

AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE AND RESPONSE  
WITHIN THE SINGLE-SEX SECONDARY  
MILITARY BOARDING SCHOOL: A  
DRAMATURGICAL ANALYSIS

By

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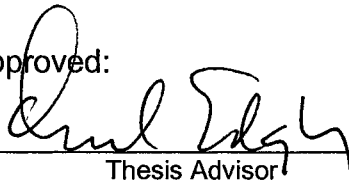
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## CHAPTER 1: DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM

### Introduction

“School of distinction,” an “environment of achievement,” “small classes,” “self-discipline,” and “educational excellence,” proclaim the ubiquitous advertisements for military academies that appear without fail in monthly editions of magazines such as Boy’s Life and Southern Living. Increasingly, these same advertisements are popping up on Internet sites as the World Wide Web expands. As Boller (1988), and more recently Stern (1994), contend the propensity of an ad to constrain the meanings consumers create in response to the ad stimulus involves both the information in the ad and presentation format.

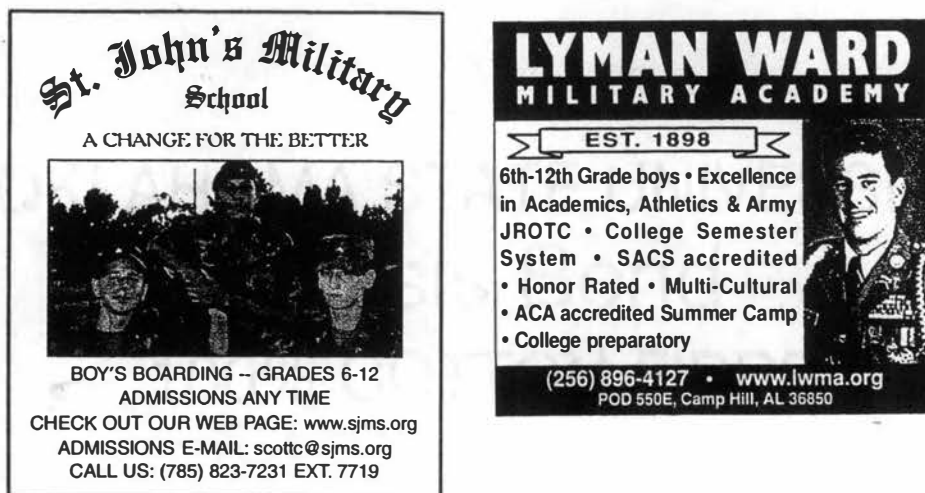


Figure 1:  
Military School Advertisements

Some, like Riverside Military Academy, seem especially self-confident; “Distinguished tradition of excellence” begins the advertisement. Young men dressed in cadet dress uniforms or camouflage fatigues fix readers’ attention with bright smiles; assuring parents that their particular military school enables students to develop intellectually, socially, morally, and physically, as self-disciplined, self-motivated, reliable citizens, through a combination of small classes, supervised study, tutorial assistance, military training, athletics, and a promise that every cadet can be taught “how to learn, how to labor, and how to live.”<sup>1</sup>

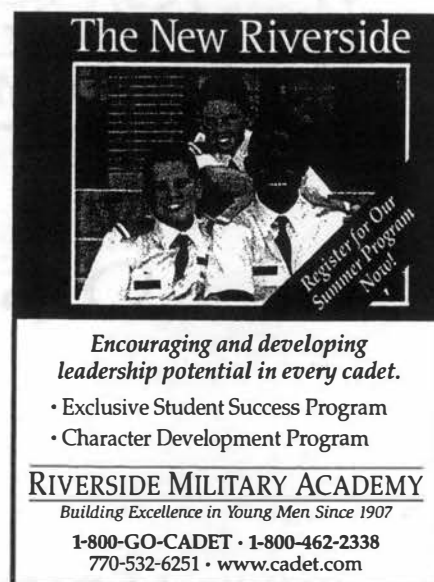
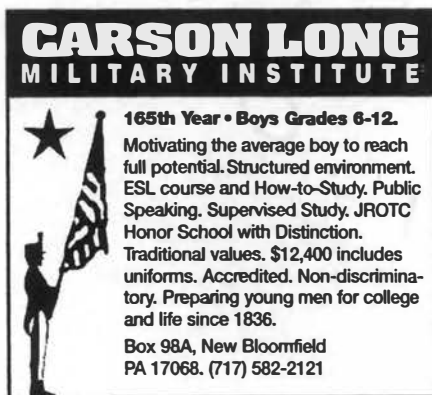


Figure: 2  
Military School Advertisements

Many readers might question such pronouncements’ veracity, conjuring up images of these schools as Spartan reformatories for upper middle class problem boys run by faculties and staffs of martialistic marionettes. Further, the fact that such schools may have a religious or spiritual component and profess they recruit “only clean-cut, manly boys”<sup>2</sup> brings to mind similitudes of heterosexual choir boys clad in military regalia – a picture that appeals to many parents, but is

most likely repellent to an equal number of their young sons. For many then, it is difficult to resolve these divergent preconceptions.

Despite our stereotypic familiarity with American military schools from movies such as Taps (Jaffire and Becker 1981), or Toy Soldiers (Freedman and Petrie 1991),<sup>3</sup> impartial examinations of these academies have been rare. Neglected by scholars who have concentrated their studies upon federally sponsored institutions such as West Point, the Air Force and Coast Guard Academies, and the like, who trade education for service enlistment, or secondary schools that also offer college or university curriculum, academe has paid little attention to secondary military schools – and even less to secondary military schools who cater only to boys who must reside on the premises for the duration of the school year. Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the social conditions, experiences, and responses of various interactional groups with an emphasis on the emergent meanings constructed by each as a product of social acts and encounters. To ground the reader in the situational contexts studied, this examination also includes a discussion of the mission, configuration, operation, and culture of a little known category of American education, the single-sex secondary military boarding school.

### Analytic Framework

Sociologists have not overlooked the ability of drama to present human motivation and behavior. Several sociological scholars have looked to the theater for insight into human presentation, display, and interaction. Georg

Simmel first articulated one of the earliest links between theater and sociological study in his captivation with the struggle between the individual and social self (Simmel in Levine 1971). George Herbert Mead, Kenneth Burke, and Erving Goffman, have also contributed greatly to the literature concerning human performance and society. Mead (1934), in his discussion of the “I” and the “Me” parts of the self tells us we experience society in relation to others. Burke’s dramatism includes a “pentad” consisting of five terms he describes as “generating principles” (1969:15) that are strikingly similar to investigative questions such as “what, where, who, how, and why?” Goffman (1959, 1961) uses the metaphor of drama to explain how social meaning is attributed to people in ordinary, everyday interaction.

The dramaturgical approach is grounded in the deceptively simple concept that life resembles theater with humans capable, like actors, of contributing to others’ views of reality by what is and is not revealed in daily encounters. It is concerned with all communication, whether verbal or otherwise, that impacts the meanings people attribute to the experiences they share with others. Situations thought utterly irrelevant in the larger scheme of human life, such as walking past a colleague on a sidewalk, are analyzed for tone, attitude, body language, and a host of other variables that together comprise the context of the encounter.

The dramaturgical model is rich with pathways to understanding that make it a natural choice for sociological application. Many scholars have applied dramaturgical analysis to situations as diverse as victory celebrations (Snow, Zurcher, and Peters 1979), the exercise of power (Kitahara 1986), the

experience of vaginal examinations (Henslin and Biggs 1978), and the rite of the American funeral (Turner and Edgley 1976; Brissett and Edgley 1990). A fine example of dramaturgical application can be found in Burns' (1972) work in theatrical convention. Burns concludes that audiences authenticate performances in the realm of the theater based on their authenticity in the realm of life experience.

The spectator, however, cannot accept truth or authenticity in drama unless it can be related to his own experience of theatricality in ordinary life. He himself, outside the theater, is a trained performer and is obliged to exercise some of the skills of dramatist, producer, and actor. (Burns 1972:205)

This state of viewing life with audience consciousness leads to a demarcation between being "on" and "off." Such awareness of how others perceive us and how we wish to be perceived, while having its genesis in Goffman's work, has bred an entire field known as impression management (Schlenker 1980).

The use of the dramaturgical model by sociologists explains its appeal, if not its limited use, in the analysis of single-sex secondary military boarding schools. Theater appears in similar organizational literature as metaphor (Mangham and Overington 1983). Morgan's (1986) landmark work establishing the effectiveness of metaphor in discovering the operating dynamics of organizations makes only passing reference to the applicability of theater in this regard, and no mention of the potential dramaturgical analysis may hold for unlocking metaphors in play in organizations. This is especially curious given the great attention focused on the metaphor of machine, political system, organism, and culture in his work. More recent literature advancing the concept of framing

(Bolman and Deal 1991) or imaginization (Morgan 1993) fails to address what the theatrical metaphor may reveal about organizations and institutions. Where it appears in the literature at all, theater is treated as germane to organizational ceremony and ritual (Dill 1982) rather than integral to organizational dynamics. The best application of “framing” in this regard comes from Goffman’s (1974) book, Frame Analysis. For an even better understanding of organizations as comprehensive cantonments for young men, Goffman’s (1961) application of dramaturgical analysis to total institutions specifically addresses the roles, rites, and rituals of those confined within them.

### Method

Several qualitative techniques were used to conduct the study. These include documentary review, field observations, and interviews. In addition, surveys were administered providing both quantitative and qualitative data. The use of multiple data gathering methods strengthened the content and quality of data collected, and its subsequent analysis. The groups studied were administrative staff, faculty, military staff, support staff, and parents of cadets enrolled in the eight remaining single-sex secondary military boarding schools in the United States. Additional supporting data were gained through dialogue with alumni of these eight schools and other persons interested in secondary military schools.

## Limitations

An obvious limitation is the selected research population. On one hand, we may view the population as narrow in concentration, as this study focuses on unique groups of people; those associated with single-sex secondary military boarding schools. On the other hand, the population appears broad, as five groups within eight schools were studied. However, regarding the ethics of anonymity, it was imperative to research each of the eight schools to protect individual school and subject identities while presenting primary data. Further, to have studied only one or two of the schools could have biased readers by suggesting all schools of this type were as described in this dissertation. Moreover, the nature of this study suggests we should be cautious in applying findings to other institutional contexts and populations.

This was also a one-time study. That is, the interpretation of data applies to these particular institutions and persons for the period studied only. Social life is flux; social conditions, experiences, and perceptions change continually in these institutions. Actors are also subject to change causing results to become even more restricted by the passing of time. Because of these factors, replication would be difficult, if not completely impossible.<sup>4</sup>

Portions of information collected were gathered from secondary data utilizing documentary review, relying on mediated rather than live interaction. Therefore, analysis of this material was based on the textual and symbolic images presented.

We tend to see performances as something not purposely put together at all, being an unintentional product of the individual's unself-conscious response to the facts in his situation. (Goffman 1959:70)

In this respect, some readers might view the data collected from archival documents and Internet web sites as "purposely put together," while at the same time forcing readers to make subjective observation without physical validation. That is, in the most controlled and static manner possible, the promotional literature and web sites presented by these schools potentially depicts only what is desired for viewers to see. Certainly, it is unlikely these (or any other) institutions would advertise shortcomings they may have. In fact, that would negate the purpose for promoting themselves for consideration by others.

Finally, as mentioned, this is a qualitative and inductive study. Offered here is a conceptual scheme for audience assessment of social action among interactional groups associated with single-sex secondary military boarding schools within the limitations of a dramaturgical framework.

### Significance of the Study

Results are beneficial in a variety of ways. First, this project adds to the existing body of academic literature in the areas of sociology, education, and military science. Next, this research provides an occasion for subjects to discuss personal experiences and perceptions of interactions with others. Additionally, members of each group may have a clearer understanding of what it means to be in another group's position, i.e., it may enhance their role-taking abilities. Furthermore, this study can serve as an informative guide for those who may



become employed by, or who may wish to enroll their children in a single-sex secondary military boarding school.

## CHAPTER 1 ENDNOTES

1. Quote taken from the Carson Long Military Institute mission statement.
2. Description of potential cadets from the Carson Long Military Institute website. <http://www.carsonlong.org/index.html>
3. Up The Academy (1980), a comedic film about an undisciplined military school was partially filmed on-site at one of the schools studied. The campus of St. John's Military School in Salina, Kansas was used as the setting; however, no school employees or students were part of the final production.
4. Qualitative research does not lend itself to arduous replication, thus reliability was not the researcher's primary methodological concern. In this highly qualitative study, validity was paramount.

## CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

This project requires grounding in a variety of elements. Three major areas are discussed in this chapter: an historical frame of reference built upon an understanding of the origins of secondary military education; an overview of the social organization and physical structure followed by brief descriptions of the eight single-sex secondary military boarding schools as they exist today; and descriptions concerning particular components of military education, boarding school life, and the single-sex educational experience.

### Historical Overview

If anthropological interpretation is constructing a reading of what happens, then to divorce it from what happens – from what, in this time or that place, specific people say, what they do, what is done to them, from the whole vast business of the world – is to divorce it from its applications and render it vacant. (Geertz 1973:24)

The desire of military boarding schools to attract and educate “clean-cut manly boys”<sup>1</sup> is steeped in historical tradition. Joseph Cogswell and George Bancroft opened the Round Hill School near Northampton, Massachusetts in 1824, adopting an educational model drawn from that of the German gymnasium in the United States. Round Hill was a boarding academy that stressed the development of student character. Its curriculum, like that of the German gymnasium, provided young men rigorous preparation for college. Although Round Hill closed 10 years later in 1834, the school served as a model for many early boarding academies (Button and Provenzo 1983).

Quickly, support grew for the variety of courses considerably broader than the old grammar curriculum, and literally hundreds of private military academies opened to serve the middle and upper classes who desired education for their offspring that included character, intellectual, and often religious components. Parents might likely have sent their sons to schools like “. . . the Sumter Military, Gymnastic, and Classical School to obtain a combination of ‘academical learning’ and the ‘manly arts’ . . . “(Cremin 1977:64). The academy’s blend of classics, moral development, citizenship, and pragmatism clearly suited nineteenth century America. Yet, only a handful of these once thriving military institutions have remained in operation. Given the immensity of this movement’s popularity, one cannot help but wonder why such academies fell from such prominence.

Although most academies survived their first year, only half lived for fifteen, and less than ten percent made it to their fiftieth anniversary. Academies opened after 1860 were seldom in operation a quarter of a century later. Many schools simply could not generate enough income to continue operations (Good and Teller 1973). Some (Brown [1903]1969) attributed this decline to an ever-increasing national sentiment that favored full public control and full public support of secondary education. Others, however, have suggested that even more crucial was the slow, but inevitable, transition of the United States from a rural to an urban society (Sizer 1964). While the military boarding academy was ideally suited to serving a thinly spread rural population, the day high school was better able to provide a similar service to America’s growing cities. Military

academies simply became less and less economical. To survive, the academies clearly needed to carve themselves a new niche in society.

In 1885, the National Educational Association (1964:190-201) provided these institutions with some guidance in its report "The Place and Function of the Academy." College complaints about ill-prepared students were growing despite, or perhaps because of, the rapid proliferation of public high schools. The report whole-heartedly recommended that the academies ". . . accept the preparation of young men for the American college as their true work" (National Educational Association 1964:201). Some schools took the report to heart and survived, with even a few becoming some of today's elite preparatory schools. Others either ignored the suggestion, or found they were unequal to the task and soon folded. However, the academy tradition – with its blend of liberal studies, moral development, and citizenship training, has continued to live on in this often disregarded nook of American military education.

### Social Organization and Physical Structure

It is important to thoroughly examine a review of current institutional literature to provide a comprehensive description of today's typical single-sex secondary military boarding school. This is done specifically with regard to its philosophy and educational objectives, governance, administration, finance, students, curriculum, faculty, and accommodations. First, this author defines single-sex secondary military boarding schools as:

Institutions for boys only, encompassing grades six, seven, or eight through twelve, that utilize a style of command emphasizing military aspects of discipline, regimentation, and esprit de corps over their wards while also providing civilly recognized academic instruction and lodging.

As a group, these schools stress the development of the whole student, giving equal weight to intellectual, physical, social, moral, and individual growth.

The typical single-sex secondary military boarding school is a private, not for profit institution with an independent governing board. Governmental relationships are limited to student financial aid, grants, and Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) contracts. Tuition is its primary source of revenue, accounting for nearly all the operating budget allowances. These schools are typically organized into four major divisions: administration, faculty, military staff, and support staff, with division heads reporting directly to the school president, who in turn reports to a board of directors.

Most students are between 12 and 19 years of age and attend the academy full-time. The majority of students are from out-of-state and stay for approximately two years. Many are drawn to the school for discipline purposes, but academic reputation, small class size, military orientation, and in some cases, religious training are often the deciding factors when choosing a school. Generally, all students participate in sporting activities, as well as physical military training. Church services are often mandatory, and cadets are subject to a self-imposed honor system.

Curriculum varies between the traditional seven to eight course offerings per day and a block schedule that typically offers four classes per day with two

separate schedules, each offered on alternate days. Both curricula incorporate general education and military education, usually in the form of ROTC. Whether ROTC, or some other style of military training, participation and adherence to military discipline are mandatory.

A mix of civilian and military faculty deliver courses. Some schools require instructors to wear uniforms while others do not. Most military personnel wear uniforms daily, yet some employees in the military department wear uniforms although they have no prior military experience. These civilians are granted institutional military rank commensurate with their positions and are expected to act and be treated the same as official military personnel.

Accommodations in these schools vary greatly, although tuition and fees typically do not. Where some schools have decaying infrastructures on restricted tracts of land, others reside upon vast acreages and offer amenities such as riding stables, Olympic sized pools, and private golf courses. Some dormitories are covered by faculty and staff 24 hours a day, but most have one employee for the duration of nighttime hours.

From this assessment of their own promotional literature, it seems that the major differences between these eight schools reside within religious philosophy, course presentation, apparel, and accommodations. Otherwise, all of the schools studied appear relatively similar in their general characteristics.<sup>2</sup> Identification, location, and brief profiles of the eight existing single-sex secondary military boarding schools are next presented.

## School Descriptions

1. *Camden Military Academy*: Camden, South Carolina.  
Grades: 7-12. Founded: 1892. Total enrollment: 311.  
Average class size: 15. Faculty-student ratio: 1:12.  
Number of faculty: 35, with 32 men and 3 women.
2. *Carson Long Military Institute*: New Bloomfield, Pennsylvania.  
Grades 6 -12. Founded: 1836. Total enrollment: 203.  
Average class size: 15. Faculty-student ratio: 1:11.  
Number of faculty: 23, with 14 men and 3 women.
3. *Lyman Ward Military Academy*: Camp Hill, Alabama.  
Grades 6 -12. Founded: 1898. Total enrollment: 207.  
Average class size: 14. Faculty-student ratio: 1:12.  
Number of faculty: 22, with 16 men and 6 women.
4. *Marine Military Academy*: Harlingen, Texas.  
Grades 8 -12. Founded: 1965. Total enrollment: 374.  
Average class size: 12. Faculty-student ratio: 1:12.  
Number of faculty: 39, with 21 men and 18 women.
5. *Missouri Military Academy*: Mexico, Missouri.  
Grades 6 -12. Founded: 1889. Total enrollment: 285.  
Average class size: 11. Faculty-student ratio: 1:11.  
Number of faculty: 47, with 28 men and 6 women.



6. *Riverside Military Academy*: Gainesville, Georgia.

Grades 8 -12. Founded: 1907. Total enrollment: 450.

Average class size: 12. Faculty-student ratio: 1:12.

Number of faculty: 52, with 44 men and 8 women.

7. *St. John's Military School*: Salina, Kansas.

Grades 6-12. Founded: 1887. Total enrollment: 145.

Average class size: 12. Faculty-student ratio: 1:12.

Number of faculty: 26, with 14 men and 6 women.

8. *St. John's Northwestern Military Academy*: Delafield, Wisconsin.

Grades 7-12. Founded: 1884. Total enrollment: 336.

Average class size: 12. Faculty-student ratio: 1:12.

Number of faculty: 43; with 35 men and 8 women.

A graphic depiction of these descriptions is found in Table 1 on the proceeding page.

## Educational Arrangements

### Military

The image you try hard not to be pegged with is that they are a reformatory school with a different name. (Lieutenant General Scott in AMCSUS 2001)

In the history of the United States, there have been about 600 military academies for boys. Now, there are thirty-two military schools for students in junior high through high school, according to the Association of Military Colleges

Table 1: School Demographics

MILITARY SCHOOL NAMES	LOCATION	GRADES	FOUNDED	CADETS ENROLLED	AVERAGE CLASS SIZE	FACULTY-STUDENT RATIO	NUMBER OF FACULTY BY SEX
CAMDEN	Camden, SC	7 - 12	1892	311	15	1:12	35: 32 Males/3 Females
CARSON LONG	New Bloomfield, PA	6 - 12	1836	203	15	1:11	17: 14 Males/3 Females
LYMAN WARD	Camp Hill, AL	6 - 12	1898	207	14	1:12	22: 16 Males/6 Females
MARINE	Harlingen, TX	8 - 12	1965	374	12	1:12	39: 21 Males/18 Females
MISSOURI	Mexico, MO	6 - 12	1889	285	11	1:11	34: 28 Males/6 Females
RIVERSIDE	Gainesville, GA	8 - 12	1907	450	12	1:12	52: 44 Males/8 Females
ST. JOHN'S	Salina, KS	6 - 12	1887	180	12	1:12	26: 14 Males/6 Females
ST. JOHN'S N.W.	Delafield, WS	7 - 12	1884	336	12	1:12	43: 35 Males/8 Females

Table 1: School Demographics

and Schools of the United States (AMCSUS 2001), and only eight of these remain all male boarding schools. The organization estimates that total student enrollment in these eight schools is about 2000 to 2400 with steady enrollment, averaging about 250 to 300 students each.

From the declining numbers of these schools across the country, it is obvious that military schools have struggled with recruitment in the past several decades. In the post-Vietnam era enrollment radically declined. According to the AMCSUS (2001), about one-fourth of military campuses have closed since the 1970s. Despite the declining numbers of military schools, survivors are experiencing soaring enrollments as parents see the need for more values and discipline in their children's education. By shifting their focus from training future soldiers to preparing civic leaders, as well as “. . . offering alternatives to the impersonal environments and value-neutral, watered-down curricula of many public schools” (Asch 1999:40), military schools have made a comeback. Others state that rising enrollments are due to news press focus on social problems in the public schools. Still others describe the rise in enrollment because of the need for more structure and discipline amid incidents of school violence (Franck 2000). As a result, enrollment is on a slight swell and many schools are meeting their quotas – a few even have waiting lists (O'Hare 1995).

Educational excellence is a highly touted characteristic offered by these schools. This is purportedly achieved through small class sizes that typically are between nine and fourteen students per class (U.S. Department of Education,

National Center for Education Statistics 1997). The national study, "When Money Matters," by the Policy Information Center has defined small classes as those of less than 20 students and large classes as those of more than 20 students (Wenglinsky 1997).

Many educators and policymakers have long argued that with fewer students teachers can give each of them more individual attention. Small classes do allow teachers to give students more individual attention and lighten the teacher's workload. Therefore, they are generally considered desirable, although research on the relationship between outcomes and class size has not been conclusive (Mosteller, Light, and Sachs 1996). Research, however, for the most part, seems to support the belief in the benefits of small classes. While not all studies on the subject have shown that students learn more in smaller settings, most have found benefits. The biggest and most credible of them, a statewide study begun in Tennessee in the late 1970s, has even found that the learning gains students make in classes of 13 to 17 students persist long after the students move back into average-size classes (Viadero 2001). This same study of 7,000 students in Tennessee found that students in small classes performed substantially better on tests in various subjects than their counterparts in large classes (Wenglinsky 1997).

Project STAR, the largest, longest-lasting, and most controlled study to date on class size was also able to show that bringing class size down has positive effects on student achievement in all subject areas (Wexler, Izu, Carlos, Fuller, and Kirst 1998). Some studies have found that small classes allow

teachers to spend more time on instruction and less on classroom management. One such study also suggested that smaller classes allow more – and more protracted – interaction between teachers and individual students (Bourke 1986). Teachers also report they can cover the curriculum faster and in greater depth. Studies further support findings that students in small classes are more motivated. In a STAR follow-up questionnaire, teachers rated students from small classes much higher than their large-class counterparts on effort (e.g., pays attention in class; completes assignments; works well with other children) and initiative taking (e.g., does more than just the assigned work; asks questions to get more information). Small-class students, they said, were far less apt to be disruptive, passive, or withdrawn (Wexler, Izu, Carlos, Fuller, and Kirst 1998).

The empirical evidence seems clear. Smaller classes can mean higher levels of student achievement. However, major pieces of research on this issue find ambiguous results. Researchers continue to analyze the question, but can only say at this point that the greater the class size beyond 15, the less the likelihood that the outcomes will be as positive. Further, in small-class research, "small classes" (Viadero 2001:9) has meant the number of pupils actually in classrooms, not a ratio of cadets per educator.

The academic program in many of these schools is directed by a "block schedule." Gordon Cawelti (1994:2) defines block scheduling as follows: "At least part of the daily schedule is organized into larger blocks of time (more than sixty minutes) to allow flexibility for a diversity of instructional activities." The variations are endless, and may involve reconfiguring the lengths of terms as well

as the daily schedule. Some of the possibilities detailed by Canady and Rettig (1995) include:

- Four ninety-minute blocks per day with the school year divided into two semesters. Former year-long courses are completed in one semester.
- Alternate day block schedule with six or eight courses spread out over two days. Teachers meet with half of their students each day.
- Two large blocks and three standard-sized blocks per day with the school year divided into sixty-day trimesters. Different subjects are taught in large blocks each trimester.
- Some classes (such as band, typing, foreign language) are taught daily, others in longer blocks on alternate days.
- Classes taught in six courses, each meeting in three single periods, and one double period per week.
- Classes taught in seven courses per block. Teachers meet with students three days out of four – twice in single periods, once in a double period.

There are many more possible configurations. Any of these can be modified to meet the specific needs of a school. For example, St. John's Military School has adopted an eight-block class schedule. This block schedule is made up of eight 90-minute classes within a two-day rotation schedule. This is an alternating schedule with course and rotation completion at the end of each semester.

Alternating simply means students will attend four 90-minute classes one day and four different 90-minute classes the next day. During the first week, the student will go to four 90-minute classes on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday and four 90-minute classes on Tuesday and Thursday. The second week, the student's previous Monday, Wednesday, and Friday classes will meet on Tuesday and Thursday, and the previous Tuesday and Thursday classes will meet Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The third and subsequent weeks continue in this alternating design.

"Traditional, inflexible scheduling is based on administrative and institutional needs," say Gary Watts and Shari Castle (1993:308). Six classes a day, five days a week, every day the same schedule is a grueling pace. A typical student will be in nine locations pursuing nine different activities in a six-and-a-half-hour school day. An average teacher must teach five or six classes, dealing with multiple students and preparations. "It (the schedule) produces a hectic, impersonal, inefficient instructional environment, providing inadequate time for probing ideas in depth, and tending to discourage using a variety of learning activities" (Carroll 1994:30). No matter how complex or simple the school subject, the traditional schedule assigns an impartial national average of fifty-one minutes per class period. Despite wide variation in the time it takes individual students to succeed at learning any given task, the allocated time is identical for all. In addition, since most disciplinary problems occur during scheduled transitions, the more transitions, the more problems. Finally, a great deal of time is lost in simply starting and ending so many classes in a day (Canady and Rettig 1995; Sommerfield 1996).

Benefits of block scheduling listed by Sturgis (1995) include: more effective use of school time, decreased class size, increased number of course offerings, reduced numbers of students with whom teachers have daily contact, and the ability of teachers to use more process-oriented strategies. In evaluations of schools using block scheduling, Carroll (1994) found more course credits completed, equal or better mastery and retention of material, and an impressive reduction in suspension and dropout rates. He posits improved

relationships between students and teachers as a major factor. Positive outcomes multiply when four yearlong courses are taught in longer time blocks, each compressed into one semester (Canady and Rettig 1995). This pattern allows students to enroll in a greater number and variety of elective courses and offers more opportunities for acceleration. Students who fail a course have an earlier opportunity to retake it, enabling them to regain the graduation pace of their peers. Teachers have fewer students to keep records and grades for each semester, and schools require fewer textbooks. Moreover, overall satisfaction in the learning process is greater for both students and teachers (Canady and Rettig 1995).

However, others contend, "Imposing a scheduling model on a school will not ensure success" (Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory 1990:21). Adequate staff development time is also essential. Teachers who have taught in thirty-five to fifty-minute time blocks for years need help in gaining the necessary strategies and skills to teach successfully in large blocks of time. Teachers who are most successful in block scheduling typically plan lessons in three parts: explanation, application, and synthesis. Most teachers have much less experience with the latter two phases than with the first, thus, teachers may also need training in cooperative learning, class building, and team formation (Canady and Rettig 1995).



## Boarding

A residential school is . . . an attempt to establish a community, and by attempting to establish a community it recognizes this principle: that education does not consist in instruction; that it consists in instruction plus the processes of life that make instruction useful and valid. It recognizes the fact that the habits of the mind are of the essence of the whole process; that a mind not put to use itself is not a mind awakened and not a mind educated . . . A great school like this does not stop with what it does in the classroom; it organizes athletics and sports of every kind, it organizes life from morning to night; and it does so at its best by an intimate association of the teacher with the pupil, so that the impact of the mature mind upon the less mature will be constant and influential. (Woodrow Wilson 1910)<sup>3</sup>

Another characteristic each of these schools share is the requirement of full-time residence. They are all boarding schools, meaning students live on campus throughout large portions of the school year. Following the educational foundation of *in loco parentis*,<sup>4</sup> they are familial places where many faculty members live on campus and participate in daily routines. During the academic year, boarding schools truly become extended families where teachers and students live and learn cooperatively. Given this, by their very nature, boarding schools have a unique opportunity to influence the students who attend them (Power 1992). The 24-hour community of a boarding school environment allows faculty to seize every teachable moment whether in the classroom, on the playing field, or in the dormitory (The Association of Boarding Schools 2001).

With students, teachers and other school employees in almost constant contact with each other, the boarding school experience has a strong effect upon certain developmental tasks of adolescence. Some research findings describe an educational experience that is successful because it assists students in

completing the development of competence and connectedness. The successful mastery of these tasks in a boarding school setting contributes, in different ways, to the over-arching goal of developing a sense of confidence and self-esteem (Diamonti 1993). Research has also found that boarding school teachers take the charge of morally educating their students seriously. There are important differences in teacher interpretations along age and gender lines, but most teachers feel they have a responsibility to help their students develop a strong sense of character. Furthermore, students believe their teachers are capable, compassionate, and concerned with their development (Power 1992).

Despite the fact that national educational statistics reveal poorer pay, boarding school teachers as a group are more satisfied than public school teachers with their jobs. Taken together, boarding schools seem to offer a greater sense of community, greater teacher autonomy in the classroom, and more local influence over curriculum and important school policies. In addition, on average, boarding schools have a climate that would appear to be more conducive to learning, including greater safety and fewer problems caused by students having poor attitudes toward learning or negative interactions with teachers (U.S. Department of Education 1997).

School climate can significantly affect the quality of the educational experience for students, teachers, and other staff as well as parents' satisfaction with their child's school. Neither teachers nor students can perform at their best if their school is unsafe or disrupted by misbehaving students, or if there is a lack of cooperation among teachers or between the school and parents. Exposure to

crime or threats appears to be far more common in public schools (U.S. Department of Education 1997) as depicted in Table 2.

Table 2

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN GRADES 6-12 THAT REPORTED KNOWING ABOUT, WITNESSING, WORRYING ABOUT, OR BEING VICTIMIZED BY ROBBERY, BULLYING, OR PHYSICAL ATTACK AT SCHOOL: 1997			
Robbery, bullying or physical attack	Public (Assigned)	Public (Chosen)	Private
Knowledge of occurrence	73	71	45
Witnessed	58	54	32
Worried about	26	27	13
Victimized	12	10	7

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Findings from the Condition of Education 1997: Public and Private Schools: How Do They Differ?

Despite their reported safety, hazing is a problem indicative to boarding schools in general.

Hazing means any intentional, knowing, or reckless act directed against a student, by one person alone or acting with others, that endangers the mental or physical health or the safety of a student for the purpose of being initiated, affiliated with, holding office in, or maintaining membership in any organization whose members are or include other students. (Texas Education Code 4.52a 2001)

Hazing has long been considered a rite of passage, tradition, horseplay, or a means of bonding. It may have once meant a fraternity pledge paddling or alcohol being forced down boys' throats, but according to Hank Nuwer, author of

High School Hazing: When Rites Become Wrongs (2000), this is no longer the case. Activities that can be considered hazing range from embarrassing stunts and alcohol consumption to real or simulated sex acts and beatings. Sexual abuse and brutal bastardization have long been features in all-male institutions such as boarding schools and military schools (Fyfe 2001), but it has become more prevalent among high school students, and the acts themselves have grown more malicious, sadistic and sexually oriented (Nuwer 2000). In support of Newer's position, Cassrels (2000:31) states "Sexual abuse and brutal bastardization have long been features in all-male institutions such as boarding schools and military schools."

Hazing encompasses more than binge drinking and paddling; it spans all ages, and likely stems from the need to control others and to be accepted. Nuwer (2000) describes hazing as a power play of intimidation and peer pressure. Fisher (2000:1) agrees and adds, "Males have a very clear sense of status, of rank, of dominance, of who's on top and who's the boss." In order to jockey for position and assert their status, boys haze one another. Such behavior is also used as a way to determine who is a team player. "They are trying to bond. They're trying to figure out if this individual is going to play the game their way, if this person can roll with the punches, quite literally. They want to know whether this individual is going to be their real friend when times are tough" (Fisher 2000:1). Further, because hazing emphasizes conformity, individuals who differ from the crowd because of their independent thinking, sexual orientation, appearance, or race, seldom fare well (Nuwer 2000).

Similarly, Cassrels (2000) believes male bonding in the quest for power is prevalent in all-male institutions such as military boarding schools, and that in such institutions boys who are not part of a group are often targets for abuse.

Military schools base their programs in conformity, therefore it seems plausible they are the breeding grounds for hazing as some literature suggests. Instead of facilitating a tradition of honor as many of these schools report, acts of hazing may promote a tradition of deceit (Nuwer 2000). Rather than fostering bonding and acceptance into the group, hazing can cause boys to distrust authorities who do not protect them from these activities.

### Single-Sex

Only boys: boys only. A mob of boys, stuffing themselves into jackets and knotting ties for the first assembly of the school year. Crowds, generally, tend to erase identities and individual differences. Throw in a dress requirement, and identities are further hidden. Wipe out an entire gender, teenage girls, and the mob-effect is near total . . . they slip into the crowd as if into a pond, vanishing. (Ruhlman 1996:8)

Single-sex academies are not very novel or new. Single-sex schools, those for boys only or girls only, are some of the oldest boarding schools in the United States (Whelan 1998). The roots of single-sex schooling extend back to the very origins of education in this country (Ruhlman 1996; White 1998). These types of schools have their roots in European tradition and religious traditions, including the Catholic, German Lutheran, and Muslim faiths. Such schools were traditionally single-sex. Although many military boarding schools have recently

chosen to follow the public-school trend toward coeducation, these schools were traditionally, and without exception, single-sex facilities (Whelan 1998).

In this century, the institution has been an easy target for criticism – the common perception is that coeducation is obviously better because it is more equal and democratic than separation by sex. By the mid-1980's this logic had become so accepted that most single-sex schools had disappeared, and few people cared. For many, that they existed at all at the end of the twentieth century was little more than a quirk, an evolutionary oversight. Yet their dwindling numbers were something of a paradox, since a growing body of literature described the clear advantages of all-boy and all-girl schools in both cognitive and social outcomes (Ruhlman 1996).

Interest began mounting several years ago after the American Association of University Women studies on single-sex education produced pro-separation results (Archer 1998). Although a mere one percent of all schools are sexually segregated today, recent enrollment numbers show these percentages are on the rise (White 1998). Secondary military boarding academies mirror the single-sex trend found with public schools. As previously noted, since the 1970s, many military schools have folded their programs or shut their doors. The schools that are still around today fall into two categories. In one are the schools that ignored the storm of social change and held on to their traditions. In another are the schools that questioned all aspects of the military program and adapted to meet the demands of parents.

Facing declining enrollments, single-sex military boarding schools have been forced to admit less talented students who attend because the slots are there and because of the schools' prior reputation (Riordan 1994). They started accepting girls,<sup>5</sup> made the military and boarding programs optional,<sup>6</sup> and relaxed uniform rules (O'Hare 1995). As a result, of the hundreds of original single-sex secondary military boarding schools in the United States, only a handful remain in operation.

To date, there have been multiple studies on single-sex schooling producing varied results. However, most studies have shown the positive benefits of single-sex education. In general, research in favor of gender separation has found single-gender schools generally are more effective academically than coeducational schools. This is true at all levels of school, from elementary to higher education. Over the past decade, the data consistently confirm this educational fact. However, there are some studies that have reported null effects, no differences in educational outcomes, but there are very few studies (none in the United States) that demonstrate that coeducational schools are more effective, either academically or developmentally (Riordan 1994).

Proponents of single-sex education say the programs help overcome certain obstacles faced by boys or girls and allow them to achieve in a more focused environment (Walsh 1996). Practitioners say boys and girls have different learning styles: boys tend to compete in class, quickly raising their hands or even blurting out answers; girls more often work well learning in small

groups with other students (Archer 1998). Single-sex education is also a choice that allows students to concentrate on their studies rather than the opposite sex. These schools offer boys an opportunity to study without the distractions of a more social setting (Whelan 1998). Students flourish in single-sex environments free from the teasing, flirting, and self-conscious behavior typical when adolescent boys and girls share a classroom (Riordan 1994).

Boys who attend single-sex high schools have higher self-confidence, are more involved in extracurricular activities, and take more foreign languages and English classes than their counterparts in co-ed schools (Whelan 1998). Some research, focused mainly on students at Roman Catholic and private schools, has concluded that single-sex schools foster higher self-esteem, better participation, and better, long-lasting academic achievement (White 1998). Single-gender schools provide more successful same-sex teacher and student role models, more leadership opportunities, and greater order and discipline (Riordan 1994).

Despite the positive outcomes attributed to single-sex schooling, cross-national studies have shown that single-gender schools do not have uniform and consistent effects. The effects appear to be limited to those national educational systems in which single-gender schools are relatively uncommon. Rarity of a school type may enhance single-sex effects under certain conditions. When single-gender schools are at a premium in a country, the segregating choices made by parents and students will result in a more selective student body that will bring with them a heightened degree of academic demands. In turn, rare



school types are better able to supply the quality of schooling demanded by these more selective students. Being less the norm, these schools are more likely to possess greater autonomy, thus more likely to instill greater autonomy in their students (Riordan 1994).

Regardless of such claims, the body of research that exists on single-sex education does not point to a conclusion that a single-sex education is inherently better (Archer 1998). Other research holds that despite such evidence, the academic benefits of single-sex education remain largely unproven. Many experts say no research has determined whether benefits stem from factors specific to the single-sex setting or from other factors, such as smaller classes, higher expectations, or parental involvement (White 1998).

Teachers and students alike are reported as liking single-sex separation in education. Problems of “he said – she said” do not exist. With single-sex classrooms, conflicts subside and boys even begin to enjoy classes such as chorus and art because they are no longer viewed as being just for girls (Walsh 1996). Additionally, parents and students tend to view single-sex schools as academically tougher, more rigorous, and more productive, though perhaps less enjoyable, than coeducational schools (Riordan 1994). Finally, they believe the program to be more cohesive and less distracting (White 1998).

Single-gender schools represent a choice, an alternative to the problems existing in coeducational schools. More importantly, they seem to provide a better education for some students. However, it is likely that there is no best way to organize the gender context of schools. Single-sex schools are certainly not

for everyone, nor are they likely to be beneficial to anyone over the entire course of an educational career. Nevertheless, they should exist for the number of students who might select them. Hence, they should be viewed as alternatives to mainstream coeducational schools (Riordan 1994).

### Summary of Educational Arrangements

Of the hundreds of single-sex secondary military boarding schools that once existed in the United States, only eight remain. These typically small private boarding schools have declined in numbers, but for some of the schools in operation enrollments are increasing. Reasons for this increase in enrollment are aimed at the very structure of military and educational arrangements found in these schools.

Military departments stress leadership training and self-discipline achieved through a rigorous and strict daily schedule, military programs such as JROTC, and adherence to moral principles and activities. Academic departments purportedly offer educational excellence to their students. This excellence is a result of small classes, innovative scheduling, and numbers of cadets subsequently accepted to and attending college.

The eight schools of interest in this study are all boarding schools. The cadets attending them live in residence for the maturity of the school year – often alongside faculty and other school employees who act in place of the boys' parents. However, although statistics have shown boarding schools to be safer

than public schools, hazing appears to be a serious problem in particular to the single-sex secondary military boarding school.

Schools with single-sex environments are rooted in our nation's history. A long-enduring institution, the single-sex school had been extensively researched. Studies show both single-sex and co-educational schools to be better or worse than the other, however, the verdict seems to fall on the side of single-sex environments. The most often cited reasons for the single-sex choice are; differing learning styles between the sexes, increased self-confidence, achievement and involvement, better opportunity for positive role modeling and leadership training, and a disciplined and orderly nature.

After reviewing the various structural and educational arrangements within single-sex secondary military boarding schools, we now shift to a discussion of the analytical base used for explaining their social dynamics. With a basic understanding of their environmental contexts, attention is now cast on the performances that take place within these environments. Georg Simmel's writings on social relations, Kenneth Burke's dramatism, George Herbert Mead's discussion of the self, Erving Goffman's work on dramaturgy and total institutions, and other contemporary authorship concerning the dramaturgical framework, best explicate the social worlds of the interactional groups associated with single-sex secondary military boarding schools.

## CHAPTER 2 ENDNOTES

1. Description of potential cadets from the Carson Long Military Institute website. <http://www.carsonlong.org/index.html>
2. Generalized from admissions brochures and Internet web sites for each of the eight schools studied.
3. Quote by Woodrow Wilson from the 1910 Centennial Address at the Lawrenceville School found on an office wall in one of the schools studied.
4. In loco parentis is paternalistic control over all aspects of academic policy and many other phases of student life beyond the classroom. Student governance consists of decisions made by higher-ups on behalf of students "in place of their parents."
5. Howe Military School located in northeast Indiana, Oak Ridge Military Institute in Oak Ridge, North Carolina, and Randolph-Macon Academy in Front Royal, Virginia are the only three all boarding military secondary schools (no day students) who currently accept both boys and girls.
6. There are thirteen military academies in operation that accept both boys and girls in addition to incorporating day school and boarding school students into their institutional organization.

### CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL BACKGROUND

"It depends on what your definition of is is."  
(United States President Bill Clinton 2000)<sup>1</sup>

The idea that life resembles theater is not new. The fact that Aristotle and Shakespeare together with contemporary sociological scholars all find theatrical allusions helpful in informing life lends enormous weight to the applicability – never mind the endurance of the theatrical metaphor. The attraction of the theater is riveting. It provides what Combs and Mansfield see as an organizing medium that ". . . has both considerable power and complexity and offers a degree of insight, and even verisimilitude, denied to physical metaphors" (1976:17). Beyond the base line of the various roles people play and their ability to control others impressions, scholars continue to mine deeper levels of understanding from this very simple starting point (Schechner 1988).

Over time, many social theorists have presented ideas that aided in the development of contemporary application of the dramatic metaphor to human behavior. This work particularly describes the contributions of George Herbert Mead, Kenneth Burke, and Erving Goffman to the evolution of dramaturgy. However, there are several important others<sup>2</sup> whose thoughts and ideas are connected to the analytical framework utilized within this research. A discussion of these important contributors begins with Georg Simmel whose understanding of society as a web of interactions provided the foundation for viewing the individual and society as one and the same (Ashley and Orenstein 1998).

Simmel focused his attention and study on what now is termed the micro level of social interaction, that is “. . . the whole gamut of relations that play from one person to another and that may be momentary or permanent, conscious or unconscious, ephemeral or of grave consequence . . . all these incessantly tie men together” (Wolff 1950:3). His concern with “. . . the geometry of social space, and his stress on social process . . .” led him into a way of viewing social life that illuminated the intellectual society of Germany in the early 1900's (Wallace and Wolf 1999:194).

Simmel presented society as a web of interactions consisting of dynamic relations among individuals. Neither the individual nor society exists except in relation to each other. People create society, and yet are also products of society. Simmel pointed out that individuals play many roles in front of many different audiences (Wallace and Wolf 1999). Further, Simmel's vision of individuals as performers in terms of social interactions and as creatures able to spontaneously respond revealed a host of new ways to conceive and study human behavior.

According to Simmel, social life would not be possible unless individuals made certain assumptions about themselves and others.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, for Simmel, the focus of sociology must be at the micro level of interaction where people create life and its meaning. A fundamental step in the analysis of social reality is how perceptions serve to shape the human experience. This dissertation attempts to illuminate actors' perceptions that exist among those associated with single-sex secondary military schools, but more important is the focus on how

meanings are constructed among and between the performances of the various members of this larger group. The meanings that emerge in interaction vary based upon differing audience reactions. These emergent meanings cause change in subsequent meanings that arise. As noted in Life As Theater, "Rather, meaning is a continually problematic accomplishment of human interaction and it is fraught with change, novelty, and ambiguity" (Brissett and Edgley 1990:2). Given the emerging and problematic social condition, when individual actors maintain and elicit discrepant interpretations, meaning construction and interaction become even more tentative.

The renowned sociologists of the Chicago School<sup>4</sup> created the concepts, philosophy, and theory that collectively evolved into symbolic interactionism. In George Herbert Mead's discussion of his "I/Me" dichotomy (1934), we find a common thread with Simmel's thought whereby individuals are both spontaneous and creative while also being reflective and responsive. Like Simmel, Mead focuses heavily on social action.

Mead's work speaks of the self as a process involving an active "I" and a reflective "Me." Mead held that the self does not emerge except in relation to interaction with others, as he expressed: "We cannot realize ourselves except insofar as we can recognize the other in his relationship to us" (Mead 1934:194). Moreover, Mead asserts that the responses of others to role performances affect not only the actor's subjective feelings, but future performances as well. As explained by Brissett and Edgley (1990:16), Mead contends, "It is impossible to separate the self from others by noting the construction of a coin." A self is like a

coin in that both sides must be real to comprise the actual coin. To separate the sides is to take away the meaning in the very real coin. Hence, it is the same with self and others – the two can never be separated, “. . . because what you have is no longer what you think you have since it is now separated from its other side which gave it meaning in the first place” (ibid).

As theoretical knowledge historically accumulates, each of these theorists – from the classic to the contemporary, contributes to an understanding that people interact according to emergent meaning. Individuals perceive who they are in terms of others’ responses to them. They play different types of actors, to different audiences, in different roles, and on different stages (Goffman 1959), but the principle of dependence on collectively sanctioned meaning remains the same. All social situations depend on an actor’s performance and an audience’s response. Without both, there is no meaning, and ultimately, no society.<sup>5</sup>

Kenneth Burke, the famous literary critic, combines Simmel’s and Mead’s thought to construct his dramatisic pentad (1969). He maintains that, in a broad sense, history can be viewed as a play and that human motivation or conduct is directly discussible in dramatisic terms. As a result, he developed the dramatisic pentad, a collection of generating principles, in an attempt to understand the evolution of human conduct and the attribution of subsequent motives.<sup>6</sup> He developed these principles after asking the question, "What is involved, when we say what people are doing and why they are doing it?" (Burke 1969:15).



Burke (1969) intended the pentad to be a form of rhetorical analysis; a method that readers can use to identify the rhetorical nature of any text, group of texts, or philosophical system that seeks to identify the basis of human interaction in dramatistic ways. Burke declares that any well-developed account of human action must include some reference to the five elements of the pentad. Here is the entire pentad with a brief description of what each term suggests:

*Act* – names what took place, in thought or deed. What was done?

*Scene* – the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred.

When or where was it done?

*Agent* – names what person or type of person or people performed the act. Who did it?

*Agency* – names what means or instruments the agent used. How and with what was the act performed?

*Purpose* – suggests why the agent performed the act. Why was it done?

The pentad is also a useful method for generating ideas.<sup>7</sup> Note that much hinges on how each component of the pentad is defined and applied to a specific situation. Because of this specificity, we can experiment with the content of the arrangement. We can recast the act and the rest of the terms to help generate new ways of understanding emergent phenomenon. Moreover, the purpose of applying the pentad is not to arrive simply at single answers, but to generate many possible explanations for human action. It is a rich tool for perpetual explanation of human conduct and subsequent description of emergent

meanings.

Although the terms of the pentad may at first seem much like the journalist's questions, what, where, who, how, and why; they differ in that each of the terms is related to another. It is possible to discuss the ratios between terms of the pentad by asking, for example, "How does the \_\_\_\_\_ influence the \_\_\_\_\_?" Here are the ten possible ratios:

<i>agent-purpose</i>	<i>scene-agent</i>	<i>agent-agency</i>	<i>act-agent</i>
<i>act-purpose</i>	<i>agency-purpose</i>	<i>scene-agency</i>	<i>scene-purpose</i>
<i>act-scene</i>	<i>act-agency</i>		

Each of the ratios can be reversed also. For instance, rather than asking how the agent influenced the purpose, we can ask how the purpose influenced the agent. When applied later in this chapter, it will be obvious that the dramatisitic pentad is invaluabley related to the examination of human interactions. The application of each of these principles reveals information about what is happening and where, whom it is happening to and how, and most importantly in terms of emergent meanings and motives, why it is happening. However, the audience does not always similarly understand the emergent meanings and motives an actor attributes to an encounter. The meaning that arises in interaction may not be consensual, especially given the immediate and situationally defined nature of such phenomena.

Utilizing the ideas of Simmel, Mead, and Burke,<sup>8</sup> Erving Goffman (1959), arose as one of the most recognized contemporary authorities on what sociologists call the dramaturgical perspective. Goffman uses the metaphor of drama in his landmark work, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), to

explain how social meanings are attributed to people in ordinary, everyday interaction. He illustrates how individuals, both on and off stage – and with various audiences, manifest themselves through performances and roles, scripts and props. This postulate is reiterated in Berger's (1963) work, Invitation to Sociology, where he confirms that "life is a stage" (p. 139), so to speak. We are actors playing a part in the drama called life, with or without some degree of consciousness of what we are doing at any given moment in time. Further, with performers presenting to an audience, the meanings that arise in their interaction become the shared reality for both the actor and the audience – whether consensual or not.

Several basic assumptions and essential premises provide the foundation for Goffman's (1959) effort. First, *all* interactions consist of performances. Goffman defined interaction as ". . . the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence" (1959:15). He defined performance as ". . . all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants" (ibid.). Interactions and performances are similar; in each, efforts are made to influence others. The distinction between Goffman's definitions of interaction and performance is chiefly this: the first takes into consideration attempts by all individuals present to influence each other. The latter term, performance, concentrates on the efforts of a single participant (or group of participants working as a team) to influence others. Inherent and integral to all interactions as articulated by Goffman, is the concept of performance. Moreover,

for Goffman, the outcome of these encounters is a performative self imputed by the audience resulting from the entire interaction scene or setting that is further subject to affirmation or discredit by the same audience (Goffman 1959:252-53).

“Since the self is an image established socially in the presence of crucial audiences, it is obviously open to considerable manipulation” (Allen, Guy, and Edgley 1980:178). Thus, performances may be selective presentations. We can emphasize what we want others to see and hear while de-emphasizing or concealing other information. Hence, Goffman aptly labeled this process impression management (1959:208). Control is achieved by getting others to agree with the performer’s definition of the situation and to act in voluntary accord with his or her own plan. In order to “sell” the audience, it is necessary for the performer to manage his or her own performance, i.e., the expressions given off – as well as rhetoric – so as to come across in ways that will convey to others the impression which is most likely to be in his or her own best interests.

Once participants in interaction open themselves up to one another for an encounter, the opportunity for them to monitor one another’s mutual perceptions arises. They attune to the same subject matter, and a shared definition of the situation<sup>9</sup> results. This includes agreement concerning perceptual relevancies, and a working consensus involving a degree of mutual consideration of the other. At the same time, a heightened sense of moral responsibility for one’s acts also develops. A “team rationale” evolves, a sense of the single thing the participants are doing together at the time. As a result, all attempted impressions,

expressions given, and expressions given off are intended to “steady the moral gaze<sup>10</sup> of the other.”

Goffman also attached to the performer the ability to affect what others notice while downplaying, or even hiding, that which would disrupt the desired definition of the situation. Goffman uses the term “dramatic realization” (1959:30) as a label for this selective highlighting of certain aspects of the performance. For the completion of a successful presentation, any aspect of the performance that might serve to contradict the definition of the situation must be hidden from view or downplayed so the audience imputes a successful presentation.

The performer must also act with what Goffman calls “expressive responsibility” (1959:208). When communicating with expressive responsibility, the actor must manage a desired or expected impression. This management also involves an evaluative component. The performer must be cognizant of his or her own performance, and detached enough from it to know how he or she is appearing to others. This awareness and detachment allows the performer to make necessary adjustments to manage that ultimate impression.

It is clear that verbal communication is but one part of a dramaturgical performance, and it is generally neither the sole nor decisive element of the drama that dictates how actors come across, i.e., what expressions are given off. The performer can rather easily control and potentially manipulate the verbal expression he or she delivers, and the audience knows this. For this reason, Goffman (1959:7) says that “. . . others may then use what are considered to be the ungovernable aspects of his (the performer’s) expressive behavior as a

check upon the validity of what is conveyed by the governable aspects.” Hence, of greater concern to the performer is a broader and more complex dimension of self-presentation. For how he or she appears to others is more dependent on expressions given off than on what he or she says. This thesis is central to Goffman’s theoretical framework (Brissett and Edgley 1990:5).

Goffman (1959:79) states that we must often perform in conjunction with (and in collusion with) others who become part of our “team.” Co-performers – our team members, also expect certain things of each other. They expect and depend on each other to sustain a certain definition of the situation. Those who endanger the presentation, performance risks, are not welcomed. Qualities expected of team members include loyalty and a certain amount of circumspection (Goffman 1959). Just as in a play, actors on teams carefully deliver their scripts (circumspection), making sure not to give up the secrets of the team (loyalty).

Dramaturgy also includes the importance of performance regions in affecting all dimensions of the drama. Some performances are given “frontstage,” while others are given or prepared for “backstage” (1959:111-12). His concept of spatial areas and behavior defines region as “any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception” (1959:106). The front region, or front stage, is where the performance takes place. It is that part of the “stage” visible to the audience. “It is clear that accentuated facts make their appearance in what I have called a front region; it should be just as clear that there may be . . . a ‘back region’ or ‘backstage’ – where the suppressed facts make an

appearance” (Goffman 1959:111-12). The backstage is often physically separate from the performance area. “In general, of course, the back region will be the place where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude” (Goffman 1959:113). In the privacy of backstage, performers can relax and “behave out of character” (ibid.). It is here that “. . . the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course” (Goffman 1959:112). It is also here that secrets can be shared among confederates, and absent persons can be discussed in a way that could not or would not be done in their presence. Further, the backstage, allows one to be free from even nursing an awareness of their behavior as performance. They can simply be.

Without question, actors’ performances will vary between audiences and stages. In light of this, performers should “foster the impression that their current performance of their routine and their relationship to their current audience have something special and unique about them” (Goffman 1959:49). This impression can be achieved through what Goffman refers to as “audience segregation” in which the performer “. . . ensures that those before whom he plays one of his parts will not be the same individuals before whom he plays a different part in another setting” (ibid.), and through the “personal touch” which is designed to show “. . . the uniqueness of the transactions between performer and audience” (1959:50).

“Fronts” are another important Goffman proposition (1959:22). They are “. . . that part of the individual’s performance which regularly functions in a

general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance” (ibid.). Fronts serve to help define the situation by functioning as identifiers. They tell us who we are, and what we are about. The front consists of the equipment that supports the performance. In theater, such supporting elements are referred to as sets, props, costumes, make-up, mannerisms, and the like. As in the case of stage sets and costumes, the front helps to define the situation and assists the performer in impressing or influencing his or her audience in the desired fashion.

Goffman, drawing on the work of Simmel, as particularly addressed in The Philosophy of Money ([1900] 1993), describes people as teleological – i.e., acting on the environment in the pursuit of anticipated goals. Individuals, in accordance with their impulses and needs, use a variety of tools to manipulate and control the environment. Following Simmel’s line of thought, Goffman divided the front into two major components. The first he called “setting” (1959:22). Setting refers to the physical, scenic aspects of the performance that provide it with visual context. The dramaturgical equivalents of the setting are sets and scenery. In a dramatic presentation, these setting elements help prepare the stage for the performance. Goffman calls the other component “personal front” (1959:23-24). The personal front includes those items of expressive equipment “. . . that we most intimately identify with the performer himself and that we naturally expect will follow the performer wherever he goes” (Goffman 1959:24). Therefore, while setting involves features of the physical surroundings that define the situation,



personal front encompasses those features of expression, “sign vehicles” (ibid.) which relate to the individual performer.

Goffman (1959) suggested that two components comprise a personal front, appearance and manner. Appearance indicators inform us of the performer’s social status and include insignia of rank or office, clothing, age, sex, race, or any other ethnic characteristics, and physical characteristics. Manner tells us what can be expected of the performer – what his or her interactional role will be in the oncoming situation. These include posture, speech patterns, facial expressions, and bodily gestures. As a personal front is to the performance, costumes, make-up, and mannerisms are to stage plays.

Performances can be disrupted when we lose control of the drama. As was earlier stated, exercising control and caution in the dramatic situation is essential to the success of the performance. The performer attempts to maintain control, but is not always able to do so. Losing control, if only for a moment, disrupts and can possibly spoil the performance. Un-meant gestures, mis-acts, or miscues can result in a loss of control. This is also true of information that slips out, or is given to the audience that is disruptive or discrediting to the performance. While human behavior is characterized by inconsistency, such vicissitudes are best reserved for backstage, for as Goffman reminds us, “As characters put on for an audience . . . we must not be subject to ups and downs” (1959:56).

Persons who have no business at a given performance can ruin the show. Important to the concept of regions and region behavior is the consideration that

situations can break down when persons are out of place. It is generally inadvisable to have audience members backstage, or to have in the audience persons who know the intimate details of the performance. It is also not usually in the best interests of the performance for persons who belong neither on stage nor in the audience, "outsiders" (Goffman 1959:135), to infiltrate the performance area. This is especially true if their arrival is unexpected. Regions must be controlled and performances must be properly scheduled.

Berger (1963) describes Simmel's view of playing roles and social interaction. Simmel argued that people "... play society. . . where the world of sociability is a precarious and artificial creation that can be shattered at any moment by someone who refuses to play the game" (Berger 1963:139). His point is that people who do not act within their appropriate roles spoil the performance. Persons with a "discrepant role" (Goffman 1959:141) such as informer, shill, spotter, shopper, mediator, non-person (such as servant), confidant, and colleague may attempt to gain access by masquerading as team members to find out about backstage secrets. However, information can be gleaned from performances without individuals misrepresenting themselves. This occurs when performers reveal damaging facts that are inadvertently disclosed. They do so, as Goffman puts it, "out of character" (1959:169). Outbursts such as "Oh God!" are the actor's admission that he recognizes his presented self is unsustainable. Further, Goffman warned that performance problems could occur when persons are out of place. Informers (traitors and spies) are persons who join in the performance by pretending to be a part of the

team. Shills act like regular audience members, but are really agents of the performing team. Spotters, like shills, have an intimate knowledge of the performance, but use their hidden sophistication on behalf of the audience. These people, and others like them, are examples of persons out of their proper regions who, because of the discrepancy between who they are and what they are, can do harm to the performance.

A final and important consideration of Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical framework is that of moral implications and performances. He holds that "... any projected definition of the situation also has a distinctive moral character" (Goffman 1959:13). Two principles derive from the moral nature of the immediate performance – the attempt to project a certain definition of the situation. First, in our society "... any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in an appropriate way" (ibid.). Moral obligations between performers and audiences are reciprocal. Performers and audiences must cooperate within the context of this "moral contract" if the performance is to come off in a manner that is congruent with societal values. In Goffman's later work entitled *Asylums* (1961), he extends the concept of "total institutions" (p.1).

A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life. (Goffman 1961:xiii)

Total institutions, including prisons, monasteries, long-stay hospitals, *boarding schools*,<sup>11</sup> and ships on long voyages, etc., are places in which members are required to live isolated from the larger society. In contrast with

normal social life, in which people live in their own homes and usually work, sleep, eat, and engage in leisure activities in a number of different locations, it is characteristic of total institutions that social action is confined to a single location. All perceived human needs, such as housing and food, are provided for by the institution, as are any other goods or services. Privacy is typically nil and each day's activities are likely to be tightly scheduled. Inmates' activities are under constant surveillance. In these places, there is no possibility of any complete escape from the administrative rules or values that prevail.

Many constraints are true for both the residents and the employees of total institutions. Yet, a critical characteristic of total institutions is the binary social relationship that exists. As mentioned, inmates (who almost always outnumber the staff), live full time in the institution. The staffs that supervise these inmates, however, move in and out of the institution as their work schedules demand, thus remaining socially integrated with the outside world. It may be that the difference in the two groups' social integration and isolation accounts for possible "antagonistic stereotypes" (Goffman 1961:9) they have for each other. But, more likely, it is the restricted and hierarchical, superior– subordinate relationship existing between them.

Goffman believes total institutions to be “. . . forcing houses for changing persons; each is a natural experiment on what can be done to the self” (1961:12). In everyday life in a civil environment, one can work at sustaining a selected identity because others collaborate with the individual's efforts to do so. However, in the total institution, the “inmate” is separated from ordinary social

others and is forced to interact with a staff that requires a different manifest identity. In the course of interaction with this staff, the inmate is subjected to a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of their selves. Further, this is done while the inmate is withdrawn from all former physical and social supports. This process is carried out in the name of God or country, justice or cure, or any other socially recognized and honored reason for the individual's separation from society and subsequent treatment. Venerable persons cannot contest the goals put forth by these institutions that reform the criminal, cure the insane, or any other such constituent.

Many total institutions are “. . . storage dumps for inmates . . . (presented) . . . to the public as rational organizations . . .” (Goffman 1961:74) intentionally designed for achieving institutional goals. These goals are commonly the reformation of inmates in the direction of some ideal standard (i.e., academic excellence or model behavior). “This contradiction, between what the institution does and what its officials must say it does, forms the basic context of employee daily activity” (ibid.).

Employees in total institutions are required to maintain certain humane standards for treatment, as well as the appearance that certain standards are being lived up to (Goffman 1961). Standards of treatment may be determined partially by the institution itself, but governing agencies also regulate and control the set standards and practices to be carried out. It is easy in such a place for another problem to arise – that with humane treatment, inmates may become “ . . . objects of fellow feeling and even affection” (Goffman 1961:81). Because

of this, some staff will have very different interactions with inmates to whom they are emotionally tied.

Interactional groups associated with total institutions have additional burdens since their work and its products are people rather than objects (Goffman 1961:74). Not all inmates spend the entirety of their lives within their walls. As the interactional groups move in and out, so do the inmates/wards – just at a drastically restricted and reduced rate. This movement suggests additional responsibility of the institution for behavior that is carried out while inmates are not physically present in the facility. “Given this responsibility, . . . many total institutions tend to view off-grounds leave unfavorably” (Goffman 1961:80). Additionally, people are thinking, animate creatures; therefore, as work objects, are considerably more difficult because they can scheme, manipulate, and talk back to you, and with you. In this process, the social distance between the captives and the captors is reduced, and sometimes even obliterated, making it hard to distinguish statuses and roles. These later ideas of Goffman also provide a perspective that clarifies this researcher’s focus.

#### Analytical Application To This Study

The single-sex secondary military schools comprising the basis of this study can be sociologically assessed and understood with the metaphor of life as theater. Moreover, the notion that we play roles to audiences, which results in the fragmenting of the self we have developed in relation to them, elucidates the nature of military school interactions. Clearly, the regimen of the military

academy is a prime example of needing a “repertoire of many selves” (Brissett and Edgley 1980:19).

Moreover, the on-going negotiation and interaction that tie these schools organizationally and structurally together can truly be seen as a theatrical stage upon which many actors play parts to convey the chief impression that military school is a good thing. Nevertheless, the problematic nature of social life is never far away, as members within the various factions of social organization (e.g., administration, military, education, and support staff) must constantly switch between the civilian and the military world, the boarding school and the free world, the work role and the social role.

The purpose of this research is to examine the dramaturgical underpinnings of the social experiences at the eight remaining single-sex secondary military boarding schools in the country. This is done by particularly focusing on the varied performances among and between the differing status positions within these institutions. Beginning with Simmel, and continuing linearly through the historical development outlined previously in this chapter, the researcher will provide an analytical application of these perspectives as applied to the assessment of single-sex secondary military boarding schools in the United States.

The single-sex secondary military boarding school is clearly a place comprised of a web of interactions as noted by Simmel. Upon arrival on campus, one can only expect there will be a variety of action and interaction, simply because there are so many differing groups. Their interaction proceeds from the

varying statuses or positions actors hold in the setting. Moreover, this interaction occurs before many different audiences about whom the researcher is interested. Thus, long before this study, Simmel posited theoretical ideas that anticipated the analyzation of social organizations such as these.

Mead extends Simmel's view of the self to have an active "I" and a reflective "Me." In explaining the spontaneous and reactive processes of self, Mead's understanding elucidates the military school performers. For example, when a member of the military school staff is disciplining a cadet for poor performance, it is important to note that the actor may or may not be wanting to play that role, depending upon what group within the institution he or she belongs. Thus, there may be a dialectic of sorts between their spontaneous wish to correct the cadet versus their ultimate enactment of the expected professional role. For example, at the level of cadet, young, stubborn boys may cry initially when being harshly punished, thereby evoking different behavior from the military school employee depending on his or her role. Later the same cadet may learn to take the military role of the other and "dry it up" in some interactions. Thus, the cadet who cries quickly learns this is inappropriate role behavior and one that will not secure sympathy – at least with some audiences. Nevertheless, other role actors (e.g., female staff) may respond differently to this same act, thereby allowing a discrepant definition of the situation. This study is clearly about such differences in dramaturgical interaction – i.e., do the various groups within each of these schools communicate differently with any other group and differently with cadets?



Mead and Cooley also addressed the significance of self-esteem, or the positive or negative image one has of one's self. The officer in full dress uniform during parade march may have very positive self-image at that particular moment in time. Even though his role is the same, an officer representing a military school, his self-concept, actions, and attitudes are based upon stage, audience, costume, and props (Goffman 1959). This image may alter later when, dressed in the same uniform, he chews out a cadet for misbehavior. Again, we see that the self as image alters depending on the particular dramatical presentation employed.

Kenneth Burke moves a step further by applying the metaphoric example in his dramatisic pentad. The pentad focuses heavily on interaction and performance; however, it also gives us a point of departure for generating new ideas about actors' performances. For example, hazing, a known problem in military boarding schools, is easily examined with the pentad, as follows:

*Act* – hazing incident.

*Scene* – boy's dorm room in any of the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001.

*Agent* – other cadets.

*Agency* – locks in socks, weapons, alcohol, threats, etc.

*Purpose* – to complete a ritual, strengthen self-esteem, etc.

Now, let's assume the hazing incident is exposed, the pentad can be applied to an employee of the military school who gains knowledge of the event.

*Act* – employee’s knowledge of hazing incident.

*Scene* – any of the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001.

*Agent* – military school employee.

*Agency* – comments from cadets, other employees, etc.

*Purpose* – to find out what illegal hazing behaviors occurred, and who committed them.

We can continue to take the pentad further in our exploration of the hazing incident by defining the act anew when action is taken for the alleged occurrence.

*Act* – suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets.

*Scene* – any of the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001.

*Agent* – president and upper staff.

*Agency* – formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc.

*Purpose* – to punish unauthorized behavior, serve as a model for other cadets and employees, satisfy parental concern, etc.

As mentioned earlier in the documentation of the historical development of the ideas and theories related to this topic, the pentad’s almost journalistic questions may be combined to generate combinations of terms to further elucidate the problematic nature of dramatisitic interaction. As you will recall, there are ten possible ratios, as follows:

<i>agent-purpose</i>	<i>scene-agent</i>	<i>agent-agency</i>	<i>act-agent</i>
<i>act-purpose</i>	<i>agency-purpose</i>	<i>scene-agency</i>	<i>scene-purpose</i>
<i>act-scene</i>	<i>act-agency</i>		

These terms can be reversed to identify how the purpose influenced the agent rather than the former, and so on. Using the example of the employee who takes action for an alleged hazing incident, the ratios and their reversals appear as follows:

1) *agent-purpose*

"How does the military school employee influence the punishment of unauthorized behavior, serve as a model for other cadets and employees, and satisfy parental concern, etc.?"

*purpose-agent*

"How does punishing of unauthorized behavior, serving as a model for other cadets and employees, and satisfying parental concern, etc., influence the military school employee?"

2) *scene-agent*

"How do any of the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001 influence the military school employee?"

*agent-scene*

"How does the military school employee influence the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001?"

3) *agent-agency*

"How does the military school employee influence the formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc.?"

*agency-agent*

"How do the formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc., influence the military school employee?"

4) *act-agent*

"How does the suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets influence the military school employee?"

*agent-act*

"How does the military school employee influence the suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets?"

5) *act-purpose*

"How does the suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets influence the punishment of unauthorized behavior, serve as a model for other cadets and employees, and satisfy parental concern, etc.?"

*purpose-act*

"How does the punishment of unauthorized behavior, model for other cadets and employees, and satisfaction of parental concern, etc., influence the suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets?"

6) *agency-purpose*

"How do the formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc., influence the punishment of unauthorized behavior and serve as a model for other cadets?"

*purpose-agency*

"How does the punishment of unauthorized behavior and modeling for other cadets influence the formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc.?"

7) *scene-agency*

"How do the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001 influence the formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc.?"

*agency-scene*

"How do the formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc., influence the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001?"

8) *scene-purpose* "How do the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001 influence the punishment of unauthorized behavior, serve as a model for other cadets and employees, and satisfy parental concern, etc.?"

*purpose-scene*

"How does the punishment of unauthorized behavior, model for other cadets and employees, and satisfaction of parental concern, etc., influence the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001?"

9) *act-scene*

"How does the suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets influence the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001?"

*scene-act*

"How do the eight remaining single-sex secondary military schools in 2001 influence the suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets?"

10) *act-agency*

"How does the suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets influence the formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc.?"

*agency-act*

"How do the formal documents for rank reduction, public demotion, etc., influence the suspension of cadet rank for participating in hazing against other cadets?"

By generating these questions for only one act, we have identified twenty possible social arrangements for study. Thus, one sees how the pentad elucidates questioning for studying the interaction settings of focus.

Furthermore, as individuals see situations (or dramas) occurring, they develop concepts to explain what they are experiencing. Using our same example of employee actions concerning a hazing incident, we can apply the pentad to various audiences who may or may not share the same position and therefore see things differently, another primary point of study. Other members

of the military department may see the employee actions as functional, fair, and within the scope of duty. Members of school administration might perceive the actions of the military employee as supportive of the system. Faculty might perceive the act the same as other groups, or they may view the military employee as harsh and the administration that supports him as unjust. In this, we see that the actions of one group can have quite an impact upon another (i.e., the faculty perception of the administration's action was impacted by the actions of the military employee). Bear in mind, these are only possible responses by the differing groups. They may all react to things in different ways than presented and in a different manner than was applied. Again, the pentad is being used to generate possible situations for data presentation and analysis. Important for this study is the understanding that in the military school setting, members of the various groups will always influence other members within their own group and members of other groups as well.

Erving Goffman's impressive work also defines the analytical framework for the forthcoming discussion of single-sex secondary military boarding schools. Two primary works guiding researcher inquiry are his classic volume The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), in which he describes human behavior as a series of performances, stages, props, roles, and scripts, and Asylums (1961), where Goffman describes the dramaturgical behavior put forth in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959) as it applies to his concept of "total institutions" (1969:1). That is to say, behavior is "acted out" in places

where there are inmates (cadets in our case) and free men (parents and military school employees). Let us look at an example.

A military school president reduces salaries in an attempt to manage a shortage of financial resources. To be successful in his management of this salary issue, he must convince each member of all interactional groups that his purpose is for the good of the school and, ultimately, for them. In doing so, he will have to reveal information necessary to make them “buy his act” (Goffman 1959:17). This information might consist of financial documents, pay scales among the employees within the schools, pay scales for employees in other schools, etc. However, not only does he need to make this information known, he will need to convey it in such a way that employees come to have similar meanings to his concerning the information. If, for instance, the president simply sends a memo stating the salary reduction, it would be unlikely many others would share his same definition of the situation. On the other hand, if he were to call a meeting of employees – either individually or as a group, where dialogue and exchange could occur – it would be more probable the employees could arrive at a similar definition of the situation. Important to this interchange is the difference in expressions given and expressions given off. The memo stating the change might be taken as inappropriate, impersonal, uncaring, and controlling, causing group members to feel devalued and cut-off from school operations and make them want to withdraw from future administrative declarations. Yet, the same message could be stated in a group meeting where further interaction concerning the decision might occur. This would elicit different responses from



the employees. While the message of salary reduction, the expression given, remains the same, employee response would alter based on the different expressions given off. Employees would probably be more understanding of the president's decision, if not the salary reduction itself. For a successful presentation, then, the president would need to convince his employees that the salary reduction was necessary. This is not to suggest that it is a true economic necessity, just that the employees come to believe it is.

As discussed earlier about Goffman, people comprise dramaturgical teams. In this case, the president might enlist the aid of the superintendent, the commandant, and others to help him with his performance. These certain others could assist in delivering a successful act to the audience. They could confirm the need for salary reduction and reaffirm the president's allegiance in maintaining the best possible situation for all. On the other hand, if unwisely chosen, a member of the dramaturgical team could undermine the president's performance. If the team member discussed inappropriate information, derided the president's decision behind his back, or acted inappropriately in delivery of the message, he would likely be declared a performance risk and dropped from the team.

Goffman also notes the significance of regions – those places where performances are staged and prepped. Clearly, what we see on the front stage is more or less dissimilar from the back stage. As in the case of the president, assuredly he would not want to hammer out the details of salary cuts in front of all employees. This is an action that would need to occur at an earlier time away

from the employees. The employee audience need not be privy to these prior plans where the president and his assistants discuss sensitive items such as individual salaries and individual employee merits. The faculty member who is set to receive a large cut in pay may be derided privately, but not in front of others.

Additionally, Goffman talked about audience segregation. With this understanding we see that if the president and the superintendent are discussing whose salary should be cut more or less in relation to the other employees, they would not want the audience of employees to be a part of that performance and presentation. In their administrative roles, these two would act in different ways than when in the presence of others who did not share their same role status. Clearly, it is in the best interests of the performer to tailor his or her performance to the particular audience. One can do this best by making sure audiences are separated for differing presentations.

Fronts are another important topic discussed in Goffman's work. It is clear, as noted by others, that symbolic tools such as language, disciplinary tactics, and the wearing of uniforms or other insignia, are choice items used by those associated with military schools (Turner, Beeghley, and Powers 2002). Understanding the fronts people use in dramatic presentation is an essential part of study and research. In our hypothetical example, the president would likely make his formal address of salary reduction to employees within the school (setting), while wearing his uniform or similar appropriate business attire,

expecting and referring to himself with the address of “president,” and surrounded by his assistants (personal front).

Moreover, the president would not want to allow unwanted others who could destroy the show to be present. Persons who are not intimately associated with the school often fall into the category of those with discrepant roles. Examples could include parents, press, and individuals from other schools. The president would not want persons from the outside community, subordinate employees, or any unwanted others, backstage while preparations are being made, nor in the audience for the presentation if they are possible disruptions to the success of the performance. This is simply all part of good drama – carefully framing the act and taking care that it is not disrupted. This management includes persons that could upstage the president at a given moment in the performance. Any such people could act as if they are allied with the president and his decision, while at the same time disrupting the performance as it occurs, or by undermining the performance at a later time by sharing information from a different perspective and/or to others with no primary interest in the proceedings.

For Goffman there are even more attributes of any performance. Demeanor and deference are critical to staging the act – i.e., the obligations we have morally to present ourselves to others and to accept the presentations of others offered to us. Thus, in our example, all individuals would be in deference to the president, and likewise, he would treat others as the status he holds dictates. This leads to a second moral consideration; one that deals with what the larger society considers right and proper. When the individual presents

himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behavior as a whole. "To the degree that a performance highlights the common official values of the society in which it occurs, we may look upon it . . . as an expressive rejuvenation and affirmation of the moral values of the community" (Goffman 1959:35). It is expected that the performer be attuned to, and act in congruence with, accepted values. Further, there is an expectation that the performance will underscore those values. Lastly, in the hypothetical situation with salary reduction described, it would be expected the president actually *is* acting in the best interests of the school and its employees. It would be immoral for him to reduce salaries simply to satisfy his own personal gain.

Using our same example of salary reduction, we might find the president hiding, rather than exposing employee pay scales. If substantial salary and wage differences existed (as they usually do) between employees within and between the various groups, it would be advantageous for the president's performance to keep this information secret. The employees would again perceive the president as unfair or unjust if similar others are reported as having discrepant salaries. It would also be prudent to hide certain financial documents that employees could perceive as frivolous expense. Thus, the act could fail if the president exposed too much information, or if he appeared uncaring of the employees.

In Goffman's later work, he described total institutions as somewhat difficult places in which to work and live. Individuals within them are isolated to varying degrees from the outside world. This division between the total institution

and the “free” world includes a regiment of staffs that must maintain and manage groups of inmates who most often do not wish to be confined. Nevertheless, the single-sex secondary military boarding school is one of these. In fact, no better definition defines the social organization and physical structure of a military boarding school. Cadets live on a single campus where they wear clothing (uniforms) provided them, eat what they are served when it is served, and follow a rigid daily schedule of physical, academic, and moral activity. This all occurs while being watched over, and controlled by, other cadets and employees of the school.

In the case of single-sex secondary military boarding schools, the apparent goal is the transformation of cadets. This lofty manifest goal may be discussed openly within and without these institutions, but given the nature of capitalist economic conditions within the schools, other goals may arise (e.g., the need to keep numbers of enrolled students up in order to pay operating expenses and/or the need to persuade the public and prospective “customers” that cadet transformation does indeed occur). Staff and parents of cadets are charged with meeting the needs and demands of cadets, and they generally do so using the “rational perspective espoused by the institution” (Goffman 1961:83). For cadets, this would imply that all behavior directed at them and required of them is in their best interest because it will cumulate in the product of a “fine young man.” Despite treatment however, Goffman reminds us “total institutions typically fall short of their official aims” (ibid.). Military schools, like other total institutions, are no exception. Stories of former military school cadets

“gone bad” can easily be found. Recently, a member of the infamous “Texas Seven” who shot and killed a Fort Worth, Texas, police officer on Christmas Eve 2000 was identified by the press as earning an associate’s degree in military science from the private Kemper Military School in Boonville, Missouri<sup>12</sup> (King 2002).

A threat used by some parents to “straighten up” their sons is that of military school. This threat implies that military schools are desired for their rehabilitative effects rather than the highly and often touted goal of academic excellence. Interactional groups begin an interpretive scheme for each cadet upon entrance based on predisposing behavioral characteristics. Goffman calls this categorization of inmates “prima facie,” implying that “one must be the kind of person the institution was set up to handle” (1961:84). Interestingly enough, these institutions are supposedly set up for boys with behavior problems and for boys pursuing academic excellence. These two seemingly opposite goals indicate the need for contradicting displays of impression management surrounding single-sex secondary military boarding schools.

The researcher chose to analyze the institutions studied using the dramaturgical framework as best seen in the works described by Goffman and others. Dramaturgical analysis is commonly applied to total institutions. There are numerous examples in the literature with application to mental hospitals, medical facilities, prisons, and other organizations.<sup>13</sup> John Welsh (1990:95) explains that, “Dramaturgical analysis helps us know and reflect on the realms of meaning found in any symbolic universe.” Dramaturgical analysis of the relations

between pharmaceutical salespersons and physicians suggests that interactional groups follow consistent patterns that reveal both as active participants contributing to definitions of the situation (Somerset, Weiss, Fahey, and Mears 2001). Findings support that our self-perceptions gleaned from social situations are reinforced by others' responses to us (Allen 1988). Others (Connors 1996) discuss the implicit rules at work in keeping stage areas separate in their research on allowing relatives into emergency rooms during patient resuscitations. They find that staffs do not wish to have an outside audience viewing backstage behaviors in this arena. Research has also shown the differences in relational patterns between superior/subordinate positions of physicians and nurses in hospital settings (Tanner and Timmons 2000). From the discussions of these authors, it becomes evident that actors are active in the creation of meanings, selves continually are shaped through interaction, stages are important parts of the drama being acted out, and relations will vary by status.

The researcher's choice of a dramaturgical framework for analysis of single-sex secondary military boarding schools is simple. This framework *is a way of describing human behavior*. That is the principle goal of this dissertation. Beyond that, dramaturgical analysis does not burden itself with hypothesis testing – in fact, it purports to have no specific methodology at all. It is concerned with the observation of what people do and how they create meaning in their lives. Its primary focus is on how people interact with others within the

various settings of their lives. As such, it is a qualified means for studying the institutions described herein.

The emphasis of the forthcoming analysis focuses on the actors in various roles as they dramaturgically communicate with each other in jointly trying to keep the military schools in operation. Clearly, the actors communicate a very loyal and cooperative spirit to one audience, while another audience may experience something completely different. In fact, the researcher anticipates that the presentations of each group will vary, depending on the particular audience and situation. What the teachers report to the president may be very different from what is offered the researcher. Thus, the focus will be on most of the dramaturgical dimensions noted by Goffman, but with a slightly enhanced perspective – i.e., one that looks at interaction as a form of dramaturgical communication and its resultant outcome.<sup>14</sup>

Who, what, when, where, why, and how – and to what degree do individuals in various interactional groups react to the impressions of others? Additionally, how and with what success do these same individuals manage their own behaviors and impressions? Finally, what are the effects of those managed behaviors and impressions? These questions, as well as the stated research questions, are the focus for the analysis of the eight remaining single-sex secondary military boarding schools in the United States today. However, whereas the researcher's use of the dramaturgical framework is consistent, the individuals studied vary in their awareness of behavior as presentation.



## Research Questions

Given the need of practitioner and scholar alike for a new perspective on educational institutions that takes into account social realities at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it seems peculiar to this author that the theatrical lens has not been more thoroughly mined and explored. The problem this thesis addresses is how the metaphor of the theater can be applied to single-sex secondary military boarding schools; specifically, this thesis seeks to discover how individuals' interaction in these institutions can provide insights into the operations working within them.

The research questions this study seeks to explore and answer are:

- 1) What are the social structural conditions in the eight existing single-sex secondary military schools?
- 2) What are the social experiences and reactions among individuals in interactional groups (i.e., administration, faculty, military staff, and support staff) within the eight existing single-sex secondary military schools in relation to dramaturgical communication?
- 3) What are the social experiences and reactions among parents of cadets, alumni, and other persons interested in single-sex secondary military schools in relation to dramaturgical communication?

Knowledge of the social and structural conditions provides a context for the performances described. Further, answers to questions about the various groups' interactional experiences can tell us much about the impression

management at play within, and about, these institutions. The core focus of subsequent analysis describes audiences' understanding of social conditions and interactions and the emergent meanings reported by them.

## CHAPTER 3 ENDNOTES

1. Quote from President Bill Clinton's hearing before the Senate Hearing Committee concerning his sexual involvement with Monica Lewinsky.
2. The author does not mean to imply that others who have contributed to dramaturgy are less important than those mentioned herein. However, the work of these named scholars appears more germane to the explanation of the perspective's development as it is applied in subsequent chapters of this dissertation.
3. Simmel, like Kant, suggested a priori conditions serve as cognitive and social guides for understanding and interpreting situations. However, other thinkers (for example, David Hume) deny the existence of a priori conditions in the unfolding process of experiential reality. Reality is situationally defined, thus a priori conditions cannot be brought into the immediate interaction and resultant definitions of the situation.
4. In particular, the sociologists of the Chicago School include Albion Small, W.I. Thomas, Robert Park, Charles Cooley, and George Herbert Mead.
5. It is important to note that self and society are one and the same. The self is a continually negotiated process of active and passive phases through interaction with either individuals or society (i.e., Mead's generalized other).
6. For Burke, motive does not refer to the speaker's "cause" or "purpose" for performing an action. Instead, motive is a label for a completed action that is made up of linguistic products. Motives are best realized through the pentadic relationship of terms discussed in this chapter.
7. It is for this reason that Burke's pentad was included in detail. The researcher used the pentad to generate new ideas for identifying and probing social phenomena within single-sex secondary military boarding schools.
8. Goffman drew from the works of many others than those mentioned herein. However, this author chose to emphasize the influence of those described.
9. Readers must bear in mind that shared definitions of the situation are not always consensual.

## CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

From detailed examinations of people and their social discourse and the various outcomes of their actions, underlying principles and concepts can be identified. (Berg 1989:53)

### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to identify research participants and describe the methods and procedures used to answer the research questions presented in chapter three. To answer the stated research questions, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed. Different methods produce varying representations of reality. By combining several lines of inquiry, a richer and more substantive description and analysis may be made of the topic of study. Further, researchers use a variety of instruments in qualitative studies to collect different kinds of data and to check validity (Division of Social Psychiatry UCLA Neuropsychiatric Institute 1998). The methodology employed herein follows the theoretical trend implied in the preceding chapter of this research project. The assumption is that understanding the social conditions and experiences in the eight remaining single-sex secondary military boarding schools is a primary tenet for analysis of each group's reactions while using any form of a dramaturgical framework.

Direct observations and face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were conducted on-site at various single-sex secondary military boarding schools throughout the states of Texas, Kansas, and Missouri. Data gained through observation includes descriptions (and analysis) of settings, appearances,

mannerisms, performances, dialogue, and symbols. Telephone and e-mail interviews were completed for participants from the schools of direct observation, and the schools not physically visited by the researcher. These data yielded first-person audience descriptions of experiences and responses in addition to information gleaned from observations. Augmenting secondary academic literature, existing documentation gathered from the eight institutions studied was reviewed providing images and themes for analysis. Original surveys appropriate to each of the groups of interest<sup>1</sup> were administered to gain further first-hand descriptions; however, while basic and demographic data were analyzed using a standard quantitative coding format, an open-coding scheme was developed for the numerous open-ended questions contained therein.<sup>2</sup> As a result, very little actual quantitative data were collected. The surveys mainly served as an extension of the various interview methods employed. Consequently, the principle method of data collection was qualitative.

Qualitative research generally seeks to reveal categories, concepts, or understanding that are internal to the group or the domain being studied. It does this using methods designed to allow subjects to construct for the researcher their own understanding of the issues at hand (Weitzman and Miles 1995). There are a number of variations of these methods to include document analyses, observations, and interviews. These methods may be analyzed by compiling similar data responses that are further used to ascertain the dramaturgical categories people use in understanding their worlds. Using methodological tools of data reduction, clustering, and scaling (Babbie 1995),

research data were subjectively interpreted and categorized into five dramaturgical levels of response defined by the researcher. This was executed by using data collection and research techniques described in the remainder of this chapter. This research data were collected over approximately a one-year period in 2001. The project was completed in August 2002.

### Subjects

The subjects of this research are individuals 18 years of age or older who have been, or who are currently employed by a single-sex secondary military boarding school, parents of cadets who have been or are currently enrolled in a single-sex secondary military boarding school, and other parties with interest in single-sex secondary military boarding schools. Subjects were solicited through telephone or personal contact with various single-sex secondary military boarding schools and by “snowball” methods of referral. That is, some subjects were solicited through references made available by other subjects. Contact was also made through the use of an Internet message board forum constructed for the purpose of discussing single-sex secondary military boarding schools.<sup>3</sup> Exact numbers for those interviewed and survey response are specified in the appropriate sections discussing types of interviews conducted, as are survey respondents. For purposes of anonymity and confidentiality for both the schools themselves and individual participants, a group unit of analysis directed at each of the interactional groups of study was utilized although data were collected through individuals’ accounts.

## Materials and Procedure

### Documents – Content Analysis

Content analysis can be used with any form of communication, whether it is written material, pictorial image, or sound product (Babbie 1995; Bayens and Roberson 2000; Nachmias and Nachmias 1996; Trochin 2000). It involves a description and/or explanation of the written or visual contents of documentary materials. The early uses of content analysis were in studies of the nature and effects of propaganda, with this method later spreading to analysis of news media, education, and then communication in general (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrest, and Grove 1981).

Babbie (2000), states there are three main emphases of content analysis, two of which are particularly applicable to this research. First, content analysis may provide information about the characteristics of a culture or its people. Second, content analysis may tell something about the effects of the message on the target audience. Additionally, as a mode of observation, the focus is on Burke's (1969) question of "what?" As an analysis of data, content analysis addresses "why" and "with what effect" (Babbie 1995:307). Thus, we find content analysis is particularly well suited to the questions addressed in this study of single-sex secondary military boarding schools.

There are several advantages of content analysis (Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh 1990; Babbie 1995; Berg 1989; Bayens and Roberson 2000; Lofland and Lofland 1995; Nachmias and Nachmias 1996; Trochin 2000). First, it is

economical in terms of research expense. A staff and expensive equipment are not required. Second, researchers conducting content analysis can handle large volumes of data that are often unstructured material not prepared with scientific analysis in mind, such as the admissions brochures and other documents for each of the schools studied. Third, and critical to this research, content analysis involves sensitivity to context and symbolic forms in communication. Content analysis can be used to analyze for patterns, meanings, and relationships. Situational, semantic, and political consequences can be researched. Finally, it is unobtrusive, and seldom has any effect on subjects being studied.

There are also disadvantages of content analysis (Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh 1990; Babbie 1995; Berg 1989; Bayens and Roberson 2000; Lofland and Lofland 1995; Nachmias and Nachmias 1996; Trochin 2000). Content analysis is limited to the examination of recorded communications. The communications may be oral, written, or graphic, but they must be recorded in some fashion to permit analysis. Further, it is a subjective procedure. It is often not possible for a researcher to explain in a research report all the subtle nuances that lead to one classification rather than another. This means that the probability of replication is low. Lastly, content analysis of large amount of data can be hard to code and become very time consuming.

A wide array of written and visual material from a variety of sources was analyzed for content relating to the social conditions and experiences within, and emergent meanings leading to interpretations of, these types of schools. Academic journals and texts, institutional and popular film, and popular books



and publications such as magazines and newspapers, served as the archival data for this project. School literature consisted of documents such as promotional materials, school annuals and histories, and institutional administrative, educational, and military papers. Institutional films reviewed were promotional documentaries distributed through the admissions offices of each of the participating schools.

Different types of materials were analyzed for distinct themes and images. However, data sorting began with the construction of two master categories: social arrangements and structural conditions. Then subgroups were formed from each of the strata. For instance, the master category, social arrangements concerning the military schools, has seven sub-groupings; administration, military staff, faculty, support staff, parents of cadets, alumni, and others with interest in single-sex secondary military schools. The sub-groupings were separated even further into individual topics specific to them such as management style, military service, pedagogy, and so on. Data for each related topic were separated in this manner. Notes taken from the data were entered into a word processing program for further sorting. As each topic was discussed, data notes were searched through the "find" function of the program's editing tools. For example, if information concerning a particular school program such as ROTC was needed, ROTC was typed into the edit/find space and searched. Each instance of ROTC, in turn, would become readily available. This is a much simpler and easier way of organizing, arranging, and accessing data than the traditional note card methods often employed.

## Observations

In non-participant observation studies, the researcher does not participate in an activity or situation, but observes "from the sidelines." One common form of less intrusive observation studies is naturalistic observation. In naturalistic observation, the aim is to study behavior in its usual setting, without asking the subjects any questions or administering any tests (Babbie 2000). The investigator simply observes and records what happens in the natural environment.

One distinct advantage of the observation technique is that it records actual behavior that can be compared to subjects' statements, to check for the validity of their responses. This may be especially so when dealing with behavior that might be subject to social pressure (for example, people deem themselves to be tolerant when their actual behavior may appear to be much less so). On the other hand, the observation technique does not provide any insights into what the person may be thinking or what might motivate a given behavior or comment. This type of information can only be obtained by asking people, either directly or indirectly, as was done with the interview types to be discussed.

Direct observation was conducted at only three of the eight schools because of the broad geographic area they cover. The schools were first contacted by the researcher via telephone or e-mail to their respective admissions offices. Approval for access was gained and appointment times were scheduled through the three admissions officers. Two of the school sites were limiting in researcher access, whereas one of the schools allowed the researcher

to freely inspect the campus at will. Two of the schools gave the researcher the “tour,” while one of the schools invited the researcher to stay on its campus during the data gathering process. This was especially helpful in identifying and understanding daily ritual, evening, and nighttime activities.

Between the three campuses visited, several hundred individuals, most all areas, and many activities on campus were observed. Employees within each of the social groupings were observed while conducting the duties of their jobs, attending voluntary school functions, and in interaction with each other and members of other interactional groups. In some cases, the researcher was able to observe military school employees in their private lives. The researcher was invited into private homes and to public social activities with some military school employees. Again, this “extra” observation aided in understanding the lives of military school employees.

Information was recorded as observations took place, or shortly thereafter, and subsequently filed into the same computer-processing program as the documentary data for analysis. This data was analyzed using the same “search and find” method illustrated above. Again, the same two master categories were used, social and structural arrangements, that were subsequently divided into the group categories indicated. The group categories were then further subdivided into conceptual clusters concerning observed behaviors for each group such as roles and duties, interaction patterns, and the like. Copious field notes were transcribed into the same computer word processing program used for documentary content analysis and handled in the same manner.

## Interviews

A researcher collecting information may intrude beyond naturalistic observation. Usually the next step is to ask questions such as those constituting the elements of Burke's (1969) dramatisic pentad. This is often accomplished through interviews that Dexter (1990) describes as conversations with purpose, including components of dialogue and interaction. Interviews allow the researcher and respondent to move back and forth in time; to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Interviews also help the researcher to understand and put into larger context the interpersonal, social, and cultural aspects of the environment. As Fetterman (1989) states:

They (interviews) require verbal interaction, and language is the commodity of discourse. Words and expressions have different values in different cultures. People exchange these verbal commodities to communicate. He (the researcher) quickly learns to savor the informant's every word for its cultural or subcultural connotations as well as for its denotative meaning. (P. 48)

Schatzman and Strauss (1973:6) suggest that interviewing is a "fine tool" for allowing people to construct their worlds; yet, two problems may ensue. One, the interviewee may lack the articulation necessary to explain his world. Two, the interview setting constitutes a social situation in and of itself. Regarding the first problem, each of the informants was reported as having at least a high school education and most received at least some college education. Their accounts, with minimal direction and probing from the researcher, resulted in adequate expressions of their experiences and reactions. The second stated

problem of the interview setting being a social situation in and of itself was actually reversed in this research. The settings where interviews were conducted were an important part of the data gathered for dramaturgical analysis. Stages, scenery, and props (Goffman 1959) are essential elements in the presentation of any performance.

We use interviewing to gain access to ideas, thoughts, emotions, etc., that we cannot readily identify through observation alone. There are a variety of approaches to qualitative interviewing, which vary according to how structured the interview protocol is. These range from completely unstructured to completely structured interviews (Bauman and Adair 1992). While interviews may take a wide variety of forms, most common, however, is the semi-structured interview (Merriam, 1988). In a semi-structured approach, the interviewer has only a general idea of what to expect from the encounter and, consequently, formulates but a few questions in advance. After introducing the topic, the researcher allows the interview conversation to follow the interviewee's lead. The interviews are later analyzed to determine recurrent themes or patterns.<sup>4</sup>

As with all research methods, there are both advantages and disadvantages concerning interviewing subjects. Face-to face interviews are typically held in a respondent's home or office. This is very convenient for the respondent and may put him or her at more ease. Further, the interviewer works directly with the respondent. Here, the interviewer has the opportunity to monitor the responses and ask follow-up questions, so they are deal for reaction. Extensive probing can be used to collect detailed information. Another bonus is

that a respondent's body language can guide the interviewer in helping to interpret comments. For example, a respondent may say they agree with, and even admire, the school president (Goffman's 1959 expressions given), but subtle nuances such as facial expression and body movement (Goffman's 1959 expressions given off) may belie that presentation. However, face-to-face interviews are rather time consuming due to some factors such as travel to the respondent's locale, warming up time for the respondent, irrelevant conversations, run-on dialogue, and in analysis.

In this work, interviews are used to explore the role of a theatrical metaphor in audience experience and response in single-sex secondary military boarding schools. While on each of the three campuses visited, a total of thirty face-to-face semi-structured interviews<sup>5</sup> were conducted with members of the four on-campus groups. Appointments were scheduled with individuals either directly, or through the admissions officers at these particular schools. Before beginning each interview, the researcher would discuss briefly why the research was being conducted, ethical procedures for anonymity, confidentiality, voluntary participation, and any concerns respondents had. Permission was also gained for audio tape recording of dialogue for later transcription.<sup>6</sup> Most respondents allowed audio taping of the interviews; however, notes were taken by the researcher during all interviews, whether recorded or not. The duration of each interview lasted between one and three hours depending on the subject's desired participation. Some interviewees shared more experiences than others causing this discrepancy in time.

In addition to face-to-face interviews, other types of interviews may be utilized in qualitative research. Telephone interviews are one such type. Telephone interviews enable a researcher to gather information rapidly. A wide variety of people from many different locations can be interviewed economically. These were especially helpful in this project due to the wide geographic area covered between the eight schools. Like face-to-face interviews, they allow for some personal contact between the interviewer and the user. First hand information is gained, although the usual benefits of expressions given off are severely limited. Yet, probing techniques and signs like voice intonation are still available to the researcher. Eight telephone interviews were completed. Nine e-mail interviews were also conducted in addition to face-to-face and telephone interviews. Again, more first account information was gleaned, however, expressions given off were almost wholly reduced.

Interview content was analyzed for placement into the two primary categories of structural or social conditions. This was further divided into descriptions of settings, statuses, roles and duties, attitudes and actions, appearances, mannerisms, performances, dialogue, and symbols. This analysis involved four main steps. First, descriptions of ways in which all respondents assessed their social conditions of and within single-sex secondary military boarding schools were identified and coded into the structural or social master categories. Second, each time a respondent described an environment, action, or experience it was noted and categorized with responses of other members of his or her group. The subject's group responses were then compared to other

group responses to identify similarities as well as inconsistencies in conditions, experiences, and responses. Third, accounts were further sorted and compared for their similarities based on the interviewer's description of cues such as verbal and nonverbal accounts, costumes and props in use, and stage setting.

## Surveys

Sociological survey research has a rich history. Most people are familiar with census surveys dating back to Biblical times and beyond. In addition to censuses, surveys have been used in research over a vast period of time and for a multitude of reasons. As stated in Babbie (1995:256), Karl Marx conducted a large-scale survey among French workers in 1880 to determine the extent of their exploitation by employers. In contemporary society, we often find consumer surveys in our mailboxes, and even in Internet websites.

Survey questionnaires are an inexpensive way to gather data from a potentially large number of respondents. They are also helpful in corroborating other findings. In studies such as this one, which pursue other data collection strategies, questionnaires can be useful confirmation tools for other data obtained (The Centre for Psychology at Athabasca University 2001). Questionnaires including demographic questions on the participants can also be used to correlate experiences and responses in single-sex secondary military schools among the different groups of study.

Original surveys, similar to each other, yet tailored specifically to five individual interactional groups (administrative staff, faculty, military staff, support staff, and parents) were designed to glean information about group



interpretations concerning single-sex secondary military schools. Most items are open-ended to allow for variability in responses. Open format questions are those that ask for unprompted opinions. In other words, there are no predetermined sets of responses, and the participant is free to answer however he or she chooses. Open format questions are good for soliciting subjective data or when the range of responses is not tightly defined (The Centre for Psychology at Athabasca University 2001). An obvious advantage is that the variety of responses may be wider and more truly reflect the opinions of the respondents. This increases the likelihood of receiving unexpected and insightful suggestions, as it is impossible to predict the full range of experiences and reactions by informants. Standard demographic questions begin the surveys, such as age, sex, and race. The next series of questions identify general employment information. For example, information is extracted about how long an informant has been with the school, major responsibilities, goals, and so on. A third series of questions addresses (school) program content. This line of inquiry elicits responses concerning interpretations by the various interactional groups, e.g., strengths and weaknesses of other groups, resources, etc. The next set of questions consists of eight open-ended statements targeting each of the groups with directions to "fill in the blank" with *first* responses. This is an attempt to get at spontaneous information albeit through a static survey. For example, "The administration \_\_\_\_\_ . . . , and so on for each of the groups. The survey closes with a place for additional comments and concerns respondents may wish to make known.

Concerning the instruments' use as quantitative surveys – these are supplementary sources of information. Although the information contained in them is important, it may not be statistically (or dramaturgically) sound. It was also difficult to ascertain response rates, as the researcher did not personally disseminate or collect the survey questionnaires. The surveys were distributed and collected through the admissions officers within the schools, and considering the weak response rate described in the following chapter, it appears not many surveys were distributed. Thus, response rates varied from school to school, and group to group, depending on the degree of assistance by admissions officers or others. Further, since survey respondents remain anonymous, it is more difficult to discern the responses they have based on meanings constructed through encounters with others. However, they are still rich sources of information that aid in understanding reactions to the schools and various interactional groups associated with them.

In conclusion, analytical analysis was grounded in and constructed from observations, interviews and survey data. Qualitative information was manipulated in ways to help construct a model of the way informants' mental or cultural understandings are organized. This was generally done through collection of data about what was salient to subjects' experiences with, and interpretations of, their school and of the other similar schools.

## CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF DATA

### Introduction

The preceding chapters comprise the grounding for the forthcoming qualitative description and analysis of the eight remaining single-sex secondary military boarding schools and those individuals associated with them. Data descriptions and analyses answer the stated research questions listed at the end of chapter three by assessing the social conditions, experiences, and audience reactions in relation to the identified groups of research. These include both those groups within the schools; the administration, faculty, military staff, and support staff, and those outside of the schools; parents of cadets, alumni, and other persons with interest in them.

### Organizational Arrangement

As found in the literature, and stated in chapter two, the typical single-sex secondary military boarding school is a private, not for profit institution with an independent governing board. Each of the eight private schools studied has an independent board of directors who have a large voice in school operations. School organizational charts show an overarching board of trustees followed by the president. These same charts further branch into a medical division on one side and religion (if applicable) on the other. Medical employees are treated as support staff and religious leaders are often members of faculty. Below the two groups, and ascending from the president, is a tree headed by three divisions:

administration (led by the president), academics (led by the academic dean), and military (led by the commandant). Under administration falls: business, school development, admissions, and support staff including the quartermaster, food service, maintenance, and laundry personnel. Although support staff representatives report directly to the president, they are in no way associated with the administrative sector. Responsibilities of the academic dean are curriculum, counseling, and athletics. Responsibilities of the military commandant include military affairs and ROTC, cadet living, and cadet social life.

No school employees are allowed on the board of directors; however, school presidents often serve in an advisory role. Based on applications and recommendations, the board alone chooses who will be a school's president.

An ROTC instructor explains the organizational arrangement this way:

Well, the ultimate authority comes from the board, and that's okay in terms of policy. I mean, to establish a framework within which they expect the president to run the school, and then hire the president and let him run the school within that framework. And if you don't like the way he's running the school you tell him, and if he doesn't change it, then you get a new president.

In the "web of interaction" found in these schools, the board has the responsibility of filling the most powerful status on campus as well as affecting other aspects such as salaries and the like. Nevertheless, little input into board decisions comes from school employees. While the above statements describe organizational arrangements and interactions, the researcher discovered some groups having feelings of anger at being powerless to influence the larger decisions of the board, particularly the selection of the president. Military employees are the most vocal in this matter.

So, again the board of directors, who are they going to ask about who needs to be hired? They have never done that. In this day and age they need to start doing that because if they don't they'll hire the wrong person.

The board of trustees, while not part of the administrative group, chooses that group's leader. Subsequently, they set the stage for the evaluation of performances by individuals employed in the schools. In a sense, the board becomes the producer of employee performances. The president is cast as the lead actor having the most important status, if not role, on campus. He has governance over all presentations made by other actors. He further determines who these actors will be, and how their performances will be prescribed. It infuriated many of the other role performers that the independent board of trustees (many of whom live hundreds of miles away from the school and apart from each other), dictates the status and role sets for "their" school, yet have no direct involvement with them.

They never come down. We never hear anything but negatives from the board of trustees and it just burns you when something happens and we're kept in the dark.

Well, another problem we have is that we are kept in the dark and what we need the most is a board of directors who come down and identify themselves to us but they never talk to us.

This problem is not singularly endemic to military boarding schools, as any institution or organization with a board of directors is likely to experience the same isolation.

Regarding the financial operation of these schools, all have large endowments specifically allotted for expenses such as the construction of buildings and other amenities. The schools are emphatic that endowments *never*

be used to pay salaries or other operating expenses. Thus, tuitions finance the daily operational expenses in each school. Student numbers, therefore, either cause the operating budget to increase or decline. In the past few years, faced with low enrollments, schools have dramatically marketed themselves to enhance the qualities that make military schools desirable, while de-emphasizing those that would hinder enrollments. Despite this often effective marketing, one parent explained why her children were removed prior to their completion of the academic school year by saying this:

It seems to me in retrospect that they put out a lot of “glitz” to try and impress people that they provide a wonderful educational experience. They do this with pictures of cadets who look like boys playing brigadier generals. . . Even after I got my boys in, I still felt impressed by the qualities of all the different people there like Miss (quartermaster) and Mr. (duty officer). . . So my point is, it looked good on the surface, but my kid ended up with five boys putting their penises in his face. Even a Harvard education can’t make that okay.

Thus, the marketing strategies presented to secure needed high enrollments are affected by the negativity engendered from interactions such as the one described. This loss of two students cost this particular institution approximately \$50,000.00 for that school year alone.

Academic Excellence; Leadership and Behavioral Structure; and Discipline

#### Academic Excellence

“School of distinction,” an “environment of achievement,” “small classes,” “self-discipline,” and “educational excellence” are the words taken from advertisements found in the beginning of this dissertation. As seen in the

previous quote, parents are enticed by these depictions and this results in parents receiving a host of materials inviting them to visit the schools. Packets are sent containing impressive invitation letters, often on expensive, colored paper, with embossed and gilt school crests emblazoned on them. Of course, the editorial comments declare schools' stellar attributes making them the only choice for parents and their sons. They rely on images romanticizing tradition, such as artistic renditions of original school buildings, and statements declaring pride in service of over 100 years. Invitation letters are important presentations concerning initial parental school perceptions, and as such, typically focus on the positive attributes of both the school and its prospective cadets.

To be even more detailed in analysis of these documents, the researcher discovered beautiful full-color glossy admissions brochures are included in recruitment packets. These brochures depict many patriotic images and happy boys engaged in military, academic, and athletic activity. Positive presentations of the schools' physical facilities and excellent academic offerings are provided. Each school touts its faculty and staff as the best. Brochures include a brief and positive school history. Quotes decrying great accomplishment for cadets abound in directly quoted statements from happy parents and successful alumni. For example:

The physical and mental self-discipline that our son acquired from the program has transformed his life. He has aspirations for much success in the future and plans to attend the U.S. Naval Academy after graduation.

From screaming around the sky as a USAF weapons officer, to the grueling academics of pharmacy and medical school . . . this school provided me with the integrity, the leadership, organization skills, and what

my DI called just plain, ordinary “guts” to accomplish what I have and succeed in life.

These showy documents probably belie the effort, dedication, and hard work demanded to succeed at military school; nevertheless, their positive presentation makes the schools seem happy places where everyone desires to go, and everyone achieves success. Hence, this recruitment drama actually works in getting parents to enroll their children in these schools.

Schools often send newsletters, which vary little in the overall presentation. They generally include pictures of smiling cadets in a variety of valued activities, with few, if any, negative comments or stories about any topic regarding the school. All groups associated with the schools are also presented in the best possible way, especially alumni who are, after all, the main recipients of the newsletter. This document essentially serves a two-fold function. One, it serves a recruitment function as a promotional article presented to attract new students. Two, it serves to remind alumni of their warm feelings towards the school and, more importantly, how the school can only continue with their support – a not so thinly veiled attempt to collect additional financial revenues. Therefore, in this front stage presentation, the military schools, not unlike other institutions needing alumni support, put their best presentation forward to recruit new members and secure on-going resources for continued operation. Again, this assessment was hardly unexpected, but nonetheless still significant and noteworthy, especially in dramaturgical analysis.

Once parents make contact with admissions officers, an important part of school entrance, two main “pitches” attract potential customers. First, parents



hear and are attracted with the excellence claimed by the schools' academic programs. Second, the structure and discipline a military environment can provide interest parents. What may be more likely is parents are drawn to the schools initially for structure and discipline, but are "sold" with promises of exceptional educational experiences for their sons. As referred to in chapter 2, at one time these schools legitimately touted their educational excellence, and thus they continue to use this powerful attractor for recruitment. Nevertheless, as born out in this research, each group including parents, teachers, etc., recognized the need for structure and discipline to be the most significant factor in choice. Clearly, excellent academics are a great "motive" when questioned about the school's performance.

Schools are depicted by administration personnel as having superior academic programs providing innovative scheduling, and small, orderly classes supplemented by daily mandatory tutoring. Large percentages of graduates are reported to be accepted to college, often to selective schools. In fact, St. John's Northwestern declares that, "For over a decade, 100% of our graduates have been accepted at college."<sup>1</sup>

Each school stresses its ability to be a "college preparatory" facility as exemplified by the following statements found in school websites or admissions brochures.

At Missouri Military Academy High School, cadets are provided personal attention in small classes that results in the benefits of improved study skills and unhindered academic performance in preparation for college. An average of more than 96% of graduating class members have been accepted into college.

At Carson Long . . . most of our graduates are permitted to enter almost all the leading colleges and universities. There is hardly a state in the Union today in which there are no former attendants of Carson Long Institute, many of whom have risen to positions of prominence and trust. To name over these students is like calling a Roll of Honor.

The major objective of the Lyman Ward Academy is to prepare students for college entrance. The Marine Military Academy Academic Department provides all cadets with the necessary academic and intellectual tools to succeed in college. We emphasize college preparation. Ninety-five percent of our graduates are accepted into post secondary education.

Riverside Military Academy has gained a reputation as one of the nation's finest college preparatory schools for boys from eighth through twelfth grades.

Essentially, Lyman Ward Military Academy is a college preparatory school. Secondly, it is a military school.

At Camden, . . . the academic program is strictly college preparatory . . . and the core of the Camden experience is the academy's academic program.

The St. John's Military School college-preparatory curriculum . . . shows in the caliber of graduates from the school.

Given the emphasis on academic excellence on the front stage presentation put forth within these documents, the researcher utilized the interview setting to be a backstage arena where members of the various groups involved in the overall interactional pattern figuratively "let their hair down" and talked about their experiences.<sup>2</sup>

How is this educational excellence that paves the road for college selection and entrance experienced among the various interactional groups? The answer largely depends on whom you are asking. By applying Burke's dramatisic pentad, differences in experience can be exposed. Using an identical

experience across groups, we find that response varies by audience group membership. This is illustrated as follows:

*Act* – Cadet Johnny makes honor roll.

*Scene* – The school and its classrooms.

*Agent* – Cadet Johnny

*Agency* – Achievement of academic responsibilities.

*Purpose* – To increase grade point and make parents happy.

As explained in chapter 3, members of administration are most interested in the act and its outcome – not who accomplished it or how. This behavior is typical of persons in authority structures. Moreover, the purpose is even unimportant. The act could have been completed by any cadet, through any means. Still, for administration members, excellence is found in the *act*. They are now able to use Johnny as an example for other parents who wish their sons an increased grade point and admission to college. To the interest of the researcher, however, when administrative employees were asked if they would send their own son to their school, none cited academic excellence as a reason to do so. In fact, 33% said they would not send them there.<sup>3</sup> This statement, made by a member of administration, illustrates that, potentially, administrations are aware that academic excellence may be a façade:

First and foremost the child needs an education. That's what our primary job is, because a lot of these kids are already behind when we get them.

Thus, we find that the administrations already know many of the students they enroll are academically challenged. However, this motive does not seem to preclude the front stage promotion of academic excellence.

The faculties view this promotion of academic excellence much differently, although for the same reasons indicated in the administrative quote above.

Where the administrations place their emphasis on the act, faculties stress the importance of Burke's dramatistic *agency*. For faculty members, academic excellence is not simply achieving high marks, but rather excellence in rigorous academic activity appropriate to a student's age level. For teachers, it is more important how something is accomplished than the accomplishment itself, and it seems they falter upon noticing the discrepancy between front and back stages. Some faculty members have expressed their responses to their school's academic standards and student clientele by saying:

I don't think it's that they want to sell (this school) as this wonderful prep school . . . It is a wonderful school, but we are by no means a prep school. . . Excellent academically? No, we are not, and never will be, and I really feel there is a disservice to the students . . . we don't offer what they need.

I think our math program is very weak. Our science program is (also) . . . (We have) teachers trying to teach students things that they're not ready for. They're not teaching at the level of their students.

What bothers me too, is those things you really love, you have to water down so much to get it across to the kids and it's meaningless, well not meaningless, but it hurts you to have to water it down that much.

I do know a student (at this school) who has been diagnosed with (dyslexia) and can't read.

One teacher said this about the academic curriculum:

Even though there was a college preparatory class part of it (the academic curriculum), the other part of it was designed to help those kids at least stay afloat who were having trouble academically.

This information reveals that both administration and faculty members are aware

of academic deficiencies in both their curriculum and students. Still, the depiction of excellence does work, often leading to a student constituency within the school that is highly skewed toward a lower academic ability. Another faculty member describes some of the difficulties this presentation of academic excellence incurs:

I have a few students, who are really bright, and they do need to be challenged more, and they get bored, and I have other students who are struggling to keep up. It's really tough when you have a class of 13 and there's a mixture of all of them. You kind of strike for the middle and hope you can get those who are having trouble and kind of encourage the other guys to do more.

I get the end results of a lot of public schools. I have an eighth grader reading at a second grade level right now; has no organization skills; has no math skills; has no writing skills; and I've got him in the eighth grade. I keep asking that question every year, how did this kid get this far? He's just one of many, I've got juniors, sophomores, I've got freshmen. How they ever get in high school, it's just sad. I mean, you got a kid that can't read and write, can't do very well in math, that does horrible in science, why do you put him in high school when he's a seventh grader? By then it just makes no sense to me. Put a kid in wood shop that can't read a tape measure. How do you get that far and nobody does anything about it?

Parents are mixed in their remarks about the schools' academic departments. Most appear satisfied with their sons' academic progress – and even more are satisfied with the faculty involvement, yet none have spoken of the academic standard as exceptional. Comments such as these confirm this point:

My goal for my son during his attendance here is to have him improve his academic grades. He is working successfully towards this goal because his grades have improved drastically in the short period of attendance. He has done well academically.

His grades have improved greatly, and the teachers care and have time for each student.

For some parents then, the faculty's obvious personal concern and small classes enhance educational success. Other parents do not share this same response to the schools' academic performance. Some parents say:

I just want him to get a "C" average here. He needs to graduate. He is not doing this. He has low grades, and that is not good.

My son should not be allowed to fail because of not understanding a certain subject well enough. I have talked with the teachers, but he is still failing.

They are still promoting the school as something it isn't – a prep school when it suits them, a last chance school if that's what the parents want. They just pitch the story that will sell any particular parent.

As shown, parents may send their sons to these schools for the academic program. Schools are resplendent in their remarks concerning the excellence of academic departments, especially in preparatory training for college. While this is alluring to parents, the academic training they desire for their sons includes an added component. Forty-two percent of parents state a primary reason for their son's attendance is to "catch-up" academically.<sup>4</sup> We see that schools present an academically excellent front, yet admit many students who are not. Parents are attracted by and expect excellence, while simultaneously enrolling sons who are troubled and often *not* educationally excellent.

Where administrations are concerned with the *act*, and the faculties are concerned with *agency*, parents are concerned with the *purpose* found in Burke's pentad. Their satisfaction is drawn from an improved grade point and potential diploma these schools can provide. They send their sons to these schools for this purpose.

Military personnel are interested in the cadet's grades in as much as they are a reflection of their personal work responsibilities. Cadets in each school are reportedly involved in evening study periods. Military advisors are to make sure this time is spent studying. However, not all students actually spend this allotted time doing schoolwork. Some do, but many others use this time for cadets to improve the appearance of their uniforms and/or barracks. A few military advisors (or TAC officers) take evening study time seriously and rigorously enforce it:

I believe that this is a school. They are not in the military. Let's study and get your grades up.

Then again I make the study hall mandatory. It's an hour and a half longer than the others, and on Saturday and Sunday, it's out in the hall. So it's not something that's said and not followed through.

Our study hour here starts at 18:30. If we don't have anywhere to go it goes to 21:00. So they have almost two and one-half to three hours in Bravo Company to study, where the other companies don't let them work.

Other military employees, however, do not feel that academics are within the scope of their duties.

I won't do their (teachers) job for them because I am not getting paid to do their job, and I don't have a certificate saying that I am a teacher.

The only thing that's going to affect me in my job is that there's fights, drinking, or breaking the rules, or something over here. That's the only thing that affects me.

Many military employees simply do not think this requirement can or should be accomplished.

Friday night is GI time, we do our clean up because who is going to study on a Friday?

This can't be like West Point. We had immaculate rooms, forced study halls, and everything ran perfect, but that was a different world. In here, that'll never happen.

But I think a lot of the teachers think we spend too much time having the kids shine their shoes, climbing the rope, and some of that is probably true . . . And then they (the cadets) also like to have an excuse, "Well, we had to shine our shoes so we didn't get our studying done."

Still others give credence to study periods, but because of poor communication between faculty members, cadets, and themselves, they do not feel they can adequately enforce this policy.

When I worked at (\_\_\_\_\_) Hall, I enforced the study hall. I never knew though what the teachers were having them do for homework. I'd say, "Well, what were you supposed to do?" "Well, they didn't give us any homework." "Well, no, your teacher called me and said what (you were) supposed to have read yesterday." So at least I see to it then that he's reading some type of book.

Yet, when faculty members come to the barracks to aid in study hour, they often are not welcomed, as this is the stage for military performance – irrespective of whether the military employee believes in study hall.

I'm not so sure it's really a study hour, but it is identified as that. It kind of interrupts the relationship between the military advisor and the cadet if the faculty member ends up listening to and believing, or acting on, cadet complaints. They are here, but not to be counselors, and that's what I'm afraid they end up doing.

In these accounts, we find that military personnel are vested in the *agent* of Burke's pentad. Military advisors care that the boy does what he is told to do by *them*, not necessarily what is directed by others.

Finally, it is apparent that support staffs are most concerned with the *scene* Burke identified in his dramatistic pentad. Whatever the academic standard a school espouses, support staffs care whether the facilities are



organized and in working order to carry out the act. Members of maintenance made these remarks:

I like that we keep the place nice . . . and when parents see this place they think, yeah, I want my son to go here.

We do whatever they (other employees) ask us to do. That's our job. That's what we do.

As stated, each school promotes itself as a college preparatory institution.

While this may or may not be true, employees within the schools have different perceptions of what type of school they are – or even what type of school they want to be. Employees support these conflicting perspectives in the following statements:

I don't want to be a prep school. I don't think we have what it takes to be a prep school.

The president has different visions for the school. Um, I don't think the board sees it that way, and I know sees it more as a prep school. So I like right where we are. I like the boys we get and the changes we can make . . . We can lead them down the path to college.

### Leadership and Behavioral Structure

Leadership is called, among other things, the watchword of success in the military profession. (Lovell 1979:193)

There is a frequently quoted military saying: In order to learn to lead, you must first learn to obey (Hays 1990). The basic idea of all kinds of military education is centered on enhancing leadership, and leadership development depends upon growth and learning. What constitutes the currently accepted vision, practices, procedures, ethical concerns, operations, and tactics of military leadership may be categorized as military doctrine, and can be operationally

defined by manuals, documents, texts, memoranda and so forth that comprise a complex leadership agenda (Monahan and Smith 1995).

What is leadership, and what does it mean? “Leadership is a socially constructed phenomenon that is created by and resides solely in followers and observers” (Meindl 1990:159, 1995:329). Since meaning is really in people rather than in the words they use, the meaning of leadership depends on who the people are who invoke the concept. For those in military education, leadership means “the process by which people – usually subordinates – are influenced to properly pursue organizational and institutional purposes” (Monahan and Smith 1995:8). Leadership and power have similar meanings in the military school context. Tarrant (1982:35), defines leadership as “getting others to do what you want them to do.” Thus, instilling leadership is an overarching objective of the military school. The desired end result is that of a cadet who will not only follow the will of superiors, but who will also be able to compel others to follow his.

This leadership training is possibly best affected through the rigorous structure of discipline that exists within the military department of these institutions and through the use of “cadet command.” In cadet command, boys fulfill the roles and duties of military personnel as if they were enlisted men or officers in the regular military services. Military staffs describe cadet command and its noted benefits in the following statements:

It gives the cadets a chance to develop their leadership potential. It's a unique environment where cadets lead cadets.

I think it's necessary to have cadets in leadership roles – that's what a military school is. It's a way for cadets to learn discipline, responsibility, and a number of things.

But that extra responsibility helps them develop their own leadership. It helps them to mature and get some self-discipline. What we are trying to teach them is to lead by example. Lead by force, not to lead by the rules of the street or fist.

While schools and their military staffs are supportive of, and responsible for, instilling leadership through the cadet command, this research documents that it is often fraught with problems. One military advisors states it this way:

Another hard part that I have here – I don't know the answer to this one, is the negative leadership . . . One of the things I really believe about being a part of the military is the leadership, but these boys abuse their power.

Philosophy statements from single-sex secondary military boarding schools also reflect this most important goal of instilling leadership.

MMA, (Missouri Military Academy) a military boarding school, allows cadets to develop essential citizenship and leadership skills: respect for themselves and others, pride in belonging to a unit, and a sense of personal responsibility.

At St. John's Northwestern Military Academy we believe in the development of the mind, body, and spirit of each individual. This is accomplished by stressing the four main cornerstones of our program, academics, athletics, leadership, and values.

Promotional brochures from the schools of study also support the ideal of leadership. An excerpt from the president's letter in the St. John's Military School brochure states:

We will . . . continue to utilize the military environment. This is done to . . . teach individual responsibility and allow for the development of leadership skills.

The military section of the Lyman Ward Military Academy brochure proclaims an offer of:

Structured leadership development building character, citizenship, and a sense of duty.

In fact, the cover of St. John's Northwestern Military Academy states simply:

Developing leaders since 1884.

Subsequent pages of the same brochure relay:

It is not the goal of St. John's Northwestern to make soldiers out of students, but rather to teach young men principles of leadership to prepare them for life. This preparation is done within a structured environment that is complemented by the school's academic, athletic, and spiritual programs.

These statements are followed by pages directly addressing leadership as developed through a program of Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps (JROTC) described thus:

The JROTC is designed to motivate young men to become responsible world citizens. The program develops leadership skills, strengthens character, enhances communication skills, promotes a drug-free environment, emphasizes values, and improves fitness.

All eight schools require participation in a JROTC program. St. John's Military School JROTC program offers the cadets "education in discipline and leadership."<sup>5</sup> Camden Military Academy, as part of the military program, requires that all high school cadets *who are United States citizens*<sup>6</sup> participate in the JROTC program. The JROTC program requires students to participate in drill and ceremonies, and to attend two classes in leadership development per week. Seventh and eighth grade students, although not part of the JROTC program, are required to participate in all drill and ceremonies.

Lyman Ward is designated by the Department of the Army as a Military Institute. As such, they are required to provide JROTC training to secondary level cadets (Grades 9-12) throughout their four years at the Academy. Cadets

are in uniform at all times and under military standards similar to those maintained at the national service academies. They believe this provides a positive and structured environment for cadets and teaches them about leadership, responsibility, consequences, self-discipline, teamwork, and selflessness. The mission of the JROTC Department is simply this: To motivate cadets to be better citizens.

The Department teaches a wide range of subjects designed to reinforce other areas of the academic curriculum such as study skills, communications, leadership, management, resume writing, career search techniques, and citizenship. In addition, the JROTC program exposes cadets to some basic life and military skills. These include: problem solving and time management skills, race relations, drug and alcohol abuse prevention, personal fitness through proper diet and exercise, map reading, orienteering, and military drill. The JROTC Program also provides cadets the opportunity to participate in a variety of competitive activities, such as drill teams, marksmanship teams, and adventure training. The focus of the program is to develop within cadets a sense of personal pride in a job well done, team work, self-discipline, and the desire to do the right thing.

The Marine Military Academy School of Leadership Studies is touted as one of the nation's preeminent formal leadership programs at a secondary school military academy. It is based upon the idea that leadership is the sum of those qualities that enable a person to inspire and to lead a group of people successfully. This four-year school reports provisions of meaningful cadet

leadership and activities within the academy and its surrounding community as put forth in these comments from the president:

We provide superb platforms for early leadership experiences . . . No matter what profession MMA cadets pursue; the principles of leadership will remain the same. The School of Leadership Studies develops our nation's brightest young leaders by providing them with a competitive leadership edge for future endeavors . . . MMA is committed to producing leaders who will want to make more of a difference, will foster change, build community, take action, communicate vision, understand responsibility, embrace sound ethical direction and decisions, and possess and engender MMA Core Values – honor, courage, and commitment . . . and graduates of the School of Leadership Studies will be awarded a 'Mastery in Leadership Studies' certificate to supplement their secondary school diploma.

The Missouri Military Academy School of Leadership Studies has goals that include furnishing cadets with an enriched base of leadership knowledge and experience by expanding upon JROTC curriculum to include ethics, additional studies of the nature of leadership, leadership as a behavioral science, and a capstone course intended to allow cadets the opportunity to hone their leadership skills and provide them with a competitive edge in leadership for future endeavors.

At Riverside Military Academy (RMA), all ninth through twelfth graders participate in the JROTC curriculum. The U.S. Army prepares the curriculum, and the courses are taught by RMA's Military Science Department. Cadets live and study in a military-based environment. Military personnel declare:

Cadets can apply JROTC classroom instruction daily – through regular field experiences on campus, and the many community service functions Riverside participates in off-campus.

Carson Long Military Academy proclaims that:

Through Leadership Education Training (Military Training), *our boys change from careless, stoop-shouldered, pale-faced youths, into tall, straight, rosy-cheeked, clear-eyed, manly cadets, who know how to obey and how to command.*<sup>7</sup>

Clearly, from these statements, instilling leadership abilities is a front stage phenomenon that is both desirable and necessary for success in the academies – and in life.

What becomes evident from their own promotional literature is that most of these schools share the same ideas: teach students responsibility through the rank system, teach them discipline through a structured environment, encourage them to conform to military standards by grading their conduct, and enforce the school rules with punishments and rewards. A member of administration describes the provision of leadership training like this:

Well, part of our structure here, of course, is the leadership system that we have, and also part of what we do is develop leaders here. It's done under a very, very watchful eye. And, if anything, I think that it becomes a very positive thing about our school.

Where leadership development is a highly valued commodity offered by military schools, moral lessons concerning religion, whether they are spiritual or civil, appear important in this training. Quasi-religious beliefs and rituals; i.e., civil religion, abound in military schools. Each school has a separate military department that not only oversees the administration of JROTC curriculum, but also imparts military ideology and practice. The president of Camden Military relates:

Military training is seen as valuable because it instills neatness, precision, promptness, and self-control. It teaches a young man to take pride in his country. He learns to take orders before he is given the authority to give orders. Through this process, a cadet learns that he is responsible to his

fellow students for his actions. As a cadet develops, he is given more responsibility.

As stated in the previous section on organizational arrangements, military departments are generally headed by a commandant who presides over cadets and who also insures his subordinates fully comply with daily military rituals of formation, inspection, symbolic gestures of authority, and addresses to national patriotism. In addition to fostering military structure and discipline, the military component in these academies helps insure social solidarity. Military principles offer both positive and negative sanctions for behavior giving legitimacy to the hierarchical nature in this segment of cadet education.

These military schools serve as training grounds for patriotism, seemingly submerging the individual and promoting conformity (Lalas 2000). Patriotism is not something natural; it is socially constructed. After visiting the Web sites for these schools, one notes multiple images of the American flag. Individuals can even watch a short 15-minute video about Riverside Military Academy, which also continually displays the red, white, and blue, while declaring slogans about "individuality" and the importance of "learning who you are so you can stand out."

Schools also utilize religious concepts to train boys in leadership abilities. Like the schools studied, many military academies have a strong tradition based on religion. They originated so students could learn and live in an intellectual setting based on a particular religious philosophy.

From its very beginning in 1887, St. John's has believed that a solid religion program rooted in the moral and ethical teachings of the Christian-Judeo heritage is essential to any sound educational endeavor.<sup>8</sup>

While our school (Camden Military) is non-sectarian, a strong religious spirit pervades its life and work. The teachers are men and women of



deep religious convictions who aim to make the school atmosphere that of a refined and cultured home. All students of all faiths are required to attend church or Sunday school of their choice once each Sunday. Protestant ministers, Catholic Priests, and Rabbis are available.”<sup>9</sup>

Although MMA (Marine Military Academy) is non-sectarian in its religious approach, weekly vespers services are mandatory.”<sup>10</sup>

Religion is taught in most schools as an academic subject with courses covering the literature, history, and geography of the ancient Middle East, the development of early Christianity, and courses in Christian-Judeo morals and ethics. Only one academy, Missouri Military, makes no mention of religious offerings or requirement in their literature or employee comments. However, in the other seven schools, teachers like the freedom the incorporation of religion allows them:

But, as far as like around Christmas time, in talking a little bit about religion, I can do that here. I can't do that in public school.

Of the eight schools, six require cadets to attend weekly chapel services. The cadets conduct many aspects of these Sunday Chapel services with the exception of the functions requiring a priest or minister. The other two remaining schools offer affiliation with the Fellowship of Christian Athletes. Even with the religious emphasis, most schools welcome young men from all religious backgrounds and respect their differing philosophies (The Association of Boarding Schools 2001). Supplemental to chapel services and course instruction, some of these schools also sponsor a variety of extra-curricular activities such as chapel choir and Bible study.

Religious leaders in the schools are typically military men who manage to incorporate both leadership and religious ideals. A priest in one of the schools

attests to this inclusion of religious principles to instill leadership abilities and self-discipline in cadets:

Academics is clearly very, very important and I think the religious training is very important for teaching leadership, because for many of our boys, believe it or not, it's the first time they are ever really exposed to any real concept of faith or religion. I think for many of them, it's probably the first time they have ever been in a church when it wasn't decorated with either poinsettias or lilies.

Thus, while these schools purport religious ideals in chapel and in the curriculum, many of the boys previously had little "faith experience."

Researcher observation suggests the effectiveness of religion for leadership training may be similar to life outside these total institutions. It is a well known understanding in sociological research on the behavioral effects of religious training that behavior often fails to match belief or instruction. In each school observed, the researcher noted "rough" behavior. For example, one hears dirty slang running the gamut from "this sucks" to "fuck-off asshole," and worse. Many teachers overlook this behavior as if it had not occurred, and the cadet in command pays little, if any, attention to this behavior either. In fact, he may well be a participant. There is a cooperative, dramatic presentation of "nothing unusual is happening here." Moreover, as in real life, there appears to be little dissonance created by the opposing philosophical beliefs and spiritual ideals as connected to cadet behavior. The researcher interviewed each institutional group regarding this behavior.

Each employee group viewed the use of bad language by cadets differently. Some individuals see the behavior as much worse when performed in front of women. As one teacher said:

You know we (the faculty) talked about the gutter language and the behavior in the barracks; should you subject a woman to that? I wouldn't want my mother to walk in and hear the foul language and see some of the behaviors of those kids. But my mom's not working here.

Many feel that boys use foul language because of the adult examples in their surroundings. An administrative secretary commented:

When these guys (adults) are up here in this office and slip and say shit or damn, hell or goddammit, or whatever, and they know I can hear, they will apologize. Probably when I'm not here, and there is a bunch of guys in that office, it's probably worse. But I'm thinking what kind of example is that . . . if they are doing that when a cadet is standing around?

Cursing is a problem staff considers, ponders, and assesses. Many believe cursing and other inappropriate language is simply a natural function of youth, of the type of young man they attract, and/or of the military culture. Members of administration say:

I don't think that we ever do stop working on it, but I don't think we are ever going to totally eliminate that just by the nature that these are boys all living together.

A lot of it is the by product of the kids and where they are coming from. I mean, kids say things now they're not supposed to. Nowadays half the things they see on television are like that.

Most support staff members do not consider foul language a large problem.

They made these comments about the use of profanity:

Yes, the language is flying. That's just typical teenage boys . . . it can't be stopped.

Well, you know when boys are with boys – this is the way they talk.

In the military, the cussing and drinking, it's viewed as acceptable behavior. I've been there, and I've done that, so if an adult doesn't really think there's anything wrong with that, how can you impart that on a child?

Military employees (TAC officers) describe the use of profanity as simply a function of the military environment:

I used to cuss a lot, a military thing I guess.

Yeah, it's just the environment.

Boys will be boys. Uh, I'm a realist, you have to understand the type of young men we're dealing with, and that what we're teaching over here and what (the priest) is teaching over in the chapel is the ideal world. You know like, if we could change the world, this is the way we would want it to be. That's what we tell them, don't curse, don't do this, don't steal, don't lie, you know etc., etc. But in the real world it's not what happens.

Some faculty members responded with similar remarks, as illustrated:

Inappropriate language, that's something you are going to have to always fight at a single-sex school.

Several people said that disciplinary inconsistency and poor adult example hinders improvement in this area. Teachers related these comments about the foul language used by cadets:

Yeah, I wish we could do something to be consistent to get rid of the cursing all together.

The language, we need to do something, and I know a lot of times the adults say it, so how can we ask the boys, you know, we have to be examples to them. So that means we're going to have to clean up everyone's mouth, which I think should be done. I really do.

A high-ranking military officer states:

I think that what we need to do is – give conduct reports for profanity. Once in a while they do, but they don't give it as much as they should. When you start giving it (disciplinary measures) that means that you have to do it for everybody. One guy can't just catch one, and then another guy say this or that.

Yet, some military employees do not think disciplining for profanity is part of their duties. One military advisor had this to say:

Yeah, there are a lot of boys (where) every other word is F this, that, or whatever the case may be. That is a job for the church portion of the school to deal with.

Still others believe that profanity is a tool of cadet command as seen in this comment by a director of food service:

As far as the boys that are leading those boys (cadet command), I just don't know how many tools they have to get those boys to do what they need to do. I mean bad language just might be one of those tools.

However, administrative personnel worry that foul language hinders enrollments.

When you're needing tranquil and quiet times, you've got kids running in and out, you've got – last year the big word they would say to each other is the “b-i-t-c-h,” “Hey bitch, what's going on?” They would call each other that. To them that was the end . . . we had a young man pulled out last year because he was raised in a Christian home. He wasn't used to that kind of language, the screaming and yelling.

This litany of responses documents the concern staffing groups hold about foul language. They wonder what causes it – the boys' backgrounds, the actual socialization by cadet and adult leadership, the military atmosphere, or just simply the youth culture in American society? Sociologically, most likely each of these factors plays a role in the problem of foul language. This language usage again suggests the spiritual emphasis may not be affecting barracks interaction. How well this fits with a dramaturgical assessment, as foul language is so clearly a form of communication that carries a clear message for the boys – “I am cool” or “tough.”

As noted by one of the respondents, foul language can be a dramaturgical tool, a prop for demanding proper behavior. Irrespective of one's position with these institutions, foul language is clearly a piece of the drama – and some

parents and others may, therefore, disapprove. How much this hinders cadets' potential for leadership is unknown.

In addition to offering leadership training through a structured, disciplined, and often religious environment, military education serves another important function – to provide structure for, and instill self-discipline in the corps of cadets. Structure and discipline are paramount concepts related to single-sex secondary military boarding schools. The schools advertise the attributes of structure and discipline as nearly equal in importance to academic standards and achievement. It is a fact that most parents seek these schools for that very behavioral structure.

One member of administration reports the school's ability to engender structure:

A lot of parents I've dealt with over the summer will say, "My son needs discipline, he has no discipline, he can't follow directions, he can't follow simple orders that we give him around the house. He needs a little extra." If that's the case, then this is a place (where) we can give him structure – we can give him discipline. But when he walks off this lawn, it's up to you to maintain that. But, we can do that here for him, sure. We can get him up in the morning too, where if it took you an hour to get him up for school – we can get him up and dressed in five minutes, ready to go to school.

When parents admit their boys to military school, there is no doubt there will be behavioral structure, essentially from dawn to dark. A typical day for each of these institutions is virtually identical. Weekday schedules generally run as follows, with minor variation between schools:

06:00 First call

06:45 Formation

07:00 Breakfast

07:50 Classes begin

12:20 Formation

12:35 Lunch

13:15 Classes resume  
15:15 Drill or Activity Period  
16:30 Free time or practice  
18:00 Formation  
18:15 Evening meal  
19:30 Study period begins  
21:00 Study period ends  
22:00 Lights out

The schedule varies on weekends to allow for church attendance, additional free time, and passes for off-campus excursions. The schedule of events is posted daily as the “order of the day” and also includes particular events and times (e.g., sporting events, field trips, meetings, etc.), officers of the day, uniform of the day (e.g., camouflage “BDU’S” or dress uniform, coat, hat, etc.) and academic schedule for schools adopting the block academic program.

As can be seen from this full and rigorous schedule, cadets begin their day early and are expected to be at attention in battalion formation for reveille when the flag is raised. At this time the “troops” are inspected and then marched to mess for breakfast. This early morning ritual applies not only to weekdays, but weekends as well. Similarly, evening retreat formation is required daily for lowering of the flag and playing of “Taps.” All unit counts are reported at each such gathering so boys’ whereabouts are seldom unknown.

This researcher gained complete entrance to observe the behavioral structure and order of the day, and often arose prior to and ended her day after them, to see this behavioral structure in action. Clearly, from the time a boy signs the papers promising to follow orders and obey, picks up his variety of

uniformed clothing, and makes his new bunk bed in his designated and assigned quarters, his life becomes one of structure. Following a haircut, an evening meal, and a night's rest, each boy wakes up the next morning a cadet who lives in a very behaviorally structured environment.

## Discipline

I've never got a phone call saying, "he's a great kid; he's never done anything wrong; he wants to come here." (admissions officer)

While some boys enroll in these military schools for the leadership training, self-discipline, or academic excellence advertised, most simply attend because either their parents or the courts determined it would be a good place for them to gain maturity through discipline in a safe environment. Disciplinary problems prior to attendance are part of nearly every boy's history. Several parents relay the need for discipline as a major reason for sending their sons to military school, as follows:

I sent him here because of poor grades, a quick temper and a bad environment.

He had no respect for authority. He was using alcohol and marijuana, and he had been skipping school a lot.

He was making poor choices, (and was) in trouble with the law and failing in school.

He didn't interact with his peers well. He didn't respect authority and wasn't disciplined . . . he was disorganized.

I wanted him to get off pot, catch-up and graduate from high school, and learn to discipline himself to take care of business.

He has no conscience . . . He picks bad friends and he has no purpose.



I just want him to graduate, to have structure and discipline, to have a good outlook on life, and to understand that he can do anything if he just tries.

From these parents' comments, it becomes quite clear that boys come into the schools with prior behavior problems. Admissions officers are usually the first to hear about the boys' past experiences:

We like to believe that every boy entering a military school is getting a fresh start in life. In theory, all arrive on an equal footing, but this isn't true. There is that "baggage" most bring with them.

Some boys arrive from homes where everyone smokes, and where they have already begun themselves; where everyone drinks alcohol, perhaps to excess; and where it has not been denied to the son: where parents have done recreational drugs since their own wild youth and have not denied them to their son. Such sordid aspects of their pasts you can know only if the parents are (willing) to tell the truth, which is usually not the case . . . They pay their desperate call upon the school to rescue them from the young monster they created and have not the wit to control. Admissions officers seldom have the chance to question the boy alone about the vices of his parents.

I heard one of the other adults say that one of the kids who was sent here just this year had told his parents, "Next time I see you I'm going to kill you."

At one academy, the researcher observed enrollment day for a fall semester, and at this particular school, a troubled young man arrived with his family. When they drove onto the campus grounds, screams and shouts could be heard coming from the family van. This young man had been told he was going on a "family vacation to Disneyland," having no idea that vacation included a stop – and drop-off at a military school. It took admissions officers three hours to get him out of the van and away from his parents and siblings. After questioning the admissions officer, the researcher was told this type of incident is

not infrequent, and that this particular boy had stabbed another teenager in California. The parents, concerned for their own safety, and that of their other children, lied to the boy for protection. Thus, it is not uncommon for boys who are admitted to military school to be “kept in the dark” about where they are going and why. Goffman states that total institutions are “storage dumps for inmates . . . presented to the public as rational organizations” (Goffman 1961:74).

Perhaps, parents sometimes rely on the military school as such. An admissions officer’s comments concur:

This is a hell of a place to wake up in the morning and all of a sudden you think you’re going on vacation and all of a sudden you hear, ( \_\_\_\_\_ Military School). That happens too . . . and the kid doesn’t realize he’s coming here.

From these statements, we see that parents often place boys in military school for behavioral problems, which are not left upon entrance to the school gates, causing military school employees some distress.

It breaks my heart, like the ones you know are struggling at home, but it’s like they can’t believe, they can’t understand or fathom how they got to here.

I’ve got to put my emotions in check. And when I see them struggling, and they’re crying, the mother in me wants to go over and give them a hug and say it’s okay, but that’s what they’ve been given all their life. That’s why they’re where they are today, so I cannot enable them. I just say, “Work hard. Dorm life is tough.”

Irrespective of the problems with which boys enter the schools, many members of the administration welcome them.

I like being able to take that boy who has gotten lost at home for one reason or another . . . started hanging with the wrong group, or they got into drugs at home, or whatever. I think that they just need to get away from what they are doing at home. I like to watch the boys grow.

We have so many different kinds of boys. Um, the smart boys, we have the boys who have fallen behind and are trying to catch up, we have the boys who don't want to be here . . . I like them all.

Teachers in these schools have quite a lot to say about the type of boys enrolled in their classes. Some of their comments that exemplify their concern with troubled boys include:

This school is comprised of an extraordinary number of kids that are manipulators that work people against other people.

I know that most of my students are at-risk students . . . I was reluctant in the beginning to work with at-risk students because I did not understand the problems I associated with at-risk students, the discipline problems, everything that goes along with teaching in public schools.

You know, we do have kids that have some anger control problems.

These guys have a lot of violence that could come out at anytime.

Several faculty members described incidents revealing the types of problems they have experienced with the boys:

We had a couple of boys who went AWOL (away without leave). They had stolen some guns, and the police notified us of this. These two students were angry at their, well, they were RATTs (Rehabilitation Attentiveness Training and Testing), they were angry with their drill sergeant, and they were going to come and kill him or anybody. The police were notified. Helicopters, the whole thing, and it was kind of scary . . . you know, all school shootings are dealing with boys.

Another teacher said:

This cadet, I have never seen him like this. He came up to me, the battalion commander was in there and he stopped him. A couple of students came in between us, and he said shut up you fuckin' bitch, and he was coming toward me like he was going to choke me or hit me. You never know around here what's going to happen. I called his mom and she said, "I hope you slapped him across the face." I said I didn't. I guess he just has outbursts like that every now and then. He apologized, I accepted his apology, and we went on from there. Everything was fine.

Still another faculty member reported this about an unusual classroom situation:

I noticed some unusual movement by a student, and on closer investigation I found that he was openly masturbating in class. And being a female, I didn't know how to handle that. The other students, I could tell by their expression, that they knew what was going on. And I didn't want to get close to this person, I called him by his name and I asked if he had any problem with his workbook . . . I said things like, "Do you understand what's going on?" And he would put both hands back on the desk. And I was seated at that time. I would stand up and then sit down in the chair, and I could see underneath the desk, and sure enough. So, I kind of changed the topic a little bit . . . the boy wouldn't stop. I kept thinking, "How can I get him to stop so that we won't have a situation here?" I just want to concentrate on school and get no situations. I don't like confrontations. I said, "I can't handle this." My stomach felt like, I mean I wasn't prepared for that. Nothing was going to prepare me for that. All they (the dean of students and the commandant) said is "so-and-so, get your stuff and come here." And they took him out of the classroom for the day and made him stand at attention, wrote him up on the hook sheet (a disciplinary report), and then he was a RATT for a long time. Then after school that day, he came in here to do work. He had to clean my room for a couple of months everyday after school, anything I told him to do, and he wept like a baby. A freshman in high school, just wept. I have never seen anything like it, and he was shaking and crying. He doesn't know why he did it. The old commandant then called his parents, and I guess that was what he was doing in public school, too. So he had some problems. He went to a counselor and psychiatrist and worked through some of his problems. It was like he wasn't even aware of where he was. He would respond to me when I called his name, but other than that, nothing. That was a new one.

Despite these difficulties, like administration members, the faculties find satisfaction working with the boys too.

Probably the best thing is that one kid out of a hundred or two hundred, when he leaves here, he says he's going to miss you.

Military staff members are most aware of the troubles with which these boys arrive, especially since it is their responsibility to discipline.

They're here for a reason. And they're here because they have problems.

They are all here for some reason. We have more discipline problems than we do anything else here. I don't think that we have very many kids here, if any, that come just because they want to come for the experience of being in the military. I think that there is some form of a problem

somewhere along the line. So, it more of a discipline school . . . behavior school, I think.

I can't think of any cadet here without one (a disciplinary problem). I don't have that many here, if any, that fit in the category of not having a prior disciplinary problem. There is always a problem somewhere along the line.

Some of them are good, and some of them should have been in reform school. Like, I know, probably 50% of these birds chews or smokes.

One I had, his first night here, he sneaked out with another kid. He smoked marijuana. I busted him down.

The military employees also find gratification working with the cadets.

Well, I can tell you as an MA, it's rewarding to take a young kid in here with a problem that the parents no longer can deal with and help him.

Support staffs have similar perceptions of the cadets in their schools.

The lot of the kids here are very troubled; (they) have a lot of problems.

I think it's (the school) a good thing. I think it's a good option for parents who really have no other choice . . . it's okay to be pissed at their parents, but they will get over it. And somewhere down the road they are going to look back on this, and they are going to thank their mother or father for doing what they have done to them . . . but, boy I love the kids here.

Rather than choosing a school to help teach their boys how to study, develop leadership skills, and become disciplined, other parents have had the choice of sending their sons imposed upon them by the court system. Family Court Judge Marvin Zuker (in Asch 1999:41) believes, "Doing time in a military school may be just the right ticket for some young offenders. They (military schools) are a useful option." Some military advisors concur with this position and aid the courts in this endeavor:

I had one in here who actually *raped his sister*. Now, and here we go back to the juvenile system which, okay, we're in Colorado, let's send him to Texas, so he escapes punishment. Now how they did that I do not know, but that was what happened. I took him home with me to keep him

from going back to Colorado until the investigation was done. I took him to Abilene where I lived. There I took him to the police department on several occasions while investigators asked him questions. Was he guilty? Yes, he was guilty.

Others find legal matters an unwanted added responsibility:

Yeah. And yet, it got to the point last year, and I say, "okay," and I went to the main office. "If you're not going to pay me again, I don't care, but you'd damn well better call that parent and say you owe us \$75 a day for today because your son was taken to court, and this court happened out where you're at and was transferred here. Now, we're taking your cadet, or your kid, but we're not going to take your legal problems for you, too." And some of these parents won't come out for their kids. I don't know why. It aggravates me to see that, but we're not getting no endorsement from over there (from the administration). We're getting told like that. The 30<sup>th</sup>, 16:00, so-and-so's got a court date. Probation. I have to take him up to probation so they can tell me, okay you're here, you're doing fine. And like I tell them up at probation, "Why can't I call you and give you that report?" Because he's on probation. That's fine. "While I'm up here with you filling out your stupid paperwork and putting up with this BS, I've got 37 others back there just as bad as he is, and probably committing anything they know they can do while I'm gone."

An administrator describes this type of boy that may be admitted to his school:

We experimented with "white cat," which is the same thing, almost like SRS (State Run Schools). It's the state-run lock up facility, low level. They brought one of them in here, and he ended up leaving. He was terrible . . . and he left here with half an ear.

Still another administrator relayed this about a court-ordered cadet:

This kid was in a situation where he had been in so much trouble with the law that he was court ordered here, and if he fought back in any way, shape, or form, he would go to jail. So, he had to lay there and take that (a beating), and if they would have thrown him and he would have hit the wrong way he would be dead. But then, what are we going to do?

Supporting these comments from military school employees in 1994, a TV program called Juvenile Justice featured the case of a boy who pled guilty to carrying a handgun. Instead of jail, the judge ordered him to attend the Marine Military Academy (Fyfe 2001). Further, Dr. William Trousdale, a consultant to these schools had this to say:

These schools are more like a state reform school, sort of half way between sheriffs departments' boot camps where they actually kill kids (really, I have data on this) and an acceptable school. A few who arrive in hand cuffs are probably thinking more of criminal careers. I actually applaud the compassionate judges who give a boy who might have taken a thoughtless joy ride in a purloined Beemer the choice of two years in prison or four years at (a military school). Of course, the school never tells parents that they accept such boys, and I do not blame them for this. These boys often turn out to be some of the finest cadets, if they realize adequately what the alternative might have been.

Cadets with legal histories are not restricted to those admitted by court order. Interviews with school employees reveal that this is a widespread occurrence in the schools. Despite their comments, all but one of the eight schools assert through their admissions literature that they do not take young men who have had trouble with the law. Roger Mick (in Franck 2000), who heads admissions for Missouri Military Academy, says many parents falsely believe that these schools are reform schools but that his academy does not enroll boys who are in trouble with the law, and requires applicants to provide character references. Each of the schools' application forms, excepting St. John's Military School, include questions addressing this issue as illustrated below:

*Camden Military Academy:* "Has the applicant ever been arrested or detained by police?" "Has the applicant ever been under the jurisdiction of a court, juvenile authority, or served any type of community service or legal probation?"

*Carson Long Military Institute:* "Has he (the potential cadet) ever been arrested by the police or counseled by juvenile authorities?"

*Lyman Ward Military Academy:* "Has the applicant ever been involved with juvenile authorities? If yes, (are they subject to) community service, probation,

deferred adjudication, trial, or conviction of a felony or a misdemeanor?"

*Marine Military Academy:*<sup>12</sup> "Has the applicant ever been involved with juvenile authorities? If yes, (are they subject to) community service, probation, deferred adjudication, trial, or conviction of a felony or a misdemeanor?"

*Missouri Military Academy:* " (Are you) a single male of good moral character free of any drug and alcohol problems and not under investigation or supervision of any civil authorities?"

*Riverside Military Academy:* "Any encounters with law or juvenile authorities?"

*St. John's Northwestern Military Academy:* "Has the applicant ever been arrested, detained or cited by police, any department of health and social services or any other juvenile authority?"

Although these admissions questions concerning legal histories indicate that the schools do not accept boys who have been in trouble, it appears as though these questions merely work as identifiers of prior legal problems rather than exclusionary sources of information. In support of this, military advisors relate these statements about the type of boys they receive and supervise:

I had countless AWOLS throughout the year. I also had one grand theft auto case, several drug cases, multiple alcohol problems, disobedience, disrespect, and anything else "dis" that you can think of to fit this scenario.

We have like an underground system. They are still selling cigarettes, smuggling dope in, booze, the whole nine yards, and it won't stop until we get rid of them . . . and these are cadets who have probably been here for three years.

The difficulty experienced by the military staff is plainly obvious here. They have no control over admittance standards, yet they must bring these kids into compliance, all with one staff person assigned to 80 to 100 boys.



For whatever need – academic excellence, structure, discipline, or court order, parents continue to send their sons to these schools, principally to gain behavioral structure and discipline. Once there, boys' behaviors are scrutinized and dealt with by rules of discipline. How this discipline is applied, and to whom it is applied, varies as much within the groups of study as it does between them. It is important to note that military personnel are most responsible for administering disciplinary procedures. In fact, observational data demonstrate the joy of academics is, at least, in part an escape for the cadets as they leave the harder scrutiny of the military staff behind. Several military advisors describe discipline and punishment used with cadets:

I tell people we shove them down and have them do push ups, stupid stuff like stand in the corner.

You don't want to punish them too hard, but you have to give them some kind of punishment. I will give them a lecture that they shouldn't be doing this. For example, horse playing around. I will give them two-hour tours. And dammit, if they don't turn around the next day and go smack someone. So how do you feel? Now you have to play the dad side, you have to get firm on their butts. This is what I told you before; didn't I tell you that the other day? Since you have done this, this, and this, I am going to tell you what I am going to do. Now I am going to give you a little bit harder punishment so you don't forget what you have done, and you ain't going to do it again.

So I worry about it. What kind of punishment should I give the young man? Do I want to hurt him real bad, or do I just want to scare him or keep him on that fine line so he won't get into any more trouble?

I discipline each and every one of them; I have got to say that *I hate everybody equally*. Each and every one of them, this year's cadet or last year's cadet, I treat them all the same in reward and punishment. I don't cut any deals and that's what they want. Yeah, that's what they want, everybody treated equal. And they want discipline. They really do.

When asked how disciplinary actions and punishments are determined, one military advisor said:

The employee handbook. That's how we get the punishments, (they) come out of there. It says what we can give them. We don't just take something off the wall. We follow the book.

While this particular military advisor handles discipline and punishment using the employee handbook, it becomes quite obvious from the following information that many others do not. An interview with one military sergeant documents that sometimes abuses occur and cause difficulty among the staff ranks as well:

There is one officer now that abuses his power. He takes advantage of the kids under him. If they have a candy bar, he eats that candy bar and drinks their pop. And the kids resent that. When we had Thanksgiving vacation we had a kid (who) bought a pizza. He cornered him at the door and was going to make him give it to him, or at least give him part of it, and I said, "No, he paid for that, you get away." And he was the one who was in charge of all the kids here at Thanksgiving. He was upset because I was telling him what to do with the kids he was in charge of.

Another interview documents how staff sometimes allows the cadet command to handle the problem:

If they were making noise out there and the Lieutenant didn't like it, (a cadet) would take care of it. When it (the noise) would stop, he would say, "(cadet) bring them in here." The Lieutenant would be in his office, and (the cadet) would be in there pounding the crap out of them. That's no lie. Talk about physical abuse, that guy condones physical abuse. When he had Bravo Company, we lost 48 cadets because he was letting them do a gauntlet, and he was participating in it. We lost 48 cadets that year.

Yet, when questioned about such incidents happening under his command, he rationally presented the drama as ordinary occurrence. One military staff member described this same colleague:

To hear him (a military advisor) tell it, he didn't allow anyone to hit anybody. There were many times that I walked down there and there was a circle of kids (with) one slamming the other's head, and he was right there in the middle watching. And he would say, "There ain't nothing going on here."

Some support staff members are aware of abuse, but feel they can do little about it. Three members of support staff describe incidences of abuse they have

witnessed:

I just had a kid come in here the other day. A new boy. He's been in trouble. He ran when he came in, and I don't know (what) his mental capacity is, but he says, "Ma'am, I've got to see you." Well, he got in trouble for coming in here to see me, and when he finally did get in here, then he was telling me that there were some adults that hit him. And, I was like okay, what am I supposed to do?

You know, I have watched with my own eyes several of these MA's these last three years. And I've heard the boys talk. And I've had one (cadet) come in the store and literally be taken away by the nape of their neck and thrown out the door cursing and carrying on. And had it not taken me by surprise, I would have done something if I could have.

There was a boy my first year that got thrown from the top of the football bleachers to the ground. Thrown off by men. Beat, literally beat, and one of the janitors found out and said if he saw this thing again he would turn them in.

As would be expected, most employees do not profess to the use of abuse. In fact, they tend to suggest that if it occurs it is due to the cadet command. Some military employees shared these remarks:

Yeah, and they took brooms and mops away cause they were being beat, and I don't know what the answer is except its going to cost more money.

Iron hammer; use the fist. I know when I first got here, I saw that and I didn't like it. I don't appreciate another human being hitting another human being. That doesn't have to happen. There are other ways to deal with it.

Military personnel are very concerned about abuse among cadets:

That's (abuse) a big concern, because once they get into the position where they have the leadership, as you well know, they are going to go ahead, and they are going to take it well beyond what should be done. And they (cadets) think they can take matters into their own hands.

An administrator relays this about the hazards of cadet command:

Anytime you have cadets who are in charge of cadets you will have some immaturity and you will have some things that happen . . . two kids were going to have a fight, and they fought out in the back, and one of them is now a paraplegic for the rest of his life.

A military advisor describes an incident involving cadet command:

They had him surrounded to where he couldn't move, physically couldn't move, and the battalion commander was standing in front of him and had his thumb in the soft spot under his jaw, and was literally lifting him off his feet. This kid had tears running down his cheeks and he was standing at attention, and that was just that. It isn't that unusual.

However, some believe having cadets lead cadets is a necessary, although worrisome function of the military school experience:

I believe with some discretion, that they should teach their own. Deep down though, I worry about it. I tell them, "You know you can't kill them, you need to talk to them, take something away, make them do PT until they drop. But, if they pass out from a beating, that ain't teaching kids anything but to beat, to abuse."

An alumnus, perhaps having taken the time to reflect on the reasons for such occurrences, describes the process of cadet command like this:

When a cadet refused to cooperate, he was punished accordingly. When he refused the punishment prescribed, his choices were taken from him and he was generally beaten – though that sounds harsher than it is. The cadet would be humiliated with slaps and such, not brutally bludgeoned with closed fists or weapons. Generally after some of this treatment, he (the cadet) would choose to cooperate once again and continue with the punishment originally prescribed. If not, he would continue to suffer humiliation until that treatment came to substitute the original. It was part of the culture to handle people physically who didn't cooperate, whether with explicit punishments, or verbal and physical hazing. When a cadet deserved, I would drop him and he would do push-ups. When he grew weak and tired, I would slap him across the head and yell at him to continue regardless of his fatigue. Things never went beyond that until the cadet, out of pride and good reason, stood up and threatened me. Then, as a leader, I was allowed to defend myself. Whether this is right or wrong isn't for me to decide, but understand that at a military school with kids who wouldn't listen to parents, teachers, or police, it is necessary for them to know that the moment they stand up to a leader, they lose. Otherwise, they would have had us exactly where they had everyone before them who couldn't handle their problems, and we would have been rendered just as ineffective as everyone else who attempted to help them. Just know that if your child is in danger of becoming a hazard to himself, that is where he needs to be and these methods may not be yours, but they work.

The same alumnus further attests to the need for abuse:

If you don't have the beatings and all of that, your discipline is gone. The discipline is hard . . . I guess if the beatings go, the discipline goes.

Abuse then really means excessive discipline. This treatment is a response to poor cadet behavior; the problem or issue is the extent of discipline. This is one of the main problems in a total institution where particular staff members socially control inmates as a part of daily routine. All staff members cannot be continually monitored. If an inmate reports improper behavior, one can never be certain retribution may not ensue at a later time. Here we see exactly what occurs in the dramaturgical presentation of staff in such places – i.e., “they usually present themselves to the public as rational organizations designed consciously, through and through, as effective machines for producing a few officially avowed and officially approved ends” (Goffman 1959:74).

In addition to the pursuit of academic excellence, leadership training, and discipline, a characteristic that each of these schools shares is the requirement of full-time residence. Unlike other total institutions, military boarding schools have safety issues as an existing attribute of their schools. Moreover, the literature is contradictory regarding the presence of a safe environment in these schools. Amid multiple reports of moderate hazing practices, there are multiple incidences concerning severe hazing. As this issue is explored, let the point be stressed that hazing is indicative to boarding schools in general,<sup>11</sup> but highlighted here in terms of its incidence at military boarding schools of the type and nature studied within this dissertation. It is possible that a shortage of supervision over cadets leads to abuse and hazing. This researcher observed some dormitories are

staffed by faculty and staff 24 hours a day, but most are seriously, and potentially dangerously under-staffed by, in most cases, one ill-trained employee for the duration of night-time hours.

In documentary data, Marine Military Academy has been reported by ABC News (Diaz, Sawyer, and Donaldson 1998:1) as “a world out of control.” Like the other schools of study, Marine Military Academy claims to provide a unique mix of military discipline and excellent academics. However, the ABC 20/20 investigation uncovered serious allegations of violence, abuse, and cover-up. In 1997, MMA's spit-polished image was shattered when two students snuck through the barracks hallways in the middle of the night, slipped into a cadet's room and cut his throat. Officials at the Marine Military Academy insisted the savage attack was an isolated incident, but this appears untrue. Several cadets subsequently testified about a school tradition of hazing and abuse with an atmosphere of violence and revenge. Additionally, the military staff member on duty the night of the occurrence subsequently left the academy believing the school knew of rampant brutality – and moreover, they had known for some time what had been going on. In several lawsuits, parents claim Marine Military Academy turned out to be a place where some cadets would run wild, regularly beating kids, sometimes even sexually assaulting them. Comments (in Diaz et al. 1998:3-5) from cadets who attended this academy include:

I got bruises up and down my chest, up and down my arms.

People would just, you know, they'd get cut open, and they'd be bleeding from getting hit.

It was an every day thing down there. If it wasn't in my company, it would be someone else's company.

A former Marine Military Academy employee has described a particular hazing practice called "tapping in" done with the cadets' ranks (military insignia). Tapping in occurs when older cadets slam the sharp points on the back of the ranks into the skin of new cadets, called plebes. Apparently, this is a common occurrence when a plebe passes through his initial training period. There have also been reports of "blanket parties," late night attacks where boys sneak into other cadets' rooms and beat them, often using items such as broomsticks, padlocks, or bars of soap stuffed in socks. In fact, the above-mentioned throat slashing reportedly began as a "blanket party." As a result of these types of brutal hazing activities, a former school medic claims he witnessed instances where boys had been beaten so badly their eyes were swollen shut. He also saw others who had facial fractures, broken noses, concussions, and teeth knocked out. A former cadet says he was beaten by other cadets and had lighter fluid poured on him and ignited with a match.

I was caught on fire while standing at attention, and there was nothing I could do about it.

Some of the abuse is sexual in nature. Former military academy cadets describe their experiences:

One of the cadets grabbed me and threw me on my bed, and the other one jumped up on me and tried to stick his penis all in my face and tried to put it in my mouth.

I laid on the bed and went to sleep. And the next thing I know, I woke up, and his hands were in my pants.

The cadet filed a complaint, but says all that happened was the boy was switched to another company. Another former cadet tells a similar story. He says he reported the alleged assault to his drill instructor that ordered him not to tell his parents. In fact, the school advises parents not to pay attention to their sons for the first two or three weeks and to avoid reading their sons' letters, because "they will say or do anything to get out of this discipline" (in Diaz et al. 1998:5). A former cadet's father, also a naval officer, says he hoped the school was right, that letters like his son's were merely exaggerations.

You gnash your teeth and wring your hands and hope like heck he's (his son) not telling the truth.

This same cadet wrote his father letters that began, "Dear Dad, You don't know how hard it is here for me." He ended with comments such as, "Please get me out now while I'm still alive, because I can't take any more." The pleas by the cadet to his father "to come see the bruises" went at first unheard, and then unheeded because as his father stated, "We were very well brain-washed."

In court papers, parents claim the Marine Military Academy has been covering up this reportedly widespread abuse. More than a dozen parents of former Marine Military Academy cadets have said they didn't know what was going on. Much later, they say they learned the school was admitting violent teens. On the other hand, the academy insists it won't knowingly accept any student who's currently involved in a court action (Diaz et al. 1998:2), a dramaturgical motive to be expected in rationalizing and explaining illicit institutional behavior.



Academy officials tell parents at recruitment meetings that Marine Military Academy “does not accept kids with seriously troubled pasts.” Boys with a history of behavior problems or getting in fights are screened out” (Diaz et al. 1998:2). However, a former Marine Military Academy dean of academics said he had a list compiled of the disciplinary history of incoming students in January 1995. The list showed that almost half of the new boys had been suspended from their previous schools, many for reasons such as stealing, carrying a weapon, fighting, and previous gang involvement. He believes this profile of the one group of cadets seems more like a reform school than a military academy focusing on academic excellence and college preparation. The school says it's not an official list and the information may not be true. But the former dean, who says he resigned following a dispute with the school, insists the list was compiled from official student records.

Of the eight schools addressed in this study, Marine Military Academy is not the only one to have publicity concerning hazing and abuse on their campus, but is reported fully here to document the seriousness of the safety issue these schools all similarly confront. A number of former cadet parents have formed the St. John's Northwestern Military Academy Alternate Parents Club sponsoring an extensive website addressing this critical issue. The concerns and comments on this site mirror those of the Marine Military Academy. Beatings, brandings, sexual abuse, racial discrimination, and a “code of silence” are described and supported in quotes by students, staff, parents, police reports, media accounts, and descriptions and transcripts of lawsuits.

It's tough to talk about being branded. They forced me . . . I told them no, no, no . . . and upper-classmen held me down and branded me with a wire coat hanger heated by a cigarette lighter. It was a "D" for Delta Company. (Krantz 1999:2)

At St. John's Northwestern, cadets are allegedly kicked, punched, and beaten by their peers with broomsticks, and even branded like cattle. This abuse often results in bleeding, bruising, and permanent physical and psychological damage (Sink 1997). Lawsuits filed by parents allege that school personnel permit cadets to participate in blanket parties similar to those experienced at Marine Military Academy. During one such episode, a cadet was hit in the head with a rifle butt by an upperclassman and was made black and blue in beatings by other cadets (Krantz 1999).

Parents describe a culture of fear enforced through a "code of silence" replacing a long recognized military school "code of honor" consisting of the elements of honor, integrity, and duty. Boys do not complain to superiors about injuries because they fear speaking up would even more dangerous. Cadets reportedly go to bed at night with something they can use as a weapon to defend themselves in case of attack. Not only do boys "get the crap beat out of them," but medical treatment is sometimes denied for these injuries (Jansen 2000:1).

In a personal interview of a parent who sent his son to one of these schools, a father substantiates these occurrences as well as a potential reason for these happenings:

I sent my two sons to St. John's thinking it was a real military school – one with high academic standards and strict discipline. I wanted my kids to grow up and become men in the strongest sense of the word. I liked that it had a Christian focus and that my sons were going to church, singing in the choir, and being held to the task academically . . . and they were pretty much doing that, well, except for the academics. I found out lessons were

way dummed down for kids they admitted who were way below grade levels. Oh well – that's not my point. I could have lived with that if it had not been for the hazing. I yanked my boys out of (the school) because one got beaten in the stomach with a broom handle, and the other got scalded in a shower and dumped in a trashcan. Hell, I pulled them. And yes, I'm angry that I spent \$30,000.00 for this to happen to my kids. In my opinion, they have let the economics of running these places keep them from putting staff in the barracks, and they let those adolescent boys run wild. You can't let boys, especially troubled ones, do that.

Several schools have been accused of allowing sexual assaults to occur among the ranks. Two additional practices are known as "T-bagging" and the "Oral B treatment." T-bagging consists of cadets exposing and placing their genitals upon another cadet, where the Oral B treatment is anal sodomy with a toothbrush. Boys are reportedly sexually molested with no consequences to the molesters. One mother claims her son was molested by another student who had assaulted other cadets, but nothing was done about it. "(They) covered it up" (Krantz 1999:1).

It becomes abundantly clear from documentary data (and other cited information) that boys in these schools are not necessarily there for college preparatory training, although that is a piece of the dramaturgical advertisement. More likely, they are there for the behavioral structure and discipline the schools also advertise. While there, due probably to a lack of sufficient staffing, they may also be educated in the negative aspects of boarding school culture since they cannot be constantly observed. In fact, this research knows of instances where staff allowed such activity in order to help get a kid "in line."

Supplementing the above-mentioned data, further research observations and interviews indicate similar stories about the schools of study herein. Specifically, observation revealed how the schools protect themselves by

minimizing parent-student contact. Another director of admissions told a parent this:

I would not necessarily read the first letter he writes home to you.

When questioned about this remark, the admissions director replied:

We've had kids here that would call home and said they've had the crap beat out of them, and they've inflicted stuff on themselves. Anything to get out of here. Anything. And sometimes the parents buy it and sometimes they don't.

While the researcher recognizes the possibility of self-injury clearly resides within the structure, there was no report from anyone of such an occurrence.

Still, it is not shocking that the administrations develop rationalizations in the form of dramatic presentations that diminish and lessen the significance of hazing incidents. In interviews, admissions officers who are members of administration made these comments about hazing:

But he's (the president) working very hard, and again, I stress that if parents call me and ask is there hazing here, is it something we allow, we permit, I say no. But again, I tell them it's not always reported. And sometimes it turns parents off. It does. I'd rather have that happen than have the boy here and then have it happen. So that's (hazing) been one of the concerns that I've had.

I'm not one to embellish the fact and go exaggerate and stuff like that. But, I don't think that's it (not telling prospective parents about hazing) fair because you dealing with such precious commodities here. You're talking about a young man's life. So, I try to be very honest with people, very open. Sometimes it's hard for me to answer questions that they (parents) ask because they are very pointed questions. I lost some people on the phone because when we had some of those fighting incidents last year, people asked me and I told them that it happens. Parents said, "You allow that to happen?" I said, "No we don't allow it to happen. We punish the boys that make it happen and sometimes people don't understand that."

Other members of administration make these comments:

Ah, they have never allowed hazings, but I think there always has been a little bit, and I think it was much worse before. I think society has dictated that, and I'm not for hazing, but I hear alumni come back and say things

that they went through, but they said that's what turned them around -- that's why they're the good person they are today. Because they feared for their lives almost . . . but that's not fair, but you know, they really knew that they had to straighten up, they didn't have a choice.

I'm not an idiot, I know what goes on . . . take kids and hang them off a bridge by their ankles, lock them in lockers, elbow slam them to the wall, have them stand at attention and face the wall, then back slam their head into the wall. I've seen that; I know what goes on in here, and that's why I say they need more supervision on every floor.

Reasonably, I think that some of the stuff that the kids were saying was going on. Too many kids were saying it, so they couldn't concoct it.

I can't lie about stuff that happens, but I have to believe in what I am doing. Do I know things go on here? Yes, I do -- they get kicked, fingers get stepped on . . . still, it's not okay with me that it goes on, but I know there's always that factor.

With the money they're (parents) paying, I don't blame them for complaining. They were complaining that there were things going on with their kids. They sent them there to an environment that was safe, and it wasn't safe.

Many military employees are also aware of hazing within their schools as evidenced by these remarks:

Oh, yeah, I think it (hazing) happens. That's still going to happen. That's human nature. There are some of them (cadets) that are just cruel.

Yes, you're going to have a kid hit a kid. That's sure to happen. A good example is the First Sergeant of Headquarters. He could just thump anybody he wants to because there's not much they could do to him. He's stronger than an ox. He would thump the crap out of you, but he knows he has been warned, and in fact, he's been counseled several times that if he's beating kids he's going to get fired . . . There's not as much (hazing) as there used to be. I'm not saying there isn't any, because there's always going to be some, but it's not as severe, nor is it as frequent as it used to be.

The hazing needs to stop, I think we can't completely stop it, but we could slow it down. I know last year, you'd see brooms and mops constantly with the handles broken off. And the reason they would break them off is that they would use them as weapons; you know they're beating each other with broomsticks all the time. I don't think you could ever stop it 100

percent, but you can really slow it down. One of the things I do when I go through and inspect is I look for weapons under mattresses and stuff . . . if you can get the weapons away from them that's part of it

Hazing is better than three to four years ago, but it's still there and always will be.

Yet, others are not sure whether the problem still exists:

I haven't seen physical hazing here since the 107th, last year, when we had a couple of cadets here that did it. It was only in certain places that they did it. Yes, people know about it. Now, there's not hazing, but you are going to get fights. I still say that there are less fights here than in a public school, less damage done. As far as hazing, I haven't seen it. It is sad that people think that's all that goes on at a military school because it's not. We have gone as far as pulling brooms from them, and that's not right because when they get ready for an inspection they can't do their job right because they don't have the equipment to clean with. I don't think that there is any hazing going on here, I really don't.

On a bruise check, now if somebody has a bruise, I don't say anything. Once I am done (checking), then I call the person in my office. I will ask him, "How did you get it?" He will say, "Look Sergeant, this is where we were playing football." I will write down where the bruise is and where he got it from. I know if he is playing sports or not. I know who does sports. Then I say, "Hey are you sure you were playing sports?" If he says yes, there is nothing else to do. I guess that's how he got it.

However, other military personnel deny hazing still occurs:

I think the whole system of hazing is gone. If so, there just isn't any comparison to the first couple of years when I first came here. I mean there was some serious hazing. I don't believe in this initiation stuff, and that goes on still here a little bit, you may get a swat on the butt or something. That kind of stuff goes on.

Most faculty members interviewed do believe hazing occurs but is not a serious problem, as evidenced by these comments:

Does hazing occur? Yes. On a regular basis, no. It is an occasional thing. It is less now, or at least, it is less than is used to be. It's something that if they get caught, they are punished.

It still happens, but not nearly as often. It happens in families, it's going to happen. I think it has to do with a lot of leadership in part to the cadets. They model what they're taught.

It goes on everywhere. It goes on in public schools, it goes on at home, it goes on in neighborhoods. As long as you have kids that are going to be bullies, there will be bullies. Hazing, as far as a disciplinary action, is a lot better than it used to be because they know it will not be tolerated. It was very common when I first got here, if you got in trouble you got sent to the staff cube. And when you left the staff cube you probably had a few bumps on you. When it does happen now, it's very secretive and doesn't happen openly or publicly, so if it is happening, I don't know about it.

Many support staff also agree that hazing is no longer a problem.

Always before we'd have so many, I wish you could have seen my list. We had a number of boys who were withdrawn or kicked out, and now it's not that often. So, to me, that's an indication that things are going a lot better. We don't have the parents who are so terribly upset.

Every year we've twisted a little tighter about this hazing thing. It really doesn't happen anymore.

Alumni share a different point of view. They experienced it while in attendance and do believe that cadets suffer at the hands of others.

One thing I can say that was wrong about the school was the beatings and the New Boy training where I personally was made to stay up far longer than 48 hours.

Parents were surveyed regarding concerns they had for their sons while in attendance at the schools. Many parents stated concerns about their sons' safety, with a substantial number (66.7%) worried about whether discipline and hazing practices were too harsh. Numerous interview statements made by parents support this statistic:

They tell us, give us your son and we will take care of it. We are supposed to be hands off, but after my son was beaten with a broomstick, the boy responsible for the attack is now the XO (executive officer). I find it disconcerting that a cadet who engages in such behavior is placed in a position of supervision and authority.

Yeah, my son says they're beating him, and I just don't think they're (the school) telling me the truth. So why would you think he's lying? I'm a mother. Here's what I do. I get on the next plane out, and in front of the

president I say, you (the president) and I are going to the nurse's station and we're going to make him undress. And after you check him out, if there isn't a bruise on his body, you'll have my deepest apologies because I will have come for nothing . . . I guarantee you there were bruises on his body, but they said he got them playing sports. Now, what do I do?

They (the school) told me this (hazing) didn't happen here. When I decided for myself it did, they tried to keep me from taking him home. What is this, a prison or a school? I'm paying to have my son beaten? No way.

We worry that someone will be hurt badly. We don't like the "might makes right" environment. We were assured that this type of behavior was not condoned and every effort was made to minimize it. That doesn't seem to be the case.

I have real concerns with safety. This year is much better than last year though . . . I feel there is a lot of unmonitored student-on-student violence. Far too little adult supervision has occurred.

I did not expect the older boys would be permitted to harm others. Seems like nothing will be done to teach force, fear, and abuse is not right. Please keep this confidential because kids told their parents about what goes on here, and then told them (their parents) not to say anything because they fear more punishment.

Cadet leaders abuse authority. They take it out on the new boys. I bet that is why enrollment is down from the past . . . Why do they make them march in the rain when they are sick?

I am concerned about the physical abuse by other cadets. I have become more concerned since the hazing has continued. I am concerned about his safety and personal well-being. I worry about him because of the staff and kids who are bullies.

Why do they let kids pick on each other? I've spoken with the commandant and he says, "Well, we just use harsh discipline."

With such concern, one might expect parents to take their sons out of school, but most parents continued their sons' enrollments despite the safety issue. Moreover, 83% of these parents moved beyond this concern to recommend the school to other prospective parents.



Dr. William Trousdale, cited earlier, made a presentation before the 1999 national AMCSUS conference where he had the following to say about hazing:

Hazing is strictly forbidden and punishable at every one of your schools and yet you all know it exists. You all know the difference between a little roughhousing, common among all young male mammals, and hazing and brutality, and the two cannot be lumped together under the bromide "boys will be boys." I have detected, at nearly every school, varying degrees of indifference toward this problem, and at one school, on the part of the chief-of-staff, even an expression of nostalgia for the good old days when a little covertly administered brutality was a time-honored part of the process of turning a boy into a man. It is not.

In a subsequent interview with this researcher, he related:

The discipline there (St. John's Military School) is unacceptable in its form. Did you know that they also have gauntlets where a cadet is made to run between two rows of cadets who beat him with hangers? The commandant mentioned this at an AMCSUS meeting in a manner that clearly indicated he thought it not only acceptable, but amusing.

Marine Military Academy in Harlingen, Texas, is a brutal place. The military officers are all retired drill instructors and they think frequent beatings up helps make a Marine. The problem, of course, is that these are teenagers, not Marine Corps boot camp volunteers.

When the researcher questioned the behavior at the military schools, particularly concerning hazing, one sees in the data the dramatic rationalization of: 1) it happens, but not that much; 2) it doesn't happen anymore, but it use to; and 3) boys will be boys. Each of the groups studied and interviewed has a vested interest in stopping hazing, as their continued employment is dependent upon parents admitting their boys. Hazing, or just the reputation of hazing, impacts enrollments; hence, the safety issue becomes one of careful dramatic presentation and interaction. It is a problem that commands each group's attention.

In sum, in the process of socializing and disciplining cadets, abuse and hazing probably happens to some extent. However, the experience and response to it varies greatly within and between groups, as have all the concepts investigated in this study. Clearly, parents and staff do not think the issues to be ones necessitating removal of children; at least most of the time.

The preceding material, which documents the inconsistency and variation of opinions, experiences, and responses within the differing social structural positions, lays the foundation for the next portion of data analysis; group-by-group responses. These responses are presented in summary form, with supporting quotes, based upon information gathered from documentary data, observations, interviews, and surveys.

### Group-By-Group Experiences and Responses

It is a major contention in this research that the various organizational groupings within the single-sex secondary military boarding schools will experience and respond to the web of interaction that compose these schools quite differently. One of the primary research foci is to explore the divergent and/or similar experiences and responses of the various institutional actors. Beginning with the administration, it is interesting to examine how the groups experience their interactions with each of the groups of study.

#### *Administration response by group administration:*

The administrations interpret themselves as completely professional, somewhat supportive team players in need of more guidance in their work, more

communication with themselves and others, and more money for the jobs they do.

We are professional . . . with the ability to brainstorm, accept new concepts and ideas (with a) willingness to please, and to try or do almost anything, with an open door to staff.

There is a lack of sufficient guidance (and) too few established procedures.

We lack communication (and) the ability to effectively coordinate.

We are not paid what our counterparts in the public schools are.

*faculty:*

They view faculty members as having positive relations with cadets they have genuine concern for. The administrations experiences faculty members as fairly experienced with, committed to, and willing to do the work they perform. However, it seems a lack of understanding of the military philosophy leads to problems with following institutional rules and applying discipline consistently with cadets. The administrations suggest they complain less, and have more positive communications with other groups within the school.

We have many teachers with lots of years of service.

They (faculty) have dedication (and) a caring nature . . . they care for the boys and go the extra step.

(The faculty have) flexibility, willingness to go beyond the classroom to attend games, extra study hours, and support extra-curricular activities. (They) are able to open their hearts and homes to each cadet.

(The faculty) are unfamiliar with the discipline the boys need.

They (faculty) try harder to get along with everybody . . . I mean, a teacher is more likely to tell me something that's going on . . . and they are less accusatory.

*military:*

Military staffs are seen as a dedicated group of people who have the benefits of military experience and discipline. However, they are seen as more inflexible and lacking in their communication with their own group or others. Administrations believe they give the cadet command too much responsibility and, just as the faculties, are inconsistent in their disciplinary practices. In addition, they notice the use of inappropriate language on a continual basis, a practice that creates administrative concern in several cases.

Their (the military staff) strength is experience . . . they know what discipline means . . . and they give 100 percent.

Communication is the division between the military and the administration. It's real high . . . That's always been that way. With them, it's their way, or no way.

They (the military staff) need to do their job . . . the boys run wild over each other.

The military staff are inflexible . . . and allow the cadet chain of command to assume too much responsibility.

What do you expect from these boys when all they hear coming from the TAC officer's mouth is filth?

*support:*

The administrations believe support staff to be completely dedicated.

They are experienced, flexible, and willing to do their jobs. Despite this favorable impression, they are seen as needing more communication (and sometimes a better attitude) with other interactional groups.

They (support staff) are caring, qualified professionals with experience.

Support staff have adaptability . . . they just do their job and what is asked of them.

Sometimes (support staff) do not know the big picture . . . they generally have no involvement outside the working day.

They (support staff) always act pissed off when we ask them to do anything. It's like that isn't their job or something.

*parents:*

In general, parents are very concerned for their sons' welfare according to the administration. Out of that concern, they are also willing to spend large sums of money and support the school's programs, something very much appreciated by the school's leadership. While spending money for their sons' futures is a positive action, even essential to the on-going nature of the schools, members of administration disapprove of parents who cannot control their own children. Specifically, they pay others (military schools) to do their parenting as they having poor personal responsibility and parenting skills. Their concern for the family unit is seen as lacking, as are their communication and role modeling skills. Moreover, cadet parents become gullible; they will often believe what their son says after entrance to the school, whereas before entrance they had come to the point of almost nil parent-child trust. Several administrators commented:

Parents have enough love and concern to pay a lot to have someone else help raise their child.

The boys' parents are concerned . . . very driven, wanting the best for their son. They just don't know how to give it at home . . . There is a lack of concern for the family unit, no parenting skills, no firmness or control of family direction . . . lack the time or ability to give adequate attention to the family.

Most parents are very supportive of our program . . . (yet), parents who didn't believe a word their son told them while living at home – believe every word they tell them from (here).

Their parents have exceptional love for their sons that they are willing to give them up during their developing years to ensure they grow up the

right way and make everything of themselves . . . but have unwillingness or inability to be authority figures to their sons. They can't establish standards and enforce them. They give their sons everything, but not demanding performance standards.

These data document a finding presented earlier – namely that the researcher managed to get back stage with each group so they shared views, attitudes, and opinions never expressed directly to members of the groups on the front state of daily organization interaction. This rapport was a long time coming, but it paid off in terms of understanding the complete nature of interaction in single-sex secondary military boarding schools. For example, an administrator “holds his or her tongue” while parents discuss the reasons their son should be received, for the school needs the admission. Out of deference, the administrator may attempt to “save face” for the parents by saying something about the difficulty of raising children today. Concomitantly, we now know this same administrator likely sees this parent as a failure.

#### *Faculty response by group*

##### *administration:*

Faculty members see administrators, in general, as a very professional group who are concerned for the school and its employees. They see administrators as able to work together with other groups within the school in making fair decisions. Nevertheless, there are several characteristics about the administrations the faculties find lacking. Possibly due to the perceived inexperience of administrators, they appear to faculty members as ignorant of academic programs, and therefore, lacking in administrative guidance. They sometimes make poor financial decisions, and are not supportive of salary

raises. This difficulty often transpires in private institutions when there is a large endowment that is guarded and protected, while faculty members teach for less than their counterparts in the public school system. The largest concern faculties have with those in administration is one endemic to all groups within the schools – that of communication. The faculties feel somewhat cut-off from school operations not directly linked to classroom education. The requirement to participate in so many functions auxiliary to their teaching duties exacerbates faculty alienation.

They (administration) understand us (faculty) and their clientele . . . they have their hearts in the right place while fulfilling a very big responsibility.

The administration is very professional in the way they stand behind employees.

They (the administration) are willing to help any of us any way they can. They try to pull us together . . . and they do a pretty good job of it.

They (the administration) supports cadets and faculty . . . they stand behind us and help with the students.

They (administration) continue to try to improve the school . . . The new leadership is fair . . . that is better now, they seem to have a handle on our needs . . . but they are weak in the area that they aren't really aware of what it's like in a classroom situation.  
They (administration) care for school employees, but do not know what goes on in the barracks or classroom.

The administration has high morals and ethics (and they are good people dedicated to the corps of cadets (but) there is a lack of guidance . . . We are expected to think for ourselves.

A weakness is their (administration's) inexperience.

Sometimes the dollar gets in their (the administration's) way of doing what is best for the school.

The pay is so much below other school districts and the administration requires more here.

I don't think they truly understand what it's like to be in a classroom. And sometimes they (administration) ask you to contribute to things and it makes you think, "Don't they know what I get paid?" How many things do they think you want to contribute to? . . . there are weaknesses in the area of salary: After twenty years of teaching, I am now making \$30,000.00 – rather pathetic.

*faculty:*

The faculties believe themselves to be diverse, creative, and experienced groups. They believe themselves to be very committed to the school and the cadets, working as a team to accomplish their goals. However, they also report they experience problems with inconsistent application of rules and discipline, possibly due to their limited knowledge of military orientation. The faculties recognize they are "complainers," but feel this is a consequence of poor communication within their own group and with other groups.

They (faculty) talk, help, laugh, work hard, (and are) very professional. The faculty are professional, caring, and fun. They care about kids . . . but we have inconsistency with the rules.

We (faculty) love the boys and care for what they do . . . (but) communication between ourselves is a problem. And, we are underpaid.

We (faculty) are friendly, very supportive, and generous with helping fellow workers.

We are dedicated teachers, willing to put up with a lot, plus (we) are willing to go the extra mile to educate these boys.

We (faculty) are steady, diverse, and committed. Sometimes, well, we have some (teachers) that exhibit too much immaturity . . . sometimes we aren't together. It would help if we were more military oriented.

Sometimes we (faculty) are overwhelmed with what we are expected to do in a day . . . we are a great group.

We (faculty) can be creative, and we trust one another. We are great teachers with big hearts . . . but there is a lack of guidance.



There is a willingness to work with each other and to help out in a time of emergency (and) we are generally concerned about the students' learning . . . (but) the separation of (other groups) causes a lack of communication.

Faculty concern for cadets is our biggest strength . . . (also) a willingness to give of time and self. But, we are weak in the fact that some teachers are lax in discipline, allow sleeping (in class), and things like that.

We (faculty) understand the difficulty of the situation . . . (but there is) too much inconsistency from classroom to classroom – not very good communication from the military side.

The teachers all complain here, but how will we be heard if we don't? The communication here is just a really big problem.

Positive self-evaluation occurs among the faculties, while they still recognize weaknesses inherent among almost any institutional group.

Communication within and between groups is a well-known and documented problem inherent in social interaction. Nevertheless, most faculty members care for the cadets, work hard at teaching, and have few problems except the normal one of discipline, which occurs in any classroom, and the problem of military protocol, which is not really meant to be their area of expertise. In fact, the researcher noted how the classroom becomes a back region – i.e., a place where military protocol is often dropped, and a place where boys can just be boys – except for their uniform costumes, which pronounce otherwise. According to observational data, faculty members perceived well the tasks and commitments they provide in these settings.

*military:*

Military departments are viewed by the faculties as experienced, willing, and dedicated teams. Despite this, it finds them (as the administration did) to be inconsistent in disciplinary practices and procedures and in over-reliance on the

cadet command. Further, in the socialization of cadets, they regard military staff members as often displaying bad attitudes and foul or inappropriate language. Yet, faculties recognize the difficult tasks prescribed to this position within the total institution.

The military staff is very experienced in mentoring young men; they are great leaders.

They (military staff) have lots of experience, but there is a lack of communications . . . They are tough men doing the impossible because they love kids.

They (military staff) are committed, but they are too flexible . . . I don't like it when they use the boys to do their dirty work.

They (military staff) are all in their own little world and don't care, or don't want to be on the same sheet of music.

They (military staff) don't think their opinion counts, so that causes them to have bad attitudes about some things.

From the outside looking in, I see the military people allowing rules to be broken by some, and not by others. They allow higher ranking cadets to slide much more than they should.

They (military staff) are so negative . . . the language is too military which carries over into the classroom by the boys using their (military staff) inappropriate language. If they can't find other words to use, then they should just keep quiet because the boys don't need that. They (the boys) already have enough of that.

The military staff bears the largest brunt of the cadet care taking, followed in a close second by members of the faculty. Moreover, the military leaders bring their military selves to their positions, and that has included what is stereotypically known as military language. Many do, in fact, curse when commanding the cadets, yet others do not. Additionally, they must rely on and use the cadet command for this is military school ideology, particularly regarding leadership. As understood within the organizational setting, cadets role model

their leaders to become leaders. At an ideal level this may work, but the faculty audience notices the problems that inevitably arise when the reality becomes boys in charge of boys. Still, even with this flaw in their performance, faculty members see the face presentation of the military as good, kind, and caring in an overall way.

*support:*

Support staffs are favored by faculty members who appear to have the most communication with this group. They are typically reported as willing, dedicated, experienced individuals with good attitudes about the jobs they do. Although there is increased communication between these two groups, the faculties still find the communication between them lacking, again a typically reported organizational issue.

They (support staff) work hard and they are very dedicated to the school.

(Support staff) sometimes don't see the obvious needs, but they are faithful.

They (support staff) are always there to help when I need them.

They (support staff) love and care about their job . . . (but) some do not possess initiative and are not self-starters.

It is hard to get them (support staff) to come fix things, but when they finally get the message or something, they usually do a good job.

*parents:*

The members of faculty find more faults with parents than do any other group. They realize that parents are concerned for their sons, demonstrated by the trust, support, and the large sums of money given the school, but their weaknesses far outweigh their strengths. They are people who pay others to parent because they do not possess the skills to do so themselves. Often poor

role models, parents also do not have the level of concern for the family unit that faculty members think they should. They are parents whose gullibility is only increased by the geographic distances they put between themselves and their children.

Parents want to do what's right for their boy and they possess the means to send them here . . . In many cases marital problems and broken homes, lack of attention and supervision, and a lack of trust – that was probably earned got them here . . . they are thankful for what we do.

Parents are strong in their concern (for their sons), but they shouldn't communicate to their son about their concerns (with the school) . . . some really appreciate what is being done with their son.

Sometimes parents believe their sons too quickly – they need tough love.

They (parents) love their sons, but they are too gullible and easily conned. They are naïve.

They (parents) trust us . . . they lose confidence in themselves as parents and start to feel guilty about their decision. Some lose confidence in us or don't understand what we have to do to turn their son around. They are too weak, (they) won't stay the course and won't try to understand why we do things.

Many parents care, but there really is a lack of concern, and this causes them to have problems supporting the program.

They (parents) care enough to spend thousands of dollars to try and get their son on the straight and narrow. For some, the lack of parenting these boys have received caused them to be here . . . not being good examples themselves, and wondering why things turned out the way they did.

Many parents just want those boys out of their way. Some are concerned, but most need a lot of guidance.

These parents care, but they feel helpless. Too many of them live too far away. I wish they could be more involved in the extra-curricular activities.

Not unlike those in administration, the faculties recognize that without parents who reach the breaking point with their sons, there just might not be a

military school today. Moreover, while some parents arrive in cars that demonstrate affluence, the researcher encountered stories of mothers and fathers who literally spent every penny they had, borrowed more from the bank, and anticipated bankruptcy – all on behalf of their children “gone bad.” It was also obvious that the faculties support the administrative view that parents are not tough enough, and they should not listen to their sons’ complaints. The researcher sees this as one of the team dramatic efforts administration and faculty members present to parents. As one parent confirms:

One of the things that really bothers me about this school is how the teachers and leaders (you know, the coach and the admissions guy) try to keep you from believing what your kid tells you. Well I agree, most kids would do a lot to get out of such a structured atmosphere. I know my son, and even though he has had some trouble and has even lied, the bruises on his body proved he got beaten. Yet, they stood right there and said, “You can’t believe everything your kid tells you.” I’ve been told this a number of times – really too many to believe. “I think they doth protest too much.”

#### *Military response by group*

##### *administration:*

As with the other groups, the military staffs find those in administration to be professional. Beyond that, their responses to them are highly critical. Military staffs believe administrations favor faculty members over them, and that they are inconsistent in promotional practices – particularly between these two groups. The administrations are seen as lacking in communication with the military staffs, leaving them lacking what they see as necessary guidance. The fact that the two groups work almost opposing working hours does little to increase this communication, or to alleviate other concerns the military department has.

The president, he’s very articulate. Very interesting. He’s one of these

guys that you can go into his office mad, come out, and feel better. It still ain't going to change, but you still feel better, don't you? I mean, he's got good people skills.

Communication is the main problem. It is the main problem. We need to talk. We've got to be talking.

This is the worst job that I have had in my life as far as cohesion with the employees. It is the worst. So I don't talk to the president. It is not going to do me any good.

The military side has never been asked about any of the decisions and if they have been asked it has never been filtered down to us at all. Not even an opinion, what do you think about this? And I could go away not knowing what to correct, when to correct it, and what I did wrong. Not the old, oh, I messed up there. How can you fix something unless you know it's broke? . . . But there are too many secrets here. The information flow is not what it should be. It's really tripped up the school.

How come we only have \$5,000.00 of life insurance through the school and the teachers have \$10,000.00? They (administration) still cannot tell us. So there are still issues there. See, we're still not equal yet. We're still under St. John's. They are teachers, but what are we? They have \$10,000.00; we have \$5,000.00. Every time we bring it up, that's all we get out of them. We never get an answer.

Just because they (faculty) have a college degree, that makes them special? We (military staff) do a lot harder job, and we bring a lot of experience to the plate, but we just keep getting passed over. The teachers get raises, promotions, whatever they want. The people over there (in administration) just don't get it. And that's hard to believe sometimes, because some of them are military too.

When computers go down in that schoolhouse, they'll come over and get my computer, and I'm left with nothing. Or they'll swap it out and not even let me know. And I'll come in here and find an old, dilapidated piece of crap that don't work and I'm told, "Oh, you don't need all that memory."

I really never see anybody in these barracks on the weekends with me. And then at night, between the hours eleven and eight, of course they're not going to be here.

Working in a total institution is discussed less by Goffman (1961), as he focuses primarily on the characteristics of the inmates. Clearly, one of the main

purposes herein was to research and document the experiences of the staffing groups' performances. In the case of single-sex military boarding schools, the military staff comprises the group most immediately responsible for the social control of the boys. Certainly, the other groups contribute to the overall operation and to the everyday web of interaction; still these others have less contact with cadets. Via this data, the reader observes the backstage spoken resentment held toward groups considered higher in status, but with less "hands-on" jobs. They feel overlooked, used, and not adequately paid for their work. They also experience those in administration as "eight-to-fivers" who have it easier when their work is compared to military night duty with the boys. Still, the experiences of the military staff in relation to the administration are not exceptional as these interactional patterns are common to most organizational structures.

*faculty:*

The military department makes few positive comments concerning faculty members. They find fault with the way they mete out discipline inconsistently, and in violation of school rules and regulations. They find faculty members to be complainers that "just don't understand the military way."

If you haven't been in the military, or actually worked in the barracks day in and day out, you are not going to grasp the concept. These kids, you have really got to know the kids. Teachers are easy to get over on because I see it everyday.

The teachers over there are always complaining how the cadets act in the classrooms. And I said, "Why do you put up with it? You have the smallest classrooms probably in the state." I said, "You have the best back-up in the world. You're not using the system. All you have to do is pick up your phone, or you just tell them, I'm going to call the sergeant." They don't do that. "Oh, I don't want to get him in trouble." Well then, don't bother me. Don't bother me, don't tell me, and don't tell everybody

else how bad he is, how foul-mouthed he is in your classroom, unless you want to back it up or fix your classroom.

They (teachers) say a kid is messing up in class; I'm going to write him a hook sheet. Well that day it happened. She (a teacher) did call me. I would wait a week and the paperwork wouldn't come over. I'd call her back, "Where's the hook sheet on (that cadet)?" "Well, I changed my mind, he's doing better today." "Well you just lost, because that day he disrupted your class, and he made you mad, so he won – you lost. So, don't call me again.

We've got teachers over here who can click their fingers and there is silence in the classroom. And others I can still walk by, and I don't know how they can teach in there. It's total chaos, but it's still happening. Something's wrong. And, there are some over there, I think they either need to tighten their ropes up or go somewhere else and teach.

I want to help the teachers as much as I can, but I don't want to go over there. It just burns me up to go into a classroom where a teacher has no control for no reason . . . Don't let them do in this school what they did in their school and make a mockery out of everyone here.

Now, we don't like when they (faculty) try to take over our job. It's like we told them, we don't come in there and try to tell you how to teach your class. I don't walk in the door and say, "You're teaching this wrong. Or, this is the way it should be done." They used to come over here and try to change things. We run by a training schedule – an hourly schedule like their classroom does. They seem to think that they can, and they're bad about it, throw anything in there and expect us to catch up. And it don't work. It's wrong.

I can tell you, I know what the teachers go through. And, if the teacher's weak, the teacher's going to have a tough time with these kids. If the teacher doesn't have any type of standards, they are going to have a tough time with these kids.

Teachers have absolutely no business in the barracks, that's just like you don't see me go over there in the classroom and teach their class, which would be the same thing.

There has always been a division between Military Department and the teachers, always has been, always will be. That's the way it is, and I think that's the way it should be. This is my side of the house. Leave me alone.

In examining the responses of both these groups to each other, they share similar views. Neither group thinks the other should "get in their business," but



both think the other does. Interestingly enough, if a child cannot be “broken,” the teachers are too lenient, and the military staff feels they handle that this better. They believe teachers need to run their classes with more control. From the researcher’s standpoint, it is interesting that these two groups tend to avoid one another. Further, they explain failure to affect cadet behavior on either military harshness (as believed by the teachers) or teacher leniency (as believed by the military staff).

*military:*

In traditional military style, these men had little to say about themselves other than that they were dedicated, disciplined, and experienced men of the armed services. They do report, however, that communication with other groups is restricted by the work hours assigned to them.

I think most people here (in the military department) are dedicated.

I spent 27 years in the military, and I like staying in uniform. This is like having the best of both worlds.

Well, I can tell you as MA, it’s rewarding to take a young kid in here with a problem that the parents no longer can deal with.

The problem is, whose hours do we inconvenience, them (the administration), the teachers, or the military department? Because, the way the hours are set up, it is totally different, and it is hard to get with them and get to know them.

*support:*

The military employees have few comments about the support staff. This is a result of the military department being almost wholly isolated from support staffs. Their working hours rarely commingle and they have little contact. A lack of communication exists between these groups as it does with the others.

I don't see them (support staff) none. When I need something done, I just put in a work order. It gets done or it doesn't.

I don't know any of them. I really don't care. But, I guess it would be better if we knew each other.

*parents:*

Like the administrations and faculties, military staffs believe parents are concerned enough to spend a lot of money to "fix" their sons, but also think parents pay others to do a job they were unsuccessful with as a result of poor parenting skills.

A lot of parents I've dealt with over the summer will say, "My son needs discipline, he has no discipline, he can't follow directions, he can't follow simple orders that we give him around the house. He needs a little extra." If that's the case, then this is a place, we can give him structure, we can give him discipline. But when he walks off this lawn, it's up to you to maintain that. But we can do that here for him, sure. We can get him up in the morning. Where if it took you an hour to get him up for school, we can get him up and dressed in 5 minutes, ready to go to school. So, a lot of parents are concerned.

One parent asked me one day, "Is there a book or something you've got so when I take my child home with me I can maintain what you do here?" I said, "Now I don't mean to sound negative, or smart-mouthed for lack of a better word, but parenting skills – you just gotta be hard. You know, you gotta be in charge."

Some of the parents get very involved with their kids here, and some just dump them off like pets. Every parent is different. I've seen a lot of ridiculous things. I've seen the parents lie, I've seen them put the kid in a camper and say were going camping and then dump them off here. At Thanksgiving, these parents came and picked up their kid and two hours later said, "I don't want him anymore, take him." So, some of the parents are very demanding . . . I get angry parents that just swear and curse and say, "My son doesn't lie. My son doesn't do anything wrong, this and that, whatever." An hour later they'll call back, and it's just the flip side of the coin. But I think a lot of them just got tired of the kid, like a pet, and they just dump them along here and expect immediate results. I'll pay this money, I want the kid trained, you know, like a pet, so that I get him back fixed. And they don't understand that unless you continue the maintenance, the kid is just going to revert back to his old self. So, a lot of the kids are here because of poor parenting skills.

It is important to note from the interview data documenting groups' experiences of one another, little discussion falls to academics. Even members of the faculty see children there primarily for disciplinary reasons as opposed to academic excellence. One wonders if the disciplinary function has assumed importance in a post-modern society.

*Support staff response by group*

*administration:*

While those in administration are seen as professional and concerned about the school, support staffs make few other comments about them. This may be the result of very poor communications between the administrations (and all other groups) and support staffs. The support staff is a relatively isolated group going about duties that are not important to the immediate front stage performances by actors from other groups. Their actions are, however, very important backstage preparations that can make or break the performances of others. The need for good food, clean buildings in proper repair, tended grounds, etc., makes their work vitally important in setting the stage for others' performances. Without proper fulfillment of their duties, the schools would ultimately fail.

They (the administration) don't tell us much . . . I haven't seen the president all year.

In fact we were moaning about the lack of communication this morning because there were some things that happened today that weren't on the order of the day . . . And, nobody informed us that these things were being cancelled, so yeah, there is a lack of communication there.

I don't participate in nothing. I don't know anything. I don't get told anything. I have to ask . . . I need to be included in all those things, and

why they don't (include me), I have no idea – maybe they don't either, I don't know. So, I just don't feel like the communication is good. They say communicate, but yet whenever I go over and communicate, then I feel that it's not taken seriously.

*faculty:*

As a result of restricted communications between all groups and the support staff, this group had little to report about the faculties. While they do think the teachers have good relationships with the students, they are unsure of their abilities in handling them.

... and teachers are totally separate, you know.

I would love to go into academics and just visit the classroom and watch and see what their real life is like. You know, see if it fits the perception I have, or the thoughts I have about it.

Teachers here bend over backwards to help them (cadets). They only fail if they want to.

I hear the teachers screaming at all the kids and carrying on down the hall.

*military:*

Just as the military employees have few comments about support staffs – support staffs have few comments about them. As previously mentioned, the support staffs are almost wholly isolated from military department. Their working hours rarely merge, and they have little contact. Again, a lack of communication exists between these groups as it does with the others.

The MA's never come up here (to the maintenance department). I wish they would.

I wish I could go into the barracks and just sort of be there. Just maybe sit in the office and see what it's like at night in the barracks. You know, I think I can imagine what it's like having 59 boys that you are taking care of from the time they are out of school until they go to bed at 10:15. I think I can imagine that, but can't really imagine what that's like.

*support:*

The support staff members interpret themselves as willing to do whatever is asked of them. They feel relatively isolated as a group, although this is not typically a concern. In most cases, they prefer to be left out of the fray, simply competing the work assignments given them.

We have a willingness to help, but we need more help (support staff).

We are here to do a job. We do it. What else is there to know?

I like it that they (everyone else) leave us alone down here (in maintenance). I don't need nobody in my business. I take care of mine – they take care of theirs. That's what I say.

*parents:*

Parents are supportive of what the school offers in terms of the changes they desire in their sons. However, members of support staff also view parents negatively citing poor parenting skills and as “dumping bad kids” on others to educate and rehabilitate.

I think it's (the school) a good thing. I think it's a good option for parents who really have no other choice.

The tough ones (parents) are the ones that bring their kid here because they are “out of control,” but yet, when they (boys) come here and get in trouble they are angels.

And I'm sure we had parents upset sometimes. It's when their kids are disciplined and they don't like it. Well, that's why they're (boys) here, some of them.

Many boys don't get enough attention from their parents. There's one boy here who hasn't been home in three years.

I wouldn't send my own boy here. I take care of him myself. You may not want to hear this, but kids are here because of their parents. Especially divorced parents, because the boys play them off each other. You get problems because the parents have no time for the kid because they are

busy with their professional life. Then you get an older dad who gets a younger wife, and that's a real problem. Many of them are adopted kids; they're often the worst.

*Parent response by group*

*administration:*

Parents, in general, have high esteem for the schools and the employees in them. They feel somewhat isolated from those in administration as well as from the other groups; however, as previously noted, this is a function of the separation schools desire between cadets and parents. Administrators are typically believed to be professional and understanding, at least initially. This can change if their son encounters for example, a hazing incident.

The admissions officer helped us so much when we first came here. I really felt like we had finally found someone who could help our son.

The image they (administrators) present is a good one. They are in the right business.

They (administrative offices) are always willing to answer my questions. I feel like I can call them any time, but sometimes I just keep getting bounced from one department to another.

Why won't they (administrators) let us come on campus whenever we want?

We (parents) need more communications and updates regarding our child's progress.

They tell us, give us your son and we will take care of it. We are supposed to be hands off.

It is documented here that parents receive an important message presented by the school – i.e., we can do our job better if you (parents) leave us alone. As the neophyte child begins the journey to cadet, there is initially no contact allowed between parent and child. This mandate lasts four to six weeks

(depending on the school), a long time for a child. Additionally, once contact occurs, parents are admonished not to believe the “wild” stories they may hear. Goffman (1961) discusses the necessity for restrictions concerning the passage of information between the staff and inmate groupings in total institutions (p.9). He also maintains that “off-grounds leave” (p.80) may be looked upon unfavorably. The main function of either of these potential requisites is to insure the institution continues to run smoothly while maintaining an appearance of responsibility over the individuals they keep. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect the schools of study would want to restrict “inside” information from reaching “outsiders” – the parents of cadets, in order to present themselves as responsibly caring for the boys they cater to.

*faculty:*

Faculties are reported as most accessible to parents. They are seen as dedicated men and women, and are held in high esteem by most parents. Faculty members solicit input from parents and even exchange e-mail messages with them. However, while the faculty members are respected, many times the academic achievements made with students are not.

The faculty are most accessible. They are the only ones who answer our questions.

It's a good school for kids in trouble with not graduating – rebelling to the point of self-destruction.

My son will not go to public school again. I like what the school has been able to do for him. He came here with failing grades (and) only one credit for his senior year – and now he is on the honor roll.

Academically, (my son) has improved but, is he prepared for college?

Is learning the main emphasis? Will learning qualify for college entrance?

My sons are both bright kids, but neither has ever worked to his potential. Still the younger one became a Blue Beret and was tops in the middle school, which made me think he was doing great. Later I found out he was doing so great because the lessons were not very difficult. It still helped my son see he could be the best, but he needs harder work.

*military:*

Parents view military staff members as strict disciplinarians. While they desire the results gained for their sons by military staffs, they often dislike their methods of achieving them.

They (military staff) can turn a child around from destruction.

They (military staff) have the ability to transform a boy into a young man.

The MA's are pretty good with the boys, but they could use some coaching in how to talk to moms who crave information about their child. I encountered one MA who did not seem to have a clue as to how to relate to (my son). When he (my son) was hurting, the MA would not talk to him.

I still have lingering concerns about barracks life. I realize they (military staff) have a lot of difficult boys to deal with, but they shouldn't hurt any of them, or allow other boys to hurt them.

*support:*

Support staffs are of little concern to parents, although they occupy an important position in relation to campus appearances.

I was kind of surprised at how the campus looked. I was expecting a really nice place but the dorm rooms look more like prison cells.

With all the money they make off us (parents), why aren't the facilities kept up better?

*parents:*

Parents do not see themselves as casting off their parental responsibilities to schools. Rather, they are often frustrated by their sons' behaviors and simply believe in the schools' abilities to change them.



He was out of control. Thank God there are places like this to help parents who don't know what else to do.

This is just what (my son) needed. I miss him, but this is the best thing I can do for him.

I would rather invest the money in sending him to this school now than spend it on bondsmen and attorney fees later.

Let us summarize the purpose of assessing actors' experiences of each others' performances. Again, a major focus of this research was the varying groups' responses to interactions, experiences, and presentations made by others. The following details a summarized account of these interactions.

The administrations see themselves as only moderately staging performances. They realize that some contrived presentation must be made in order to attract students, and they do a large portion of this through Internet websites, admissions literature, and other institutional documents constructed with this purpose in mind. However, they predominantly see their personal performances as sincere and believable.

The administration and faculty groups find each other equal. That is, they both find the other routinely attempting to control performances that are just as often less than successful. This degree of perceived contrivance and poor performance leads to intermittent conflict between the two groups.

The administration and the military both have difficulty buying the other's acts. Many employees in each group are highly critical of the actions of the members in the other group. As definitions of the situation diverge, problems between groups intensify. They do not believe the presentations made by the

others are sincere. This results in low opinions towards members of the other group. Subsequently, conflict often arises between them.

Faculty members and military personnel are even more unsure of the sincerity of each other's presentations. This is evidenced by the hostile attitudes they regularly hold towards one another. They have differing philosophies concerning military school education, with each group advancing from its own perspective. There are regular disagreements and open disregard for members of the other groups as a result of their performance responses.

Support staffs are far enough removed from front stage performances that they are typically viewed as giving spontaneous presentations. However, in formal settings, they are more likely to be viewed as managing their performances. As with most groups, they totally believe the presentations they make are the reality others acknowledge. Similarly, support staff members typically believe the presentations made by most of the administration and military staff members. When they do occur, performance difficulties within the school usually arise with faculty. Support staffs commonly believe faculties are not effective in their disciplinary practices with cadets. Finally, parents, as with each other group with in the school, are judged by support staffs negatively.

Parents, first and foremost, buy their own acts. However, the groups within single-sex secondary military boarding schools do not. The administrations, faculties, and support staffs all have trouble believing the presentations made by parents. Military staffs have even lower regard for parents. Most conclude that boys are in their care because parents couldn't, or

wouldn't care for them themselves. Reflecting on an earlier quote made about parents by a member of the military, it is clear that parents' performances are seen as lacking integrity:

Parents who didn't believe a word their son told them while living at home believe every word they tell them from (here).

In closing, the foregoing analysis of data discloses responses to performances made by groups within, and associated with single-sex secondary military boarding schools. Moreover, the resulting attitudes and opinions due to performance responses indicate differences between groups and possible reasons for conflict.

## CHAPTER 5 ENDNOTES

- 1) Quote from St. John's Northwestern school admissions brochure.
- 2) Researcher interviews were almost wholly successful in gaining entrance to backstage areas where employees imparted information that would not have otherwise been spoken in a front stage area. The researcher was given many "secrets of the schools" in interviews with employees.
- 3) Assessed from administrative survey data.
- 4) Assessed from parent survey data.
- 5) Quote from St. John's Military School Internet website.
- 6) It seems curious to this researcher that while these schools actively promote the recruiting of foreign students, that by this standard, they would be excluded from an integral component of the military program.
- 7) Italics added.
- 8) Quote from St. John's Military School Internet website.
- 9) Excerpt from Camden Military School brochure.
- 10) Excerpt from Marine Military Academy brochure.
- 11) For a full description of "the hidden culture" in preparatory boarding Schools see Louis Crosier's *Casualties of Privilege* (1991).
- 12) It appears that admissions questions from Lyman Ward Military Academy and Marine Military Academy are identical suggesting one school has borrowed the other's format on this form.

## CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation sought to identify and analyze the social conditions, experiences, and responses of adult groups associated with single-sex secondary military boarding schools. Each of these have been discussed in detail in the preceding chapters. In sum, we found that while admissions materials such as invitation letters, brochures, institutional films, newsletters, and the like, are filled with images of innocent looking young men engaged in camaraderie and fun activity, what lies beneath is quite a different story. The schools engage parents and others – almost compelling them to send their sons, by instilling a longing for the simple, wholesome type of life seemingly offered by these institutions. One wonders who wouldn't want to be a part of these schools. Not everyone, it seems. As has been shown, persons within these schools have conflicts with the images presented by themselves and the other groups. However, this phenomenon is not unique to the single-sex secondary military boarding school. Indeed, all organizations experience problems with this.

A dramaturgical framework was useful in explaining the similarities and discrepancies in definitions of the situation between and within the groups of study. This approach has a rich history with essential elements drawn from the ideas of classic to contemporary scholars and theoreticians. In particular, the works of Georg Simmel, George Herbert Mead, Kenneth Burke, and Erving Goffman, as well as other contemporary theoreticians aided in the analytical framework employed in analysis.

Simmel's "web of interactions" perfectly describes the relationships among the actors in these institutions. Each of the various groups of study comprises a system of dynamic relations where numerous role performances are played out in front of many different audiences. For Simmel, as for the members of the schools studied, "the whole gamut of relations that play from one person to another . . . tie men together (Wolff 1950:3).

People are both spontaneous and creative, and reflective and responsive. These ideas found in Mead's (1934) work allow us an understanding of individuals as having constantly evolving selves. We cannot be who we are until we are in the moment of experience with others. Who we are, our constantly changing selves, emerge in interactions with others. How the people associated with single-sex secondary military boarding schools perceive themselves and respond to others is a result of a reflection between actors' performances and audiences' responses within these institutions. The self and others cannot be separated, for if they are, no meaning – consensual or otherwise will arise. The importance of emergent meaning cannot be overstated when analyzing interaction within these schools, as this is the critical point of study.

The dramatisic pentad created by Burke (1969) was extremely helpful with, and applicable to, this research. Its use served a two-fold function. First, as illustrated herein, it may be used as a method for generating perpetual explanation for human action. In this regard the pentad was utilized as an aid for generating new lines of researcher inquiry. However, a second purpose for its use emerged in analysis of the data. It became evident that each group studied

valued one element of the pentad over another. This discovery helped illuminate potential reasons for differing responses among the groups.

The metaphor of the theater, or drama, is not unique to Erving Goffman. However, it was he who first illustrated within the field of sociology that individuals perform their life roles before audiences of others. While doing so, actors use a variety of tools including scripts, fronts, stages, and the like. Furthermore, they relay not only expressions given, but also expressions given off. During these presentations a variety of responsibilities are necessary to carry the performance such as deference, demeanor, dramatic realization, expressive responsibility, and moral obligation. While his framework is applicable to all human interaction, it is particularly so in the single-sex secondary military boarding school. As total institutions (Goffman 1961), these schools require those associated with them to convey the impression that what they are and what they do is not only necessary, but useful in helping boys become responsible, educated young adults. Nevertheless, the problematic nature of social life reveals that there is often discrepancy between how performances are intended to be understood and the actual meanings that emerge for audiences. This is especially noticeable among the groups studied. While each believe their own performances, most do not have similar responses to the performances of others.

Finally, concerning the dramaturgical model, it cannot be overemphasized that it is a means of communication (Brissett and Edgley 1990), not an entity within itself. We are not simply actors giving performances. However, we are

responsive individuals who find meaning in interactions with others. By knowing this we may understand the use of a dramaturgical framework when analyzing the interactions found within the schools studied.

Several data gathering methods were employed in this research. These constituted a variety of assembled data to include: documentary information, observations, interviews, and surveys. The information from each was categorized and assessed similarly resulting in a collection of the social conditions, experiences, presentations, performances, and responses by those studied. Information gleaned from each of these methods was combined and presented in a unified manner so as to relate a synoptic image of the culture regarding the current status of the single-sex secondary military boarding school. The population consisted of persons within the various adult interactional groups associated with the eight identified schools studied. No minors or special populations were interviewed. Documentary data served as the source for individuals recognized in this document through identification and quotes. A group unit of analysis was employed to facilitate analysis, and for protection of individual schools and identities.

The history of secondary military schools is a rich one. They were originally begun as an alternative to the increasing prevalence of public schools and also as places of training for our country's military leaders. Now, they serve a similar function, albeit for very different reasons. Once the best and brightest boys were recruited by these academies. Presently, we find this is not the case as most boys enrolled have troubled disciplinary pasts, and many are



academically challenged. One characteristic that has remained constant over their duration is that of financial expense. The schools always have been, and likely always will be, very high-priced. This is a factor in the presentations made by schools, and one that must be managed. As any efficient salesmen of report would do, monetary costs are stated matter-of-factly, dramatized as good deals considering the product and service provided.

These schools offer an alternative to parents of unruly young men who have the resources available for the relative high financial cost of attendance. Parents who send their sons to these schools, and why they send them, comprise the central theme upon which each of the schools operates. Schools liken themselves as having five dimensions – academic, physical, social, disciplinary, and religious training. Parents desire this training for their sons, and the schools promise delivery of such. However, while parents are most drawn in by performances concerning academic training, social and disciplinary training are the focus once boys are in attendance in these academies.

Structure possibly best describes the social conditions in these schools. Each group studied refers to structure as a core component of school order. Organization and achievements of the schools are centered around behavioral structure. The environments, personnel, and institutional rules within the schools are organized in a formal hierarchy contributing to the general nature of the structured arrangements found within them.

These schools have lower recognized academic scores than public schools, yet have higher rates of passing. This may partially be due to the need

for funds, thus causing the schools to become resource dependent. They must advertise what they think the public wants to perceive as the “true reality,” even though they and parents may know that reality does not exist. Further, they must liken themselves to their public counterparts so they appear legitimate in their aims. The result of this homogenization is the diversity we find between what the schools initially “sell” and what they actually deliver. Preventative impression management is used by schools to ward off potential problems resulting from this discrepancy. This may include the use of coercion and pressure with parents and cadets. However, these actions are justified by actualization of desired results.

Abuse and hazing is a problem endemic in boarding school environments in general, but especially so in the single-sex secondary military boarding school. Research has shown that it does occur, and has even become an accepted part of the culture. Concerning these practices, Goffman (1961) has described total institutions like these as places where outsiders are unwanted. This also holds true. Parents are kept away from their sons, and told not to believe what is related to them through phone calls or letters. Visits between parents and children are restricted. In fact, overnight stays with parents must always be approved in advance. Further, during large celebrations (such as “parents weekend”) where many parents may be congregated, cadets in most schools are given little private time with parents, and are not allowed overnight stays with them.

Philip Zimbardo (in Christian 1998:508) has said, "Roles are our prisons of our own invention." There are many cross-over roles that "imprison" employees within the schools of study. Some employees are concurrent members of the administration, faculty, and military staff. In some cases, this leads to significant role strain. However, while individuals within groups recognize their multiple role set, they do not view persons in other groups as having them. For example, military advisors (or TAC officers) view faculty as only teachers, yet many are also administrators and members of the military department. The strained relations between military staff and faculty exist partially because each does not recognize the multiple roles the other must fulfill. Further, the term "military school" is in itself an oxymoron. The training styles and philosophies of each are at odds. Military ideologies place focus on physical training and leadership through the ability to command others, whereas typical academic philosophies traditionally emphasize nurturance and fostering of academic abilities. Thus, major goals differ between groups – one (military) coaches and drives the physical self, and the other (academic) facilitates the intellectual self.

Each of the groups associated with the schools have a very favorable view of their own performances. However, there is variation in their responses to performances made by others. Administrative employees and faculty view the performances of each other fairly equally. Neither truly buys into what the other presents, but appear to have come to an agreement concerning what the function of each group is. Finances are the greatest area where faculty have concerns with administrative presentations. Faculties believe administrators

withhold salary increases and resources and require duties beyond what they are compensated for. On the other hand, administrative employees perceive faculty as lacking understanding of military practices and procedures. As a result, the administration has trouble with the disciplinary performances teachers make concerning cadets.

Administrative and military employees find substantial fault with the performances made by the other. The administration does not find much favor with the expressions given and given off by military employees in terms of words, acts, and demeanor. The use of bad language, inconsistent disciplinary practices, and abuse of the cadet chain of command cause administrative employees to doubt the veracity of military staff performances. Military staff perceive administrative personnel as too far removed from military performances to understand the nature of presentations they make. Further, they believe teachers are favored over them. But, as has been mentioned, the scheduled working hours for all three groups may have a great deal to do with the responses of each.

The faculty and military staffs are very antagonistic of each other. They have little belief in the reality the other presents. This is identified as a major area for concern as these are the two groups who have the most to do with how school operations are carried out.

Support staff are peripheral to school performances and presentations. While maintaining front stage settings, the majority of their interactions are backstage, and with each other. They are rarely, if ever, involved in the public

presentations made by schools. Support staff, as do each of the other groups within the schools, disbelieve parents' performances. Parents are believed to be unwilling, or inept in their abilities to raise their own sons.

Members of the groups within the schools, by and large, see parents as customers who pay them to do what they could not, or would not, do for themselves. Parents also find performances by the differing groups within the schools as problematic. Faculty are the most highly esteemed in terms of their performances, although the curriculum they deliver is not. Parents first believe the performances made by administrators but, as experiences concerning their sons transpire, these performances are unraveled leading to a lessened view of administrations' sincerity. For many parents, members of administration become similar to automobile salesmen, saying whatever they feel necessary to make the sale. Military staff have the most supervisory and corrective roles and functions with cadets. As such, parents are often unhappy with the performances they provide their sons. Again, it appears parents desire a school that will fix their own wayward son, but not one filled with boys with similar problems.

The eight schools studied are subcultures, microcosms of the larger society. Their dramatic presentations are not concerned with the differences between performance and reality. Of importance is the response to dramas, no matter their representation of the actual. In each school there exists a "master presentation;" that of the administration. This script guides the impression that individuals associated with the institutions are supposed to buy into, and in turn, give off. Not surprisingly, this is composed by those in, and with, power – the

administration. These presentations and impressions have been described throughout this thesis; however, while there is one master scripted presentation, there are numerous responses to it. These responses vary by individuals in the interactional groups, but, in general, groups tend to form a norm concerning how they respond to the presentations of others – whether members of other groups or their own.

Finally, this research has shown how discrepancies between performances and audience responses to them lead to conflict in, and disillusionment with, the groups associated with the eight remaining single-sex secondary military boarding schools in the United States today. Further research might be used to explain how this conflict and disillusionment could be controlled in order to facilitate more successful presentations by actors within them.

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## APPENDIX A

### Solicitation; Consent; Cover Notices



ORAL SOLICITATION TO BE USED WHEN CONTACTING INDIVIDUALS  
BY PHONE OR IN PERSON FOR PARTICIPATION

When contacting possible new participants in this study, the following script will be used:

Hello – My name is Pati Hendrickson. I am a doctoral candidate in Sociology at Oklahoma State University. I am currently working on my dissertation which focuses on single-sex secondary military schools. This study will focus on the social conditions, experiences, and responses of employees within the various departments in these schools, and also the parents of cadets enrolled in these schools. May I have a few moments of your time?

If yes,

Do you have any questions you would like to ask me now? (If yes, those questions will be answered.)

I would be very interested in what you have to say concerning the topics of study within my research. Would you be willing to allow me to interview you?

If yes,

Would you prefer to be interviewed in person, by telephone, or by e-mail?

In person:

We can do this at your convenience. The interview will take approximately one to three hours depending on the amount of information you wish to share. What would be a good time and place for you? I appreciate your interest and willingness to help me with this project. I look forward to seeing you on \_\_\_\_\_ (date) at \_\_\_\_\_ (time) at \_\_\_\_\_ (location).

By telephone:

We can do this at your convenience. The interview will take approximately one to three hours depending on the amount of information you wish to share. For your comfort we can break the interview into two or more parts if necessary. What would be a good time for me to call you?

I appreciate your interest and willingness to help me with this project. I look forward to talking with you on \_\_\_\_\_ (date) at \_\_\_\_\_ (time).

By e-mail:

The interview will consist of approximately 30 initial questions. More questions may develop as we e-mail responses to each other. May I have your e-mail address? I appreciate your interest and willingness to help me with this project. I look forward to discussing this with you.

WRITTEN SOLICITATION TO BE USED WHEN CONTACTING INDIVIDUALS BY  
MAIL FOR PARTICIPATION

Dear \_\_\_\_\_ (potential respondent),

My name is Pati Hendrickson. I am a doctoral candidate in Sociology at Oklahoma State University. I am currently working on my dissertation which focuses on single-sex secondary military schools. This study will focus on the social conditions, experience, and interpretations of employees within the various departments in these schools, and also the parents of cadets enrolled in these schools.

I would be very interested in what you have to say concerning the topics of study within my research. Would you be willing to allow me to interview you? If so, would you prefer to be interviewed in person, by telephone, or by e-mail?

In person:

We can do this at your convenience. The interview will take approximately one to three hours depending on the amount of information you wish to share. I appreciate your interest and willingness to help me with this project. Please reply at your earliest convenience with your preferred time and place for the interview. I look forward to talking with you.

By telephone:

We can do this at your convenience. The interview will take approximately one to three hours depending on the amount of information you wish to share. For your comfort we can break the interview into two or more parts if necessary. I appreciate your interest and willingness to help me with this project. Please reply at your earliest convenience with your preferred time for the interview. I look forward to talking with you.

By e-mail:

The interview will consist of approximately 30 initial questions. More questions may develop as we e-mail responses to each other. May I have your e-mail address? I appreciate your interest and willingness to help me with this project. I look forward to discussing this with you.

Thank you,

Pati K. Hendrickson  
Doctoral Candidate  
Department of Sociology  
Oklahoma State University

Script Recited Prior to Participation  
Verbal Informed Consent

Name of Investigation: AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE AND RESPONSE WITHIN THE SINGLE-SEX SECONDARY MILITARY BOARDING SCHOOL: A DRAMATURGICAL ANALYSIS

Statement of Research Conducted Through OSU:

My name is Pati Hendrickson. I am a doctoral candidate in Sociology at Oklahoma State University. I am currently working on my dissertation which focuses on single-sex secondary military boarding schools.

Explanation of Study Purpose and Expected Duration of Subject Participation:

You are being asked to participate in a research interview designed for the purpose of identifying, understanding, and explaining the social conditions, experiences, and perceptions of employees within the various departments in single-sex secondary military schools, and also the parents of cadets enrolled in these schools. If you decide to participate, you will be asked a series of questions which may require one to three hours of your time.

Description of Procedures:

You will be interviewed in person, and/or by phone, and/or e-mail concerning the issues of social conditions, experiences, and perceptions of single-sex secondary military schools *as you see them*. I will ask you approximately thirty initial questions. However, I expect to ask several probing or follow-up questions in order to more fully understand the single-sex secondary military school condition, experience, and perception.

Description of Foreseeable Risks or Discomfort:

Some of the questions you may be asked will be personal, and if any of these cause you discomfort you may refrain from answering them. Further, I will ask questions concerning cadet "hazing" which may cause you discomfort. Again, if this is uncomfortable for you, please refrain from answering. Finally, please feel free to refrain from responding to *any* question you find uncomfortable. Your participation and responses are voluntary at all times.

Description of Benefits That May Be Expected From This Research:

This research may identify strengths and weaknesses among the various groups of interaction within single-sex secondary military schools. It may be beneficial in the understanding of each of these groups' social condition, experience, and interpretations of single-sex secondary military schools. In this, each group may come to a more clear understanding of what it means to be in another group's position, thus communication may be enhanced. Additionally, this research may serve as an informative guide for those who may become employed by, or who may wish to enroll their children in a single-sex secondary military school.

Statement of Confidentiality:

The information you provide will be kept in strict confidence. Although some of this information may be published for scientific purposes, your name will not be associated with any statements or answers that you provide.

Contact Persons Concerning This Research:

Pati Hendrickson  
(254) 965-8576  
670 W. Bluebonnet  
Stephenville, TX 76401

Office of Research Compliance  
405-744-5700  
Division of the Vice President for Research  
Oklahoma State University  
203 Whitehurst  
Stillwater, OK 74078

Notice of Voluntary Participation:

\_\_\_\_\_ Please understand that your participation is voluntary, and that you will not be penalized if you choose not to participate. You are also free to withdraw your consent and end your participation in this project at any time without penalty after you notify the project director.

### Cover Notice For Use With Surveys

My name is Pati Hendrickson. I am a doctoral candidate in Sociology at Oklahoma State University. I am currently working on my dissertation which focuses on single-sex secondary military schools. This study will focus on the social conditions, experiences, and responses of employees within the various departments in these schools, and also the parents of cadets enrolled in these schools. Your completion of the following survey will be greatly appreciated and may prove helpful in understanding the conditions, experiences, and interpretations of single-sex secondary military schools by those involved with them. Your participation is voluntary and all information will be kept confidential. Upon completion of this survey please place it in the envelope provided and mail it back to me. Thank you for your time and attention to this research.

## APPENDIX B

### Interview Schedules; Surveys; Code Books

### **Semi-structured Interview Schedule - Employees**

1. Why did you choose to work at (name of school)?
2. How long have you worked here?
3. What are your employment goals?
4. Do you plan to retire here? Why or why not?
5. Who has ultimate control on campus? (battalion commander, commandant, you, etc.)
6. How does the system of cadets governing other cadets work?
7. What kind of school is this? For "troubled" children - or all children?
8. Is there a racial bias here? Among employees? Among cadets?
9. Is there a gender bias here? Among employees? Among cadets?
10. Do you have any kind of team concept plan? (i.e., different groups in interaction)
11. Do you have casual Friday? How do you feel about that?
12. Should any group (or all) of employees wear uniforms?
13. Do you ever go in the barracks? Do others?
14. Do you ever go in the classrooms? Do others?
15. Do you have an academic dean? What is his function?
16. Tell me about the commandant and his position on campus.
17. Tell me about the president and his position on campus.
18. How do you deal with the rampant problem of cursing among the cadets?
19. Do you ever take your job home? Physically? Emotionally?
20. Are you different at home than at work? How so?
21. Do adult employees use cadets to do their "dirty work?" Personal work? Discipline?
22. Would you send your own child here? Why or why not?
23. Tell me about the hazing that occurs here.
24. What is the best thing about (name of school)?
25. What is the worst thing about (name of school)?
26. How would you describe the relationship among employees? As a family? How so?
27. Do you utilize the block program in the school? How does that work for you & cadets?
28. Is this school easier or harder than public school? How so?
29. Tell me about the parents of your cadets.
30. Do you have any concerns about this school and its operation? What are they?
31. Do you have anything else you would like to discuss?

Additionally, as many questions as it takes to probe a given response will be asked. These questions may include things like, "Tell me more about that." "How do you feel about that?" "Do others share your view?" etc.

### **Semi-structured Interview Schedule - Parents**

1. Why did you send your child to (name of school)?
2. How long have they been here?
3. What are your goals for your cadet?
4. Do you plan for your cadet to graduate from here? Why or why not?
5. Who do you see as having ultimate control on campus? Why?
6. How do you feel about the system of cadets governing other cadets?
7. What kind of school is this? For "troubled" children, a "prep" school, or for all children?
8. Is there a racial bias here? Among employees? Among cadets?
9. Is there a gender bias here? Among employees? Among cadets?
10. Should any group (or all) of employees wear uniforms?
11. Do you feel welcome on campus? When? Why or why not?
12. Do you ever go in the barracks? What do you think of them?
13. Do you ever go in the classrooms? What do you think of them?
14. Have you ever visited with the head of the academic department? Tell me about that.
15. Tell me about the commandant and his position on campus.
16. Tell me about the president and his position on campus.
17. Are you aware of cursing among the cadets? How do you feel about that?
18. Are you aware of hazing among the cadets? How do you feel about that?
19. Tell me about how it is to have a child away from home in a boarding school.
20. Is your child different at home than at this school? How so?
21. What is the worst thing about this school? Why?
22. What is the best thing about this school? Why?
23. How would you describe your relationship with the employees here? (military/academic)
24. Do you have any concerns about this school and its operation? What are they?
25. How do you fund your cadet's tuition?
26. Do you have concerns about your cadet's safety? Why? What are they?
27. What one word or phrase sums up how you feel about this school?
28. Would you recommend this school to other parents? Why or why not?
29. How has your cadet changed since being here?
30. How have you changed since you placed your child here?
31. Do you have anything else you would like to discuss?

Additionally, as many questions as it takes to probe a given response will be asked. These questions may include things like, "Tell me more about that." "How do you feel about that?" "Do others share your view?" etc.



## QUESTIONNAIRE – ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Please answer the following questions by filling in the blanks with an appropriate response. If additional space is needed, mark the question number with an asterisk (\*\*) and complete your answer on the back of the sheet. Thank you.

### Demographics

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Age
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Sex
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Race
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Education (last year completed)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. College Major

### General Employment Questions

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Are you a new employee?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. How many years have you worked at this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Have you held other employment positions here? If yes, please list title(s) and years occupied.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. How many years have you worked in an administrative position?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Why did you choose to work at this school?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Do you plan to retire from this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Why or why not?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Approximately how many hours do you work for this institution each week? Please include both hours required *and* hours not required.

\_\_\_\_\_ 14. Do you attend extracurricular activities?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

15. My major employment responsibilities are:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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16. My employment goals include:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Program Content

\_\_\_\_\_ 17. Would you send your own child to a single-sex military school?

18. Why or why not? Please list all reasons.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

19. What forms of discipline do you use with the cadets?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. What forms of discipline do you find most effective?  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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21. What forms of discipline do you find least effective?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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22. What do you think are the strengths among the administration?

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23. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the administration?

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24. What do you think are the strengths among the faculty?

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25. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the faculty?

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26. What do you think are the strengths among the military staff?

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27. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the military staff?

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28. What do you think are the strengths among the support staff?

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29. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the support staff?

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30. What do you think are the strengths among the cadets?

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31. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the cadets?

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32. What do you think are the strengths among the cadets' parents?

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33. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the cadets' parents?

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34. Resources that would improve the school experience here are:

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Please briefly fill in the following blanks with your **first** response.

35. The administration: \_\_\_\_\_

36. The faculty: \_\_\_\_\_

37. The military staff: \_\_\_\_\_

38. The support staff: \_\_\_\_\_

39. The cadets: \_\_\_\_\_

40. The cadets' parents: \_\_\_\_\_

41. The thing I like best about this school is: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

42. The thing I would change about this school is: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

43. Please list any additional comments and concerns you have in the space provided below. Thank you again for your time and attention.

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## QUESTIONNAIRE – FACULTY

Please answer the following questions by filling in the blanks with an appropriate response. If additional space is needed, mark the question number with an asterisk (\*\*) and complete your answer on the back of the sheet. Thank you.

### Demographics

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Age
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Sex
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Race
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Education (last year completed)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. College Major

### General Employment Questions

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Are you a new employee?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. How many years have you worked at this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Have you held other employment positions here? If yes, please list title(s) and years occupied.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. How many years have you worked in an administrative position?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Why did you choose to work at this school?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Do you plan to retire from this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Why or why not?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Approximately how many hours do you work for this institution each week? Please include both hours required *and* hours not required.

\_\_\_\_\_ 14. Do you attend extracurricular activities?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

15. My major employment responsibilities are:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

16. My employment goals include:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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Program Content

\_\_\_\_\_ 17. Would you send your own child to a single-sex military school?

18. Why or why not? Please list all reasons.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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19. What forms of discipline do you use with the cadets?  
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20. What forms of discipline do you find most effective?  
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21. What forms of discipline do you find least effective?  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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22. What do you think are the strengths among the administration?

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23. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the administration?

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24. What do you think are the strengths among the faculty?

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25. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the faculty?

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26. What do you think are the strengths among the military staff?

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27. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the military staff?

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28. What do you think are the strengths among the support staff?

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29. What do you think are the strengths among the administration?

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30. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the administration?

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31. What do you think are the strengths among the faculty?

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32. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the faculty?

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33. What do you think are the strengths among the military staff?

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34. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the military staff?

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35. What do you think are the strengths among the support staff?

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Please briefly fill in the following blanks with your **first** response.

36. The administration: \_\_\_\_\_

37. The faculty: \_\_\_\_\_

38. The military staff: \_\_\_\_\_

39. The support staff: \_\_\_\_\_

40. The cadets: \_\_\_\_\_

41. The cadets' parents: \_\_\_\_\_

42. The thing I like best about this school is: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

43. The thing I would change about this school is: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

44. Please list any additional comments and concerns you have in the space provided below. Thank you again for your time and attention.

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## QUESTIONNAIRE – MILITARY STAFF

Please answer the following questions by filling in the blanks with an appropriate response. If additional space is needed, mark the question number with an asterisk (\*\*) and complete your answer on the back of the sheet. Thank you.

### Demographics

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Age
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Sex
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Race
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Education (last year completed)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. College Major

### General Employment Questions

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Are you a new employee?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. How many years have you worked at this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Have you held other employment positions here? If yes, please list title(s) and years occupied.  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. How many years have you worked in an administrative position?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Why did you choose to work at this school?  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Do you plan to retire from this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Why or why not?  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Approximately how many hours do you work for this institution each week? Please include both hours required *and* hours not required.

\_\_\_\_\_ 14. Do you attend extracurricular activities?  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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15. My major employment responsibilities are:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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16. My employment goals include:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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Program Content

\_\_\_\_\_ 17. Would you send your own child to a single-sex military school?

18. Why or why not? Please list all reasons.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

19. What forms of discipline do you use with the cadets?  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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20. What forms of discipline do you find most effective?  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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21. What forms of discipline do you find least effective?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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22. What do you think are the strengths among the administration?

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23. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the administration?

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24. What do you think are the strengths among the faculty?

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25. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the faculty?

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26. What do you think are the strengths among the military staff?

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27. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the military staff?

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28. What do you think are the strengths among the support staff?

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29. What do you think are the strengths among the administration?

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30. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the administration?

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31. What do you think are the strengths among the faculty?

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32. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the faculty?

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33. What do you think are the strengths among the military staff?

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34. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the military staff?

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35. What do you think are the strengths among the support staff?

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Please briefly fill in the following blanks with your **first** response.

36. The administration: \_\_\_\_\_

37. The faculty: \_\_\_\_\_

38. The military staff: \_\_\_\_\_

39. The support staff: \_\_\_\_\_

40. The cadets: \_\_\_\_\_

41. The cadets' parents: \_\_\_\_\_

42. The thing I like best about this school is: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

43. The thing I would change about this school is: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

44. Please list any additional comments and concerns you have in the space provided below. Thank you again for your time and attention.

\_\_\_\_\_

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## QUESTIONNAIRE – SUPPORT STAFF

Please answer the following questions by filling in the blanks with an appropriate response. If additional space is needed, mark the question number with an asterisk (\*\*) and complete your answer on the back of the sheet. Thank you.

### Demographics

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Age
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Sex
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Race
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Education (last year completed)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. College Major (if applicable)

### General Employment Questions

- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Are you a new employee?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. How many years have you worked at this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Have you held other employment positions here? If yes, please list title(s) and years occupied.  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. How many years have you worked in an administrative position?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Why did you choose to work at this school?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Do you plan to retire from this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Why or why not?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Approximately how many hours do you work for this institution each week? Please include both hours required *and* hours not required.



\_\_\_\_\_ 14. Do you attend extracurricular activities?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

15. My major employment responsibilities are:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

16. My employment goals include:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Program Content

\_\_\_\_\_ 17. Would you send your own child to a single-sex military school?

18. Why or why not? Please list all reasons.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

19. What forms of discipline do you use with the cadets?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. What forms of discipline do you find most effective?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

21. What forms of discipline do you find least effective?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

22. What do you think are the strengths among the administration?

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23. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the administration?

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24. What do you think are the strengths among the faculty?

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25. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the faculty?

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26. What do you think are the strengths among the military staff?

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27. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the military staff?

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28. What do you think are the strengths among the support staff?

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29. What do you think are the strengths among the administration?

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30. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the administration?

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31. What do you think are the strengths among the faculty?

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32. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the faculty?

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33. What do you think are the strengths among the military staff?

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34. What do you think are the major weaknesses among the military staff?

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35. What do you think are the strengths among the support staff?

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Please briefly fill in the following blanks with your **first** response.

36. The administration: \_\_\_\_\_

37. The faculty: \_\_\_\_\_

38. The military staff: \_\_\_\_\_

39. The support staff: \_\_\_\_\_

40. The cadets: \_\_\_\_\_

41. The cadets' parents: \_\_\_\_\_

42. The thing I like best about this school is: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

43. The thing I would change about this school is: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

44. Please list any additional comments and concerns you have in the space provided below. Thank you again for your time and attention.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## QUESTIONNAIRE – PARENTS

Please answer the following questions by filling in the blanks with an appropriate response. If you have more than one cadet enrolled, please indicate responses for each. If more space is needed, mark the question number with an asterisk ( ) and complete your answer on the back of the sheet. Thank you.

**Father**

**Mother**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

1. Age

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Ethnic origin

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Education (last year completed)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4. College major (if applicable)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Occupation

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. State of residence

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

7. City of residence

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Religious affiliation

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

9. Approximate yearly income

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Marital status – single, never married;

married;

separated; divorced; widowed; domestic  
partnership; if other, please  
explain \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

11. Is there a stepparent in the child's home?

\_\_\_\_\_

12. Are you an alumnus of a single-sex military school?

\_\_\_\_\_

13. Do you have other children who previously attended this  
school?

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Total number of children in the family

Ages and sex \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

15. Number of children enrolled at this school?

\_\_\_\_\_

16. How many years has your cadet attended? cadet #2 \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

17. What academic grade is your cadet currently in? cadet #2 \_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

18. Are you a member of the parent's association?

For each question below, please indicate your level of satisfaction by marking your response using the 5-point scale provided.

**1 = very satisfied, 2 = satisfied, 3 = unsure, 4 = dissatisfied, 5 = very dissatisfied**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 19. Which response best describes your feelings about the administration at this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 20. Which response best describes your feelings about the faculty?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 21. Which response best describes your feelings about the military staff?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 22. Which response best describes your feelings about the school facilities?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 23. Which response best describes your feelings about your cadet's safety at this school?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 24. Which response best describes your feelings about the quality of education your cadet receives at this school?

25. How did you hear about (name of school)?

\_\_\_\_\_

26. Why did you choose this school for your cadet?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

27. Do you have plans for your cadet to graduate from here? \_\_\_\_\_ Why or why not?

Please list all reasons.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

28. How do you finance your cadet's tuition? (Check all that apply)

_____ savings	_____ commercial loan	_____ credit card
_____ relatives	_____ student loan	_____ other
		(please identify)

29. Did you have concerns about your cadet when enrolling him/her here?

---

---

---

30. Do you have concerns about your cadet now?

---

---

---

31. How have these concerns changed?

---

---

---

32. What are your goals for your cadet during his attendance at here?

---

---

---

33. Do you feel your cadet is working successfully toward these goals? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why or why not?

---

---

34. What, if any, issues here cause you concern?

---

---

---

35. What, if anything, have you done about your concerns?

---

---

---

36. What could make the school experience better?

---

---

---

37. Would you recommend this school to other parents? \_\_\_\_\_ Why or why not?

---

---

---

38. What one word do you think best describes this school?

---

39. May we contact you for further assistance with our research? \_\_\_\_\_ If yes, please enter your phone number and/or e-mail address.

---

---

40. Additional comments:

---

---

---



Code Book – School Employees (Administration; Faculty; Support; Military)

**\*\*Enter (0) Zero for All Missing Data Spaces\*\***

Item #	Column #	Variable
Q1	1	Age (open – enter actual age)
Q2	2	Sex 1 = Male 2 = Female
Q3	3	Race 1 = Caucasian 2 = African American 3 = Hispanic 4 = Asian 5 = Other
Q4	4	Education 1 = Less than High School 2 = High School 3 = Some College 4 = Bachelor's Degree 5 = Graduate Education
Q5	5	College Major 1 = NA 2 = Technical and Trade (includes: Law Enforcement; Military Science; Accounting; Management; Business; Journalism; Engineering; Industrial Education; Education) 3 = Social Science (includes: History; English; Sociology; Psychology; Social Work; Political Science; Liberal Arts) 4 = Natural Science (includes: Biology; Natural Science; Geology) 5 = Medical and Nursing (includes Medical and Nursing)
Q6	6	New Employee 1 = Yes 2 = No
Q7	7	Number of Years Employed (open – enter actual number)

Q8	8	Other Positions Held Within School 1 = Yes 2 = No
Contingency yes	9	3 = Same Department 4 = Different Department
	10	Number of years occupied (open – enter actual number)
Q9	11	Number of Years in Present Position (open – enter actual number)
Q10 (enter each that apply in corresponding column)	12 - 15	Why Chose to Work Here 1 = Open Position in Within My Abilities (12) 2 = Close to Home / Convenient (13) 3 = Challenging Work Environment (14) 4 = To Work With / Help Kids (15)
Q11	16	Plan to Retire From School 1 = Yes 2 = No
Q12	17	Why or Why Not 1 = Like Job (+) 2 = Want More Career Variety (-) 3 = Is Already a Post-retirement Job (-) 4 = Job Burn-out (-)
Q13	18	Hours Worked Each Week (open – enter actual number)
Q14	19	Attend Extra-curricular Activities 1 = Yes 2 = No
Q15	20	Major Employment Responsibilities 1 = Executive 2 = Recruitment / Enrollment 3 = Reception / Clerical 4 = Financial 5 = Teaching 6 = Campus Maintenance
Isolated response (additional duty)	21	7 = NA 8 = Coaching / Clubs

Q16	22 – 27	<p>Employment Goals</p> <p>1 = Provide Service / Fulfill Job Duties (22)</p> <p>2 = Make a Difference in Boys' Lives (23)</p> <p>3 = Help School (24)</p> <p>4 = Gain Experience (25)</p> <p>5 = Earn More Money (26)</p> <p>6 = NA / Already Achieved (27)</p>
Q17	28	<p>Send Own Son to School</p> <p>1 = Yes</p> <p>2 = No</p>
Q18	29 - 35	<p>Why or Why Not</p> <p>1 = Good Academic Program (+) (29)</p> <p>2 = Good Disciplinary Program (+) (30)</p> <p>3 = Lacking Academic Program (-) (31)</p> <p>4 = Reject Boarding (-) (32)</p> <p>5 = Can Care for Own Kids (-) (33)</p> <p>6 = Cost (-) (34)</p> <p>7 = NA (35)</p>
Q19	36 - 43	<p>Forms of Discipline Used With Cadets</p> <p>1 = Loss of Privileges (36)</p> <p>2 = Extra Duties (37)</p> <p>3 = Physical Activity (push-ups, etc.) (38)</p> <p>4 = Stand at Attention (39)</p> <p>5 = Verbal Reprimand / Counseling (40)</p> <p>6 = Reduction in Rank / Grade (41)</p> <p>7 = Conduct Report (42)</p> <p>8 = None (pass discipline to others) (43)</p>
Q20	44 - 51	<p>Most Effective Discipline</p> <p>1 = Loss of Privileges (44)</p> <p>2 = Extra Duties (45)</p> <p>3 = Physical Activity (push-ups, etc.) (46)</p> <p>4 = Stand at Attention (47)</p> <p>5 = Verbal Reprimand / Counseling (48)</p> <p>6 = Reduction in Rank / Grade (49)</p> <p>7 = Conduct Report (50)</p> <p>8 = None (pass discipline to others) (51)</p>

Q21	52 - 59	Least Effective Discipline 1 = Loss of Privileges (52) 2 = Extra Duties (53) 3 = Physical Activity (push-ups, etc.) (54) 4 = Stand at Attention (55) 5 = Verbal Reprimand / Counseling (56) 6 = Reduction in Rank / Grade (57) 7 = Conduct Report (58) 8 = None (pass discipline to others) (59)
(enter all that apply in corresponding column)		
Q22	60 - 67	Administration Strengths 1 = Care / Concern for Boys and Others (60) 2 = Relations and Ability (professionalism) (61) 3 = Communication and Accessibility (62) 4 = Teamwork (63) 5 = Fairness (64) 6 = Strictness (65) 7 = Morals and Ethics (66) 8 = Don't Know (67)
Q23	68 - 76	Administration Weaknesses 1 = Poor Financial Decisions (68) 2 = Minimal Salary Support (69) 3 = Inexperience (70) 4 = Inconsistency (71) 5 = Ignorance of Programs (72) 6 = Poor Communication (73) 7 = Lack of Guidance (74) 8 = Internal Conflict (75) 9 = Don't Know (76)
Q24	77 - 86	Faculty Strengths 1 = Flexibility (77) 2 = Creativity (78) 3 = Commitment (79) 4 = Diversity (80) 5 = Willingness (81) 6 = Care and Concern (82) 7 = Student Relations (83) 8 = Teamwork (84) 9 = Experience (85) 10 = Don't Know (86)

Q25	87 - 95	Faculty Weaknesses 1 = Lack of Commitment (87) 2 = Inconsistency in Applying Rules (88) 3 = Poor Disciplinary Procedures (Lax) (89) 4 = Don't Understand Military Philosophy (90) 5 = Continual Complaining (91) 6 = Don't Follow Policy and Procedures (92) 7 = Poor Communication W/ Own Group (93) 8 = Poor Communication W/ Other Group (94) 9 = Don't Know (95)
Q26	96 - 101	Military Staff Strengths 1 = Willingness (96) 2 = Teamwork (97) 3 = Disciplinary Standards (98) 4 = Dedication (99) 5 = Experience (100) 6 = Don't Know (101)
Q27	102 - 110	Military Staff Weaknesses 1 = Inflexibility (102) 2 = Poor Communication W/ Own Group (103) 3 = Poor Communication W/ Other Group (104) 4 = Lack of Commitment (105) 5 = Disciplinary Inconsistencies (106) 6 = Poor Attitude (107) 7 = Inappropriate Language (108) 8 = Give Cadets Too Much Responsibility (109) 9 = Don't Know (110)
Q28	111 - 117	Support Staff Strengths 1 = Willingness (111) 2 = Flexibility (112) 3 = Experience (113) 4 = Dedication (114) 5 = Good Attitude (115) 6 = Teamwork (116) 7 = Don't Know (117)
Q29	118 - 120	Support Staff Weaknesses 1 = Poor Communication (118) 2 = Poor Attitude (119) 3 = Don't Know (120)

Q30	121 - 128	<p>Cadet Strengths</p> <p>1 = Adaptability (121)</p> <p>2 = Willingness to Change (122)</p> <p>3 = Cohesiveness (123)</p> <p>4 = Leadership (124)</p> <p>5 = Potential (125)</p> <p>6 = Emotional Openness (126)</p> <p>7 = Youth (127)</p> <p>8 = Don't Know (128)</p>
Q31	129 - 138	<p>Cadet Weaknesses</p> <p>1 = Inexperience / Immaturity (129)</p> <p>2 = Lack of Respect (130)</p> <p>3 = Irresponsibility (131)</p> <p>4 = Undisciplined (132)</p> <p>5 = Poor Social Skills (133)</p> <p>6 = Low Self-Esteem (134)</p> <p>7 = Poor Attitude (135)</p> <p>8 = Criminal Behavior (136)</p> <p>9 = Bullying (137)</p> <p>10 = Don't Know (138)</p>
Q32	139 - 143	<p>Parent Strengths</p> <p>1 = Care and Concern for Sons (139)</p> <p>2 = School Support (140)</p> <p>3 = Trust in School (141)</p> <p>4 = Willingness to Spend Large Sums (142)</p> <p>5 = Don't Know (143)</p>
Q33	144 – 152	<p>Parent Weaknesses</p> <p>1 = Paying Others to Parent (144)</p> <p>2 = Poor Personal Responsibility (145)</p> <p>3 = Poor Parenting Skills (146)</p> <p>4 = Lack of Concern for Family Unit (147)</p> <p>5 = Poor Communication (148)</p> <p>6 = Poor Role Models (149)</p> <p>7 = Gullibility (150)</p> <p>8 = Distance From School / Child (151)</p> <p>9 = Don't Know (152)</p>

Q34	153 - 159	Resources Needed to Improve School 1 = More Faculty (153) 2 = More Military Advisors (154) 3 = More Money for Resources (e.g., computers, books, athletic equipment, buildings, transportation, etc.) (155) 4 = More Scholarship Resources (156) 5 = More Money for Salaries (157) 6 = More Appreciation of Staff (158) 7 = Don't Know (159)
Q35	160 - 167	The Administration. . . . 1 = Does a Good Job (160) 2 = Is Busy (161) 3 = Is Dedicated (162) 4 = Understands the School Needs (163) 5 = Is Supportive (164) 6 = Is Caring (165) 7 = Gets Along Well (166) 8 = Don't Know (167)
Q36	168 - 174	The Faculty. . . . 1 = Does a Good Job (168) 2 = Works Hard (169) 3 = Works Together (170) 4 = Is Caring (171) 5 = Is Dedicated / Committed (172) 6 = Complains Too Much (173) 7 = Don't Know (174)
Q37	175 - 182	The Military Staff. . . . 1 = Does a Good Job (175) 2 = Has a Hard Job (176) 3 = Is Professional (177) 4 = Is Committed (178) 5 = Provides Leadership (179) 6 = Is Caring (180) 7 = Are Lazy (181) 8 = Don't Know (182)

Q38	183 - 189	<p>The Support Staff. . . .</p> <p>1 = Does a Good Job (183)</p> <p>2 = Works Hard (184)</p> <p>3 = Is Caring (185)</p> <p>4 = Is Helpful (186)</p> <p>5 = Is Dedicated (187)</p> <p>6 = Is Qualified (188)</p> <p>7 = Don't Know (189)</p>
Q39	190 - 198	<p>The Cadets. . . .</p> <p>1 = Work Hard (190)</p> <p>2 = Have Poor Parental Models (191)</p> <p>3 = Are Energetic (192)</p> <p>4 = Need Guidance (193)</p> <p>5 = Rule by Fear (194)</p> <p>6 = Have Potential (195)</p> <p>7 = Are Irresponsible (196)</p> <p>8 = Try to Improve (197)</p> <p>9 = Don't Know (198)</p>
Q40	199 - 207	<p>The Parents. . . .</p> <p>1 = Have Care and Concern (199)</p> <p>2 = Are Supportive (200)</p> <p>3 = Are Naïve (201)</p> <p>4 = Are Isolated (202)</p> <p>5 = Have Poor Parenting Skills (203)</p> <p>6 = Are Appreciative (204)</p> <p>7 = Are Poor Role Models (205)</p> <p>8 = Are Troublesome (206)</p> <p>9 = Don't Know (207)</p>
Q41	208 - 214	<p>The Best Thing About the School</p> <p>1 = Work Environment (208)</p> <p>2 = Job Duties (209)</p> <p>3 = Cadets (210)</p> <p>4 = Staff Professionalism (211)</p> <p>5 = Teamwork (212)</p> <p>6 = Sense of Family (213)</p> <p>7 = Don't Know (214)</p>



Q42

215 - 224

The Thing Would Change About the School

1 = Salary (215)

2 = Be Given More Appreciation (216)

3 = See All Provide Positive Modeling (217)

4 = Promotion Structure (218)

5 = Promote Understanding of Goals (219)

6 = Isolate Further From Outside World (220)

7 = Better Facilities (221)

8 = More Faculty / Staff (222)

9 = Change Disciplinary Actions (223)

10 = Don't Know (224)

# Code Book – Parents

**\*\*Enter (0) Zero for All Missing Data Spaces\*\***

Item #	Column #	Variable
Q1	1	Age -- Father (open – enter actual age)
	2	Mother (open – enter actual age)
Q2	3	Ethnic Origin – Father
	4	Mother
		1 = Caucasian
		2 = African American
		3 = Hispanic
		4 = Asian
		5 = Other
Q3	5	Education – Father
	6	Mother
		1 = Less than High School
		2 = High School
		3 = Some College
		4 = Bachelor's Degree
		5 = Graduate Education
Q4	7	College Major – Father
	8	Mother
		1 = NA
		2 = Technical and Trade (includes: Law Enforcement; Military Science; Accounting; Management; Business; Journalism; Engineering; Industrial Education; Education)
		3 = Social Science (includes: History; English; Sociology; Psychology; Social Work; Political Science; Liberal Arts)
		4 = Natural Science (includes: Biology; Natural Science; Geology)
		5 = Medical and Nursing (includes Medical and Nursing)
Q5	9	Occupation – Father
	10	Mother
		1 = Retired
		2 = Technical and Trade
		3 = Business and Professional
		4 = Education
		5 = Medical and Nursing

Q6	11	State of Residence – Father Mother
	12	
		1 = In State Residence 2 = Out of State Residence
Q7	13	City of Residence – Father Mother
	14	
		1 = Urban 2 = Rural
Q8	15	Religious Affiliation – Father Mother
	16	
		1 = Mainstream Protestant 2 = Evangelical Protestant 3 = Catholic 4 = Jewish 5 = Other World Religion 6 = None
Q9	17	Approximate Income – Father Mother
	18	
		1 = Under 25K 2 = 25K – 40K 3 = 41K – 60K 4 = 61K – 80K 5 = 81K – 100K 6 = Over 100K
(Isolated Response)	19	Combined Income
		7 = Under 25K 8 = 25K – 40K 9 = 41K – 60K 10 = 61K – 80K 11 = 81K – 100K 12 = Over 100K

Q10	20	Marital Status – Father
	21	Mother
		1 = Single – Never Married
		2 = Married
		3 = Separated
		4 = Divorced
		5 = Widowed
		6 = Domestic Partnership
		7 = Other
Q11	22	Stepparent in Home
		1 = Yes
		2 = No
Q12	23	School Alumnus
		1 = Yes
		2 = No
Q13	24	Other Children Ever Attend Military School
		1 = Yes
		2 = No
Q14	25	Total Number of Children
		1 = 1
		2 = 2
		3 = 3
		4 = 4
		5 = 5
		6 = 6 or More
Q15	26	Number of Children in This School
		1 = 1
		2 = 2
		3 = More Than Two
Q16	27	Years in Attendance
		1 = 1
		2 = 2
		3 = 3
		4 = 4
		5 = More Than Four
		6 = First Year (Less Than One Year)

(If 2 <sup>nd</sup> Cadet)	28	Years in Attendance 1 = 1 2 = 2 3 = 3 4 = 4 5 = More Than Four 6 = First Year (Less Than One Year)
Q17	29	Cadet Academic Grade Level 1 = 6 <sup>th</sup> 2 = 7 <sup>th</sup> 3 = 8 <sup>th</sup> 4 = Freshman 5 = Sophomore 6 = Junior 7 = Senior
(If 2 <sup>nd</sup> Cadet)	30	Cadet Academic Grade Level 1 = 6 <sup>th</sup> 2 = 7 <sup>th</sup> 3 = 8 <sup>th</sup> 4 = Freshman 5 = Sophomore 6 = Junior 7 = Senior
Q18	31	Member of School Parent Association 1 = Yes 2 = No
Q19	32	Feelings for Administration 1 = Very Satisfied 2 = Satisfied 3 = Unsure 4 = Dissatisfied 5 = Very Dissatisfied
Q20	33	Feelings for Faculty 1 = Very Satisfied 2 = Satisfied 3 = Unsure 4 = Dissatisfied 5 = Very Dissatisfied

Q21	34	Feelings for Military Staff 1 = Very Satisfied 2 = Satisfied 3 = Unsure 4 = Dissatisfied 5 = Very Dissatisfied
Q22	35	Feelings for School Facilities 1 = Very Satisfied 2 = Satisfied 3 = Unsure 4 = Dissatisfied 5 = Very Dissatisfied
Q23	36	Feelings for Cadet Safety 1 = Very Satisfied 2 = Satisfied 3 = Unsure 4 = Dissatisfied 5 = Very Dissatisfied
Q24	37	Feelings for Quality of Education 1 = Very Satisfied 2 = Satisfied 3 = Unsure 4 = Dissatisfied 5 = Very Dissatisfied
Q25  (enter each that apply in corresponding column)	38 - 45	How Found School 1 = Internet (38) 2 = Highway Billboard (39) 3 = Word of Mouth (40) 4 = Court Services (41) 5 = Recruitment Fair (42) 6 = Magazine Advertisement (43) 7 = Other Military School (44) 8 = Other (45)

Q26	46 - 55	<p>Why Chose School</p> <p>1 = Recommendation (46)</p> <p>2 = Location (47)</p> <p>3 = Religious Affiliation (48)</p> <p>4 = Structure (49)</p> <p>5 = Discipline (50)</p> <p>6 = Academic Quality (51)</p> <p>7 = School Philosophy (Boarding / Military) (52)</p> <p>8 = To "Catch Up" Academically (53)</p> <p>9 = Court Referral (54)</p> <p>10 = Other (55)</p>
Q27	56	<p>Plans for Graduation</p> <p>1 = Yes</p> <p>2 = No</p> <p>3 = Don't Know</p>
(Contingency both)	57 - 68	<p>Why or Why Not</p> <p>1 = College Opportunity (+)(57)</p> <p>2 = Positive Change in Son (+) (58)</p> <p>3 = Private Education (+) (59)</p> <p>4 = Academic Excellence (+) (60)</p> <p>5 = Structure (+) (61)</p> <p>6 = School Type (Boarding/Military)(+) (62)</p> <p>7 = Other (+) (63)</p> <p>8 = Cost (-) (64)</p> <p>9 = Physical Abuse (-) (65)</p> <p>10 = Miss Child (-) (66)</p> <p>11 = Objectives Achieved (-) (67)</p> <p>12 = Other (-) (68)</p>
Q28	69 - 74	<p>How Finance Tuition</p> <p>1 = Savings (69)</p> <p>2 = Commercial Loan (70)</p> <p>3 = Student Loan (71)</p> <p>4 = Credit Card (72)</p> <p>5 = Relatives (73)</p> <p>6 = Other (74)</p>

Q29	75	Concerns for Son on Entrance 1 = Yes 2 = No
Isolated response	76 - 87	Nature of Concerns 3 = Disrespect (76) 4 = Poor Decision Making Skills (77) 5 = Prior Poor Academic Performance (78) 6 = Alcohol / Drug Use (79) 7 = Truancy (80) 8 = Legal Issues (81) 9 = Safety (82) 10 = Military Structure (83) 11 = Son's Reaction to Attendance (84) 12 = Son Would Feel Unwanted (85) 13 = Would Miss Son Too Much (86) 14 = Other (87)
Q30	88	Concerns for Son Now 1 = Yes 2 = No
(Isolated response)	89 - 96	Nature of Concerns 3 = Safety / Health (89) 4 = Physical Abuse / Hazing (90) 5 = Food Quality (91) 6 = Academic Quality (92) 7 = Military Structure (93) 8 = Son's Reaction to Attendance (94) 9 = Son's Ability to Reintegrate (95) 10 = Other (96)
Q31	97 - 104	How Concerns Changed 1 = Academic Quality / Rigor (-) (97) 2 = Safety / Health (-) (98) 3 = Physical Abuse / Hazing (-) (99) 4 = Other (-) (100) 5 = Self-Discipline (+) (101) 6 = Respect (+) (102) 7 = Maturity (+) (103) 8 = Other (+) (104)



Q32	105 - 114	Goals for Son 1 = Graduation (105) 2 = Improve Academics (106) 3 = Gain Respect (107) 4 = Mature (108) 5 = Become Disciplined / Responsible (109) 6 = Leadership (110) 7 = Quit Drugs / Alcohol (111) 8 = Build Self-Esteem (112) 9 = Become Goal Oriented (113) 10 = Other (114)
Q33	115 - 123	Cadet Making Progress Toward Goals 1 = Yes 2 = No Why or Why Not 3 = Making Academic Progress (+) (116) 4 = Maturing (+) (117) 5 = Increased Self-Esteem (+) (118) 6 = Other (+) (119) 7 = Health / Safety (-) (120) 8 = Hazing (-) (121) 9 = Poor Academic Scores (-) (122) 10 = Other (-) (123)
(Isolated response)		
Q34	124 - 132	Immediate Concerns 1 = Hazing (124) 2 = Poor Role Models (125) 3 = Safety / Health (126) 4 = Food Quality (127) 5 = Theft / Destruction of Property (128) 6 = Academic Quality (129) 7 = Internal School Conflict (130) 8 = Supervision (131) 9 = Other (132)
Q35	133 - 138	What Done About Concerns 1 = Nothing (133) 2 = Talked W/ Administration (134) 3 = Talked W/ Military Department (135) 4 = Talked W/ Faculty (136) 5 = Talked W/ Son (137) 6 = Other (138)

Q36	139 - 146	What Could Improve School 1 = Less Politics (139) 2 = Better Food (140) 3 = Better Communication (141) 4 = Better Health Services (142) 5 = Lower Fees (143) 6 = More Supervision / Protection (144) 7 = Better Employees (145) 8 = Other (146)
Q37	147 - 158	Would Recommend School 1 = Yes (147) 2 = No (148) 3 = Don't Know (149)
(Isolated response)		Why or Why Not 4 = Academic Program (+) (150) 5 = Staff (+) (151) 6 = Positive Effect / Achieved Goals (+) (152) 7 = Other (+) (153) 8 = Poor Academics (-) (154) 9 = Health / Safety (-) (155) 10 = Poor Supervision / Protection (-) (156) 11 = Other (-) (157)
Q38	158 - 164	One Word School Description 1 = Structure (159) 2 = Outstanding / Great / Impressive (159) 3 = Discipline (160) 4 = Necessary (161) 5 = Relief (162) 6 = Results (163) 7 = Other (164)
Q39	165	May Contact 1 = Yes 2 = No
Q40	166 - 173	Additional Comments 1 = Need More Communication (166) 2 = Lower the Cost (167) 3 = Stop Violence (168) 4 = Increase Supervision (169) 5 = Improve Food (170) 6 = Great School (171) 7 = Other (-) (172) 8 = Other (+) (173)

## APPENDIX C

### Institutional Review Board Approval / Continuation

Oklahoma State University  
Institutional Review Board

Protocol Expires: 2/19/03

Date: Wednesday, February 20, 2002

IRB Application No. AS0134

Proposal Title: AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE AND RESPONSE WITHIN THE SINGLE-SEX  
SECONDARY MILITARY BOARDING SCHOOL: A DRAMATURGICAL ANALYSIS

Principal  
Investigator(s)

Patricia Karen Hendrickson  
670 W. Bluebonnet Stephenville, TX 76401

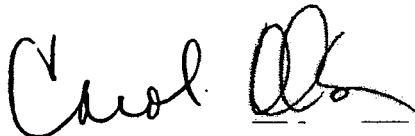
Charles Edgley  
006 CLB  
Stillwater, OK 74078

Reviewed and Expedited

**Continuation**

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s) : **Approved**

Signature:



Carol Olson, Director of University Research Compliance

Wednesday, February 20, 2002

Date

Approvals are valid for one calendar year, after which time a request for continuation must be submitted. Any modifications to the research project approved by the IRB must be submitted for approval with the advisor's signature. The IRB office MUST be notified in writing when a project is complete. Approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. Expedited and exempt projects may be reviewed by the full Institutional Review Board.

VITA

PATRICIA K. HENDRICKSON 2

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE AND RESPONSE WITHIN THE SINGLE  
SEX SECONDARY MILITARY SCHOOL: A DRAMATURGICAL  
ANALYSIS

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Muskogee, Oklahoma, August 24, 1959, the  
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