a party, people will get all hyped up about [my dancing], but you can't play football at a party, so it depends on what situation you're in.

This quote highlights that Greg feels able to use his ability in dance to accrue other forms of capital across different fields. Footballing capital is more limited to the development of status within the field of sport, whereas the interconnection of young people's social

fields allows dance to offer a greater potential flow of capital between fields. This extends a conclusion of Francis (2010) who stated that being sporty allows boys to integrate feminine constructions into their gendered identity: rather, being “able” allows young men the freedom to present, amplify and promote feminine aspects of their gendered identity without fear of criticism or prejudice.

The elevated social status associated with popularity allows an individual greater freedom to explore different gendered identities through sport. Popularity and status provides a buffer against criticism: “it depends who they are...if they were popular, more boys would [also] want to do that sport [e.g. netball], but if they weren’t popular, then people would take the mick” (Freddie, School 1). This demonstrates the power that popular young people have in leading social norms and trends, for Freddie explains how if a popular boy was to play a typically female-appropriate sport, other males would likely copy, consequently viewing this as a more legitimate option within one’s habitus. Pascoe (2003) explored how American males can use a jock identity as insurance to allow the development of feminine aspects of their identity; and this can be applied to UK young men as explained by Freddie. Attractiveness is an important part of a legitimate feminine identity and corresponding popularity, also providing a buffer for criticism: “if it was an attractive girl [playing rugby] then the boys would be more attracted to her and find it cool, but if it were a less attractive person in terms of physicality, then they’d make fun of her” (Shaun, School 3). The insurance afforded through social status and popularity was identified by Helen (School 1) who, throughout the interviews, was identified by her peers as one of the most popular (and athletic) girls:

...if you’re well known, and a lot of people know you, and you decide to take up rugby, then obviously, you’d have a lot of support behind you. But if you’re not well known or you have a lot of people who despise of you, you might be introducing a lot of conflict onto yourself...like if I turn around and want to do rugby, no one would say anything about it being a man’s sport, no one would say that to me.

These quotes potentially indicate a form of freedom and agency within the lived experiences of some young people. Through the acquisition of social capital, popular young people can explore non-traditional representations of masculinity and femininity in ways which are not possible for some of their peers. The development of a gendered habitus is fraught with tensions – to explore possible identities, young people must first conform to gender “rules” which reproduce stereotypical notions of legitimate masculinity and femininity (Chapters 5 and 6) before they are able to explore different embodied performances of gender within the field of sport. This section has highlighted the tensions and hierarchy associated with different sports within the field. Young people are acutely aware of the meanings and value of different sports and the consequence that participation has on their own social status. The prioritisation of male sport demonstrates how capital is easily allocated to male sporting prowess in ways which are often not possible for young women. The consequence of this on the development of a sporting identity will now be explored.

IDENTITY/ABILITY

This section considers how sport has become internalised within a legitimate male identity in contrast to the way that sport is not associated with a female identity. This distinction was found across all three schools, indicating a potential similarity in how young people, despite different socialisation and personal classed histories, relate to sport within their gendered identities. Whilst this section largely emphasises that being “sporty” is congruent with a male identity, not all young men align with this characteristic, and this resistance is explored in more detail in the Chapter 9 when discussing young people’s relationships with PE. From interviews with young people, sport is more aligned with a male identity, whereas for young women, sport is instead viewed as an ability that can be possessed (if desired).

The way in which being “sporty” is integral to the male identity links to the “naturalisation” of male sport. In linking to the results of the media analysis in which the male athlete is naturalised, young people could identify the value of sport to a “successful” male identity. The importance of the physical male body is explained by Kyle (School 3): “I’d much rather have a healthy, active lifestyle than sit here doing nothing. I don’t want to be that person who just sits on the computer and doesn’t do much. I like to be active.” The relationship between sport and the expression of identity was explained by Gary (School 2) who, when asked whether he considered himself “sporty”, stated: “...yes... [being “sporty”] is quite important to define who I am because it helps me express myself sometimes, like who I am and what I can do, sport helps in that sense”. This demonstrates the strength of sport in the production of a valued male identity. The naturalness of the male sporting identity is reinforced by Messner (1990, p416) who states that organised sport represents a “sphere in which competition and (often violent) physicality was valued, while ‘the feminine’ was devalued”, emphasising the proximity of sport to the male identity and the simultaneous distancing of it from the female identity. Despite reproducing crude binaries in this description, Jonny (School 1) explains that “I couldn’t picture myself as a girl...I don’t mean it horribly or anything...I prefer [being male] just for the fact that I’m more into my sports like football, and I couldn’t picture myself not playing them”. For these young people, sport is naturalised as part of the male identity, reinforcing a difference between young men and women concerning participation in sport and physical activity. By referencing football, Jonny continues to reinforce the binary of sex- (and classed-) appropriate sports which positions male sports participation as superior. The stereotype of males being “sporty” functions as a source of collective pride, consequently being internalised within an individual’s social identity (Schmader & Block, 2015). The differences in relation to sport and identity are succinctly summarised by Hargreaves (1994, p146) who asserts that “[f]or huge numbers of men the image and experience of the body are intimately linked to sporting experiences: for the majority of women, the image and experience of the body have very

little or nothing to do with sports". Many young women identified that sport has little to do with their female identity: "I'm not one of those people who revolves their life around sport, although I do enjoy it" (Millie, School 1). In this quote, Millie is distancing herself from the "deviant" other – the person who is "sporty". This chimes with Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation's (2012, p15) findings which identified seven types of girl, of which two were idolised: "popular" and/or "girly" girls. The worrying finding from my interviews is that many young women do not wish to be "sporty", valuing femininity-as-attractive as socially more desirable within their social field.

For young women, sport functions as a type of ability, something which they can be good at (but only if they want to). In general, females are often perceived as less able at sports (Hay & Macdonald, 2010), and this devaluing of the female athletic body limits the perception of capital which can be accrued from being "sporty". With fewer positive consequences for young women engaging in sport, the chance of sport being an important part of their gendered identity, remains low. This concept that young women can, if they desire, play sports, is illustrated by Chantel (School 3): "I can play sports, but I'm not necessarily sporty, but I can [play]." By presenting sports participation as an optional activity, young women may view being "sporty" as an elective extra to their identity. To this extent, some young women expressed their reasons for engaging in sporting activities to enhance other aspects of their identity; primarily academic success: "[sport] makes me feel distressed and relaxed, it releases energy and I find it easier to work afterwards" (Claire, School 3), and "[sport] helps you and helps your mind academically" (Zara, School 3). This illustrates how academic success and engagement is considered an important part of the successful female identity, with sport as a secondary ability with little social value in and of itself.

In analysing questionnaire data which explored self-reported perceived ability in sport and PE, young men self-identified as being "better" at sport than young women. Young people were asked to rate their ability out of 10 (with 10 being the highest level of

performance). On average males reported a score of 6.9 compared to females scoring themselves as 6.3 ($P=0.009$, CI 0.144-1.020). The association between self-reported ability and sport participation is shown through the contribution of ability within a multiple regression¹¹ to predict the number of hours of sport and physical activity participation ($P<0.001$). For every increase in self-rated ability (per increase of 1), the amount of sport and physical activity participated in per week increased by 0.72 hours (43 minutes). Young men's self-reported higher levels of ability indicates that they are likely to participate in more sport and physical activity. A perceived lower ability in sport and physical activity has negative consequences for how young women consider the role of sport in their identity: "I'm not really sure what I'm good at...when I think about it I put myself down...so I don't do anything" (Carly, School 1). The reproductive nature of the habitus means that the role of sport within the gendered identity becomes an incorporated disposition (Brubaker, 1993). Stereotypes concerning the importance of sport for young men become perpetuated through the continued allocation of capital to young men who demonstrate sporting prowess, and for young women who embody emphasised femininity.

This positioning of sport within the gendered habitus limits options for young people to challenge the dichotomy of identity/ability and how this is presumed to map onto male/female. This reproduction of the position of sport within the gendered habitus is demonstrated through these interview quotes: "everyone says that boys are more sporty than girls...it's probably that everyone said it when they were younger and it's carried on" (Leah, School 1); and "boys like sport, whereas girls like girly things. And whether

¹¹ A multiple linear regression was calculated to predict participation in physical activity based on the variables of: sex, self-rated ability, family involvement in sport, and level of friend participation. A significant regression equation was found ($F(4, 327)=35.329$, $p<0.001$), with a R^2 of 3.02. Predicted no of hours of sport or physical activity is equal to $-0.982 - 1.014 (\text{Sex}) + 0.720 (\text{Ability}) + 0.634 (\text{Family}) + 0.694 (\text{Friends})$; where sex is coded as 1=male, 2=female; ability is measure on a scale of 1-10, family participation on a scale of 1-4 (4=all family members participate), and friend participation on a scale of 1-5 (5 = all friends play sport). Hours of participation in sport or physical activity increased 0.720 hours (43 minutes) for each one point increase in perceived ability, increased 0.694 hours (42 minutes) for every additional active family member, increased 0.634 hours (38 minutes) for each increase in friend participation. Males participate in 1.014 hours (61 minutes) more sport and physical activity than females. All variables were significant predictors of hours of sport and physical activity participation.

that's because that's what they genuinely like or how they've been brought up, I'm not sure, but it's the case" (Chloe, School 2). Linked to the socialisation of the gendered habitus as based on past experiences (as discussed in Chapter 5), the implicit messages taught when "they were younger" persist and demonstrates how the "natural" sporting identity for young men is perpetuated. Rather than a clear dichotomy between the experiences of *all* young men and women, for some young women, being sporty was part of their identity: Eliza (School 2) stated "I've always done sport, it's what I do...it's what I've always done, my dad, from the off, as soon as I could walk, I could hold a golf club...his dad taught him, so he taught me". The way Eliza was inculcated into sport through her dad, whilst demonstrating potential for young women to see sport as an identity, simultaneously positions men as the bearers of a sporting identity, and naturalises the role of sport in what is deemed "normal" for young men.

Dovetailed with the identification of young women who are "sporty" is the simultaneous use of the "tomboy" identity. In common with previous research, the tomboy identity was considered legitimate, but importantly, no longer acceptable for these young women. The tomboy phase, where sporting participation is more "normal" and expected, represents a short-lived legitimate identity, phased out as young women progress through secondary school (Cox & Thompson, 2000; Halberstam, 1998; Hills, 2006; Paechter & Clark, 2007). As Claire (School 3) outlined, "everyone goes through a tomboy phase, don't they! It was when I was ten and used to wear shorts all the time!", thereby normalising the tomboy identity whilst simultaneously distancing the young person from what is viewed as a childlike and un-feminine gendered identity. By growing out of the tomboy phase, this configuration of a gendered identity is no longer rewarded through the allocation of capital, and therefore, the status of "sporty" female (e.g. tomboy) is viewed as illegitimate. This section has demonstrated the ingrained differences within the habitus between how young men and young women view their relationship with sport. The naturalisation of sport, which occurs through media messages and the lived relationships

of young people, means that for young men, sport is encouraged to be part of one's identity, helping them "express" themselves (Gary, School 2). The dichotomy of this section has shown how sex-based differences, when assumed to be "natural" in their application to gender and sporting participation, become taken-for-granted within the gendered habitus, leading to discrepancies in physical activity participation rates.

SPORT/GYM

As Brubaker (1993) suggests, key to the conceptualisation of the habitus is the way that the social world is structured by binary oppositions. This chapter highlights the way in which the binary of male and female (and correspondingly masculine and feminine as understood by these young people) can lead to differences in how young men and women participate in sport and physical activity. This section concerns the way in which a binary is created between the types of physical activity which young people engage with: principally that team sports are preferred and valued by young men, whereas gym and fitness activities are favoured by young women. At no point should this analysis be taken as a generalisable idea in which *all* young men choose to participate in competitive sport, and *all* young women choose not to participate in sport and instead opt for gym/fitness activities. However, the striking difference between these two positions as a dominant norm demonstrates how these practices can become taken-for-granted beliefs, naturalised so that young people come to "know" the type of activities which are expected of them as young men or women.

The different behaviours and dispositions of young men and women in relation to sport/gym have become normalised within the gendered habitus. These dispositions are indicative of Brown's (2006, p171) argument that sport is a field which uses "symbolic opposition as a core interpretive framework that imposes certain differentiated regimes of practice on the body". Because sport is constructed as masculine, and gym/fitness as feminine, these symbolically oppositional definitions means that embodied physical

practices can differ between young men and women. One explanation posed by the young women as to their dislike and disengagement from sport was due to its natural competitiveness (Women in Sport, 2016): “I like circuit training because it’s not like competition between people...it’s not like ‘we’re in a team and we’re trying to win’” (Sam, School 1). The relationship with the body reflects the different purpose of exercise: if young men are engaging in sport for competition and sporting prowess (Connell, 2007; Gerdin, 2016), the way they understand the functionality of their body contrasts to the aesthetic sculpting of the body emphasised within gym/fitness cultures (Bordo, 2003; Bottero, 2010; Dworkin & Wachs, 2009; Reeves, 2012). In considering bodily hexis as the way the body moves, is positioned or carried (Throop & Murphy, 2002), the choice of (physical) activity and the consequences for one’s bodily appearance is important in relation to the performative nature of the habitus. Through the physicality of the active body, the body becomes “a central means by which our identities become somatically informed and grounded” (ibid., p188). Therefore, the different relationships with the active body is crucial in understanding how sport, gender and identity interconnect within a young person’s habitus.

Competition, excellence and performance in rugby union or football allows young men to accrue social capital and consequent status amongst their peers. Sport produces socially desirable bodies, for “when you go to a rugby orientated school, you don’t see many non-muscular or skinny boys” (Caroline, School 3), which suggests that by playing sport, young men are engaging with practices to present a socially valued body. The social prowess allocated to successful sporting males is closely associated with competitiveness (Donaldson, 1993; Mennesson, Bertrand, & Court, 2017), and competitive sport can be viewed as a way for males to demonstrate distinction and superiority:

...men’s sport was based on...being able to show that you’re competitive and better than other people, but with sports like expressive dance or ballet, there’s no scoring system so it’s not really what men would want to do, because it’s not about beating each other. (Danny, School 1)

This quote highlights the role of competitive sport in the presentation of a legitimate male identity. By questioning the scoring system of dance, Danny is reinforcing the importance of overtly competitive male-appropriate sports, highlighting how capital can be differentially allocated to certain sports. Through prioritising team sports, typically rugby union and football, the value of the team is emphasised in creating a social identity formed through interactions with others: “football right, is the *all-round* game, you need skill, you need talent, be healthy, but it’s also a team game so you’re no one without the other ten people” (Owen, School 1; his emphasis). The emphasis on team sports reinforces previous research which shows that team sports are the paradigmatic form of displaying hegemonic masculinity in sport (Gerdin, 2016; Reeves, 2012; Wilkinson et al., 2013). Consequently, some young men were dismissive of males who did not play team sports, those known as “gym freaks”: “people who are crazy about their body are like gym freaks...I’m not a gym freak at all” (Stevie, School 1). The functionality of the body to be successful at sport, rather than aesthetically pleasing is emphasised by Danny (School 1):

...I’m more about how actually good at something I can be, actually being able to beat people. I could be, if I could win the CrossFit Games and be skinny and like ugly and things like that, but still actually be the best, I’d prefer that than being big and strong with a perfect physique but actually useless at sport.

Whilst Danny refers to CrossFit, a sport which incorporates both individual and team elements, it is not usually thought of as a traditional team game. Yet, his sentiment that men’s bodies should be functional, rather than aesthetic, reinforces the concept that for young men, sporting prowess and competition are rewarded through social status and capital. This differs from the encouraged relationship for young women and their bodies, which rewards an aesthetic image.

For these young women, physical activity typically centred around going to the gym and engaging in fitness regimes. Central to the development of the gym routine is the broader social awareness centring on the aesthetic emphasis of the female body which requires

external validation and acceptance. The emphasis on peer-policing in accordance with gendered norms is discussed in Chapter 6. The attractive feminine (and thereby female) body is central to the development of a gym culture for these young women. Young women were aware of the requirement for their body to be aesthetically pleasing, and had seemingly internalised the view that the female body requires work to correct its imperfections (Bordo, 2003; Bourdieu, 1984; Featherstone, 1982). This is explained by a discussion between Kiera and Millie (School 1):

Kiera: [girls go to the gym] for their appearance, they want to be attractive...

Millie: It's not to keep themselves fit and healthy, it's so that they can get a big bum and a toned stomach, and a lot of girls go on about how they need to lose weight and go to the gym, but they don't actually need to lose weight.

Kiera: It's for attention, definitely.

This conversation highlights how the practice of going to the gym is illustrative of an outward demonstration of a “healthy” body rather than the act of engaging in intense exercise. Wright and Burrows (2006, p278) argue that “the appearance of the body is assumed to be an indicator of not only good health but the work done on the body, and the dispositions to managing the self that this is taken to imply”. My interview data reaffirm the role of gym/fitness in creating the illusion of improving the aesthetic appearance of the female body, aligning the body with dominant ideals of feminine attractiveness. The act of going to the gym implies the individual has internalised societal gender norms within the habitus, simply because gyms are believed to represent a place where body improvements “happen”. The body indicates the deepest dispositions of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984), thus, looking to improve one’s body indicates a positive internal identity for young women. However, the irony in young women’s use of the gym is that the space often becomes a playground for expressing femininity and the idealised outward display of bodily care, rather than serious engagement with exercise. As Kate (School 2) explains:

You have girls who come in wearing sixty five pound leggings, whereas I have ten pound leggings on, they do the same job but they look better in them...[media] makes it seem like you have to look really good when you're just going for a jog. And when you go to the gym you have to look super fit... I think a lot of girls just think that they need to go there and look good, they don't want to sweat, don't want to be red, they just want to look good... going to the gym is all about what it looks like to other people, like status. There are girls who go to the gym and take like five hundred selfies...they'll just be pretending to be fit. They might work out a bit but they aren't sweaty or red-faced or anything. I think they think it's just impressive to go to the gym even if you don't do it [working out]. It's more of a hang-out spot.

This highlights the image associated with going to the gym, emphasising how many young women are more concerned with their outward image rather than health or physical benefits associated with engaging in physical activity. This suggests that some young women go to the gym because it symbolises a positive body and represents a space to emphasise their successful negotiation of gendered expectations. These symbolic behaviours are potentially damaging to health-enhancing physical activity levels. If young women self-report going to the gym as a form of exercise, yet their behaviour once there does not meet descriptors of moderate-vigorous physical activity (Biddle, Gorely, & Stensel, 2004; NICE, 2009), the difference in activity levels between males and females may be even greater than I discussed earlier in this chapter.

The gym as a space for a positive symbolic relationship with one's body, becomes important when associated with capital. For young people from Schools 1 and 2, gym memberships were often reified as a "thing", and potentially act as a form of capital which indicates a positive relationship with one's body. Many young people felt it important to disclose that they had a gym membership: "...I've got a gym membership and I do go to the gym sometimes" (Anna, School 1); and "I have a gym membership, not that I go very often" (Maisie, School 2). However, the hypocrisy and contradiction in the reification of gym memberships was stated by Millie (School 1): "it's like 'I have a gym membership, I go to the gym, look at me', but they don't actually do anything". For these young women from state schools, having a gym membership can be used as a form of capital because having a membership symbolically aligns one's body closer to the

idealised female identity. As McNay (2004, p186) suggests, “to ‘pass’ as middle-class, working-class women make strong investments in bodies... [and] leisure pursuits”; therefore, I argue that by having a gym membership, these working-class young women are attempting to pass as having a middle-class relationship with their body. This is even more poignant given that in no interviews at School 3 did young women tell me that they had gym memberships, implying that they do not feel the need to emphasise their commitment to middle-class ideals around the fit, healthy and attractive body; instead, their manner, tastes and dispositions embody this “naturally”.

This section has explored the binary between the types of physical activity that young men and women choose to participate in. As a result, the existence of these binaries can lead to young people feeling “trapped” in replicating the dominant norms which perpetuate the belief that sport is “naturally” a male activity, reducing opportunities for females to thrive in sporting environments. Moreover, the binaries of identity/ability and sport/gym also have the potential to function as “rules”, reinforcing appropriate behaviours which dictate how young men and women can accrue physical, sporting and social capital.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The gender binary which forms the basis of how these young people understand expected behaviours of males and females, applies to the field of sport to indicate different sporting expectations for young men and women. Across these three schools, males participate in more sport and physical activity than females, a difference which has become normalised within the collective gendered habitus. Young women are unable to accrue much (if any) social or symbolic capital from their participation (and excellence) in sport, therefore, emphasis instead focuses on more stereotypically feminine activities which can develop capital (e.g. aesthetic appearance or academia), rather than participation in sport. The gendering of ability, whereby young men view themselves as more able, normalises sport

within the male gendered habitus and encourages young men to engage in sporting opportunities from a young age, often with more intensity and determination than young women. For young women, the tomboy identity legitimises sporting participation up to a certain age, after which, this identity becomes a pariah and is consequently marginalised. Sport is often viewed as incongruent with the development of a feminine body, and many young women turn to fitness and gym activities as an attempt to sculpt and (re)create an idealised body. Yet this chapter has also demonstrated how, for some young women, *actual physical exercise* is also antithetical to the presentation of a composed and elegant femininity. Thus, the gym symbolises a space for demonstrating a pseudo-positive relationship with the body, disguising a lack of exercise with an image of commitment to the gym. For many young women, the possession of a gym membership signifies and symbolises a relationship with one's body which is idolised and valued.

In addressing RQ1, this chapter has outlined how one's relationship with sport is an important part of how young people present their gendered identities. Young men, within the game, face pressure to demonstrate a (able) sporting body, whereas presenting a desirable feminine body (sculpted through health regimes) is important for young women. Negotiating the hierarchy of sports and "managing" the capital which can be accrued through sport participation indicates how young people continue to "play the game" and manufacture their desired gendered identity through an assemblage of practices and behaviours.

For RQ3, the relationship between the body and sport differed for young people from state and private schools. The prioritisation of different "male" sports – rugby union or football – indicates a different outlook on the significance of sports to the development of different forms of masculinity. Moreover, young people from Schools 1 and 2 reified gym memberships, attempting to use this membership to symbolise a relationship with the body which can accrue capital. In contrast, for those at School 3, gym membership was not mentioned, suggesting that they are able to draw on capital from other areas of

their lives (e.g. through financial capital, social networks, or academia) in ways which may not be as available young people from other social classes.

The strict awareness of gendered “rules” relating to sex-appropriate sports, the hierarchy of sports which dictate how capital is allocated, and the binaries between identity/ability and sport/gym; show how both young men and women are often “trapped” by their gendered habitus to reproduce dominant social norms. The regulation of appropriate sports for young men – rugby union or football – indicates how some young men feel “trapped” into participating in these sports. Participation in the “right” sport can, for young men, provide insurance or a buffer to cover for practices within their gendered habitus which may be viewed as more feminine. In contrast, young women are “trapped” in presenting a non-“sporty” gendered identity, but this is simultaneously ironic in an expectation of the feminine body as fit and healthy. For many young women, going to the gym is a *symbolic*, rather than an *actual*, indicator of a healthy body which has implications for physical activity levels, and the consequences these have on one’s health. This chapter has solely focused on the exploration of sporting norms through binaries created through which male and female participation are judged. The argument that young people are “trapped” in replicating sporting norms which differentiate between male and female bodies will be built upon in the next chapter which specifically considers how the school and its practices (particularly PE), affect how young people understand their active gendered identities.

CHAPTER 9: THE ROLE OF SCHOOL & PE IN REGULATING GENDER NORMS THROUGH SPORT

The gendered habitus intersects across all areas of young people's lives, of which experiences in school are an important part of how young people learn and develop their gendered identities. As a specific field, education and schooling has its own tensions and struggles which can influence how young people understand gender. The broader game of gender, as discussed in Chapter 6, is played out within the field of schooling. Common structures and characteristics of schools, including uniforms, timetabled lessons, disciplinary structures etc., contribute to the development of a gendered habitus. An important consideration is the way in which the hidden curriculum (Apple, 1995; Popkewitz, 1997) or informal school (Gordon et al., 2001) operates to reinforce gender norms. As Connell (1989) explains, the hidden curriculum is more powerful than the explicit curriculum. In linking the hidden curriculum to the role of the habitus, Bourdieu (1998) suggests that through the education system, categories of thought are imposed. This demonstrates how, if gender "rules" are constructed and transmitted by schools (Arnot, 2002), they can be inculcated in the lived and embodied habitus. The imposition of knowledge and norms through socialisation within the field of schooling, leads to many young people accepting gendered norms and expectations as taken-for-granted knowledge within the doxa. A Bourdieusian framework is beneficial for exploring how gender norms and practices within a school's hidden curriculum lead to young people understanding and negotiating their place in the wider context of societal gender relations.

As a key area of the structure of the school system, compulsory PE lessons contribute to the reproduction of the gender binary. PE is often segregated based on different assumptions about the relative ability of the male and female body, contributing to the belief in sporting differences as taken-for-granted and "natural". This chapter focuses on the way in which PE signifies differences between young men and women (and their

presumed corresponding gender), considering the role of the hidden curriculum and implicit assumptions of school practices in shaping how young people understand their own embodied potential. To this extent, this chapter draws on three areas of analysis within the Bourdieusian framework: gender theory in which the idea of gender as a game will be further developed; educational theory which focuses on the hidden curriculum and pedagogical practices associated with PE; and the way in which these two areas are applicable to sport and gender relations. Whilst Hill (2015b) is accurate in suggesting that the experiences of boys in PE and sport are not uniform, the experiences of the young men and women I spoke with are also not homogenous, rather this chapter draws on dominant similarities and individual experiences of difference and resistance to explore how gendered identities are influenced by school practices and structures. This chapter therefore explores: how broader school traditions reinforce a gender hierarchy which prioritises male sport; how “appropriate” bodies are regulated within PE; and how PE reinforces an ideology of difference between young men and women through gendered curriculums and its organisational structure.

THE GENDER HIERARCHY REINFORCED BY SCHOOLS

As Chapters 5 and 6 discussed, young people are aware of a hierarchy of gender and how this interacts with capital to reward embodied representations of dominant characteristics of masculinity or femininity. The structures and practices of the school reinforce a gender hierarchy, with Bourdieu (1998, p20) suggesting that the education system “tends to maintain pre-existing social differences”, thus continuing the historical dominance of males (and masculinity). As Apple (1995) suggests, schools reproduce a social order which is often unequal in terms of gender, class and race. A discussion of the impact of education on racial inequality is beyond the scope of this thesis¹²; however, reproduction

¹² The geographical location for my data collection is predominantly a very white area. This was reflected in the racial identity of my interviewees – across the 70 young people, I spoke with one black young women, and two Asian young people (one male/one female). An analysis which attends to these nuances in relation to race is therefore not possible with such a white sample.

of gender and class inequalities are evidenced in the lived experiences of these young people. This section considers how school traditions and structures can prioritise male sport, which, as I discuss later in this chapter, has negative consequences for how young people understand their embodied capabilities in relation to sport and PE.

My interview data show that many young women were aware of how their school prioritises male sport. The prioritisation of male sporting success legitimates these practices, and has consequences for the way sport is viewed as “natural” for young men. In contrast, when asked whether school (and school sport/PE) was fair, young men did not identify differences in the prioritisation of male and female sport. Through a position of inferiority, young women could identify inequality in a way which the young men, who arguably benefit from the hidden curriculum and school structures which reinforce masculinity, were either unaware, or choose to ignore the inequality, leaving their superiority unchallenged. For instance, when discussing the rewarding of sporting excellence, Suzie (School 3) discusses:

... the rewards system with the rowing, the boys get ties if they're in the first team, but then with the girls, all the senior girls are the first team but we get nothing. We have no badges, nothing. But the boys have ties.

At School 3, (male) sporting prowess is rewarded, and carved wooden honours boards display ex-students who achieved representative sporting honours (Hickey, 2008).

Individuals on these boards are overwhelmingly male rugby players. (The lack of females on these boards partly reflects the school's history as a boys' school, but is also indicative of the sentiment in Suzie's quote that male sporting success is celebrated in ways that female success is not.) Symbolic in Suzie's analysis is the way in which male sporting success becomes very visible around school – possessing a tie, or blazer, is a very visible way in which “sporty” young men are separated both from their peers, and from young women.

The visibility of male sport emphasises the presumed “natural” match between sport and maleness. Continuing an analysis of the prioritising of (male) sport at School 3 is the way

the school is physically organised. The layout of school buildings around the first team rugby pitch is a very symbolic reminder of the prioritisation of male sport and the role that rugby union has in the school's ethos. In contrast, facilities for female sport (e.g. hockey/netball pitches) are on a hill away from all other buildings. This importance of rugby union is discussed by Claire (School 3):

...this school revolves around rugby, and not hockey and netball at all. I go down to watch the rugby and the whole school will be there, then we go to Chapel and all the results are about rugby. When we play hockey, there'll be a couple of people who come to watch. Which is so annoying...like the rugby pitch is in the middle of the school, so I guess it's also about traditions too.

Schools often have visible and dominant spaces for male sports, rendering other sports invisible (Gerdin, 2016; Horne, Lingard, Weiner, & Forbes, 2011). This institutional prioritisation of male sport through traditions which focus on rugby negatively affects the development and position of female sports, primarily netball and hockey. Prioritising male sport through space and visibility further reinforces the dominant view that sport is a male activity and undermines the way in which sport could be internalised within a female habitus. Whilst the prioritisation of space for young men sport at Schools 1 and 2 was not as symbolic as at School 3, the actions of young men within school spaces emphasises the value of male sport as a presumed "natural" activity:

...the girls tend to stay inside, whereas boys will be outside on "top yard" which is where everyone from our year goes...sometimes we'll talk and sometimes we'll play football, and even if we've got a tennis ball or something stupid like a powerball, then we'll play with that and launch it about. (Luke, School 1)

Young men at School 3 have monopolised space, and use it for being active. Within this statement, the implicit assumption is that *all* girls are happy to be inside, and *all* boys enjoy being physically active on the "top yard". These practices are subsequently gendered, sexed and believed as homogenous, reifying gender norms which limits opportunities for individuals to challenge these assumptions. This example of young men "owning" outside space as "male", supports Paechter's (2013) assertion that girls are excluded from areas to be physically active in schools, including playgrounds. Through

the prioritisation of male sport through space and school structure, “rules” which normalise male sport and Other sport for young women are reproduced and regulate behaviour through the norms of the doxic habitus.

Public and visible celebration of male sporting success becomes an ingrained part of school life, particularly through assemblies. The content of assemblies reinforces the school’s ethos, indicating which pursuits, achievements and successes are deemed more “worthy” than others:

...on Friday when we had Chapel, they read out sports reports, and there was a regatta last weekend, and the sports results were read out, like rugby, no mention of [girls’] rowing. And Hayley and Sally won their first race as well, and it wasn’t mentioned at all. Which isn’t very fair. (Claire, School 3)

... we [girls] have to go out and search for sport, like I know when the lads have their football practices, they have it on a Monday for the academy and a Thursday for the school team. I don’t know when the girls have theirs. Like at the beginning of the year in assembly it was advertised to everyone when the boys stuff was, but it wasn’t said for girls. (Kiera, School 1)

Assemblies represent a powerful school structure which emphasises the dominant messages and norms, which as these quotes suggest, are gendered. The prioritisation of one element of school life simultaneously makes another invisible. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) emphasise how teachers are transmitters of knowledge, and through assemblies, the transmission of gender norms occurs. This is reinforced by Epstein and Johnson (1998), who argue that assemblies encapsulate the cultural dynamics of a school. Whether the emphasis on male sporting success in assemblies is a conscious prioritisation, the consequence is very real for young women learning that their own participation and success in sport is not as valued or rewarded, reinforcing the often-negative association between young women and sport, as highlighted in Chapter 8.

The celebration of male sport juxtaposed with the way in which female sport is undermined by practices of schooling, emphasises the different role of sport in the “successful” construction of a gendered identity for young men and women. For young men, the social capital which can be gained by being successful at sport leads to the

celebration of male sporting success in line with dominant representations of masculinity. In contrast, female sport is often overlooked through the school's hidden curriculum and assemblies, which reinforces the gender "rule" in which sport is viewed as incongruent with a "successful" female identity. This section has demonstrated how school practices which prioritise male sport reinforce a gender hierarchy which contributes to the taken-for-granted gendered norms which limit and constrain how young people can challenge the entrenched norms of the gendered habitus.

"APPROPRIATE" BODIES ARE (RE)CONSTRUCTED THROUGH PE

PE is arguably one of the most gendered school subjects (Berg & Lahelma, 2010; Gorely et al., 2003; Paechter, 2003b). Within the field of PE, there are two groups who are fighting to define what behaviours and identities are legitimate – teachers and young people. As this chapter will highlight, the value of playing the game of gender dictates that young people's definition of legitimate gendered identities often prevails and those whose gendered performance matches broader social gender "rules" are rewarded. Despite this, PE practices and structures often influence what is viewed as "appropriate" in terms of male and female bodies, and consequently what is understood as ability within PE (Croston & Hills, 2017). This section considers two interrelated elements of PE: the process of getting changed for the lesson, and having a predetermined PE kit/uniform. Throughout this section, reference to the game of gender emphasises how peer- and self-policing in accordance with the dominant gender norms are exacerbated in PE environments, where the body becomes a very visible indicator of conforming (or not) to social norms of a gender-appropriate body.

Prior to each PE lesson, the young people are required to change out of their school uniform into their PE kit. At each school, the PE kit was clearly identifiable, featuring school-crest embellished clothing. In similarity to the different permutations of policing which was discussed in Chapter 6, fears around getting changed for PE were only

identified by young women, and not by young men. This is not to suggest that *all* young men feel comfortable in PE, rather their discomfort reflects other elements of the lesson (which is discussed later in this chapter). As a site of peer-policing, Jo (School 1) outlines, “people will say comments in the changing rooms, like ‘ooh, she’s got this’ or ‘why does she look like that?’ ...because [in the changing rooms] you’re not hiding anything, and people can just see straight away”. The openness of many school changing rooms, designed to allow easier teacher observation in a similar vein to the Panoptic prison (Foucault, 1977), increases peer-policing and reduces “safe” spaces away from the evaluative gaze of others (O’Donovan et al., 2015). The peer-policing which occurs in changing rooms has led to some young women adapting their behaviours: “[judgement happens]...in the changing rooms, I get changed as fast as I can because I really don’t feel comfortable in there and I want to get out as fast as I can” (Vicky, School 1); “getting changed in PE, I used to face the wall so people could only see my back” (Eliza, School 2). Possibly the most extreme reaction to the potential peer-policing within changing rooms was expressed by Millie (School 1):

I wear my PE kit under my school clothes. I don’t even put it in my bag. I have it on so that after the lesson I make sure I don’t smell, and put my uniform back on. I don’t want people to see me [getting changed].

As Bourdieu (2001) suggests, vision is crucial for the identification of bodies and their relation to the expectations of embodied gender. Thus, the exposure of the body in changing rooms allows for comparisons to be made to the socially constructed ideal; and the aversion these young women have to exposing their body demonstrates the power of gender norms within PE to regulate what is deemed an “acceptable” body.

The problematisation of changing rooms was identified only during interviews with young people at Schools 1 and 2. Young women from School 3 did not identify changing rooms as being challenging for experiencing judgement. These young women still feel surveillance pressure (as discussed in Chapter 6), yet the lack of peer-policing within this environment may suggest that changing rooms only become problematic to gendered

identities when crowded by large groups of young women. With fewer numbers of girls than boys in every school year at School 3 and greater solidarity between young women as a minority (see Chapter 6), the labelling and Othering of gendered bodies within PE environments may be less distinct.

The peer-policing within female PE changing rooms demonstrates how a social hierarchy is reinforced and developed in relation to gender “rules”. Those who embody a desirable femininity (which as Chapter 6 highlighted, results in the accrual of social capital), pass judgement on others, confirming their position of status. The binary on which PE is based highlights the negative consequences for individuals who do not match this distinction, and therefore do not abide by the dominant gender “rules”. Sam (School 1) who identifies as non-binary, suggests that the structures of PE changing facilities create a situation where bodies who do not align with binary notions of male or female are isolated (Burns, Leitch, & Hughes, 2016; Rasmussen, 2009): “...you have female changing rooms and you have male changing rooms and I’m a bit like ‘I don’t know what to do’, it’s the same with toilets and stuff.” The visibility of gendered bodies in PE makes those who do not fit into binary categories more “obvious”, placing bodies in a matrix where certain representations of gender are deemed more valuable than others. PE, as historically based on the dichotomy of male/female, exacerbates identity issues for those who challenge the normative expectations of male and female bodies. Scraton (2018) discusses the need to explore and challenge the “unsafe” spaces within PE which can create anxiety and promote bullying, and my interview data suggests that for some young people, PE continues to threaten their sense of self. To encourage continued participation in sport and physical activity, PE must become a “safe” place for young people to explore their embodied capacities, rather than fear body scrutiny and judgement in relation to an (often) unrealistic gender norm.

Related to perceptions of peer-policing is the requirement for students to wear PE kit in lessons. Paechter (2013) identifies that compulsory PE kit is often identified as an

element of PE which makes it hard for young women to feel comfortable with their bodies. A primary concern with PE kit is the way that the body is on show, and its visibility provides the possibility for judgement. In comparing male and female PE kits, Ellie (School 2) suggests:

The PE kit is that girls wear a t-shirt and a skort [a skirt with inbuilt shorts], but the boys can wear long shorts, their long-sleeved shirt and their football socks which cover most of their bodies, so there isn't much skin showing. Whereas for girls, it's a bit exposing because these skorts really aren't very long.

The visibility of the body provides opportunity for peer-policing. The assumption is, therefore, that when wearing PE kit, there is greater body scrutiny than when wearing other clothes, such as regular school uniform. Walseth et al. (2017) found that girls view PE as an environment where they feel observed and judged, often because clothes are too revealing; and my data shows that PE exacerbates feelings of bodily inadequacy in ways which do not happen in other school spaces:

I think there's the whole idea of judgement [in PE], like the boys are all sat in their own group, and there's the thing of you know, you're in a skort. Like it's unusual because there isn't normally a fear of walking into a classroom where there are boys, you'd never even think about it, but suddenly you're in your PE clothes and it's a PE class and there's this immediate and terrifying thing about walking into a room, it's weird. (Jarda, School 2)

In attempting to address insecurities that the young women feel, PE departments at Schools 1 and 2 have recently allowed leggings to replace the shorts/skort for young women. This decision received unanimous support: “[wearing leggings] doesn't feel revealing because you're covered. Like when you can see skin, it's just a bit more revealing” (Maisie, School 2); “I am a huge fan now that they have introduced the legging thing. I think 100 percent of girls will agree that it was a good move, I just feel a lot more covered” (Jarda, School 2); and “the best thing is that we were supposed to wear shorts but now we're given the option to wear leggings, so now I feel more comfortable” (Sam, School 1). This support for the change in PE kit demonstrates the strength of anxieties which young many women face when having to expose their bodies during PE, and signifies how young women want to be seen as more than naked flesh. Research

conducted by both *Women in Sport* (2016) and *Girlguiding* (2016) revealed that young women appreciate PE departments which consider student opinions in relation to rethinking PE kit, and that PE kit is often a barrier to enjoyment of PE; this is supported by the young women's views outlined here.

This discussion has focused on the experiences of young women in relation to their embodied identities in PE, suggesting that practices involved in PE pedagogy can reinforce gender norms and assumptions which promote an "idealised" body. A question arises as to the impact of PE kit on the experiences of young men who do not meet dominant representations of masculinity. Jill (School 2) states that the kit options for females are extensive; "we have skorts, short-sleeved tops, and joggers and jumpers, but the boys don't have joggers and jumpers". This suggests an inflexibility for young men in relation to the outward display of appropriate bodies, leading to some young men's experiences being similar to young women. Two young men at School 1, Freddie and Stevie, who self-identified as being overweight and consequently not meeting the requirements of the physically "able" male body, outlined that they often are called "fatty" (Freddie) because they differ from being "skinny, sporty, muscly" (Stevie). The design of PE kit often reflects the capacity of an able body, and for Freddie and Stevie, having to uncomfortably squeeze into PE kit further demonstrates how the visible nature of PE makes young people's failure to meet gender "rules" more noticeable.

This discussion so far has focused on young people, mainly females, who feel uncomfortable either with the process of getting changed for PE or in their PE kit. However, interviews with some young women demonstrated how PE can be a way to show off their body to maximise their "public" alignment with gender "rules". Chapter 6 highlighted how some young people can manipulate the "rules" of gender, and accordingly, PE represents an arena for some young women to reinforce gender norms by exacerbating elements of an assumed attractive femininity:

...they [the popular girls] don't want to wear school [regulation] PE shorts, so they bring their own shorts which are usually ten times tighter, they're like skin! (Rachel, School 1)

...[PE] should be about playing sport, not about what you look like...and that's definitely to impress the boys. (Kiera, School 1)

These quotes demonstrate a self-policing and regulation of gendered bodies within the heterosexual matrix, with the popular girls showing an awareness of needing to visibly conform to stereotypical “rules” of an attractive femininity. For these young women, PE kits can be used to exacerbate one’s feminine appearance. Therefore, PE kit can act as both a negative reminder of how one’s body does not conform to gender “rules”, or an opportunity for some young women to show off their legitimate feminine appearance. As Riddell (1989, p193) has argued in relation to school uniforms, “girls frequently parodied the accepted code of femininity”, for example by rolling up skirt hems, thus, my interviews with young women suggest that this parody can also occur in PE where an exposed body represents an overt signifier of a successful (or not) gendered identity. An emphasis on heterosexuality as a gender “rule” is further pronounced in young women’s PE behaviours, with Kiera’s quote (above) suggesting that manipulating one’s PE kit is primarily “to impress the boys”. During my interviews, young men did not identify judging their female peers during PE, thus this example presents a further instance of a fear of male gaze regulating young women’s relationship with their gendered identity.

This section has considered how PE practices (of changing room behaviours and PE kits) reinforce what constitutes a gender-appropriate body. The peer-policing which appears endemic in Schools 1 and 2 in changing rooms paints a very negative picture of how young people can understand their physically active body in PE. Some progress has been made when schools have allowed young women to wear leggings as an alternative to shorts/skorts, highlighting that even small changes that reduce the potential for peer-policing can positively influence how young women engage with being physically active. The following section builds on the idea of PE reinforcing gender norms by considering

how gendered curricula and the organisation of PE lessons further constructs gender as based on difference, where male bodies are presumed as “better” within the field of PE.

STRUCTURE OF PE REINFORCES IDEOLOGY OF DIFFERENCE

This section discusses the way in which the broader practices of PE, including gendered curricula and the structure of PE lessons, influence how young people understand their embodied physical capabilities. In all three schools, PE curricula are heavily gendered, with different sports and activities on offer for boys’ and girls’ PE. These different curricula reinforce stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity and organise perceptions of ability along very gendered, and hierarchical lines, where boys’ PE is believed as superior. Gorely et al. (2003, p443) write that “a gender-relevant physical education would need to destabilise both stereotypical femininities and masculinities if the physical empowerment of all young people is to be possible”. Yet evidence in my research suggests that entrenched structures and ways of “doing” PE continue to reproduce inequalities and prevent an empowered sense of physicality. Young people are aware of the inequalities of gendered curriculums:

...you’re brought up in a school PE environment in a way that idolises netball as being a sport for girls, and sports like football being a sport for boys, whereas in reality, it shouldn’t be, but boys aren’t given the opportunity to try other sports out, and girls aren’t given the opportunity too.
(Gary, School 2)

This quote demonstrates how young people are aware that their participation in certain sports is pre-determined, often with little opportunity to challenge these norms. Building on from the development of gender-appropriate sports as discussed in Chapter 8, PE reproduces and reinforces dominant views about what are “right” activities for boys’ and girls’ PE. These beliefs operate as doxic knowledge, with inequality in PE provision often justified with stereotypes:

We’ve always wanted to try rugby but we’ve never had the chance to do it [in PE], but the lads have...I’ve spoken to one of our assistant heads about this, and they say that it’s health and safety. But there are ways around that, because there are women playing professional rugby, so it’s obviously not

that dangerous... that's what the teacher said to me, which is weird because there aren't any health and safety reasons, if that's the case then the boys shouldn't be allowed to play either. (Kiera, School 1)

PE has historically developed based on traditional views of women in sport as inferior and lacking compared to men (Evans, 2006; Evans & Penney, 2008; Gorely et al., 2003; Scraton, 1992; Wright, 1996b). If the circumstances behind Kiera's quote are "true", this is a striking indicator that stereotypical views which differentiate between the capabilities of men and women still permeate how school senior management understand athletic and gendered bodies. This section therefore adds to the body of knowledge which has shown the development of PE based on traditional gender stereotypes by considering the consequence of these beliefs on how young people understand their gendered physical capacities.

However, despite the traditional stereotypes on which gender segregated curricula are based, for young women at Schools 1 and 2, their PE lessons are often characterised by "trying" many different activities. This approach is based on a perspective that by exposing young women to different sports they are more likely to find an activity that they wish to continue to engage with outside of school. The variety of sports within girls' PE identified during interviews included netball, tennis, hockey, badminton, hoola-hooping, walking, dance, cheerleading, benchball, rounders, or circuit training. In contrast, male interviews only identified football, rugby and table tennis as sports participated in during compulsory PE lessons¹³. These examples demonstrate a perception that girls' PE is more varied (Wright, 1996b), and can provide more opportunities for young women to challenge traditional stereotypes about sporting participation. This finding differs from previous research which addressed sporting opportunities. The Girlguiding (2016, p3) *Girls' Attitudes Survey* reports that "only 43 percent of girls aged 11–21 say they have the same choice as boys at school in sport and exercise". Interview

¹³ These sports reflect young people's perceptions of the sports on offer. Ethnographic data from both Schools 1 and 2 showed that other sports were on offer, e.g. yearly plan of sports/activities for each year group displayed on the noticeboard. This perception of opportunities is, however, important to illustrate the variety assumed within girls' PE.

data from Schools 1 and 2 challenges this, suggesting that young women have more choice, but not necessarily a choice of the same sports as young men.

The issue of choice and agency becomes interesting as to how young people relate to PE. Often within an established PE curricula, young people do not have a choice in the activities they can participate in. Activities are usually chosen by teachers, and some young women disliked this lack of agency: “you’re told what sports we’re going to do and there’s no say... because everyone has different interests, you never get the chance to vote [on what you want to do], it’s like you’re dictated to” (Alice, School 1). This indicates how a lack of agency in PE can be detrimental for ownership of one’s athletic body. Women in Sport’s (2016) *Changing the Game for Girls* report demonstrated that young women can feel empowered when they are consulted on what they want to do in PE, with some girls experiencing PE positively for the first time as a result. My data demonstrates that more still needs to be done to challenge stereotypical assumptions and create an engaging and relevant PE curriculum for young people. Traditional sports, e.g. netball for girls, appears an unpopular “choice” within PE curricula. This poses significant problems when traditional sports constitute much of the PE curriculum, as at School 3: “girls aren’t given choice [of activity in PE/games]. And even when we’ve asked to be able to try rugby or cricket, we can’t because the girls’ sports teacher says it isn’t allowed” (Chantel, School 3); and “they [female PE teachers] thought that if the girls wanted to play rugby then there wouldn’t be enough for netball or hockey” (Pippa, School 3). The traditional focus of PE curricula reinforces dominant perception of gender-appropriate sports and creates a rigid definition of what “acceptable” sports participation is for these young women. To this extent, young women who do enjoy PE are often Othered, leading to negative PE experiences: “I like being competitive, but the thing I don’t like about PE is that everyone else couldn’t care less” (Ruth, School 2); and “some of the other girls, they like to not take part...and if you genuinely enjoy yourself [in PE] or want to take part, then they judge you for that” (Mia, School 2). Competition,

often associated with masculinity, is viewed as deviant when embodied by young women. Participation in PE for young women, is therefore only “allowed” when done in a feminine “way”. The consequent “rules” of girls’ PE are for young women *not* to participate, and through peer-policing, these “rules” are embedded in how many young women experience PE.

In contrast, masculine sports, primarily football and rugby union, dominate boys’ PE curricula. An emphasis on traditional team sports which has become the norm, shows how the PE habitus is difficult to change (Brown & Aldous, 2015). The dominance of traditional sports in boys’ PE is not uniformly liked: “there’s a lot of football in boys PE, and I don’t enjoy that” (Cameron, School 2). The association between football or rugby union, as dominant male sports, and masculinity, are reinforced through the monopolisation of PE time spent on these activities. Within the game of gender, where the hierarchy of sports rewards successful football and rugby players with social capital, the consistency of traditional team games within the gendered habitus remains unchallenged. The reproduction of PE discourse legitimises hegemonic masculinity and the gender order in PE (Brown, 1999). Young men identified wanting greater opportunities to try new sports:

[PE] is good because it forces us to do physical activity like every week. But I think there should be more options. Like right now there is only rugby, cricket or rowing [for boys], and there should be more sports, like football or other sports...I think that the teachers and people taking PE mainly do those sports and they were brought up to do those sports... (Shaun, School 3)

By PE teachers replicating the sports and curricula that they were taught, enjoyed, and excelled at, the content of boys’ PE does not change and becomes increasingly resistant to alternative representations of male bodies (Brown, 1999; Brown & Aldous, 2015). Despite this, many young men spoke positively of women trying male sports, but ignored the possibility of males trying traditionally female sports (Hargreaves, 1994; Wright, 1996a): “women can try a male sport if they wanted” (Kyle, School 3), yet his omission of males trying female sports is telling. This demonstrates less opportunities and variety

for boys' PE, but there is also less willingness for young men to challenge the dominance of traditional team sports as masculine.

By constructing boys' and girls' PE as separate, a hierarchy is reproduced which positions the male sporting body as superior and further demonstrates how male sporting superiority has become entrenched taken-for-granted knowledge (as discussed in Chapter 8). To this extent, ingrained ideas which position female sport as inferior permeate how young people understand their own and others' potential: the power of these ingrained norms is demonstrated by William (School 1) who states that "I don't want to be sexist but girls kind of ruin sport, like when we were playing football...". Thus, through the habitus which operates within the field of PE and sport, traditional notions of sporting norms are reinforced which prevents young people challenging these assumptions. The doxic and taken-for-granted knowledge within the habitus becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy in the field of PE. Conforming to expected gendered behaviours reifies an ideology of difference which celebrates male sporting success and underplays the contribution of sport to a "successful" female identity.

The gendered habitus, which influences how young people view their own gendered sporting (and physical) potential has contributed to the development of boys' and girls' PE as different. This difference has negative connotations for how young people view their potential to participate in PE lessons. The structure and organisation of PE lessons contributes to how sport is (or is not) integral to a person's sense of identity. An important consideration is the way official discourse (Bourdieu, 1989), which reflects the point of view of the institution, is viewed as legitimate. Through PE pedagogy which (re)creates a perception of difference, there is a risk that this can become "official" and legitimised within collective experiences of young people.

Extensive research has been conducted on the structural organisation of PE, as to whether lessons should be conducted in mixed-sex, single-sex or ability-set groups (Engel, 1994;

Evans, 2006; Wright, 1997). Rather than enter this complex debate, this section considers the structure of PE from the perspective of young people, highlighting the potential consequences of PE organisation on how young people understand their physical capabilities. Across all interviews, there was no consensus on whether PE should be taught in mixed- or single-sex classes: “there’s so many negatives [to mixed-sex PE] but there’s so many positives too” (Phillip, School 1). However, consensus was identified in relation to PE classes split based on ability. This primarily occurred at School 1, where two “top-sets” were created of the top male and top female performers, and a third mixed-sex lower ability group. The young people in this bottom group clearly understood their position in relation to their embodied sporting performance: “We’re in the mixed group because we’re rubbish at sport, the less *able* ones. [In PE] I feel that everyone is watching you and judging you and stuff, judging our ability... PE should stand for *Public Embarrassment*” (Freddie, School 1, his emphasis). This is a very strong illustration of the visibility of inability which can occur in PE. In researching older adolescents, my data provides evidence to support Hunter’s (2004) conclusions with younger children, which suggested that PE can teach young people as much about what they *can’t* do as well as what they *can* do. Freddie’s very eloquent reconfiguration of the abbreviation of PE symbolises the extent to which the current organisation of PE is a negative reminder of his own physical potential. By highlighting his own weaknesses in PE, Freddie’s physical ability differs from what is expected of young men within the “rules” of gender, and leaves him marginalised both within the subject which expects him to act in a certain way, and from his peers by whom he feels judged. Freddie’s experience emphasises the importance of remaining cognizant that PE does not benefit *all* males, which is often an implicit assumption when previous research has typically focused on the “problem” of girls’ PE (e.g. Mitchell et al., 2015; Women’s Sport and Fitness Foundation, 2012).

Building on the negative consequences of the body being exposed in PE, young people appear *hyper*-aware of what they can/cannot achieve. The organisation of PE and the

peer-policing which occurs during “normal” PE pedagogic practices can increase feelings of insecurity and tension for young people:

I don't like PE in school, but I like exercise...I don't have much self-confidence and with social anxiety and that, they run really high in PE...when everyone looks at you, everyone is focusing on you when you get pulled up to do a demonstration or something. Just having someone stare at you, it makes you so much more aware of what you're doing. (Jill, School 2)

This quote highlights that young people can feel threatened by PE, because “it’s really obvious how good or bad you are” (Anna, School 1). The structure of PE therefore reinforces expected gendered behaviour and produces a very visible dichotomy between those who are “good” at PE, and those who are not. This demonstrates a fundamental tension between what PE aims to achieve and the pedagogical practices which occur. Both academics and practitioners suggest that a primary purpose of PE is to increase physical activity levels and facilitate young people to develop lifelong active participation (Curtis et al., 1999; Hill, 2015a; Penney & Jess, 2004). However, through PE rewarding sporting excellence and ability over other indicators of attainment (Croston & Hills, 2017; Evans & Penney, 2008), such as effort, persistence or commitment, PE reproduces a very narrow definition of a successful male and female body.

When facing pressure to maintain a gender-appropriate appearance, some young people identified choosing to withdraw their effort and engagement in PE. As Walseth et al. (2017) have shown, by not engaging in PE, young women can avoid failure which highlights their lack of ability. Extending this idea to include an awareness that some young men also withdraw effort to maintain appearance, Alfie (School 3) talks about his withdrawal from engaging in sport to avoid failing. This demonstrates similarity to Jackson’s (2002) self-worth protection strategy in that, by withdrawing from participation, Alfie is suggesting his lack of ability is due to a lack of effort, *not* because he genuinely lacks natural ability: “I dislike partaking in [sport]...I don’t enjoy the effort you have to put in which doesn’t equal what I get back.” More often however, young women discussed how they change their behaviour in PE lessons to present a more

feminised and idealised gendered identity, thus abiding by gender “rules” more explicitly: “[if boys are there] I change what I do. Like I won’t be as, like put myself into what I was doing as much as if I were just with the girls, I’d hold back” (Pippa, School 3). Holding something back is a concept which Clark and Paechter (2007) found with younger girls in relation to football, suggesting that effort is censored by peer relationships. The relation between the presence of boys and the withdrawal of effort illustrates the way in which young women fear judgement and peer-policing by young men:

...sometimes girls act worse with their sport just to impress the boys. We were playing rounders with the boys today, and there were loads of girls who were capable of catching the ball, but they wouldn’t, they just screamed and ran away, kind of like, so that the boys would seem more masculine, and they would think they’re better [at sport] ...it puts a lot of pressure on me too, you don’t want to look like over the top when everyone else isn’t trying. (Kate, School 2)

This quote demonstrates the power of gendered norms in directing socially appropriate behaviours. By withdrawing effort and ability, young women can be seen to be willingly undermining their own potential, and the progress towards gender equality, to impress young men. This consequently reproduces taken-for-granted norms in which sporting success is viewed as predominantly male. Using Bourdieu’s concept of capital (Bourdieu, 1984), if little social capital is allocated to “sporty” young women, gender capital is only possible through reducing one’s abilities to stereotypical notions of heterosexual desire and emphasised femininity.

The structures and practices of PE have been shown in this section to negatively impact on how young people understand their own embodied potential. By withdrawing effort, young women are simultaneously reproducing gender “rules”, which is dangerous in recreating a hierarchy where masculinity is presumed superior to femininity.

Furthermore, any potential challenge to sporting gender “rules” is unlikely. Without challenging how gender is constructed within PE, the PE habitus is likely to continue to reproduce traditional notions of difference and inequality. The consistency and clarity through which gender “rules” are reproduced in PE suggests that a young person’s

gendered habitus continues to influence how traditional representations of masculinity and femininity are internalised and embodied across all fields, including PE and wider educational fields in schools.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The practices and ethos of a school, coupled with specific activities in PE, contribute to the development of a gendered sporting habitus for young people. This chapter has explicitly contributed to addressing RQ1 and RQ2, focusing on the impact of sport on gendered identities and the school as a social institution which can reproduce gender norms. In addressing RQ1, the pervasiveness of gender “rules” means that these normative expectations of masculinity and femininity apply within PE. These “rules” reinforce what is viewed as “acceptable” behaviours for young men and women in PE lessons, encouraging conformity. Tension exists for young people whose gendered identity differs from what constitutes an able and “successful” body in PE; and for these young people, PE represents an area of their school life which is difficult and troubling. For RQ2, using Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and doxa, the hidden curriculum (Gordon et al., 2001; Popkewitz, 1997) becomes part of an individual and collective habitus to direct the actions, perceptions and behaviours of those individuals within the school environment. The hidden curriculum explains how school practices reinforce gender “rules”, and this chapter has explored how the positioning of male sport as superior has become implicit in the practices of these three schools. Consequently, young people internalise messages within their gendered habitus and learn that participation in sport and PE are viewed as integral to a male identity, and not for a female. Through PE curricula based on presumed differences between males and females, young people understand gender “rules” as operating as doxic, taken-for-granted, and unchallenged knowledge. Within the field of PE, peer-policing reinforces behaviours which mirror conventional gender “rules”, which emphasise sport for young men, and encourage withdrawal for females.

Arguably this chapter has painted a negative view of the state of PE in the three schools researched. Many young people do not engage positively with PE. This chapter supports the finding of Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (2012) which suggests that over half of young women are put off physical activity because of their PE experiences. However, this is not solely a female phenomenon, and some young men in my study also expressed negative beliefs about PE. At Schools 1 and 2 some progress has been made to improve young women's PE experiences by adapting PE kit rules to include leggings. This change was universally well received; however, the question remains as to how to make boys' PE as inclusive and supportive for young men whose bodies may not fit the gendered expectations of masculinity. Historically, it has been girls' PE which has been problematised (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Fagrell et al., 2012; Oliver & Kirk, 2016), and whilst this emphasis has been beneficial for increasing awareness of how to improve the provision of girls' curricula, the assumption is that *all* girls are disaffected, and *all* boys have a positive relationship with PE. This chapter has shown that experiences of PE are not homogenous, and the development of separate curricula is indicative of the wider systemic PE problem which assumes homogeneity in experiences of boys as different to the experiences of girls.

CHAPTER 10: THE LIVED IDENTITY: CONSTANT IDENTITY MAINTENANCE THROUGH THE GENDERED HABITUS

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have explored the game of gender (specifically Chapter 6), suggesting that young people abide and follow “rules”, using these to present a gendered identity which they believe can accrue social capital. This chapter builds on this argument to explore how perceptions of these gender “rules” influence how young people manipulate and control their appearance to present a coherent and intelligible gendered identity. This chapter explores how for young people, the presentation of the “correct” identity occurs in both “physical” and “virtual” fields: within school physical environments, and the online field of social media. This chapter explicitly demonstrates how the fields of schooling and media overlap for young people, whereby capital in one field is transferrable and realised in another.

As this thesis has explored, the development of a gendered identity is strongly related to the potential for gendered bodies to accrue capital, with this directly relating to social status within the immediate social field in which the young person inhabits. As Bourdieu (1984) outlined, distinction occurs in three spheres: food, culture and presentation. The gendered identity of young people in this study primarily considers the sphere of presentation, and this is conceptualised as the way in which young people present elements of their gendered identity to others. Bourdieu (1985, p727) argued that “[t]he work of representation...[is how agents] impose their view of the world or the view of their own position in this world – their social identity”. The “acquired, permanent and generative dispositions” within one’s gendered habitus (Bourdieu, 1990, p290) demonstrate how gender “rules” which permeate how young people understand appropriate behaviours of men and women, influence how one’s representation can

signify allegiance to these dominant expectations, thus forming one's social, and gendered, identity.

Integral to the development of a coherent and identifiable gendered identity is the peer expectation that young people “fit in” with the norms of their (classed) social field. This chapter therefore supports the statement made by the Girlguiding (2016, p6) *Girls' Attitudes Survey*, which states that “[f]rom a young age girls are worried about fitting in”; my findings extend this to suggest that this is not solely a female issue, and young men too feel pressure to conform to dominant gender “rules”. This is summarised by Sam (School 1) who suggests that “being accepted is all anyone really wants, because if you're accepted then you feel safe, you're not isolated from anybody, you're not being judged...”. If young people feel compelled to “fit in”, and to do this requires presenting an identity which is valued and rewarded, young people may continue to feel “trapped” in replicating the gendered “rules” which permeate their social field. The “rules” of the game of gender therefore become standards which these young people strive to meet. As Chapter 6 discussed, young people have learned and internalised the “rules” of gender within their habitus through socialisation and experience. This sense of learning the “rules” which govern how young people present their gendered self is highlighted by Harriet (School 3) who suggested that when she moved schools and started attending the private school, that “here is so much more posh than my old school so I had to learn etiquette”. In considering etiquette as indicative of unwritten rules and an understanding of *how* to act and behave, one's habitus accommodates new social fields, reflecting the interplay of class to influence how young people understand and embody gender. This exploration of being “trapped” into conforming to the “rules” of the game of gender will be explored through two fields in which young people demonstrate their gendered identity: the “physical” field of interpersonal relationships within schooling, and the “virtual” field of online social media interactions.

PRESENTATION OF THE “CORRECT” IMAGE

In relation to one’s gendered identity, the body becomes the vessel upon which one’s outward identity is often viewed. As Chapter 5 demonstrated, these young people’s understanding of gender centres on an ideology of difference, where a male body is viewed as being “naturally” different to a female one, and this difference is reflected in how gendered expectations influence gendered identities (Huppertz, 2012b). Being able to present the “correct” image is associated with the possibility of accruing social and gender capital. Hauge (2009) identified that girls use their bodies and present themselves in ways which constitutes themselves as intelligible. There is the assumption that only girls use and exploit the sexuality and attractiveness of their bodies (Thorpe, Toffoletti, & Bruce, 2017), yet this section considers how *both* young men and women are cognizant of how they present their bodies, and often engage in practices to regulate how their gendered identity is seen by others. In similarity to Chapter 6 which demonstrated examples of tactics which young people used to exploit and manipulate their gendered identities, this section considers how some young people can change elements of their identities to “fit in” and receive external validation for their gendered identity. These actions and behaviours are indicative of symbolic struggles (Bourdieu, 1989), through which by manipulating one’s outward image, an individual can influence their position in social space because the accrual of capital positions one’s body within the adolescent social hierarchy. This represents a struggle because some young people might *want* to resist the rules and perceived obligations of the “correct” gendered body, but struggle to ameliorate this resistance with a broader desire to “fit in”.

In keeping with the broader concept of gender functioning as a game for these young people, the school milieu represents a primary social environment/field in which the game is played. The influence of the school environment to regulate behaviours and how young people relate to their own gendered identity is expressed by Caroline (School 3), when, in a discussion about her appearance and her behaviours to get ready to go out,

suggested, “it’s only school where I’m bothered about [how I look] now, and that’s because I’m with the same people for the whole day, every day, you can’t escape”. This is indicative of a feeling of being “trapped” in the gendered expectations which are normalised within school situations, and suggests that the consequences of *not* fitting in with the dominant image are exacerbated when at school compared to other fields. The way in which many young men and women desire to change their gendered bodies to align with prevalent stereotypes, demonstrates the pervasiveness of the taken-for-granted gender norms within the habitus. For young men, the desire is for their bodies to be bigger (and through an implicit association, more stereotypically masculine), and for young women, the aspiration is to be thinner to greater comply with stereotypical emphasised femininity. This demonstrates how the traditional gender stereotypes identified in Chapter 5 are experienced by these young people.

For young men, the desire to be bigger emphasises the way in which the male body is expected to demonstrate strength and virility, suggesting that a small body is viewed as lacking by comparison. Budgeon (2003) highlights that bodies are part of the negotiation of self-identity, and behaviours which attempt to change the body are examples of how young people are negotiating their identity. As Nick (School 3) confesses, “I feel like I’m really small and I want to be taller, it’d look better...I’d be more confident, more popular because I’d have ended up being a better rugby player”. This quote demonstrates how, firstly, the emphasis on body size is related to feelings of self-worth and confidence, where a body which more closely aligns with dominant perceptions of a “successful” male body is believed by young men as beneficial. Furthermore, the connection Nick draws between body and sporting prowess further emphasises the way in which the male sporting body is assumed superior through its accrual of social capital. The relationship between the male body, masculinity and capital is emphasised by Connor (School 2), who explains that his friends “were the very sporty ones, the very masculine people. And that kind of made me want to increase my masculinity, to fit in, to feel I was one of them,

socially accepted”. A masculine body therefore represents a form of social currency for these young men, to be exchanged for social capital. These young people therefore explain the need to “fit in” on two interconnected levels – to fit in socially with their friends, but simultaneously with socially constructed norms which regulate what a male body *should* be. The benefits of conforming and fitting in with the norms of a group are explained by Bourdieu (1998) who suggests that groups can positively acknowledge those who adhere to the group, and this acknowledgement leads to an awareness of the benefits of fitting in. Contrary to the findings of Gillen and Lefkowitz (2006) who found that only 24 percent of male university students wanted to be bigger (compared to 41% who wanted to be smaller), the qualitative findings of this study are more aligned with those of Hill (2015b) by suggesting that younger men have a greater desire to be bigger in order to conform to dominant rules of masculinity.

In contrast to the way that these young men wish to increase their size and physicality, the young women expressed an awareness of the need to conform to gender rules which specify that women should be thin and attractive. As highlighted in Chapter 6, these pressures can lead to negative health behaviours and ToD in young women. Yet many young women valued attractiveness and normalised often unhealthy behaviours designed to increase female attractiveness and slimness (e.g. extreme dieting). The normalisation of deviant eating behaviours suggests that gender “rules” are a pervasive part of how these young women present their gendered identity. Carly (School 1) refers to the constant burden of gender “rules” whereby “there’s always that pressure to be skinnier and prettier”, and Vicky (School 1) explains:

[I] feel like I need to lose weight, or I need to style my hair in a certain way, or wear makeup. And they’re not really things I want to do, but they’re things I feel I have to do in order to be like these people I admire.

Through an awareness of the “rules” of gender, coupled with a sense of *illusio* in relation to the benefits of playing the game, these quotes illustrate how gender norms which promote attractiveness as integral to femininity are reified and reproduced in the

behaviours of these young women. By feeling that they need to change aspects of their embodied appearance, the internalisation of traditional gender norms is detrimental to allowing young people to demonstrate agency in their gendered appearance. The value placed on external validation linked to peer-policing demonstrates how young people may feel required to more closely approximate dominant and stereotypical representations of masculinity and femininity which function through the presumed sex binary.

In considering agency, differing opinions were voiced by young people in presenting their gendered identity. Some suggested a feeling of choice should be possible to allow them to decide who they want to be, whilst others referred to a “have” or “must”, denying individual agency in their embodied representation. In this context, agency can be considered as relating to an individual’s perception of options within one’s habitus, linked to the perceived costs or benefits of presenting an identity which challenges socially constructed gender norms. For those individuals who suggested there should be a choice in how they could present their gendered identity, this was voiced in terms of limits of possibility. Ethan (School 3) suggests that “there’s always peer pressure to change how you look, but I think lots of people are gullible, but you don’t want to be a sheep and follow everyone else, I think you should do what you want to do”. Ethan highlights that many young people “follow everyone else”, reaffirming stereotypical gendered identities as valued. If peers and significant others are playing the game and following gender “rules”, pressure for young people to follow these behaviours is likely. Furthermore, Sam (School 1) explored the desire for individuality to prevail, rather than an oppression by stereotypes:

It’s like trying to battle the stereotype because you’re trying to find out who you are, but you have all these stereotypes being pushed in your face and you’re trying to feel comfortable at not fitting into these stereotypes which are constantly being pushed down your throat.

This quote demonstrates the pressure that dominant stereotypes exert on young people. A wish to “find out who you are” chimes with broader notions of adolescence, often conceived as a period of exploration and self-invention (Stern, 2008; Williams, 2002). However, the power of gender “rules” is expressed as an external weight which limits individual expression for fearing “not fitting into” what is expected of young people. A lack of agency is suggested in relation to women wearing makeup: “girls do it because it’s the norm, not because they have the natural inclination” (Luke, School 1), and “...if [girls] want to be popular, they’re stuck in having to look a certain way” (Greg, School 1). As Chapter 6 showed, young women are often motivated to promote their feminised identity because of the opinions and judgement of their male peers. These quotes by young men therefore indicate how male expectations can influence what is commonly understood as “normal” behaviour for young women. Consequently, there appears a perception of *must* for girls to wear makeup, and the word “stuck” is indicative of the way that there is often no way out of the game of gender. Through the *illusio* and benefits of young people playing the game of gender and abiding by gender “rules”, participation in the game of gender limits opportunities for young people to demonstrate agency.

Consequently, many young people are “trapped” by gendered expectations which limit the possible available gendered options within one’s habitus. As Adams (2006, p515) suggests, “fields limit what we can do, make some actions more possible than others...but there is often an opportunity to ‘play the game’ in more than one way”. This argument shows that for these young people, their social field (considered in this PhD in relation to school) dictates, through broader social norms and rules, what is acceptable behaviour. The stereotypical “rules” of gender which exert pressure on young people exemplify the limitations on behaviour which characterise the field. Furthermore, Adams’ (2006) quote touches on playing a game; young people can vary how they play the game, choosing when and how to comply with gendered expectations, which can often produce contradictory representations of identity. This act of choosing how and when to play the

game is demonstrated by Shaun (School 3) in relation to his own gendered identity performance, who states that “it gets tiring trying to pretend, sometimes you have to pretend to be someone else... because that’s what most people expect, so you have to do it, so you fit in and people accept you”, and by Caroline (School 3) who suggests that “you feel you have to make stuff up to try and fit in”. These quotes demonstrate how young people can give an illusion of conforming to gender norms, and do this to accrue the associated benefits, but are arguably exploiting their knowledge of what the “rules” expect. By pretending and creating edited versions of their identity, these young people are manipulating the “rules” of the game to present a gendered identity which is positioned in accordance with gendered expectations that they *know* are valued and rewarded within their social field.

A recurring trend for young people manipulating their gendered identity to “fit in” was identified through young people presenting an image of themselves publicly which differed from their more “private” self. As Caroline suggests above, to “make stuff up” is indicative of complying with gender norms and presenting oneself in a way which more closely aligns with the dominant ideals of a “successful” gendered identity. Changing aspects of oneself arguably leads to the creation of an inauthentic version presented for external validation. Interviews were littered with examples of young people changing for others: “I feel like you have to be someone else to try to fit in, a few people in our year, I don’t talk to them, because that’s what they’re like, fake” (Leah, School 1); and “sometimes you make stuff up about yourself so that there’s no weakness there... I know people who have made stuff up, that they’ve done this or that, just so people start to respect them more” (Gary, School 2). These examples suggest there are tensions between how young people want their identity to be, and how they feel they *should* be within the field. A contradiction therefore exists between competing identities for some young people (Valentine, 2000). The power of the game of gender is evidenced when young people change aspects of themselves, for the “rules” regulate what are viewed as

“acceptable” gendered identities. Through capital being allocated to gendered identities which mirror traditional representations of masculinity and femininity (Chapter 5 and 6), these dominant gendered identities are reified and naturalised, reducing opportunities for young people to “experiment” with alternative gendered identities.

The consistency with which these young people discussed a need to “fit in” and conform to dominant expectations of gendered appearance indicates the way young people are influenced by the collective habitus. As discussed in Chapter 6, young people with social capital in the form of status and popularity can create the standards to which other young people feel measured against. Consequently, these standards form part of a collective habitus, and through conforming to the norms of the social group (Bottero, 2010), young people “want to fit in because it’s nice to be around people who you feel the same as, so you kind of feel normal” (Cameron, School 2). Young people’s actions and desires to “fit in” with the expectations of their collective habitus ensures that the habitus remains consistent and congruent to the demands of the field (Adkins, 2003), as Max (School 2) states in relation to individuals who may challenge binary notions of gender, “I don’t think people like different”. Resultantly, through the *illusio*, these young people are caught up in the game of gender through a belief that their behaviour *must* match the requirements of the field, creating a consistent habitus. However, some examples existed where young people could see beyond their current field, and were not completely taken in with conforming to the rules of the game of gender. For instance, Jo (School 1), a black young woman in a very white, working-class environment (according to the 2011 Census, the population of black people in the local area is 0.1%) identified:

I was born in London, and then because everyone here is from [local town] or [local town], I think that makes me very different from most people...I’m starting to realise now that the people I know now, I probably won’t know in five years’ time, so it’s important I do things for me, and not what other people want me to be.

This quote illustrates that Jo is potentially more sensitive to different (and racialised) aspects of her identity, and can see a game beyond the immediate game in which she

finds herself, valuing her future over her present. Accordingly, her behaviours are less dependent on meeting the dominant requirements of appearance and self-presentation as she identifies only a limited benefit from conforming – rather, her emphasis is on her future trajectory. This is an example where one’s habitus does not match the field in which it operates, and rather than causing discomfort for Jo, her perspective indicates that she is not limited by her immediate field of school, and delays her involvement in the game of gender, waiting to play a game where she values the result. This experience was also found with some students at School 2; when asked whether he was bothered by what his peers thought of him, Dylan replied, “I also take into account that in five years’ time, I’ll barely know any of these people!”. These quotes demonstrate a temporality to the habitus, and suggest that engagement in the game of gender is dependent on young people viewing their participation as beneficial. For these young people, their behaviours are not limited by the social field in which they find themselves, supporting the claim that self-awareness can lead to increased agency with choosing *when* and *how* one conforms to gender “rules”.

This section has explored instances when young people change or enhance aspects of their gendered identity to “fit in” and conform to dominant expectations within the field of schooling. Within this, emphasising elements of traditional forms of (white) masculinity and femininity become important for demonstrating that their gendered habitus is congruent with the requirements of the social field which rewards traditional gendered identities. A discussion of agency has shown how some young people would like the freedom to present their individual self, yet the dominant position is one where young people are increasingly pressurised through a perception of being “trapped” into replicating the taken-for-granted gender norms of the habitus. This pressure exists in a “physical” sense in face-to-face interactions with others, and this is also mirrored in the way that “virtual” selves, through social media are also regulated. The blurring of the “virtual” and the “physical” will be explored in relation to the way that there is no “down

time” for young people in their presentation of the self: face-to-face interaction in school is supplemented by social media interaction which can occur at any time.

CONSTANT IDENTITY MAINTENANCE – SOCIAL MEDIA

This section considers the role of the “virtual” in the construction of young people’s gendered identities. The use of social media has developed exponentially in recent years, and these sites have a significant cultural resonance with young people (boyd, 2008). As a field, with its own rules and criteria for allocating social capital, social-media sites encounter tensions and struggles which legitimise certain gendered identities over others. Social-media posts represent an opportunity for young people to affirm their gendered identity and their corresponding proximity to gender “rules”. Important for the development and enactment of the gendered habitus is the permanent presence of social media (Perloff, 2014; Stald, 2008); whereby young people cannot escape from being able to access both their, and others’ online profiles. As Bourdieu (2001) identifies in *Masculine Domination*, vision is crucial for the identification of bodies and the relationship of those bodies to the expectations of an embodied gender. Facebook and Instagram (which were primarily identified as the main sites used by these young people) concentrate heavily on visual content which often features the body, demonstrating the importance of these sites for contributing to *how* young people construct their gendered identities. A prevailing concept of being “trapped” is further reinforced and experienced through social-media practices; as Bordo (2003, p16) writes, culture has a “direct grip” on our bodies through the bodily habits of everyday life. The (omni)-presence of social media in the lives of young people demonstrates how the online culture can reinforce what is acceptable for one’s gendered appearance and lead to these expectations being reified. In addressing these issues, this section considers how social-media usage is *active*, whereby young people know the “rules” which apply to them, and can manipulate their posts to maximise their congruence to gender norms; the relationship between social

media and “real life”; and the way that social media can reinforce dominant gender norms for young people.

Fundamental to the way in which young people’s engagement with social media is active is the way personal posts and photos are used to present the best version of the self. In applying Adkins’ (2003, p33) idea that gender can be “managed, strategically deployed and performed”, the active use of social media to select, edit and present images of the body is indicative of the strategic manipulation of one’s identity. As Max (School 2) outlines:

...you try to present the best version of yourself, like in normal life too. Why not? You want to be as good as you can be. So, if I took two pictures of me and one looked better than the other, I’d post the one that looked better.

This quote highlights the active engagement with identity whereby young people are piecing together the best aspects of themselves to present to the wider society (Willett, 2008). As Buckingham (2008) argues, identity is partly about what is shared with other people, and Max’s quote above highlights there is a conscious act of selecting the outward identity to be presented to others on social media. This links to the way that social media allows more control of the presentation of the self than in “real life”, for a temporal delay between the “physical” and “virtual” event allows young people to edit, manipulate and control their outward gendered identity through social media (Cruz & Meyer, 2012):

I think some other people might think they’d rather be perfect on social media because it’s easier that way, easier than in real life. Because you can control it more on social media, you can control who your friends are, but in real life you can’t control who you’re going to talk to or what they’re going to say. (Jake, School 2)

Because in [real] life, sometimes things happen that you can’t really control, like things might happen too fast, or too slow. But on social media, you’re in charge and can control what happens. (Shaun, School 3)

These quotes demonstrate how, for these young people, being able to manipulate one’s image and control what other people see is an important element to how they attempt to

position themselves in their social field. By choosing how to present one's "online" identity, maximising adherence to "rules" of gender reflecting binary notions of masculinity and femininity, this demonstrates how important embodied appearance is to accruing capital. Arguments made by Tiidenberg and Gómez Cruz (2015) and Buckingham (2008) suggest that social media can provide an opportunity for users to experiment with identities and challenge normative representations of idealised bodies. However, my research suggests that the power of taken-for-granted gender norms is reproduced through social-media posts, and consequently, active identity formation occurs, *but*, this is largely in-line with dominant representations of masculinity and femininity. Active and agential identity formation occurs because young people can control their online posts and images; however, autonomy in being able to choose the specifics of one's identity may be lacking because for many, their social-media profiles reflect dominant gender norms which leaves little opportunity for challenge.

As with any social field, the sub-field of social media contains its own rules and expected behaviours which compete for legitimacy. Within a field, "rules" predict and explain behaviour. Within young people's engagement with social media, interview data suggests a clear understanding of the implicit "rules" which govern what social-media posts *should* depict. Extending the ideas of Chapter 6 which explored what constitutes gender "rules", these "rules" operate within the field of social media, so that young people's behaviours reinforce dominant gender norms. Learning *how* to take a "good" photo demonstrates social-media competence, and by extension, a competent gendered identity. With gender norms being the standard against which young people are often measured, because these norms are viewed as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1984), employing tactics to enhance one's proximity to these norms becomes important. Some young people highlighted an awareness of using photographic tactics to meet gender norms:

...if you have a whole-body image...you have some set poses to make you look better. Like if it's a full body picture then I put one foot in front of the

other because if you just stand neutral then you look a bit weird. (Caroline, School 3)

I like to take a picture of landscapes rather than of people...because I don't know what angle, what light and stuff looks good [for people photos]. (Tony, School 3)

These quotes indicate how young people are aware of the implicit “rules” which can be used on social media. For Tony, his use of social media avoids a focus on the body because he lacks knowledge or awareness of the tactical skills which can enhance his gendered representation. Young people increasingly employ tactics to ensure that their engagement with social media meets dominant expectations: “people work out kind of tactics for getting more likes, so people even put on their Snapchat that people should go and like something they’ve put on Instagram” (Max, School 2); “people will put a picture on Instagram on a Sunday night before the week of school, [so that] then on Monday people might be talking about it” (Chantel, School 3); and “I wouldn’t put my photo on [social media] in the morning, I’d put it on in the evening. It’s something I always do...in the evening I know that everyone is on [social media] then, so they can like it” (Pippa, School 3). These quotes demonstrate the unwritten “rules” of social media which dictate and influence how young people engage with the technology. By changing how one engages with social media to get more “likes”, this use of tactics demonstrates the importance of being “successful” at the game of gender played on social media. These tactics further emphasise the active role that young people play in their “virtual” identity formation. Tactics and strategies emphasise the importance of “winning” on social media for how young people understand their sense of self.

As the quotes above highlight, accumulating “likes”, “followers” and “friends” on social media has become an important element to creating a “successful” online network (boyd, 2008; Buckingham, 2008; Schwarz, 2010). Through complying with gender “rules” on social media, interview data suggest that young people are motivated to display the “best” version of themselves, presenting this to outward scrutiny and judgement. Extending the discussion in Chapter 6 regarding peer-policing and surveillance, social media

exacerbates the potential for young people to feel judged by others because of their gendered bodies (Fardouly et al., 2015; Pritchard & Cramblitt, 2014). Capital is symbolically allocated through the status associated with having a greater number of “likes” and “followers”. This reinforces Shilling’s (2004) suggestion that the body has a crucial importance for the accumulation of any form of capital. The emphasis placed on receiving “likes” for a photo of one’s gendered body is explained by Alexa (School 1):

...on Instagram, people want “likes”, because the more popular people get like 100-200 “likes” on a photograph, and some people only get 30, so they’re seen as not as good. If a person doesn’t get 100 “likes” in a day, then they delete it.

The quantification of “likes” as a standard which equates with “success” demonstrates how, for these young people, the illusion of peer validation helps to symbolically legitimise one’s gendered identity. Young people’s social-media posts typically match socially constructed norms of masculinity and femininity, and through successfully presenting a gendered identity which is legitimated through “likes”, capital can be accrued “online” which translates into “physical” social hierarchies. As Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrated in relation to social norms influencing one’s status and popularity, social media also contributes to regulating those who are popular within the adolescent social field. As Phillip (School 1) explains:

...depending on how many “likes” you get on social media determines where you are in the social, like the popularity hierarchy. The more “likes” you get, then the better you’re seen as a person. Helen [another girl interviewed in this study] gets like 400 “likes” on her pictures...the people who get 20-30 “likes” aren’t seen as anywhere near as big of a deal as the others.

The severe consequence of not receiving “likes” or external validation of one’s online identity is summarised by Dylan (School 2) who, when asked what would happen if someone received no likes on a photo, replied, “I suppose that’s a bit of a failure”. The importance placed on receiving external validation demonstrates the fragility of a young person’s identity. boyd (2008) suggests that the teenage social identity is defined by both oneself and by others; however, the experiences of these young people indicate that

“likes”, which influence behaviour through changing how young people use social media tactically, means that external validation has greater importance. The emphasis on the body achieving social validation is emphasised by Chloe (School 2):

...with social media, you often can't put your personality out there so easily, so instead you use your body. And if you're not pretty then people who are looking for validation from other people [through "likes"] won't get it because people are attracted to stereotypically attractive people.

Social-media posts (particularly Instagram) strongly emphasise the body, and indicate the body's proximity to socially constructed taken-for-granted norms of gender which reflect masculinity and femininity as mapping onto male and female. Those who differ from these expected norms, using Chloe's analysis, cannot receive “likes” and corresponding symbolic and social capital. The rewarding of stereotypical gendered bodies on social media thus reinforces how young people understand what constitutes a “successful” or “unsuccessful” gendered body.

Social-media use by many of these young people reinforces dominant gender “rules” and perpetuates traditional norms of masculinity and femininity. Through social media, gender “rules” and norms are reinforced through the allocation of capital to “successful” images of idealised gendered bodies, limiting the potential for young people to challenge these norms. Accruing “likes” appears crucially important for these young people, and thus, images of individuality which challenges the doxic taken-for-granted assumptions of the gendered habitus are unlikely. Social-media behaviours help construct dominant gender norms, and chasing “likes” through the tactical use of social media consequently reproduces gender “rules” and creates a hierarchy of acceptable gendered bodies. Bird (1996) suggested that interactions which occur through socialisation reinforce existing self-notions of gender. This argument can be applied to social media: interactions in the form of “likes” reinforce what are viewed as appropriate and desirable gendered identities, which corresponds with gender norms in “real life”. The promotion and replication of one's identity on social media means that individuals can create a history of

who they are (or want to be), solidifying their image of identity (both for themselves, and others). External validation, achieved through “likes” for one’s gendered identity, over time can reify how young people engage with gender “rules”, becoming internalised as responsible for their social media “success”. The internalisation of gender “rules” which reflect gendered stereotypes, such as sporting prowess for males and aesthetic appearance for females, are promoted on social media and are consequently linked to social and symbolic capital. For instance, Claire (School 3) suggests that on social media, “girls will show off their new handbag. But the boys I follow on Instagram post pictures mainly of them with the rugby lads, like team photos or them actually playing sport”. Broader gender norms which promote sport for males are reflected in how young men use social media – social media represents a public forum for their sporting prowess. These differences in social media content between young men and women normalises the presumed gender differences, and further dictate what types of body are validated on social media.

The difference in engagement with social media between young men and women is further exacerbated when considering selfies. Avgitidou (2003) explains that self-portraits provide a medium to explore one’s identity through cultural stereotypes. Selfies provide an opportunity to present oneself how one wants to be seen by others, most often mirroring elements of stereotypical gendered characteristics (Schwarz, 2010). Selfies are seen by these young people as a predominantly female entity: “I’ve never seen a boy post a selfie” (Chloe, School 2); “you wouldn’t be seen to be masculine if all you did was put up [on social media] pictures of yourself” (Ethan, School 3); and “typically I would say girls post 60–90 percent selfies whereas boys will do like, none” (Luke, School 1). These quotes demonstrate the way in which self-validation through selfies, which traditionally focus on oneself in a self-promoting way, is constructed as a feminine behaviour. The assumption is therefore that young women need more external validation because of the requirement to meet social expectations of attractiveness: “girls take more selfies, photos

of themselves, because they feel pressurised to look good in them with makeup and things” (Connor, School 2). As a result, the gendered habitus which emphasises female attractiveness is reproduced through online behaviours which symbolically differentiate between how young men and women feel they should engage with social media. Interestingly, school and therefore class-based differences appear in relation to selfie use: young people at School 3 were vehemently against the use of selfies: “no, no, no, not me on my own” (Pippa, School 3); “I don’t put selfies on [social media], mostly just [photos] with friends” (Zara, School 3); and “I don’t put like only photos of myself [on social media]” (Nate, School 3). Whilst it is not clear what the reasons for this are, because selfies provide young people from Schools 1 and 2 with an obvious avenue to accrue social capital for their presentation of an embodied gender, the greater capital that students from School 3 have from other dimensions (principally economic and cultural) may negate the requirement for these students to “use their body” (Chloe, School 2) to accrue capital. This is an area of gendered presentation which could benefit from further exploration to ascertain the relationship between different forms of capital and social media use.

In accordance with Bourdieu’s (1984) development of capital, the allocation of capital in one field can be transferred and used in another. This applies to social media where young people identified a relationship between online status, achieved through “likes”, “friends” etc., and “real life” popularity: “[attention on social media] will give them more ‘likes’, more compliments, a higher status in school” (Jo, School 1); “it’s like a competition to see how many followers you can get, or how many ‘likes’...it’s viewed as a competition and from then on you’re put in a hierarchy of popularity” (Gary, School 2); and “people with loads of followers are popular” (Claire, School 3). This shows the power of social media in influencing wider lived experiences of young people. Holloway and Valentine (2003) suggested the “physical” world becomes incorporated into the “virtual” world, whereas the experiences of young people in my research instead

indicates a multi-dimensional relationship, where status and capital can be transferred both ways, showing a more complex understanding of how “physical” and “virtual” fields are interconnected and should not be considered as separate fields for how young people negotiate their gendered identities.

This section has explored how young people use social media to co-construct their gendered identities to supplement their identity work which occurs in the “physical” world. Through the constant access that young people have with social media, those interviewed in this study demonstrate that social-media norms reinforce and perpetuate dominant notions of acceptable male and female bodies in ways which represent a constant pressure on how young people present their identity. Young people are involved in an active creation of their online social identity; however, the pressure faced by these young people to present an online identity which matches dominant gender “rules” to accrue capital through “likes” and “followers”, may limit one’s actual sense of agency in choosing one’s identity. The creation of one’s identity remains active through editing, posing, or using camera “tricks” to get the best image, but this behaviour is not agential if the pressure to conform to broader social norms dictates these actions.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Young people are participants in a highly-pressurised identity game, and the presence of social media exacerbates this. This chapter has demonstrated that for these young people, presenting the “correct” image of oneself which conforms with broader gender “rules” carries significance through the allocation of social and symbolic capital. As Buckingham (2008, p5) writes, digital media “provide[s] young people with symbolic resources for constructing or expressing their own identities”, and the use of social media to display a coherent and consistent identity by the young people in this research supports this view. Through extending the idea that gender operates and is regulated through a game, the

field of social media incorporates broader gender “rules” through a focus on embodied appearances.

Capital is allocated to “successful” gendered bodies, and correspondingly, a focus on one’s outward identity becomes intensified. According to Davies (1989), identity should be consistent, and this idea still applies today and to the field of social media. This expectation places pressure on young people to present a coherent identity in the “physical” world and for this to be mirrored and reinforced in “virtual” spaces. Young people’s sense of being “trapped” in reproducing gender norms is reinforced through the blurring of the “physical” and “virtual”: for those young people who want to “fit in” and be accepted within the game of gender, pressure exists for them to present a gendered identity which conforms to traditional gender “rules”. Chapter 6 explored how gender capital is indicative of social position and status within the social field for young people; and this chapter has further emphasised the way in which young people often identify pressure to change aspects of how they present themselves to “fit in” and experience the benefits of succeeding at the game of gender. Importantly for how young people relate to their identities, “physical” and the “virtual” fields are inextricably interconnected whereby power and status in one can be translated and utilised in another. This suggests that a young person is limited by their identity in one sphere – because capital is transferred and realised across different “worlds” (fields), the legacy of one’s status and position is unlikely to differ between these fields. Young people identified that if one’s online self differs from the “real” gendered person, this is fake “and not an accurate representation of yourself. There’s no point making a fake person who isn’t you online” (Dylan, School 2). This highlights the lack of freedom that young people have to experiment and “try on” different identities. Through considering how young people are active agents in the creation of both their “virtual” and “physical” identities, this chapter has further explored the role of agency in how young people present their gendered selves. Taking use of Akram’s (2013) suggestion that choice in society does not always

mean one has a free choice of all options, the options available for young people caught up in the game of gender are limited to presenting a gendered identity which mirrors the taken-for-granted gender norms which are pertinent for these young people (as explored in Chapter 5). This chapter therefore supports an argument made by Hunter (2004, p176) in relation to reproduction in PE; that “acting as an agent may be mediated by influences that are beyond conscious realisation...agents may actually reproduce the very structures that limit them”. The tactical use of social media, or the way in which some young people change or amplify aspects of their identity to “fit in”, demonstrates how engagement in the game of gender cannot be universally viewed as being indicative of young people’s agency, and instead reproduces, through the gendered habitus, gender norms which “trap” young people into presenting a socially valued gendered identity.

In answering my research questions, this chapter specifically relates to RQ1 and 2. In considering the role of sport in how young people negotiate their sense of a gendered identity, the emphasis on sport within young men’s social media posts: e.g. new football boots, sporting action shots, or team photos; demonstrate how presenting the image of sport as part of one’s identity is a valued and respected behaviour for young men. In contrast, sport was not identified by young women as part of their preferred or chosen online identity, further marginalising the role of sport in how young women present their gendered identity to others. The inclusion of sport within young men’s social media histories further evidences the taken-for-granted association between men, masculinity and sport. Social media, therefore, provides a platform for young men to accrue capital through displaying their sporting prowess, reinforcing the “naturalness” of male sport in a “successful” gendered identity.

In relation to RQ2 and the role of the media in reproducing dominant representations of gender, social media provides a platform for young people to actively create gender. Yet, rather than challenging dominant perceptions of gender, young people’s engagement with social media instead reproduces taken-for-granted norms, and contributes to developing

and confirming the collective habitus. Through social media, the allocation of capital reinforces which representations of the gendered body are more legitimate. “Virtual” selves are translated and actualised in “physical” interactions through a transfer of capital, therefore norms about what constitutes acceptable gender become more heavily ingrained for these young people.

The game of gender has proved an important explanatory factor which influences how young people perform their gendered identities. The “rules” of gender operate across different social fields to influence and dictate which representations of masculinity and femininity can accrue social capital for young people. This chapter has demonstrated how these “rules” are followed, whereby young people can manipulate and edit their outward presentation of the self to “fit in” and conform to socially constructed gender norms. Through drawing a relationship between “virtual” and “physical” worlds, coupled with the relationship between sport, media and gender, young people are positioned in a gender game where dominant gender narratives contribute to the construction of certain identities as more legitimate than others.

PART 5: THE NEWS CONFERENCE

CHAPTER 11: THE CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This study has explored, documented and analysed the holistic and interconnected lived experiences of young people in relation to their understanding and performance of gender. Through a mixed-methods approach combining media analysis, questionnaires and interviews with young people from three demographically different schools in North East England, this study has explored how individual negotiations of gender are linked across different social fields, including schooling, sport, media and peer social relationships. The central crux of my thesis is that the young people in my research have internalised (classed) gender norms within their habitus, which have become taken-for-granted knowledge within the doxa and are left unchallenged. This often leads to young people being “trapped” in presenting a gendered identity which reinforces and reproduces dominant and stereotypical notions of the gender binary which mirror binary notions of sex. Young people’s engagement in, and relationship with, their active bodies through sport, PE or physical exercise is influenced by their gendered habitus which dictates possible behaviours, thoughts, tastes and dispositions regarding legitimate versions of the active (gendered) body.

Grounded in a Bourdieusian framework based on his theoretical concepts of habitus, field, capital, doxa and *illusio* (Bourdieu, 1984, 1989, 1990, 2001; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), this thesis contributes to the growing body of research which uses and applies Bourdieu’s ideas to current social phenomena. As Chapter 3 highlighted, it is important to view gender relations as happening not in isolation, but throughout society and societal interactions. Bourdieu’s field theory allows the consideration of overlapping and hierarchical fields (Bourdieu, 1990; Chambers, 2005; Dagkas & Quarmby, 2015; Kraus,

2006). The Bourdieusian framework therefore allows for a consideration of how gender operates across fields, considering the lived experiences of young people holistically across different social situations and milieu. The three primary fields which I have focused on in this study are those of schooling (both the physical space and the symbolic practices associated with “going to school”), media (both social and mass media) and sport. Within these three fields, the more generic field of peer relationships has been introduced to explore how representations of gender may differ – exacerbated, or underplayed – within individual fields. There are three main gaps in the current literature that my thesis has sought to fill: Firstly, Cicourel (1993) identified a distinct lack of the child in Bourdieu’s writing, recently supported by Messner and Musto (2014) who question “Where are the kids?” in sport sociological research. Secondly, within physical education research, there is a lack of studies which focus on young people aged 15–16. This period represents an important point in young people’s education – it signifies the last year of compulsory school-based education whereby after this point, compulsory opportunities to be active (during PE lessons) cease. The significance of exploring young people’s relationships with being active at this transition point is crucial for promoting active lifestyles which track into adulthood. The third point of originality targets the current trend in research to focus on the experiences of either young men or young women in school and PE as separate social groups. In considering the experiences of both young men and women, my research has explored how gender norms and “rules” work for young people in practice, noting instances of difference or overlap.

In addressing these gaps, my thesis has sought to answer three connected research questions:

1. What role does sport play in the ways young people negotiate their gendered identity?
2. What role do schooling and media messages play in reproducing gender norms for young people?

3. How does social class influence how young people understand sport and their gendered identity?

This conclusion chapter will synthesise my empirical findings to answer these three research questions, before discussing the theoretical and policy implications, highlight the limitations and make recommendations for future research.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

RESEARCH QUESTION 1: WHAT ROLE DOES SPORT PLAY IN THE WAYS YOUNG PEOPLE NEGOTIATE THEIR GENDERED IDENTITY?

This study has demonstrated that negotiation of one's gendered identity is complex, and at times contradictory. For many young people, tension exists to present a coherent and intelligible gendered identity publicly and to their peers which matches dominant representations of what are defined as "appropriate" characteristics of masculinity and femininity within their gendered and classed collective habitus. In answering this research question, I draw upon arguments presented across Chapters 5, 6 and 8 to consider how young people have developed a gendered habitus which reflect very traditional gender binaries, before considering how, through the game of gender, young people participate and perform their gendered identities.

Chambers (2005) and McNay (1999) identify that there can be no field of gender, for gender operates across many different fields. This conceptualisation of the gendered habitus has been a useful tool for exploring how gendered tastes, dispositions and behaviours are influenced by, and operate within, different struggles and structures of fields. As I have demonstrated, young people view the development of their gendered habitus as a result of socialisation, learned through "an accumulation of lots of different subliminal messages which you receive over your life" (Luke, School 1). These young people are questioning the assumption that we currently live in a post-feminist world, supporting both McRobbie (2007, 2011) and Pomerantz et al. (2013) in challenging this notion. Interview data has shown that these young people are negotiating their gendered

identities framed in a world of binaries and traditional expectations where maleness corresponds with masculinity and femaleness with femininity. Binary understandings of gender as oppositional and hierarchical were identified in all three schools, and form the background for young people identifying how they wish to perform and embody gender. These specific fields in which the young people reside contribute to a sense that they are “trapped” by gender norms which, through the allocation of capital to dominant representations of stereotypical masculinity and femininity, are reproduced and unchallenged.

By considering young people’s negotiations of gender as operating as a game, including “rules” (etiquette), referees and a scoring system which rewards those who closely approximate gender norms, this demonstrates how young people are active (to a degree) agents in how they present their gendered identity. Connell’s (1987, 2007; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) gender order is useful for demonstrating how the most valorised and hegemonic versions of masculinity and emphasised femininity are rewarded within the game, forming the basis of the “rules” for these young people. Whilst for many, the belief in the game (one’s *illusio*), based on an allodoxic belief that “something is for me” (Mead, 2016, p62) means that agency to challenge or break the rules of the game is unlikely. The regulation of gender identities through the accrual, or removal, of capital helps to regulate and reinforce the narrow definitions of gender which these young people expressed. Despite this regulation and reproduction of gender “rules”, the game of gender demonstrates how some young people show agential action in strategically manipulating their gendered identities. For some, this involves emphasising dominant gender characteristics to more closely mirror behaviours which are expected of them, whilst for others, previously achieved status and popularity allows some individuals to challenge the gender “rules”, incorporating non-traditional gendered identities into their behaviours. In relation to the role of sport in how young people negotiate their gendered identities, the game of gender further reinforces the role of sport in the “legitimate” male identity, and

simultaneously marginalises the athletic female. Young people spoke of sporting gender “rules” which dictate appropriate sports for young men and women, highlighting stereotyping and derogatory treatment for individuals who may challenge this binary of participation. To this extent, the sporting game of gender reproduces a binary of appropriate sports, and corresponding bodies, which presents a further example of a “forced choice” (Bourdieu, 1984, p173). Young men and, to a lesser degree, young women, could accrue capital *if* they participated in the socially constructed “correct” sport. Within the gendered relationships with sport, two dichotomies emerged, in which stereotypical notions of a gender binary characterised by difference, are reinforced. The first dichotomy was between ability and identity, whereby young men often viewed sport as an integral part of their self – who they are – in contrast to young women who viewed participation in sport as something they could do, should they desire. Secondly, young men were more likely to participate in competitive, traditional team sports compared to young women, whose focus instead lay on a gym culture centred on sculpting one’s body. The irony in this distinction is that the act of going to the gym for many young women became more important than any *actual* physical exercise. Sporting participation for these young people continues to be centred on an ideology of difference which permits a physical male body and shuns the athletic female. In negotiating one’s gendered identity, many young people spoke of feeling the need to play up to this ideology of difference, with many young women underplaying their athletic capabilities so not to undermine the assumed superiority of their male peers.

Despite the bleak conclusions that this thesis presents, that young people are “trapped” and encouraged to reproduce stereotypical and limiting representations of gender, the process of participating in my interviews did pose some hope. Through encouraging reflexivity and a critical self-awareness, achieved by asking the young people if they had learned anything about themselves or gender from the interviews, many young people identified a greater awareness and knowledge of their own experiences. This is very

succinctly summarised by Carly (School 1): “I’ve never really explained all of this before...but now I kind of understand why there’s so much pressure, and how ridiculous it all is that we feel so much pressure to look a certain way.” The feeling of being “trapped” is therefore not permanent, and provides the potential for future research to develop consciousness-raising strategies and reflexivity with young people to critically challenge their taken-for-granted doxic knowledge. Increasing the possibilities of gendered identities for young people might therefore provide a greater range of gendered performances which young people can embody, reducing the determinism of the “forced choice” (Bourdieu, 1984, p173).

RESEARCH QUESTION 2: WHAT ROLE DO SCHOOLING AND MEDIA MESSAGES PLAY IN REPRODUCING GENDER NORMS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE?

An important conclusion in this study relates to the interconnectedness of social fields for young people. This echoes the work of Dagkas and Quarmby (2015) and Wright and Macdonald (2010), and demonstrates how, in answering this research question, the fields of schooling and media both represent spaces for the enactment and regulation of a young person’s gendered habitus. In addressing this research question, I will consider how the broader field of schooling, its more specific sub-field of PE, and the field of media affect how young people understand and negotiate their gendered identities.

Each of the three schools explored in this study demonstrate idiosyncratic practices and structures which help reproduce symbolic violence which prioritises males and masculinity. For instance, the layout and structure of the school buildings at School 3, organised around the (boys’) rugby pitch demonstrates the symbolic capital and status allocated to male sport as a central tenant of “success”. The occupation of space within the school site also helps legitimise gendered practices: at School 1 the monopolisation of outside areas by young men playing sports at breaks and lunchtimes demonstrates how these behaviours are classed as “male”, whereas the female students are positioned oppositional as powerless through their lack of space and visibility. In similarity to

previous research which has demonstrated the significance of assemblies for reproducing masculinity through the hidden curriculum (Apple, 1995; Skeggs, 2004), this study has shown how assemblies function within a Bourdieusian framework to reproduce symbolic power struggles which legitimises male dominance within a field. Bourdieu's tools have been influential in considering how gender norms are reproduced through practice. Whilst I imagine each school would deny a conscious prioritisation of males, masculinity and sporting prowess within their assemblies or notices, the latent effect that this has on how young people (women, in particular) understand their own position within social space, is significant. This study demonstrates the need to challenge these implicit norms and behaviours which operate within schools to highlight the consequences that continued symbolic violence and marginalisation has on many young people. The field of schooling is an important site in young people's lives, forming a key area for the development of social relationships and support. Therefore, getting one's gendered identity "right" has significance for friendships, social status, and "fitting in".

Within the sub-field of PE, the key finding from this study is that PE continues to construct a narrative of gender difference. Despite greater awareness in recent years regarding the gendering of PE (Berg & Lahelma, 2010; Scraton, 2018), this study has shown that separate PE curricula based on difference, coupled with stereotypes which influence how young men and women view their participation in PE, prevail. Supporting O'Donovan et al.'s (2015) work which used a Bourdieusian approach to explore changing-room behaviours, my study demonstrates that knowledge of the appropriately gendered body is reinforced through the peer-policing of bodies in PE. School-enforced PE kits exacerbate young people's beliefs about their bodies. Bodies are judged against the ideal when young people are "forced" to wear a PE kit which overtly highlights whether one's body conforms or deviates from the ideal. School and PE therefore reaffirm to young people what constitutes "successful" embodied representations of masculinity and femininity. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) have highlighted the

reproduction of society and class in education, and this study has shown that these ideas can also be applied to the reproduction of gender norms.

The fields of mass media and social media also represent key sites for reproducing gender norms for young people. My analysis of the mass media's representation of male and female athletes at Rio 2016, and the consequent interpretation of these messages by these young people, showed that a lack of visibility of female athletes undermines their athletic potential and reproduces the ideology whereby masculinity equates with sport. Young people's interpretation of media messages represents an under-researched area of media research, and this study shows that young people have learned to equate sport with maleness. The reproduction of these binary and crude gender norms arguably plays an important role in how young people consequently act or engage with sport, PE or exercise. The media, acting as a form of socialisation, offers ideas of "opportunities or constraints" (Reay, 2004, p433), and as such, this study has shown how media messages often become internalised within one's gendered habitus, influencing tastes, dispositions, and behaviours in relation to the "legitimate" sporting and gendered body. Despite historical reproduction of media messages which have trivialised, undermined and sexualised female athletes (e.g. Bruce, 2015; Eastman & Billings, 1999), this study has offered a slither of hope: a lack of sexualisation of female athletes offers a potential "new" representation of sportswomen. However, these young people *expected* sexualisation to continue, demonstrating the reproduction of the habitus taking time to accommodate new ideologies or representations which challenge the doxa.

Mass-media messages and their interpretation tend to demonstrate a reproduction of historical norms regarding sport and gender. In contrast, social media has the potential to challenge and transform representations of gendered bodies, providing alternative opportunities for young people. However, this study has shown that engagement in social media is strongly linked to the "physical" world: the "physical" and "virtual" are merged. Actions and behaviours on social media have a very "real" effect on the lives of young

people. Capital allocated on social media through “likes”, “followers” and “friends” (boyd, 2008; Buckingham, 2008; Schwarz, 2010), indicates how capital can be transferred between fields: those with popularity on social media also have status within their “physical” fields (e.g. schooling). However, engagement with social media to promote, manipulate and present one’s gendered identity shows how young people have (some) agency to present themselves how they desire.

An analysis of the fields of schooling and media, and their interconnection, has shown that young people face norms and “rules” within these fields which dictate what is understood as a legitimate gendered identity. Individual tactics and manipulation of gender norms show how for some young people, there is agency within the game of gender, yet this agency is simultaneously limited by gender norms which reproduce dominant expectations of masculinity and femininity. To this extent, in answering this research question, the fields of schooling and media continue to reproduce dominant representations of gender, leading to young people only having a “forced choice” (Bourdieu, 1984, p173) in how they choose to present their gendered identity. A fully “free” choice is not possible within the structure of these fields which, in accordance with the stereotypical gender norms internalised as part of the gendered habitus, reproduces and rewards gendered bodies based on an ideology of difference.

RESEARCH QUESTION 3: HOW DOES SOCIAL CLASS INFLUENCE HOW YOUNG PEOPLE UNDERSTAND SPORT AND THEIR GENDERED IDENTITY?

This study has considered how class, represented through the classed habitus developed through institutions such as the school (Arnot, 2002; Skeggs, 2004), is linked to gender to influence how young people present their gendered identities. The primary finding in relation to this research question is that there are very different understandings of what counts as “legitimate” masculinity and/or femininity between all three schools. Students from School 1 embodied a traditional and physical understanding of gender, centring on the appearance of the body as crucial for how gender capital is allocated. Those at School

2 also recognised the traditional representations of masculinity and femininity, but also allowed a consideration of academia to cut across valued identities. In contrast, young people from School 3 were aware of the importance of academia in “success”, but were simultaneously more constrained by an awareness of a rigid gender binary. This shows that the young people at each school were participants in a different game of gender based on their classed habitus influencing the formation of the gendered habitus. Linked to the different understandings of gender at these schools is the variation in acceptance of gender fluidity and non-binary identities. Young people from Schools 1 and 2 showed a far greater awareness and acceptance of non-binary identities, whereas those from School 3 showed little awareness of these even as a possibility. I argue that this is due to the reproduction of elitism within the ethos of private schools in the UK, whose historical dominance and power stem from traditional notions of gender (Arnot, 2002; Bourdieu, 1998). Deviations from this are undermined and othered, for this would challenge the status quo and status of those educated to become society’s elites (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

In further addressing the game of gender within the classed gendered habitus, this study has shown how young people can tactically play the game to accrue social and symbolic capital. Less manipulation of one’s gendered identity occurred for those students at School 3 – this is arguably due to the pressures to reproduce traditional gender norms, whereby the increased accumulation of economic and cultural capital associated with private school education, potentially mitigates against excessive deviations from the expected norms. For these young people, considered by many as atop the cultural and economic pyramid (Bourdieu, 1998), with greater opportunities and potential through ingrained old boys’ networks paid for through tuition fees, the consequences of *not* conforming to dominant representations of the gender binary may be greater than for their peers without status, money and familial contacts. Challenging the traditional gender norms becomes too risky for continuing their elevated social status.

In specific relation to sport, one's choice and participation in sport is strongly classed and is reinforced through the allocation of social capital. The archetypal differences between sport and class is epitomised by the two dominant male sports highlighted in this study: rugby union or football. The strongly engrained "naturalness" of football at Schools 1 and 2, and rugby union at School 3 demonstrates how the classed habitus, which influences norms and expected behaviours, is also applicable to sport. Bourdieu himself wrote about the classed dimensions of sport, highlighting rugby union as a preserve of the middle and upper classes (Bourdieu, 1978, 1984). This association persists for young people today. At all three schools, the prioritisation of male sport, through assemblies or the layout of the school, demonstrates how capital is allocated to classed versions of sporting opportunities. This allocation of capital to legitimise sports for one's classed habitus reinforces and reproduces normative assumptions between sport, class and gender. One further classed difference between engagement in sport and exercise was found in relation to the role of the gym in creating a "perfect body". Young women from Schools 1 and 2 identified the possession of a gym membership as a form of capital, reifying it as a "thing" which symbolically connected their body to the valued ideals for femininity. In contrast, young women at School 3 did not speak of this as a "worthy" possession. Crudely, young women from Schools 1 and 2 may be more "trapped" in reproducing stereotypical representations of femininity for they have less other forms of capital (e.g. economic or cultural). A gym membership provides a form of capital which indicates their association with a "successful" gendered identity of feminine attractiveness which is not as necessary for young women at School 3.

In answering this research question, classed dispositions influence how young people negotiate their gendered identity. What is expected and rewarded varies for young people from different schools (as a proxy for class), and indicates the complexities of class and gender. As a socialising institution, schools contribute to the development of their students' habitus through rewarding behaviours which are deemed to mirror the social

status of the collective. The three demographically different schools used in this study therefore provide examples of how gender, class and sport intersect to legitimise specific behaviours and identities.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The main theoretical model utilised in this study is the ideas and tools of Pierre Bourdieu – primarily habitus, field, capital, doxa and illusio. The contribution of this study to advancing the use of Bourdieusian principles is the way in which for these young people, doxic gender norms and stereotypes play an important role in how they learn to behave and act through their gendered habitus. As Bourdieu (1989, p16) writes, “the visible...hides the invisible which determines it”. This quote resonates with the findings in my study to demonstrate how many young people were not consciously aware of the influence gender “rules” and norms had on their day-to-day behaviours. The visible gendered body (as discussed in Chapter 10), on which young people invoke tactics to improve one’s visual appearance, makes the gender norms, pressures and “rules” invisible to these young people. Asking these young people whether they had learned anything about themselves during the interview process encouraged reflexivity to increase consciousness around the embodied gendered habitus. Yang (2014) highlights that the increasing information-heavy society in which we now live allows more people to be reflexive, an ability not only reserved for sociologists. As a result, the reflexivity that these young people demonstrated shows how bringing the non-conscious habitus into consciousness “allows us to alter our perception of the situation and thereby our reaction to it” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p136). This study therefore identifies a methodological opportunity for future research to challenge the entrenched doxic knowledge of the habitus, providing support for the possibility of change.

Chapter 6 focused on the way in which young people are “trapped” in a game of gender. In conceptualising gender as operating as a game, this study has shown how there can be

a simultaneous consideration of both agency and structure affecting how young people choose to present their gendered identities. Within the game of gender, Bourdieu's concepts of field and capital are interconnected, allowing a consideration of how different fields interact to determine the value of gendered identities across different contexts. The game of gender adds to previous gender research which considers the social construction of gender (Butler, 1988, 1990; Connell, 1996, 2007; Demetriou, 2001; Paechter, 2003a; Schippers, 2007; Valentine, 2000; Westbrook & Schilt, 2013), demonstrating how within the game there is both agency and reproduction of gender norms in the pursuit of capital. Through the game of gender, attention is focused both on individual choice (within the constraints of their habitus), and on how structures, institutions and the collective habitus can influence the possibilities of gender for young people. As I outlined in Chapter 3, it is often the case that research with young people looks at single fields of study in isolation. In contrast, this study has demonstrated how the fields of schooling, sport and media are interconnected influencing how young people forge social relationships. The nexus of different fields has made this study, at times, messy; however, I argue it is an accurate representation of the myriad of factors, influences and pressures which young people face as they navigate their way through adolescence and into adulthood.

This study challenges current knowledge in relation to the definition and identification of gender norms. Developing narratives which locate the progression of feminism suggest that we are now in a world characterised by post-feminism (McRobbie, 2007, 2011; Pomerantz et al., 2013). The growth of research into transgender and LGBT+ issues also demonstrates that gender should no longer be viewed as a binary between heteronormative notions of masculinity and femininity which equate with being male or female. However, in this study, the young people I spoke with reinforce and reproduce simplistic understandings of gender which restrict the possible options for young people to present a gendered identity which may differ from the binary "norm" (Bragg, Renold, Ringrose, & Jackson, 2018). I argue that these young people do *not* live in a post-feminist

world, and the challenge for research is to address geographical and contextualised differences in how gender is constructed. The location for this study, as an area of historical white working-class origins and a heavy industrial past, may differ from more cosmopolitan and multi-cultural major cities where young people may have far more liberal and fluid conceptions of gender. In this regard, the conclusions and arguments made in this study are contextually specific to the area in which the research was conducted, yet significantly challenges the utopic notion of post-feminism which suggests that gender inequalities no longer exist.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study has outlined and explored how young people negotiate their gendered identities primarily within the context of the school. Potential recommendations for policy relate to educational pedagogy, and the way PE operates within the broader educational sphere.

Both in historical and contemporary policy and research, girls have been problematised within PE spheres (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Fagrell et al., 2012; Oliver & Kirk, 2016). Policy initiatives have been introduced in wider spheres of physical inactivity and health to target the “problem” of women participating in less sport and physical activity. The most visible and high profile policy is that of “This Girl Can” (Sport England, 2015). These initiatives are designed to challenge stereotypes around women’s participation in sport, attempting to “normalise” the athletic woman. However, my study has shown that it is not only girls who have negative experiences in sport and PE. As discussed in Chapter 9, Freddie’s (School 1) consideration that PE should stand for “Public Embarrassment” indicates the negative consequences of dominant “rules” of masculinity in emphasising appropriate behaviours, including sporting prowess. Whilst I do not challenge the assumption that there are more young women who disengage with PE than young men, generalising the experience of all young men and all young women is

problematic to improving the experiences for all. Furthermore, my study has highlighted that the stated purpose of PE requires consideration. Many young people questioned the importance of PE as a subject, using it as an “easy” lesson where they could talk to their friends and be sociable, rather than engaging in actual physical activity. As a former PE teacher, my perspective on what PE should represent involves *education*, where young people *learn* about being active, its physiological effects on the body, and technical/tactical considerations to improve active performance. No young people discussed learning in PE, and an implication from this study is that clarity is needed in how PE is taught so that the educational purpose of the subject is maintained. Recent government policy has moved away from School Sport Partnerships encouraging participation and opportunities towards advocating competitive team sports to improve elite success (Foster & Adcock, 2016; Gove, 2010). The purpose and political role of PE in schools moving forwards is uncertain. The uncertainty over the purpose of PE for 15–16 year olds reported in this study suggests greater clarity for teachers and pupils is needed so that together, they can co-create a supportive and meaningful PE environment for *all* pupils.

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

This study offers an exploration of the role of schooling, media and peer relationships on how young people present their sporting and gendered identity. The study was conducted in three demographically different schools chosen based on these differences in North East England. As a direct consequence of the theoretical and methodological choices taken within this study, there are some limitations. As discussed above, the geographical location means that the findings from this study should only be used in the specific contexts of these schools. Whilst statements about the impact of a classed and collective habitus permeate my analysis of how young people at these schools negotiate their identity, I cannot make generalisations to other young people across both the immediate region, or wider country. It is likely that similarities between schools of a similar

demographic to those used in this study do exist, yet any generalisations should be made with extreme caution. Furthermore, the geographical location of this study is typically a very white area, with BAME persons making up a very small section of the population. The schools I used in this research reflects this, as does the racial make-up of those selected to be interviewed. However, this arguably simplifies the intersectionality of race with gender and class. Research which addresses the whiteness of knowledge, for instance using elements of critical race theory (Hylton, 2008), may be helpful to further my theoretical contribution to include a more nuanced appreciation of non-white gendered identities.

Whilst I have explored the interconnection of three fields for young people – schooling, sport and media – there is one field which I have not addressed within this study – the family. According to Bourdieu, the family is the crucial place for the primary socialisation of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990; Huppertz, 2012b). Whilst I discussed the socialisation of norms during interview questions, and the potential contribution of familial participation in sport and exercise during the questionnaire responses, more attention could have been given to how the role of the family may change as young people progress through adolescence in the transitional period into adulthood.

Furthermore, the field of sport which I focused on primarily considered young people's sporting practices within the school environment (mainly PE). An over-arching negative picture is provided of PE and school sport within this study, yet the impact of extra-curricular sports through independent sports clubs may prove a "safer" environment for challenging sporting gender "rules" which marginalise young women. An exploration of the development of a habitus within the context of a sports club, which may contrast with the dominant collective habitus within schooling, may provide a further exploration of how young people manipulate their gendered identity depending on the audience.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Recommendations for future research which have emerged from this study focus on three main areas: research targeting *change*; research emerging directly from this study to further knowledge; and research to address a limitation.

As a former PE teacher, my initial desire to engage in this PhD was to challenge the status quo and initiate change. This has not been possible within the confines of this thesis, and as a result, I recommend that future research seeks to take the theoretical knowledge which has emerged from this study and use this to challenge the gender norms through which young people feel “trapped”. Oliver and Kirk (2016) highlight the need for activist research to improve the experiences of specific girls in specific contexts. I argue instead, that activist research must focus on improving the situation for *both* young men and women. A specific research project could engage in action research to increase the consciousness of young people to highlight and challenge their gendered habitus which reinforces traditional representations of masculinity and femininity. Developing and implementing schemes of work in schools to challenge young people’s implicit assumptions about gender can bring the habitus into consciousness, potentially leading to discord between habitus, field and experience to initiate change. Following these schemes of work and interventions designed to challenge the doxa, repeating this current study in 5–10 years’ time would allow an indication of how much impact the interventions to challenge the taken-for-granted gender norms have had. Further activist research could conduct interviews with headteachers across different schools to reflect on the ethos and practices (e.g. assemblies/ structures) of the school, considering the consequences that these can have on all young people. The non-conscious nature of the habitus, which can be critiqued through conscious-raising strategies, forms the underpinning rationale behind these recommendations for future research.

To expand on the conclusions of this study, research could focus on further interrogating the way in which peer-policing is structured within adolescent peer groups. In this study,

I found no instances where young men identified feeling judged by young women. I speculated that this may reflect a reluctance by young men to admitting to being “influenced” by young women, fearing the potential negative consequences to their masculine identity. Further research which incorporates both qualitative interview with young people, staff and teachers, and, crucially ethnographic observations of personal interactions would be important to explore this phenomenon more closely.

As the previous section highlighted, a limitation of this study is the lack of consideration of race. The sample of young people selected meant that the potential analysis of race was limited, and instead, future research may wish to consider how race links to one’s socialisation and gendered habitus to produce gender “rules” and expectations which are both classed and raced. Reproducing this research in schools with higher percentages of young people from BAME backgrounds may offer illuminating insights as to the impact of race on a gendered habitus. Bourdieu did not theorise greatly about how race may impact on one’s habitus, and this would be a novel contribution as to how gender norms may be reproduced taking into account racialised stereotypes regarding gender, sport and educational attainment.

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown how many young people are “trapped” in reproducing traditional binary gender norms. These gender norms, through the development of one’s habitus, have become internalised and are increasingly difficult to change. Despite increasing awareness of gender fluidity and non-binary identities, I have shown how, for many of these young people, these are, at best an abstract possibility, and at worst, ignored.

As the theoretical implication section of this conclusion discussed, the young people I spoke with were encouraged to reflect on their own experiences and identities during their interviews. Chapter 1 explained my own personal narrative for completing this PhD. As a “sporty” and athletic female, I often felt Othered and “different” to what was

expected of me as a female. Reflecting on the process of completing this research, I have greater insight into my own socialisation and the rigidity of my own views which often reproduce heteronormative expectations positioning men and women as different, a binary which I have presented here as being dangerous and limiting for many young people. The negative depiction of PE and school sport which this research has found is personally very disappointing and makes me question whether successfully challenging the doxic and taken-for-granted knowledge of gender binaries is indeed possible. In using my own theoretical analysis, growing up as a young woman, I was “trapped”, often feeling pressure to conform to what “invisible” others expect of me. Challenging my own history will not be easy, but this reflexivity hopefully allows me a position to continue to research gender and young people in the future.

Contrary to my initial motivations to complete this thesis, the findings paint a rather dismal picture of how young people are “trapped” and hindered by traditional gender “rules” which reinforce heteronormativity. Whilst some instances of resistance and agency have been highlighted, these examples are few and far between, with the overwhelming majority conforming unquestioningly to gender “rules” which are based on an ideology of difference between masculinity and femininity, and consequently men and women. The development of the “Game of Gender” as a concept which applies explicitly to the tensions and transitional period of adolescence provides a way of thinking about gender which simultaneously considers the potential for agency, being mindful of the role of capital and external validation in legitimising gendered identities which mirror stereotypical representations of masculinity and femininity. In using Bourdieu’s theoretical tools, this study has shown how encouraging reflexivity may provide an influential method to challenge an individual habitus, causing a discord between habitus, field and practice, and hence initiate change. The exploration of the experiences of young men and women, and subsequent gender relations, adds to the body of knowledge through attempting to explain the “messy” social lives of young people

across intersecting social fields. More research undoubtedly needs to be done to challenge the ingrained and taken-for-granted knowledge of one's habitus, yet I hope this thesis contributes to providing a methodological possibility which can inform future research with young people which is sensitive to the complexities of what it is like to be a young person in a technology-heavy social world.

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APPENDIX 1: LETTER TO SCHOOLS

Shaped by the past, creating the future



Durham

sarah.n.metcalfe@durham.ac.uk

07739003585

26th February 2016

Dear Headteacher,

Please allow me to introduce myself: my name is Sarah Metcalfe and I am currently an ESRC funded PhD researcher with Durham University Education Department, whose research is titled: Do perceptions of masculinity and femininity impact on the sporting participation, sexuality and body image of adolescent boys and girls? I would be extremely grateful if you could give me the opportunity to collect a section of my data collection at xxxxxxxx. If possible I would like to commence this research in January 2017, hopefully being completed by the February half term. I would like to use the students at xxxxxxxx because I strongly remember the coeducational emphasis and passion towards sporting achievement which was a dominant characteristic of school life. As an ex-PE teacher in the locality I have connections with your strong PE department, and thus would like to greater understand how young people at xxxxxxxx internalize and understand their gender and sporting potential.

My research is predominantly qualitative in nature, concentrating on the views, opinions and beliefs of 16-17 year olds. I would like my research to be as unobtrusive as possible, thus I would be very flexible to fit around the requirements/timetabling of the school and students. If possible, I would like to administer a questionnaire to all Year 11 students regarding their participation in sport, and their perceptions of normative masculinity and femininity, and to use this questionnaire to identify individuals for interview. Following the questionnaire, I would like to interview approximately 8 female and 8 male students (hopefully in their PE lessons or at lunchtimes when available). If possible, I would like to also observe ethnographically some PE lessons (where staff are willing), to contextualize some results and create a wider picture of the school environment created at xxxxxxxx.

In accordance with ethical requirements, I would require all potential students to have a letter for parental consent sent home (either paper or electronically) with the

option of parents removing their consent for the project through a response (a no response would presume parental consent). I am also a fully qualified secondary school teacher (PE – formerly working at the Royal Grammar School Newcastle) which I hope would alleviate any child protection issues. Furthermore, all names and identities of students would be kept anonymous and confidential throughout the data collection and writing process. This research has been reviewed and approved by the School of Education Ethics Sub-Committee at Durham University (date of approval: 9th February 2016)

If you have any questions, requests or concerns associated with my request, please contact me via email at sarah.n.metcalfe@durham.ac.uk. I sincerely hope that we can together collect data and inform research which can identify how school sports provision can develop young people with a healthy and positive relationship with sport and their identity.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "S Metcalfe". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'S'.

Sarah Metcalfe

APPENDIX 2: PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

Shaped by the past, creating the future



School of Education

Durham University

Leazes Road, Durham

sarah.n.metcalfe@durham.ac.uk

January 2017

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Your child's year group (Y11) at school has been chosen to participate in a research study considering adolescent perspectives of masculinity and femininity and how these may influence their participation in sport and physical activity. The research project is led by myself, Sarah Metcalfe, a PhD researcher from Durham University's Department of Education, and is fully compliant with university ethical regulations.

I would be grateful if you could give permission for your child to participate in this study. The study will take place over one half term (February 2017 – April 2017) and involves three parts:

- 1) I would like each child in year 11 to complete a short and simple questionnaire to establish how much sport and physical activity they participate in, coupled with what they understand by the terms 'masculinity' and 'femininity'. I imagine this questionnaire will take no more than 15 minutes to complete.
- 2) I would like to make observations of the behaviours and actions which take place in PE lessons
- 3) I would like to interview a small number of students about their thoughts about masculinity and femininity. The interviews will take no longer than one hour, and I will try to ensure that these are completed either during PE lessons, games lesson, or at lunchtimes. Not all students who complete the questionnaire will be interviewed – I would like volunteers to be interviewed, so it is no way compulsory or expected.

It is important to emphasise that anything that your child says will remain anonymous – this means that in the research, no one will be able to identify your child. Also, all information collected will be confidential and securely stored.

If you would NOT like your child to participate in this study, please email me (sarah.n.metcalfe@durham.ac.uk) or contact the school via Mr *****. I hope that participating in this study will be beneficial to your child in exploring their own opinions and beliefs. If you have any questions or queries about this study, please ask. I look forward to completing this research with your child.

Yours sincerely,

Sarah Metcalfe

APPENDIX 3: INFORMATION SHEET

Notes to read out to all participants:

Thank you for being willing to participate in this research. My name is Sarah Metcalfe and I am completing my PhD at Durham University. As part of this, I have to complete some research into a topic of my choosing. My research involves looking at how young people your age understand who they are and how this links to sport. To be a part of this research, I would like you to complete this questionnaire, and at the top of the first sheet to sign the consent form which means that you agree to participate and understand what is being asked of you. This questionnaire asks you to record how much sport and exercise you do outside of your PE lessons, and also asks you what your opinions are on what masculinity and femininity means. Please answer as honestly as possible, and there are no right or wrong answers – I want to know what you think about these topics. Also, there is a question where you are required to state whether you are willing to have an informal chat with my about some of the topics covered in the questionnaire. This chat will happen in one of your PE lessons, and will cover topics such as what you think of school, sport, media and gender.

No one else will be able to see your results, and I will give each questionnaire a number so that your results cannot be identified as belonging to you. There is no pressure to complete this questionnaire, and if you want to withdraw your questionnaire, please let me know.

I am really grateful for your helping me to complete this research. The aim of what I want to do is to better understand how people like you negotiate their way through school and PE with the intention of making your experiences more positive.

APPENDIX 4: STUDENT CONSENT FORM

Name.....

- I agree to participate in this study, the purpose of which is to understand how young people understand their gendered identities and how these link to sport.
- I have been informed about the study and understand the information provided.
- I have been informed that I may decline to answer any questions or withdraw from the study without penalty of any kind.
- I have been informed that data collection will involve the use of recording devices.
- I have been informed that all my responses will be kept confidential and secure, and that I will not be identified in any report or other publication resulting from this research.
- I have been informed that the investigator will answer any questions regarding the study and its procedures. Sarah Metcalfe, School of Education, Durham University can be contacted via email: sarah.n.metcalfe@durham.ac.uk

I would like to be considered for interview (please tick): Yes No

Which lesson do you have PE? Day..... Period

Signature.....

APPENDIX 5: QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: Age:years.....months

Form/Class: Sex: Male Female

- 1) Do you take GCSE PE? Yes No
- 2) What sports do you participate in? Please only tick the sports which you choose to participate in **outside** of PE/Games lessons, and ones which you **regularly** do (i.e. attend sessions at least once every week). N.B. If it is not the season for your sport but you regularly play it during the appropriate time, please tick for that sport

Athletics		Gym sessions		Rugby (League/Union)	
Badminton		Gymnastics		Squash	
Basketball		Hockey		Swimming	
Boxing/Martial Arts		Horse-riding		Table Tennis	
Cricket		Netball		Tennis	
Dance		Rock Climbing		Other: Please state:	
Football		Rowing/Canoeing			
Golf		Running/Jogging			

- 3) **Not including PE**, how many hours a week of sport or physical activity do you think that you do? (If you regularly attend extra-curricular school sports clubs please include these)

Hours.....Minutes.....

- 4) Do members of your family regularly play sport? Please list your family members and what they do:

Family member (mum/dad/brother/sister etc.)	What sports/activities do they do? Do they do this often/occasionally/rarely?

- 5) Are your friends sporty/physically active?
 Yes, all my friends Nearly all About half my friends
 Some but not very many None

- 6) Do you like sport and being active? Yes No Sort of
 Please can you explain why you feel this way:

- 7) How would you rate your ability at sport and being active? Please score yourself out of 10, with 10 being very good, and 0 being very poor.

I think that my ability in sport is out of 10

- 8) Are some sports more suited to females? Why do you think this?

- 9) Are some sports suited to males? Why do you think this?

- 10) How would you describe masculinity and femininity?

<i>Masculinity is... (usually characteristics associated with being male)</i>	
<i>Femininity is... (usually characteristics associated with being female)</i>	

- 11) What job/career do you want to have when you are older?

.....

- 12) What job(s) do your parent/guardians have?

Parent/Guardian 1:

Parent/Guardian 2:

APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introductory questions:

- Do you enjoy school? What do/don't you enjoy? Do you think school is fair for everyone?
- Are there friendship groups at school? What are they like? Who are the popular people in school?
- (*What are your favourite subjects? Why?*)
- Are some subjects viewed as male or female? Why do you think this is the case?
- What do you think of PE? (if needed – tell me a story about your best or worst experience of PE; how did you feel about this?). What activities do you prefer doing in PE? Why? What don't you like?
- Would you describe yourself as sporty? Have you always been? Do you think you will continue to be? Why?
- Compared with Y7, do you think you do the same, more, or less physical activity? Why?
- Are some sports suited to men or women? Are there “wrong” sports for men/women? Why do you think this? What would happen if someone played a “wrong” sport?
- Did you watch the Olympics in the summer? What did you think? Do you think the media treats men and women in sport the same? Why?
- *Show video.* Explain the video shows male athletes being asked questions which have been asked of female athletes. What do you think of the video? *Female athletes given 14% of total media coverage – what do you think about this? Males constructed as unnaturally gifted and talented and female athletes as having worked hard – what do you think of this?*
- Men receive more media coverage than female athletes, how does this make you feel? Is this right? Does it bother you? Were you aware of the inequality?

Gender and sport questions: *So we're going to slightly change the focus of what we're talking about: moving on to how you view sport in relation to being male or female*

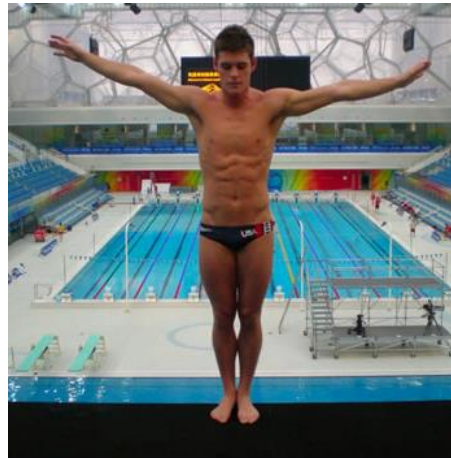
- What do you like and what do you dislike about being male/female? Why?
- What do these pictures tell you about their bodies? *Show pictures of 10 sportspeople*
- Have you heard of masculinity and femininity? What do you think they mean? Are there any photos which show masculinity or femininity? Why?
- I like to think of masculinity and femininity as a continuum, where do you think you would be on the scale? Why? Has this always been the same or has it changed? (*Use continuum*)
- Are you aware of pressure to be masculine or feminine?
- What happens if you differ from masculinity or femininity? Is this common?

Body questions: *If it is ok, I would like to ask you some questions about how you see yourself and the importance of your appearance*

- Do you feel as a male or female that there is pressure to look and behave in a certain way? Who puts this pressure on you? How does this make you feel?
- How long do you take to get ready for going out, say to go to school or go to the cinema? Are they the same? Why? What do you think of when you're getting ready? If you want to look good, who do you want to look good for?
- How important is attention from the opposite sex to you?

- Do you feel the need to prove you are masculine or feminine? How do you try to prove it? How might someone act in order to prove their identity?
- How much do you care about what other people think of you?
- Do you compare your body and your appearance to others? Maybe your friends/celebrities? How does this make you feel?
- Would you say that you were happy with your body? – *Place an emoji on the scale*
- Have you ever felt the need to change an aspect of your appearance? Why? Have you done anything to try to change it?
- How much social media do you use? Like Facebook, Twitter or Instagram? Why do you use it?
- Do you post pictures of yourself? Do you edit your pictures? Why?

APPENDIX 7: IMAGES USED IN INTERVIEWS





APPENDIX 8: ETHICS FORM

Durham University

School of Education

Research Ethics and Data Protection Monitoring Form

Research involving humans by all academic and related Staff and Students in the Department is subject to the standards set out in the Department Code of Practice on Research Ethics. The School of Education Ethics Sub-Committee will assess the research against the British Educational Research Association's REVISED ETHICAL GUIDELINES FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH (2011).

It is a requirement that prior to the commencement of all research this form be completed and submitted to the School of Education Ethics Sub-Committee. The Committee will be responsible for issuing certification that the research meets ethical standards and will, if necessary, require changes to the research methodology or reporting strategy.

The application should contain:

- a. This completed (and signed) application form;
- b. Completed **appendix A**:
 - a. A summary of the research proposal. This should be no longer than one A4 page that details:
 - i. objectives of the study,
 - ii. description of the target cohort / sample,
 - iii. methods and procedure of data collection,
 - iv. data management, and
 - v. reporting strategies;
 - b. Outline of the interview schedule / survey / questionnaire / or other data collection tools (if applicable depending on the methodology you plan to employ);
- c. Completed **appendix B**: the participant information sheet (if applicable), and
- d. Completed **appendix C**: the consent form (if applicable).

Templates for the summary of the research proposal, the participant information sheet and the consent form are provided on pp.5-7 as **appendices A-C**.

Please include all the relevant documents above within one combined document

Notes:

- As all applications should be submitted electronically, electronic (scanned) signatures should be used.
- You will be informed of the outcome of your application within two weeks of submission. If a specific application deadline has been notified, and this is missed, then the turnaround time will be 4 weeks from date of submission.
- No research should be conducted until ethical approval is obtained.
- Incomplete applications will be returned without consideration.
- **Please send all documents to ed.ethics@durham.ac.uk, School of Education Research Office, tel : (0191) 334 8403.**

Application for Ethics Approval

Name of applicant	Sarah Metcalfe
Email address	sarah.n.metcalfe @durham.ac.uk
Category <i>[choose from list]</i>	Postgraduate student - Research programme
Programme <i>[students only – choose from list]</i>	PhD
Name of supervisor <i>[students only]</i>	Dr Anna Llewellyn, Dr Martin Roderick, Dr Mark McCormack
Title of research project	Do perceptions of masculinity and femininity influence adolescent participation in sport, their sexuality or body image
Date of start of research <i>[must be a future date]</i>	01/05/2015
Is the research funded <i>[staff only – choose from list]</i>	Yes (if yes, please provide name of funder below)
Name of funder <i>[staff only]</i>	ESRC
Name of Co-Is if applicable <i>[staff only]</i>	
Is this application subject to external ethical review? <i>[choose from list]</i>	No
If “yes” please specify who	

1) a. Does the proposed research project involve data from human participants (including secondary data)? <i>If ‘no’ please provide brief details in Section 10 of this form.</i>	Yes
b. Is the research project <i>only</i> concerned with the analyses of secondary data (e.g. pre-existing data or information records). If yes then please continue with Q6-10	No
2) Will you provide your informants – prior to their participation – with a participant information sheet containing information about the following: a. The purpose of your research?	Yes
b. The voluntary nature of their participation?	Yes

c. Their right to withdraw from the study at any time?	Yes
d. What their participation entails?	Yes
e. How anonymity is achieved?	Yes
f. How confidentiality is secured?	Yes
g. Whom to contact in case of questions or concerns? <i>Please attach a copy of the information sheet (template available at appendix B) or provide details of alternative approach in Section 10 of this form.</i>	Yes
3) Will you ask your informants to sign an informed consent form? <i>Please attach a copy of the consent form (template available at appendix C) or provide details of alternative approach in Section 10 of this form.</i>	No (please provide further information in Section 10) No – parental consent form and student assent form
4) a. Does your research involve covert surveillance?	No
b. If yes, will you seek signed consent post hoc?	Click here to select
5) a. Will your data collection involve the use of recording devices?	Yes (if yes, please answer question 5b below)
b. If yes, will you seek signed consent?	Yes
6) Will your research report be available to informants and the general public without restrictions placed by sponsoring authorities?	Yes


<p>7) How will you guarantee confidentiality and anonymity? <i>Please comment below.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anonymity of schools will be provided by using generic descriptors of the school's characteristics – e.g. Private co-educational day school in North East England/Co-educational state school in North East England - Data from interviews and questionnaires to be stored securely – using password encryption (on J-drive) - Individual data to be anonymised using pseudonyms allocated randomly during transcription. Individuals will not be able to be identified: only the researcher will know which interview corresponds with which pseudonym.
<p>8) What are the implications of your research for your informants? <i>Please comment below.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual assumptions and beliefs might be challenged and developed during discussions in interviews - Informants will be talking about individual opinions and perspectives – could create challenging situations where self-reflection might create emotions for the participant
<p>9) Are there any other ethical issues arising from your research? <i>Please comment below.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Researcher positionality – As a former teacher in one of the schools, my positioning could be viewed as a position of power or authority which could influence how the participants respond in interview situations: but with my reflexive awareness and distance between period of teaching (approx. 18 months at the time of interviews), this distance should alleviate positionality concerns - DBS disclosures for observations and participation in schools – if working individually with students in interview situations, will need enhanced DBS to cover this: would not be a problem to obtain, would just take some time prior to data collection
<p>10) Please provide any additional information relevant to your application</p>

Declaration

I have read the Department's Code of Practice on Research Ethics and believe that my research complies fully with its precepts.

I will not deviate from the methodology or reporting strategy without further permission from the School of Education Ethics Sub-Committee.

I am aware that it is my responsibility to seek and gain ethics approval from the organisation in which data collection takes place (e.g., school) prior to commencing data collection.

Applicant signature* 	Date 30 th January 2016
Proposal discussed and agreed by supervisor [<i>students only</i>] Supervisor signature*	Date

Summary of the research proposal

[Include A summary of the research proposal. This should be no longer than one A4 page that details:

- i. objectives of the study,
- ii. description of the target cohort / sample,
- iii. methods and procedure of data collection,
- iv. data management, and
- v. reporting strategies;

and an outline of the interview schedule / survey / questionnaire / or other assessment methods (if applicable depending on the methodology you plan to employ)]

- i) Objectives of the study: The research questions which I will attempt to answer in this research are:
 - Do perceptions of masculinity influence sexuality in adolescents?
 - How is sport socialised in adolescents within an educational context?
 - To what extent does the school institution reinforce or represent masculinity or femininity?
 - How does class influence on the role of gender on influencing sexuality and sports participation in adolescents?
 - How have recent government School Sports Policies influenced adolescent physical activity?
- ii) Description of target cohort and sample/methods and procedure
 - Two phases of data collection: Media analysis and School Analysis
 - Media Analysis:
 - Analysis of advertising in sports TV programming across different sports TV programmes (tennis, athletics, football, rugby, netball, hockey, swimming). Categorising type and preferred audiences of adverts in relation to gender-type of sport being shown. (To take place May/June 2016)
 - Content and discourse analysis of media news covering the 2016 Olympics: daily analysis of online media platforms covering the Olympics (BBC Online, Sky Sports News, The Guardian Online, The Daily Mail Online), using content (numbers of articles MvF, images MvF, classification of images etc.) and discourse analysis (wording/sexualisation/infantilisation concepts within the discourse). Pilot questionnaire of students to identify which online news platforms are used by adolescents. (To take

place during two week coverage of Olympic Games – August 2016)

- Data collection to take place in three schools in the North East of England. School letters requesting participation have been sent to ***** (private, co-ed); ***** (state, co-ed); ***** (state, co-ed)
 - Questionnaires: survey of all year 11 or year 12 students at corresponding schools to identify their initial beliefs about gender and sport, coupled with their participation levels and gendered sports choices. Survey results to help inform selection of participants for interview
 - Interviews: 16 interviews per school (8 male, 8 female), of 16-17 year olds – either year 11 or year 12 students. Semi-structured interviews using photo elicitation to discuss sport and gender, gender and sexuality and the role of the media in gender norms
 - Observations of PE lessons within interview schools: field notes and observations to contextualise findings and add depth to research
- iii) Data management: data to be stored securely using encrypted J-drive on Durham University IT system. Names only to be obtained if students wishes to be considered for interview. Anonymity used by pseudo-names and coding of individuals.
- iv) Reporting strategies: Reemphasise anonymity when publishing aspects of research and to ensure throughout dissemination to ensure adherence to ethical codes.

APPENDIX 9: ETHICAL APPROVAL



Shaped by the past, creating the future

9 February 2016

Sarah Metcalfe
PhD

sarah.n.metcalfe@durham.ac.uk

Dear Sarah

Do perceptions of masculinity and femininity influence adolescent participation in sport, their sexuality or body image

I am pleased to inform you that your application for ethical approval for the above research has been approved by the School of Education Ethics Committee. May we take this opportunity to wish you good luck with your research.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "P. M. Holmes".

Dr. P. Holmes
Chair of School of Education Ethics Committee

APPENDIX 10: DAY-BY-DAY MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS

Example of media coverage data for *The Guardian* (male articles):

Date	Male Articles												TOTAL Male Articles	
	Individual or team success/ news			Behind the athlete/ family			Commentary preview/ opinion			General male sport story				
	Raw Data	% Overall Article	% Male Article	Raw Data	% Overall Article	% Male Article	Raw Data	% Overall Article	% Male Article	Raw Data	% Overall Article	% Male Article		
Fri 5 th August	17	36.170	58.621	1	2.128	3.448	11	23.404	37.931	0	0	0	29	61.702
Sat 6 th August	11	22.917	31.429	2	4.167	5.714	19	39.583	54.286	3	6.25	8.571428571	35	72.917
Sun 7 th August	18	33.962	51.429	1	1.887	2.857	12	22.642	34.286	4	0	11.42857143	35	66.038
Mon 8 th August	16	29.630	42.105	1	1.852	2.632	19	35.185	50.000	2	3.703703704	5.263157895	38	70.370
Tues 9 th August	11	21.154	26.829	4	7.692	9.756	23	44.231	56.098	3	5.769230769	7.317073171	41	78.846
Wed 10 th August	9	17.308	25.714	3	5.769	8.571	20	38.462	57.143	3	5.769230769	8.571428571	35	67.308
Thurs 11 th August	13	27.083	34.211	0	0.000	0.000	23	47.917	60.526	2	4.166666667	5.263157895	38	79.167
Fri 12 th August	11	22.000	32.353	1	2.000	2.941	16	32.000	47.059	6	12	17.64705882	34	68.000
Sat 13 th August	11	19.298	26.829	1	1.754	2.439	29	50.877	70.732	0	0	0	41	71.930
Sun 14 th August	22	37.288	47.826	0	0.000	0.000	23	38.983	50.000	1	1.694915254	2.173913043	46	77.966
Mon 15 th August	15	26.786	32.609	1	1.786	2.174	28	50.000	60.870	2	3.571428571	4.347826087	46	82.143
Tues 16 th August	13	23.214	31.707	1	1.786	2.439	26	46.429	63.415	1	1.785714286	2.43902439	41	73.214
Wed 17 th August	16	29.630	45.714	2	3.704	5.714	16	29.630	45.714	1	1.851851852	2.857142857	35	64.815
Thurs 18 th August	12	23.077	37.500	1	1.923	3.125	15	28.846	46.875	4	7.692307692	12.5	32	61.538
Fri 19 th August	15	27.273	36.585	1	1.818	2.439	20	36.364	48.780	5	9.090909091	12.19512195	41	74.545
Sat 20 th August	14	25.455	33.333	1	1.818	2.381	26	47.273	61.905	1	1.818181818	2.380952381	42	76.364
Sun 21 st August	25	43.103	54.348	1	1.724	2.174	18	31.034	39.130	2	3.448275862	4.347826087	46	79.310
Mon 22 nd Aug	24	40.678	52.174	0	0.000	0.000	22	37.288	47.826	0	0	0	46	77.966
TOTAL	273	28.29015544	38.944	22	2.280	3.138	366	37.927	52.211	40	4.14507772	5.706134094	701	72.642

APPENDIX 11: MEDIA ANALYSIS THEORETICAL TABLES

Example: Military/War metaphors

The Guardian	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This may not have been the most vintage performance from Keiron Cunningham’s men with ball in hand, but in terms of grit and never-say-die attitude • Oliver Hannon-Dalby, returning to his roots and performing admirably – <i>admirably</i>... isolated show of aggression on a day of attrition • renewed belief that they can now press for victory • “Now there are six big teams who want to win, they want to kill us,” Ranieri said. • Competing over an attritional course • The cricket remained unusually attritional after the break. • Del Potro - including a weapons-grade forehand down the line • The dual Dally M Medallist then outjumped two Warriors players to snare a bomb at the other end of the field, his efforts nearly ending in a try for his new team • The bombardment he and his team received from Devon Malcolm and Ian Bishop • 3m synchro Mears & Laugher - As the most British of drizzle fell softly on Rio, the 3m synchronised gold went to the pair who saved their bravest effort for the biggest of stages...Ambition was required and they were never going to die wondering • Cavendish and Wiggins - That spat might have been put down to pre- Games tension between two long-time quarrelsome brothers in arms had it not come on top of everything else. • That soldier-in, soldier-out mentality will be tested more than ever this time around. • He will battle for gold against Juan Martín del Potro, conqueror of Novak Djokovic in the first round • the stalemate remained and chances were few and far between. • Drogba and Aurelien Collin battled throughout most of the evening • When the referee intervened to tidy up an early locking of horns the Kazak glared at his opponent, urging him on for a war if he wanted one....Joyce, the late-blooming 30-year-old part-time model and former rugby player • Team GB will do battle against the Netherlands in quest for gold medal • On the field Celtic carried all the early threat. They hounded and battered the visitors to the point where Beer-Sheva spent the opening stages in shell-shock • Then came Herath. That familiar unassuming approach, the same round-arm dollop as though lobbing a potato-masher into a German trench • Where military terms are too often employed in sport, Herath is doubtless described as a warrior. He’s better described as a warhorse. • Muhammad, the Walthamstow warrior • Ranieri on Vardy – “He’s a fighter.” • Wigan will have to sit on and watch next weekend as Hull and Warrington do battle for the Challenge Cup • UFC - They earned every penny over the course of a 25-minute war of attrition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tracey Crouch has thrown down the traditional gauntlet • Jessica Ennis-Hill faces an epic battle against her GB team-mate Katarina Johnson-Thompson in the heptathlon • Bronte Campbell overhauled Vollmer on the third leg and handed over a lead her sister never looked like surrendering to Leddecky. • Ellie Downie - “She’s a fighter.” • became styled as a “good v evil” showdown in the way that King’s battle with Efimova was • Ennis-Hill, though, is battle-hardened. • Konta did not surrender, by any means, • Jessica Ennis-Hill wasn’t going to die wondering • Klishina (Russian LJ) - has kept a low profile in recent weeks after she received personal abuse via social media from Russians who considered her to be a “traitor” for going to the Games

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Darkening skies added to the intensity of the battle for third 	
BBC	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bolt - and his battle with American sprinter Justin Gatlin is likely to be a highlight of the Games. Men's Rugby 7s - "We have only been together for 10 weeks, and to fight out there on the field, no matter what nation you are from - England, Scotland or Wales - is what a true team is about. The Murrays saved six match points, and wasted five set points, in an epic second-set tie-break Pre-tournament favourites Fiji were imperious from the opening whistle... Britain looked shell-shocked and Fiji added two more tries, with Dan Norton's score little consolation for GB. Wimbledon champion Murray, 29, retained his Olympic title with an epic four-set win over Argentina's Juan Martin del Potro It has been a pretty good season so far, with a close title fight and all but three of the races really entertaining, with fights up and down the field... The battle between the two Mercedes drivers is much more interesting than last year, when Hamilton ran away with it The gun players are also back - England quintet Joe Root, Jonny Bairstow, Ben Stokes, Stuart Broad and Alex Hales and West Indies all-rounder Andre Russell just some of the names looking to fire their respective sides to glory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Catch up on all the best action from day two of the Rio Olympics, including Great Britain's first gold medal and a display of bravery by gymnast Ellie Downie. "Through the seasons, Sophie has been grafting, trying to iron out those chinks in the armour to make sure she was ready for this competition." – Sophie Hitchon Russian swimmer Yuliya Efimova has told BBC Sport being at the Rio Olympics was "awful" and "a war".
Sky Sports News	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> preferring to spread the ball wide rather than try to bludgeon and grind down opponents up front. The duo came up against an inspired Brazilian pair in the shape of Andre Sa and Thomaz Bellucci, who won an epic encounter 7-6 (8-6) 7-6 (16-14) Pogba - "He is quick, strong, scores goals and reads the game better than many players much older than he is."... he is ready to "just kill it" at Old Trafford. Daley, who took a brilliant bronze in the individual event at London 2012, was teaming up with Goodfellow for the first time at an Olympics and faced a real battle in an event where China are totally dominant. Chelsea are ready to hijack Arsenal's move for Inter striker Mauro Icardi In the battle between Champions League and Europa League winners The hosts lead the series 2-1 following their battling victory in the third Test at Edgbaston Cavendish - The 31-year-old went into the last of the six events 16 points behind leader Elia Viviani and although he battled well in the finale, he was unable to overhaul the Italian. Kante certainly impressed on his debut, completing 54 of 57 passes and frustrating West Ham with his typically combative approach David Rudisha retained his 800m title with an imperious display on another night of drama in the Olympic Stadium in Rio. Barcelona are the champions and they'll be expected to battle against familiar foes Real Madrid and Atletico Madrid once again, but what's new in La Liga Is Raheem Sterling Pep's most potent weapon? "It was a fight until the end and you could see Leicester have some mental qualities and that explains why they were champions last year." (Wenger on Arsenal v Leicester, 0-0) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> British No 1 Johanna Konta also progressed to the quarter-finals, but had to battle back from a set down to complete a gruelling 3-6 7-5 7-5 win over eighth seed Svetlana Kuznetsova. "Playing the New Zealanders, it is always going to be a physical battle." – GB Hockey women

Twitter

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mo Farah. The 33-year-old is gunning for more success• Mo Farah - The Brit makes it back-to-back Olympic gold medals with an epic performance in Rio.• Murray - After a truly epic four-hour battle with Juan Martín del Potro in the men's singles final, the Brit claimed the gold medal once again - becoming the first player ever to win back-to-back singles golds!• Sergio Aguero is just lethal• Nile Wilson scores BRONZE medal in men's high bar! The British athlete rounded off an epic Olympics for the Team GB gymnastics squad. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ennis-Hill - She never stops fighting - and she battled her way to a silver medal in Rio to follow up her London 2012 gold. |
|--|---|

APPENDIX 12: SPSS OUTPUT

SPSS Output for Multiple Regression

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.549 ^a	.302	.293	3.48920

a. Predictors: (Constant), Identified sex of respondent, Self identified ability at sport and PE, Scale of family involvement in sport, Scale of friend participation in sport

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	1720.443	4	430.111	35.329	.000 ^b
	Residual	3981.073	327	12.175		
	Total	5701.515	331			

a. Dependent Variable: Number of hours sport and physical activity (PE included) adjusted from data

b. Predictors: (Constant), Identified sex of respondent, Self identified ability at sport and PE, Scale of family involvement in sport, Scale of friend participation in sport

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	6.349	1.301		4.881	.000	3.790	8.909
	Self identified ability at sport and PE	.720	.104	.354	6.899	.000	.514	.925
	Scale of friend participation in sport	-.694	.217	-.178	-3.201	.002	-1.120	-.267
	Scale of family involvement in sport	-.634	.190	-.166	-3.330	.001	-1.008	-.259
	Identified sex of respondent	-1.014	.438	-.120	-2.314	.021	-1.875	-.152

a. Dependent Variable: Number of hours sport and physical activity (PE included) adjusted from data

SPSS Output for Numbers of students meeting PA recommendations

Identified sex of repondent * Student meets recommended 7 hours of PA per week Crosstabulation

			Student meets recommended 7 hours of PA per week		Total
			No	Yes	
Identified sex of repondent	Male	Count	116	79	195
		% within Identified sex of repondent	59.5%	40.5%	100.0%
	Female	Count	101	36	137
		% within Identified sex of repondent	73.7%	26.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	217	115	332
		% within Identified sex of repondent	65.4%	34.6%	100.0%

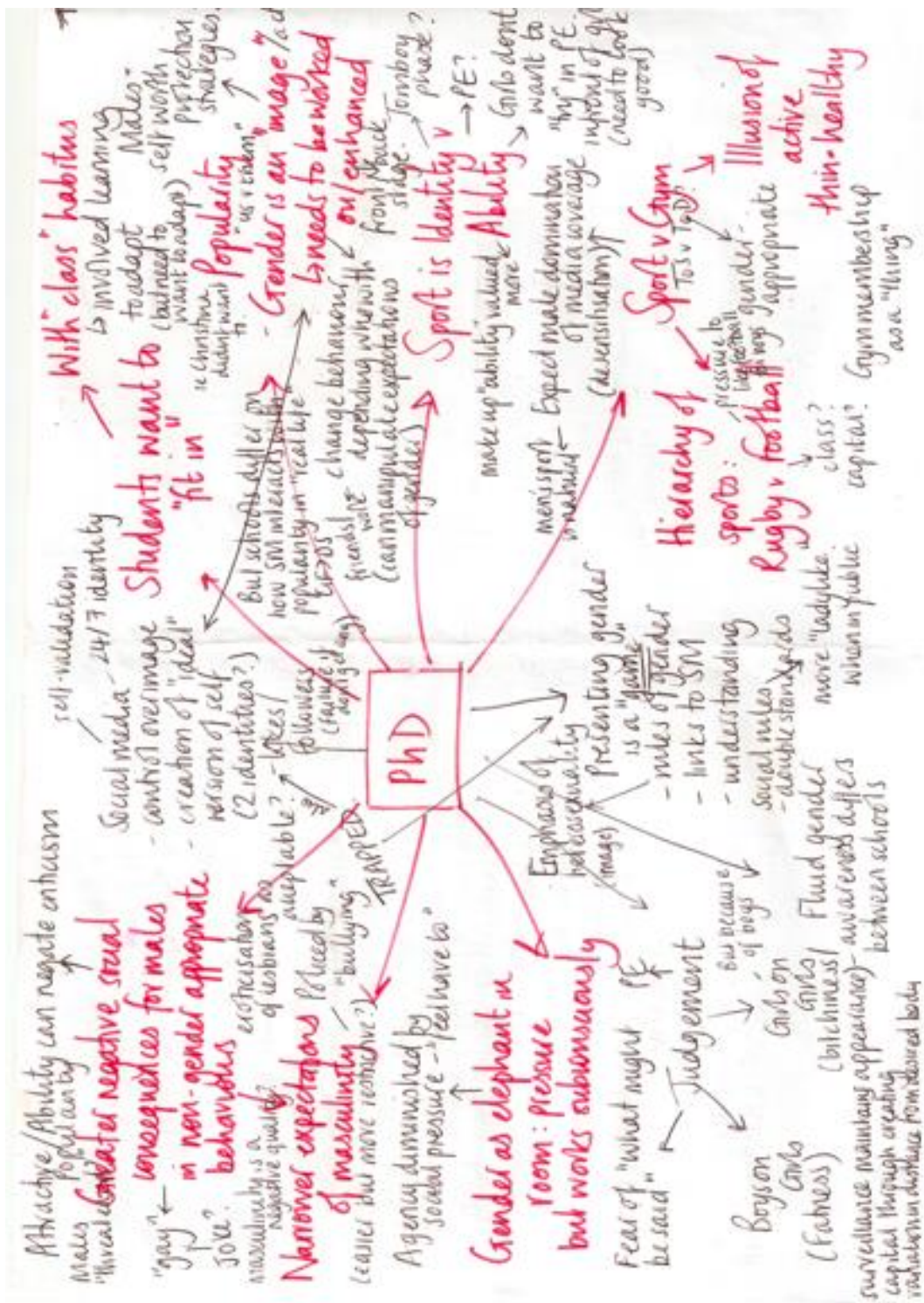
SPSS Output for difference in ability between young men and women

Group Statistics

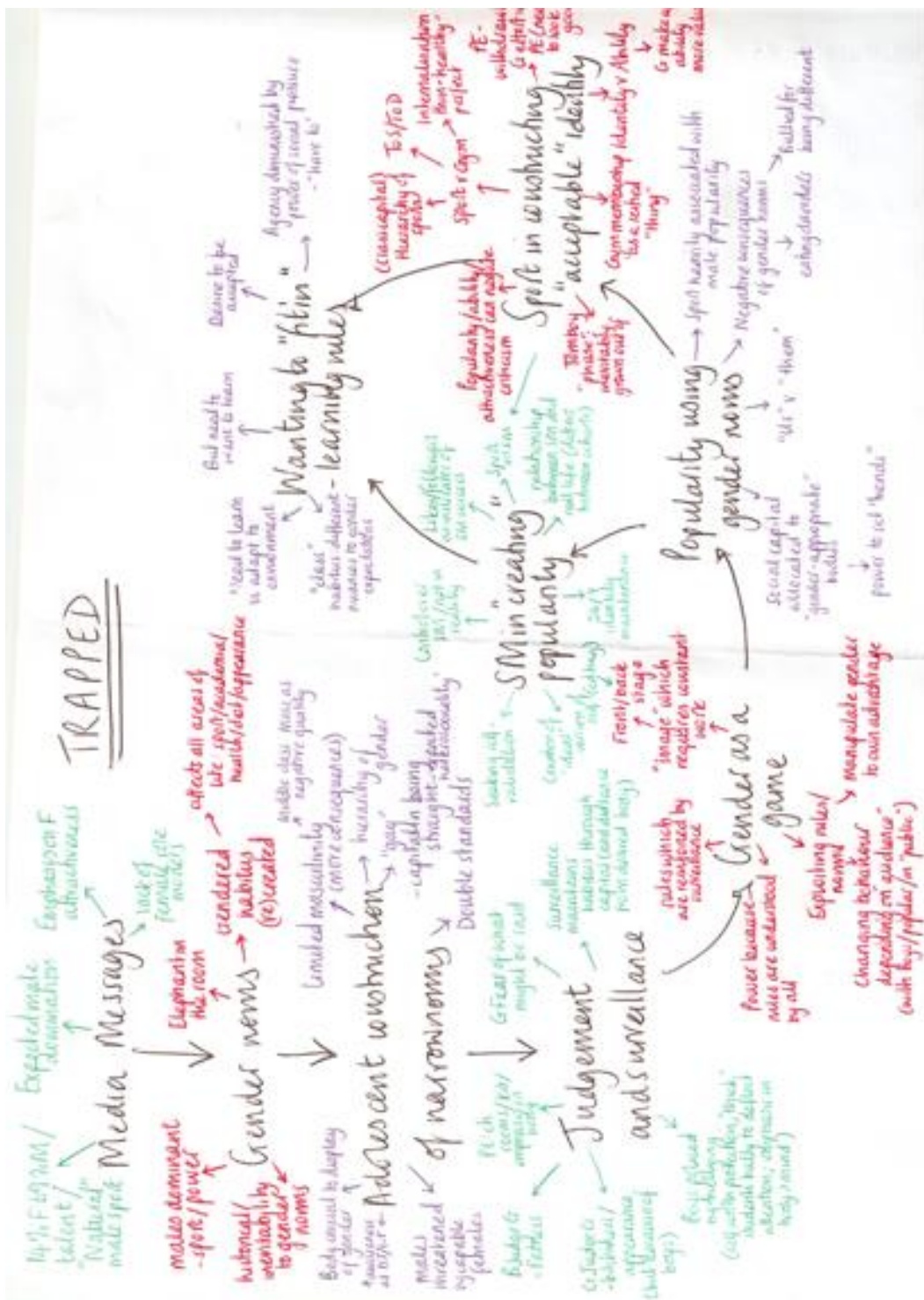
	Identified sex of respondent	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Self identified ability at sport and PE	Male	195	6.92	2.079	.149
	Female	137	6.34	1.938	.166

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Self identified ability at sport and PE	Equal variances assumed	.029	.865	2.583	330	.010	.582	.225	.139	1.026
	Equal variances not assumed			2.615	305.088	.009	.582	.223	.144	1.020



APPENDIX 14: MIND MAP V2



APPENDIX 15: THEMATIC ANALYSIS TABLE

Example thematic analysis table for “Judgement and Surveillance” theme from School 2:

<p>Surveillance maintains habitus through allocating capital and stating distance/proximity from ideal body:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gary: In schools, and in friend groups, people do put pressure on you to be quite masculine. But if you’re in your home environment with your family and it’s quite friendly, then there’s no pressure on anyone • Gary: I think it’s just you wanna act a specific way so that you don’t receive any criticism. And as soon as someone doesn’t act a specific way then the criticism, the name-calling starts and so on, so then you kind of refuse to act that way [different to expectations] so you don’t get hurt (want to fit in to avoid judgement) • Gary: they put on, they’re dressing how they think other people want them to dress rather than they want to dress. Like having a boyfriend or girlfriend can be quite important to other people, like a status symbol, so that they’re working their way up the ladder so that they can be more popular (surveillance impacts on how choose to represent themselves) • Cameron: Like for girls, I guess there are different expectations and stuff like about body image which can be a problem. And for boys, I guess like expectations to like certain things, to be a certain way. So I guess it’s similar (surveillance creates and reinforces pressure about how males and females should look) • Ruth: I feel like everything is about how we [women] look like. Like girls in general, everything is focused on what we look like basically • Ruth: But I feel like boys, they’re quite, like girls too, everyone is really judgemental of people so that pushes people further and further away from people [if you don’t fit the norms] • Ellie: People will point out that someone doesn’t have makeup today, questioning “haven’t you slept?” or “is there something up, are you ill?”, it’s like “no, I just haven’t put makeup on this morning” (pressure to look good and conform to norms of attractiveness)
<p>Self-surveillance in accordance with gender norms (comparisons to others):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chris: Like for me, being on the rowing team, I kind of compare my strength to other people because I’m always trying to one-up them, so I always want to be ahead / Graham: I don’t think there are any specific people for me, maybe just an idea about what you should be (self-surveillance to an idea; power of ideas and norms; Sam comparing to rowers – more instrumental view of one’s body rather than on appearance) • Gus: Like people broadly in my age range, like my age to young adults. Like it can be anyone, like friends and celebrities • Gus: Just sort of aspects of you compared to them, like it would probably be a different process with each person, but you might like compare your personality, how you look, should you look like him? / SM: And as a result of this comparison are you thinking “oh crap, I’m not a good”? / Gus: Yeah, sometimes, yeah. But then sometimes I think positively as well thinking that I look good. Like it can work both ways (self surveillance and regulation in relation to other people’s representations of gender) • Cameron: SM: And how does it make you feel comparing yourself to these people who are seen to be “perfect”? / Cameron: I guess it doesn’t make you feel as though you value yourself as much because you don’t seem as good in comparison (self-surveillance maintains feeling of “lack” in relation to gender norms) • Lucy: Like I don’t wear makeup to school very often because I’m just too tired on a morning and can’t be bothered, but everyone else does, so it’s a bit like “aaargh I’m not wearing makeup and everyone else is, so they might look better than me”, so it’s a bit annoying

- Lucy: SM: Who are you comparing to? / Lucy: It can be anyone, but friends because I am around them all the time, but like if I saw a random person on the street then I could compare myself to them and make myself so much more, like feel worse
- Lucy: So if I see someone I'll think "oh she's got nice hair" so it will start off as a compliment to other people, but then it'll turn into me turning on myself
- Mia: SM: Have you ever compared your body to anyone else's? / Mia: Yes, it's not necessarily to any specific people, but to like the ideal, which is like skinny and curvy at the same time, with all these unrealistic proportions, it's like something that I could never achieve. So I don't really compare myself anymore because I'm not really that bothered, I'm happy with who I am. But I used to be really conscious of it. I used to just cover myself because I felt conscious about what I was wearing. Like if I was wearing a skirt like I used to, I'd just worry about my legs and the stretch marks that were showing
- Maisie: And you like look at famous people and think that she might have a really skinny waist, and then look at yourself, so like I don't have a skinny waist, so you can be put off like that
- Chloe: It's like horrible when you think it's fine and someone else makes a comment because then you start to think that something's wrong. But then if you think that it's fine then you'll continue to wonder whether it is right or the other people are right in making a criticism / Ellie: And then you start to panic about random things, like just walking down the corridor because you feel like you're being watched (fear leads to self-surveillance to prevent unknown surveillance)
- Ellie: If I get a funny look in the corridor, I want to know why. And if I can't find out why, then I worry if it's the way I look, because I've done something to that person, or what. And then I want to go to the mirror in the toilets and check that I don't have something weird on my face. So then it just builds up and builds up (fear leads to self-surveillance in accordance with norms)
- Jarda: it's so easy to become obsessed with comparing your body to others, like it can be dangerous the whole idea of body image. But I don't think people see body image as a real danger.
- Kate: I think on social media you like compare yourself to other people a lot...well I follow lots of celebrities and people like, so like models who have the perfect body, and post their perfect breakfasts and stuff...it kind of makes me feel like I should be trying harder
- Kate: I think when you start judging yourself to other people, that makes you just feel less and less confident
- Kate: there'll be some girls who will be better than you, so those who look better than you or have a better body than you, and you kind of just feel down compared to them, so you want to be like them

Surveillance and judgement by boys, on boys:

- Connor: this sounds kind of sexist and I don't want it to, but girls envy the prettiness of other girls. And lads don't have as much envy as other lads
- Max: Probably actually not being as judged about your appearance at school, although it still goes on it's just slightly to a lesser degree (less judgement of boys)
- Jarda: like modern day boys are very easy to impress each other, like whether that's bad behaviour, trying to joke around, I think that's become the idea of masculinity, of being like boys want to impress each other, more than girls want to impress each other, because they kind of show off a lot, like doing things that are funny, making jokes and laugh about stuff, in ways that they would never accept or admit that they wanted to impress the other boys, but it clearly is to everyone else that they are (concerned with maintaining image in front of boys)

Boys judge girls = fatness/appearance:

- Ruth: Typically for a girl, what a boy would want, is tall, thin, tanned / Maisie: But they've got to have a big bum and big boobs as well as being skinny and tanned at the same time. Which is impossible (boys set expectations for surveillance)

- Ellie: It's just a lot of the boys are really looking at what girls look like because for them sex is so important
- Ellie: there was a cute female sixth-former who walked past us in the corridor – nice body shape, and the guys were all like whistling at her, they weren't cackling but they were nudging each other and being like "oh look at her, she's got a really nice arse" and stuff like that, and I thought that was disgusting what they were saying / Chloe: The fact that the guys are saying this behind your back makes you feel a bit uncomfortable / E: Like a bit claustrophobic because if they're saying that to her, what's stopping them saying that, or even worse things about me?
- Jarda: when we go on nights out, people kind of dress up so that boys will feel impressed or boys will like us (girls want to be noticed by males; benefit in heterosexuality)

Bitchiness of girls = appearance (but occurs because of boys):

- Connor: this sounds kind of sexist and I don't want it to, but girls envy the prettiness of other girls. And lads don't have as much envy as other lads
- Lucy: I feel in school there is a lot of pressure on how girls look and how we dress, not necessarily for ourselves but for other people
- Lucy: SM: How does looking nice for your friends help? / Lucy: I'm not sure, it makes me feel more confident about myself, like it makes me feel more confident around them. Like I don't think they're really affected by whether I wear makeup or not, but it's nice if they notice and you get a compliment, it boosts your confidence
- Mia: I feel like girls are a lot more vicious about what they say, whereas boys don't really think about what they say and just say it and move on with their day. But with girls it will be really malicious comments
- Kate: I think the judgement comes from girls, but I think that's because of boys, sort of, so the girls think that because they think that's what the boys want

Judgement occurs within school systems and structures (PE/kits/emphasis on body):

- Mia: [preferred sports in PE are] basketball and benchball, like dodgeball. Mainly team sports. I don't really like to be singled out, so when you're in a team it makes it much easier to do it because you're not as judged
- Mia: SM: Do you ever feel self-conscious in PE? / Mia: Sometimes, because some of the other girls, they like to not take part, and like say, or just like refuse to do things, and if you generally enjoy yourself or want to take part then they just judge you for that and for having fun
- Eliza: I like it better now because in year 7, 8 and 9 you had to wear skorts / Mia: I still have a skort, I hate it / Eliza: Besides in winter when it was cold and you were allowed to wear joggers, that was fine. But now we can have leggings or joggers all year around, so that's OK, but I didn't like the skorts... And like, even with a skort, even though it has the shorts underneath, it still runs up, so I still feel like everything is on show, like there aren't shorts there and I'm just being revealed. But with leggings I could kick my leg above my head and have no shame.../Mia: It doesn't feel revealing because you're covered. But it's like when you can see skin, it's just a bit more revealing to feel like that (bodies exposed in PE)
- Eliza: And like getting changed in PE I used to like face the wall so people could see my back, but that was it / Mia: And I used to get changed as quick as possible
- Ruth: We didn't use to [like the PE kit] because we used to have to wear skorts, but now we can just wear leggings. Like they're [leggings] are easier because skorts used to like come up
- Jill: like with what you have to wear, like you [girls] can wear shorts, but it was only recently that that was allowed, like I don't like wearing a skort, because I don't like the idea of skirts and that. But then we have skorts, short sleeve top, and joggers and jumpers, but the boys don't have joggers and jumpers
- Jill: like things like when you're playing the game, where everyone lines up and one person has to kick it and then run, like Danish long ball, and everyone kind of looks at you

when you do that because you're one person and everyone else is focusing on you, or like when you get pulled up to do a demonstration or something, it's just having someone stare at you, it just makes you so much more aware of what you're doing

- Jill: But sometimes like when I'm getting changed, like usually people wear bras and knickers, but I wear boxer shorts because it's much more comfortable, so getting changed then makes me more comfortable because I don't feel as revealed
- Ellie: the PE kit is that girls wear a t-shirt and a skort, but the boys can wear long shorts, their long-sleeved shirt and the football socks which can cover most of their bodies, so there isn't much skin showing. Whereas for girls, it's a bit exposing, because these skirts aren't very long
- Ellie: in my PE class, and sometimes we have to walk past them and see the boys, like if we have to go into the hall and sit near them, and then I get eyes on me and I become really self-conscious and I don't like it. And my other choice is to wear long trousers but they can't be flowy-outy, they have to cling to me, because they have to be for health and safety, so you can't wear massive tracksuit bottoms in case you trip up. It's just health and safety, but I don't like being looked at
- Jarda: I think there's the whole idea of judgement, like obviously all the boys are sat in their own group already, and then there's the whole thing of you know, you're in a skort. Like it's unusual there isn't the fear about walking into a classroom full of boys, which is weird because you'd never really think of that walking into a normal classroom, but suddenly you're in your PE clothes and it's a PE class and there's the immediate like terrifying thing about walking into a room which is weird
- Jarda: I am a huge fan now that they have introduced the legging thing, I think 100% of girls will agree that that was the best move, I just feel a lot more covered, I'm quite like, I'll wear big jumpers and big coats, I'm not really one for tiny clothes, so the whole thing of being able to wear your leggings is quite nice and you're not so exposed
- Kate: SM: How do you feel in PE in relation to judgement? / Kate: I think yeah you're judged a bit, so like there are some girls who have skinnier legs or tummy than me, and I guess I'm afraid that they'll look at me and think I'm not that skinny

Fear of what might be said (uncertainty of surveillance):

- Connor: scared of judgement, like being prejudiced against, yeah, scared of social prejudice, makeup (what femininity is)
- Ellie: there was a cute female sixth-former who walked past us in the corridor – nice body shape, and the guys were all like whistling at her, they weren't cackling but they were nudging each other and being like "oh look at her, she's got a really nice arse" and stuff like that, and I thought that was disgusting what they were saying / Chloe: The fact that the guys are saying this behind your back makes you feel a bit uncomfortable / Ellie: Like a bit claustrophobic because if they're saying that to her, what's stopping them saying that, or even worse things about me?
- Chloe: It's like horrible when you think it's fine and someone else makes a comment because then you start to think that something's wrong. But then if you think that it's fine then you'll continue to wonder whether it is right or the other people are right in making a criticism / Ellie: And then you start to panic about random things, like just walking down the corridor because you feel like you're being watched (fear leads to self-surveillance to prevent unknown surveillance)
- Jarda: I've said to my mum that I really want to wear them but I said I was scared I'd be judged for what I was wearing because it isn't the feminine look, and I definitely have had an inbuilt panic on days like these, and I've worn something else because I thought I'd get too judged for wearing that outfit... SM: And when you say you were fearful of being judged, where would you say that judgement was coming from? / Jarda: I think it was mentally, like thinking about the judgement, like we exaggerate in our heads that it's going to be this huge crisis that everyone is going to turn around and go "ooh what's she wearing? What's she wearing?" but I think, like as a person when I see someone wearing something I don't judge them, so surely other people aren't doing the same thing about

<p>me. And I think that it takes time to realise that people aren't really thinking too much about you (fear and panic over consequences)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kate: I think everyone judges everyone else, but you don't tend to see anyone judge anyone straight to my face. So I don't think anyone would say anything, but you know what they were thinking • Kate: In my old friendship groups they used to be really judgey, but they wouldn't hide it, they would just say it straight to you, and then it starts of this circuit of "what are they thinking, are they talking about me, what are they saying?", so you constantly question everything 	
<p>Time taken to get ready for going out:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gary: Probably from waking up to leaving the house, about an hour / SM: If you were going out on a weekend with your friends or you were doing something with them socially, how long would it take to get ready then? / Gary: Erm, probably the same time, maybe like an hour • Gus: I like to be very precise, because I cut it fine, usually about 13-14 minutes ... maybe a couple of minutes longer, because like for school you don't have to choose any clothes, like you just have the uniform • Dylan: 10 minutes...Probably the same, because I feel that men think that there is less to sort of do to get ready • Max: like physically getting ready, doing my hair, that kind of thing, unless I have a shower, about 5 minutes. And it's usually only that long because I've lost my belt! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lucy: I wouldn't say very long, like half an hour, even though that's still quite long... I'd say I'd take longer if I was going out somewhere, because I would probably make more effort with my appearance and stuff • Kate: About half an hour / Erm, about an hour... when you're getting ready to go out, you just want to make an effort

APPENDIX 16: IMAGES OF FEMALE ATHLETES IN MEDIA

Images of female athletes who featured in more than one article on more than one day:



Laura Trott (now Kenny) (GB) – Four-time Olympic track Champion



Lizzie Armitstead (GB) – 2015 Road Race Champion, Commonwealth Champion



Becky James (GB) – Double World Champion, Double Olympic Silver medallist



Jess Ennis-Hill (GB) – Olympic Gold & Silver medallist



Simone Biles (US) – four golds and one bronze at Rio 2016



Katie Ledecky (US) – 5 time Olympic and 14-time World Champion



Nicola Adams (GB) – Double Olympic Champion