



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

School of Education

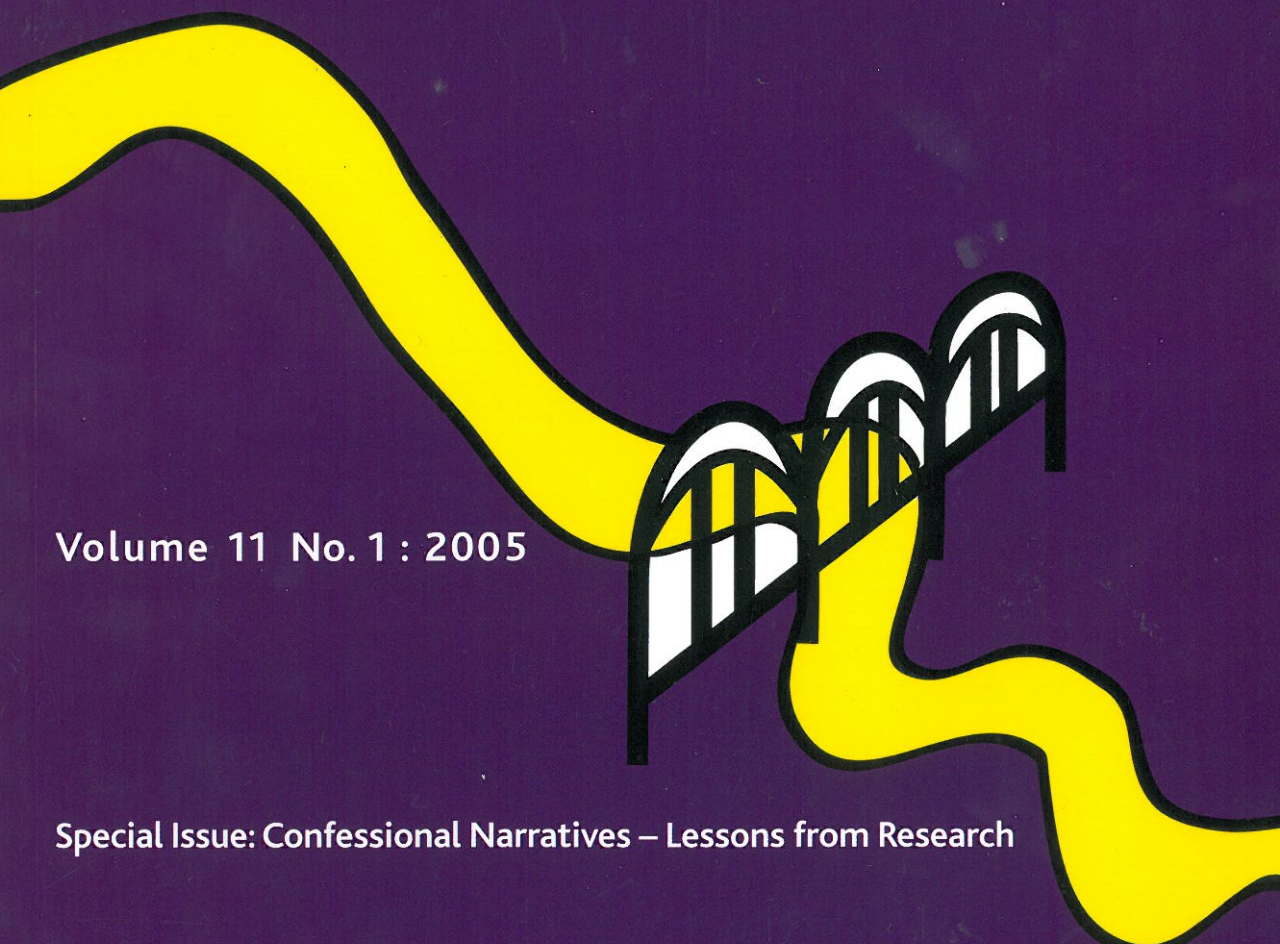
Te Kura Toi Tangata

Waikato Journal of Education

Te Hautaka Mātauranga o Waikato

Volume 11 No. 1 : 2005

Special Issue: Confessional Narratives – Lessons from Research



WAIKATO JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

TE HAUTAKA MĀTAURANGA O WAIKATO

Editors:

Deborah Fraser
Toni Bruce

Editorial Committee:

Miles Barker
Margaret Carr
Pat Day
Rosemary de Luca
Alan Hall
Clive McGee
Judy Moreland
Clive Pope

Waikato Journal of Education is a refereed journal, published annually, based in the School of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. It publishes articles in the broad field of education. For further information visit the WJE website <http://www.soc.waikato.ac.nz/wje/>

Correspondence should be addressed to: Rosemary de Luca and Toni Bruce, Editors, School of Education, Private Bag 3105, The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. Email: deluca@waikato.ac.nz and/or tbruce@waikato.ac.nz

Books for review should be sent to the Editors

Business correspondence: Orders, subscription payments and other enquiries should be sent to the Business Manager, *Waikato Journal of Education*, Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, School of Education, The University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Subscriptions: Within NZ \$30; Overseas NZ \$40

Copyright: © School of Education, The University of Waikato

Publisher: School of Education, The University of Waikato

Cover design: Donn Ratana

Printed by: Waikato Print

Layout: Gillian Joe and Carolyn Jones

WJE 2006: Call for papers: Pacific education, Research and practice

The Waikato Journal of Education is a well-established peer reviewed publication that has quality articles on a range of topics related to education.

New Zealand has a strong presence in Pacific education, and Pacific communities have a strong presence in New Zealand schools. However, opportunities for publication of Pacific research in mainstream journals are limited. Therefore, this call for papers seeks articles that focus on Pacific education; both research and practice. Pacific research is reflective of the traditions of the past, as well as the present and future. It often embodies different paradigms, perspectives and critical stances that are not always captured in mainstream research and aims to benefit Pacific communities. Articles will be welcomed that theorise about Pacific research, report on research projects, report on an innovative practice or initiative, or a combination of any of these. As well as traditional manuscripts, the journal welcomes submissions in other formats, such as short stories, poetry and drawings.

Submissions please to Timote Varioleti (varioleti@waikato.ac.nz) and Jane Strachan (jane@waikato.ac.nz), School of Education, The University of Waikato, PB 3105, Hamilton. Please submit 3 blind copies and a separate page with author/s contact details by 30 April 2006. Electronic submissions also accepted for consideration.

ISSN1173-6135

WAIKATO JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

TE HAUTAKA MĀTAURANGA O WAIKATO

VOLUME 11, No. 1, 2005

SPECIAL ISSUE: CONFESSIONAL NARRATIVES

- EDITORIAL: What Lies Beneath... Confessional Narratives;
Lessons from Research** 3
DEBORAH FRASER
- Where the Boys Are? Familiarity, Reflexivity and Fieldwork
Among Discipulos** 7
SARA DELAMONT
- Constructing Ethnographic Relationships: Reflections on Key
Issues and Struggles in the Field** 27
TOM CAVANAGH
- Confessions from the Field: Unpacking and Repacking our
Research Kete** 43
CAROL MUTCH AND MARGE WONG
- Considering Pedagogies for Consent in Research With Children** 61
BRIAN FINCH
- Exploring the Methods of Auto-photography and Photo-
Interviews: Children Taking Pictures of Science and Technology** 73
JUDY MORELAND AND BRONWEN COWIE
- Changing Expectations of Research: Wrestling with the Complex
and Unpredictable** 89
BEVERLEY NORSWORTHY
- Coming Unstuck as an Interviewer** 107
KIRSTEN PETRIE
- Phenomenology: An Experience of Letting go and Letting be** 121
CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT

WHERE THE BOYS ARE? FAMILIARITY, REFLEXIVITY AND FIELDWORK AMONG DISCIPULOS

SARA DELAMONT

*Cardiff School of Social Sciences
Cardiff University*

ABSTRACT *Ethnographic fieldwork on capoeira teaching is used to throw light on the author's biography, the moral panic about 'failing boys' and the nature of ethnography itself. The author's reflections on selected episodes from her childhood, adolescence and early career, when her passions were engaged with groups of young males, are juxtaposed with episodes from her fieldwork, to expose her own limitations as a researcher. Then the active engagement of males in capoeira is explored, and offered as an alternative site in which solutions to the problems of male underachievement can be investigated.*

KEY WORDS

Autobiography, Confessionals, Boys, Feminism, Capoeira, Fieldwork

INTRODUCTION

It is a warm summer evening in Tolnbridge, a British university city. In an inner-urban street, full of kebab shops and Asian grocery stores, is a kickboxing gym. The door is open, and from inside comes the sounds of thumps as the trainees punch and kick at large pads. Outside on the pavement are half a dozen men, aged 20-30, one woman in the same age bracket, and one twice that. The two women kiss most of the men on both cheeks, the men shake hands or slap each other on the back. One man starts to strum a large instrument he is carrying, to startled glances from passers by....Thirty minutes later, the sport in the gym has changed. The kick boxers have departed, and now the sounds flowing out of the door are Brazilian. A CD of capoeira music plays, augmented by giggles, thumps, whistles and yells. Twenty-seven young people, 19 men and eight women, are practising their *aus* (a form of cartwheel) the advanced students using only one hand, the beginners two. Twenty of the students are in a uniform of white trousers and T-shirts bearing the club logo and the name of their teacher, Achilles (1). Some have blue cords at their waists, six have cords in two different colours, some hold up their uniform trousers with ordinary belts. Achilles prowls the room, yelling 'ai-eh', to encourage good *aus*, coaching individuals, and occasionally catching the eye of the older woman, who is standing near the door into the changing rooms, holding a

note book and scribbling in it. A young man finishes his au, runs to the older woman, takes off his large earring and hands it to her. She smiles, nods and puts it in the handbag slung on her shoulder.... Another 45 minutes pass. The class is over and the owner of the hall is preparing to lock up. Achilles and many of the students are moving towards the pub. The older woman kisses Achilles, returns the earring, picks her CD out of the player, puts it and her notebook into her bag, and leaves. An hour later the older woman is at her desk, writing up her field notes.

For nearly two years, twice or three times a week, in three different British cities (2), I have been doing fieldwork in kickboxing gyms, dance studios, church halls, *dojos* and other unlikely places, watching several different *capoeira* instructors teach that Brazilian dance and martial art. This paper reflects on gender in *capoeira* classes in Britain, an educational setting (albeit an informal one). It is a sequel to *Four Great Gates* (Delamont, 2005a) and addresses the same core themes: fighting familiarity, forcing oneself to do research that is risky, uncomfortable and paradigm-challenging, and engaging in ruthless, tough minded self-criticism. The growth of confessional writing as a genre, and of ‘autobiographical’ academic writing, can lead to self-congratulatory and self-satisfactory complacency: if it is to move beyond ‘gossip’ and ‘revelation’ scholars need to be tougher on themselves than that. As Becker (1970) argued, good researchers have to try to undertake empirical research that is not rendered useless by their biases. We must ensure that “our unavoidable sympathies do not render our work invalid” (p. 132).

Becker’s proposed strategies for valid research were:

1. Do not misuse the techniques of our discipline;
2. Use our theories impartially;
3. Avoid sentimentality;
4. Inspect our methods and theories to ensure they could disprove our beliefs;
5. Make clear the limits of what we have studied (i.e., the vantage point adopted) (pp. 132-134).

Sentimentality is a particular danger in the confessional, autobiographical literature, which I have tried to avoid in line with Becker’s advice. In this paper the *capoeira* fieldwork is revisited, as a way of forcing the author to face up to hard issues in educational research. The specific case is my belated recognition that I was focusing too much on the male students and neglecting the women, and my attempts to understand why that was so and to see what educational insights my unbalanced data collection had produced. These are explored in turn after an explanation of the title.

Where the Boys Are was a film, released in 1961 about spring break in Fort Lauderdale, for which Connie Francis sang the title song. The song, and the film treated the desire of four young women to go ‘where the boys are’ in the hope of meeting that special ‘someone’. In this paper the title is used in an entirely different

sense: 'where the boys are' is not the place where I hope to find romance but a location, real or imagined, where something exciting is happening that I want to be part of. There is a book on men, masculinity and sport with the same title (Hickey, Fitzclarence & Matthews, 2000) which does not mention the film, Connie Francis or the hit song, and it appears that the title was spontaneously invented. My use of it is deliberately evocative of the differences between the lost world of the early sixties and the ethnographic reality of today's Britain.

The paper is in three sections. There is a recapitulation of the core argument of 'Four Great Gates', followed by some fragments of autobiographical text matched with contemporary reflections on the *capoeira* project, then a consideration of gender issues that arise in educational research, as one example of the need to fight familiarity, make the familiar strange, or try to take the Lebanon Gate.

FOUR GREAT GATES

In 'Four Great Gates' I used a poem by J. E. Flecker (1947) in which the four exits from the city of Damascus, which lead North, South, East and West, and the journeys which are incurred for travellers who leave by them, are contrasted, as a metaphor for constructing four types of educational research. If Damascus is the safe ivory tower of the university, the four gates are routes taken in different types of educational research. The North gate, taken en route to Aleppo, leads merchants on an easy journey. The Mecca gate leads south, and is taken by pilgrims. The Baghdad or Eastern gate leads to a terrifying ordeal in the desert where madness and death threaten. The West gate is the path to the Lebanon and the 'serpent-haunted sea', beyond which are strange lands, wonders, and new knowledge. In educational research terms the Aleppo gate is taken when researchers do practical, policy-related contract research, or the academic equivalent of 'honourable trade'. The pilgrims leaving for Mecca are the researchers doing projects secure in their epistemologies and paradigms. The academic equivalent of the journey to Baghdad is the team project that goes horribly wrong, leaving the scholar alone and mad. Finally, the Lebanon Gate is the high risk alternative: research without our comforting certainties.

The gate were *not* methodological choices, any method could be used for all four types of project. Rather they were envisaged as contrasted along a dimension of intellectual risk. Each route was illustrated, in a rather egocentric way, with an example from my own projects. Both the egocentric examples and the elaborate orientalist metaphor were decorative flourishes on a basic message: that educational research will only improve if its practitioners fight familiarity. Schools, classrooms, lecture halls, staffrooms, teachers, students and pupils are all too familiar, we take problems when we should make them, we relax in the warm bath that is the educator subculture. It was, and is, *hubris* to offer any work of one's own as Lebanon Gate research, but I wrote:

Finally let us consider the Lebanon Gate. Clearly anyone who claimed to be choosing that exit, across the sea to the terrors and wonders of unknown worlds, is displaying *hubris*, and deserves to be hit with a thunderbolt for presumption. However, I am going to

somersault into the centre of the *roda*, and discuss the research I am currently doing on *capoeira* and why it might be an example of the route to the sea. (Delamont, 2005, p. 96)

A description of *capoeira* was followed by a brief confessional:

So why do I see this as so interesting, and why I am presenting it as educational research? Well the first question is easily answered. An ethnographer by choice, an anthropologist by training, I teach a module on Brazil to undergraduates. The second is that these *capoeira* classes offer a setting that fits all of the four ways of fighting familiarity Paul Atkinson and I (1980) have been advocating for 25 years. It is no use bleating about 'a lack of will and imagination', there have to be strategies to make the familiar strange, the taken for granted new minted. The four strategies are:

1. The study of unusual, bizarre or different classrooms in our own culture.
2. The study of schools and classrooms in other cultures.
3. The study of non-educational settings.
4. A focus on gender, race or sexuality.

These were elaborated a little, and then matched against the *capoeira* fieldwork:

The *capoeira* classes are going to offer some Lebanon Gate insights into teaching and learning. They are happening in the UK, but not in a school, and not a conventional subject. The classes are, in some ways, not British but Brazilian: the language is Portuguese, so too is the music, as well as the *capoeira* itself. The students would not define them as "education". There are many issues around gender, race, identity and *perhaps* sexuality to be explained. The *capoeira* class allows me to watch young men and women teaching, learning and working together to master new skills. It is not a conventional educational setting: it is leisure or sport or dance or even mysticism. (Some of the students are engaged by the cultural and philosophical aspects of *capoeira*: the mind set, the history of slavery, of colonialism, the associations with African-Brazilian religions). The Brazilian atmosphere is pervasive, and it is certainly very "other". It is a "different" classroom. There is explicit teaching by the master, and the transmission of tacit knowledge and skills. There is rote learning, and peer tutoring. There are students from several races and both sexes. In many British cities it is unusual to see a black man knock a white woman to the ground, or vice versa, in front of a laughing audience. The valued skills are physical and mental. It is a good place to watch and explore teaching, learning, assessment and evaluation. It is far too soon to know if the research on the *capoeira* class could be as exciting as I hope: it may be a false trail. However,

I can see that ‘dragon-green’, ‘luminous’, ‘dark serpent-haunted sea’
– and that is enough for now.

That was written in November 2003, when I had only watched eight 90 minute lessons in the UK. I have now done fieldwork on 122 lessons, containing about 190 hours of teaching in three countries. I had only seen two teachers. I have now watched more than 30 people take classes. It is enormous fun and intellectually stretching. In the next section some autobiographical reflections are used to contrast with the *capoeira* fieldwork. Four episodes or passions from my past life are recounted, reflected upon and related to the current *capoeira* fieldwork: the brass band, the red coat, the bike boys, the cricket team.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL REFLECTIONS

I grew up in a small village that had a naval training school. Every Sunday the boys marched to church in their sailor uniforms, behind their brass band. At the age of about three I evaded my mother, and ran after the parade as it returned to the school, shouting ‘Boys, boys, boys, boys.....’. I thought then, and throughout my childhood and adolescence, that to be a boy there – sleeping in a hammock on a ship moored in the middle of the tidal river estuary, climbing the rigging set up in the playing fields, and marching behind a brass band, was an ideal life. I so wanted to wear those wonderful naval uniforms and march in that parade.

Reflecting on the *capoeira* fieldwork I suddenly realized that history was repeating itself. Instead of running after a boys’ marching band, I saw myself running after a *berimbau* (3). There are times when watching *capoeira* that being a mere spectator with a notebook is enough: but much of the time, as instructors demonstrate moves and a class of ten to a hundred students tries repeatedly to emulate him, I feel the same envy I felt for those naval cadets. There is an honourable precedent, because such a run would be following in the footsteps of Ruth Landes (1947) the American anthropologist who studied the African-Brazilian religion *candomble* in Bahia in the late 1930s. She was taken to see a *capoeira* contest when her best informant, Edison Carneiro, spotted some large, sharply dressed, men carrying *berimbaus*. They were heading for an important *capoeira* contest in which a man called ‘Beloved of God’ was going to fight ‘The Black Leopard’. Landes and Carneiro went to watch, and, as Carneiro put it, to ‘smell the sweat and rum’ (Landes, 1947, p. 87). As soon as that insight hit me, several other autobiographical episodes reinforced it.

As a child my favourite book was Muriel Denison’s (1938) *Susannah of the Mounties*. This novel, set in rural Canada in the 1890s, had a preface by Lady Tweedsmuir, the wife of John Buchan, then Governor General of Canada. In this story, a nine year old girl is sent to live with her uncle in a barracks of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Susannah decides that she wants to be a mountie herself, be awarded a red coat, and ride alongside the men. After many scrapes and setbacks, she captures a wanted man, Joe Labiche, and is rewarded with her red coat:

The Commissioner took the red coat and held it out. Sue slipped her arms into it, and Uncle Dennis buttoned it. It had brass buttons on it...And it was red, gloriously, beautifully, triumphantly red. (1938, p. 188)

I always identified with Susannah. Of course any sensible nine year old girl would want to be a mountie: to ride across the plain establishing the Queen's peace, breaking in wild horses, and capturing wicked men who sell firewater to the Indians. Much more fun than being a *girl*. At the same age I had a cowboy hat and a toy rifle and a cap pistol with a holster and belt. I loved those things, and I have never forgiven the little boy next door who urinated in my felt cowboy hat, so my mother decided she had to throw it away, and we were too poor to replace it. In the same era I had a book of stories from the ballet, and I hated the story of Rodeo where everyone ignored the cowgirl until she changed into a pink frock and went all 'girly': that was not my idea of a happy ending. It sounded like a sad ending to me: and it still does.

Watching a *capoeira* master class at a festival I saw Zinnia, a girl of six, learn an aggressive attack, a takedown, that can lead to the opponent being knocked off balance. She practiced it with her training partner, an adult man, for over half an hour, and later, when playing a *capoeira* master six foot six tall and built like the heavyweight boxer Lennox Lewis, she used it to attack him, to the delight of the audience. Susannah lives on in that little girl, who wanted her blue belt in *capoeira*, and was awarded it. One of the attractions for students of *capoeira* in the UK is that it is taught and practiced as a non-contact sport, in which males and females of different sizes can play together. Reis's (2003) reflexive account of teaching *capoeira* in Warsaw emphasises the commitment of instructors to developing a cooperative, mutually supportive atmosphere in the classes, an aim that is particularly interesting for an educational researcher to study. Teachers aim to create good energy (*axe*), students value instructors whose classes have *axe*, and for a researcher watching different teachers the ways in which the atmosphere varies is noticeable. Popular teachers, like Achilles, create good *axe*, and that makes Zinnia want her blue belt as much as Susannah wanted her red coat. No one, male or female, in *capoeira* has to wear a pink frock to be popular, although people sometimes do for dance displays or at parties.

In late adolescence I spent a large amount of time with a group of young men whose major hobby was motorcycling. Not Hell's Angels, but very respectable young men who were apprenticed in skilled manual trades, and lived with their parents. I worked part time in the coffee bar they used as a base, and swotted for my Greek and Latin A Level exams with the set texts propped on the espresso machine. Because I lived alone and had the space, they could come and drink coffee after the pub closed, and in return they took me with them when they went out in an otherwise all-male group. I was definitely not a girlfriend, but 'one of the lads'. I heard them talk about motorbikes and football and their desire for fast cars and a man's wage. When I got into Cambridge they were pleased but uncomprehending: it was clear that my life was going to be very different from theirs.

As I sat watching a group of young men in Longhamston receiving their blue belt (*corda azul*) in *capoeira*, having heard them the day before say how nervous they were that they would get hurt in the *roda*, I again felt *déjà vu*. The first belt in *capoeira*, which is the baptism (*batizado*) into the craft, is awarded by a senior player, of at least instructor, and possibly master, grade, who plays with the novice and throws, trips or knocks them to the floor. Unless the novice is silly enough to try to fight the expert, and aim to trip or throw him or her, the knockdown is done very gently, because it is symbolic. So in reality the chances of being hurt are very low. I had seen a *batizado* in another city, Cloisterham, three months earlier, and seen the DVD and heard accounts of the one in Tolnbridge at which my best informants had got their *cordas azuls* nine months before. I reassured these young men in Longhamston that no one wanted to hurt them, and as they were expected, indeed were required, to be thrown, they should just loosen up when it happened and let themselves fall, couching that advice as my findings from other cities. I had muttered “You’ll be fine”. *Trovaio* (4) – one of the Tolnbridge men – says, “You should just relax and drop as soon as you’re thrown” to six or seven of them during the days before their ceremony. I felt parallels to my relationships with the young men and their motorcycles of my late adolescence when I was allowed to be ‘one of the boys’ for short periods.

Thirty years ago I started my first lectureship in Leicester University, working with Gerry Bernbaum and Tom Whiteside. I learnt many things, but in some ways the most valuable was how to score a cricket match. My score books were never very good – and I could never be a proper Bill Frindell – but I ended up with a deep love of cricket. To this day I do all my best work with cricket commentary in my ears – live if possible, if not, from tape recordings. If I cannot have Richie Bernaud talking to me about a live game, I will have John Arlott playing on the tape deck.

Doing observational research on *capoeira* is very like scoring for that cricket team, in two ways. First, I used to travel round the region and spend long days either freezing or boiling watching my friends play cricket while focusing on the score book. Currently I travel round the region and spend long days either freezing or boiling watching my friends playing *capoeira* while focusing on my fieldnote book. Second, I learnt to do my best academic work to the sound of cricket commentary. Currently I do a great deal of writing to CDs of *capoeira* music. Scoring cricket matches is a form of participation in them. Amateur teams can use a scorer. There are parallels with the ways I have become incorporated into the *capoeira* classes Achilles teaches in Tolnbridge (5).

In the spring of 2005 there was an all-women event in Europe, to which I went, but no one else from Tolnbridge, Cloisterham or Longhampton did. On my return I realised I had done something that was not only data collection, but had changed my status in Tolnbridge. Regular students asked me all the questions about the classes and teachers they would normally ask each other about events elsewhere. I had not taken the classes, but they assumed I could evaluate them. The men did not ask about the social events, because they “knew” I had not attended those, but they did ask about the female teachers, the small number of men’s classes and *rodas*, the mixed *rodas*, and even whether the female delegates were ‘hot’. The last query was obviously intended to tease me: I answered entirely in terms of their *capoeira* skills

and ‘pretended’ that is what they had meant. The women in Achilles’s class who asked me about the event were keen to know if they would have enjoyed the classes and whether the women instructors were inspiring: again they assumed I could judge. As I wrote up the field notes from my first evening back at the regular class after Utrecht I became very conscious that I was steadily sliding into ‘membership’ rather than staying in a detached research role. It is frequently my CD in the player, my pen is used to take the register and record the payments, and when I do not attend a class or event people ask where I was. A cricket team needs a scorer, the *capoeira* students seem not, of course, to ‘need’ an ethnographer, but at least find several uses for one.

Thus far I have offered four glimpses of my past life from the age of three to 23, each paralleled by an aspect of the *capoeira* fieldwork. Focusing on these recurrent themes, to draw analytic insight – the *only* legitimate reason for autobiography in academic writing – it is clear that one attraction of the field setting is men having enormous fun and learning something because they work at it with dedication and commitment. Engaging male learners is not something that formal education in the UK feels self confident about at present, so there may be some useful parallels for conventional educational research. Facing up to these recurrent themes in my life, and in the *capoeira* research, which I enjoy so much, leads on to reconsider the ‘problem’ of failing boys.

THE PHONEY WAR OVER FAILING BOYS

In the UK, especially in England, the 1990s saw a moral panic about state schools and male achievement. Journalists, pundits, politicians and some educationalists noticed that the achievements of young women in the two sets of public exams that are taken at 16 and at 18 (GCSEs and A levels) had apparently overtaken that of young men. In fact the data are complex, and should not be read in such a simplistic way (Delamont, 1999). It was very noticeable that *none* of the public commentaries took a positive line, praising the young women, their teachers or state comprehensive schools. They did not even pause to say anything positive about the improvement in women’s educational achievement, but instead proceeded immediately to berate teachers (all feminists apparently) and schools (all feminised and ‘girly’) for letting boys down. None actually suggested that young women should stop doing their schoolwork, but many argued that the assessment methods, especially continuous assessment, favoured conscientious girls over cleverer, but less obsessive boys. There were calls to revert to unseen exams and use multiple choice tests rather than continuous assessment and essays, because boys do better with the former than girls. Somehow, the idea that young women were doing well in education seemed to be anxiety-provoking, maddening, or raise accusations that the system is ‘unfair’ or even producing an ‘unnatural’ outcome. The moral panic overtook the one programme of serious research on gender and educational reform that was being conducted (Arnot, David & Weiner, 1995; Turner, Riddell & Brown, 1995) so its complex message was not understood. Many small scale pieces of research were done which ‘took’ the ‘failing boys’ issue at face value, rather than making it problematic.

Gender was not an issue when Becker (1971), and Wolcott (1981) highlighted the familiarity problem, or when Young (1971) wrote of the need to ‘make’ problems rather than ‘take’ them, but the phoney war over failing boys is a good example of how researchers must struggle to be tough minded self critical. To re-invoke the four gates metaphor, money for Aleppo Gate research, to design ways to make schools more boy-friendly or cut the numbers of unqualified male school leavers, was readily available after 1995. Mecca Gate publications, either by those who already had serious longstanding doubts about the feminist research of the previous decade (see Hammersley, 2001, Woods & Hammersley, 1993) or those feminists who were still convinced that British schooling, overall, actually disadvantaged girls (for example by failing to ensure they got credentials in science and maths) were produced. There were, and are, probably, some Baghdad Gate disasters leaving casualties in the conceptual desert. True Lebanon Gate research, however, seems to be lacking (6). In the next section a self-critical reflection on the gender dimensions of the *capoeira* study is used to address the ‘underachievement’ of males.

GENDER AND FIELDWORK

There have been several autobiographical reflections by male educational researchers who studied female pupils such as Meyenn (1980), Furlong (1976), and Mac an Ghaill (1994). There have been fewer reflections on being a woman studying male learners, especially male learners of a physical activity, the genre in which Delamont (2005b) and Stephens and Delamont (2006a) as well as this paper can be located. The four autobiographical fragments in the first part of the paper do not show anything particularly incompetent or wicked about me: they have been chosen, as such examples usually are, for their rhetorical utility Atkinson (1996). They can be used to lead into a serious indictment of my past educational fieldwork and of the current study.

My original doctoral research was conducted in elite academic girls’ schools, especially St Luke’s (Delamont, 1989a). Subsequently there were other educational ethnographies in co-educational schools (Delamont & Galton, 1986; Delamont, 1989b). In these studies I learnt very little about the boys, except the ways in which their endless scuffling and disruption made mixed classrooms and boys-only classrooms noisy, physically restless and harsh environments for any male who did not ‘fit’. The analyses I did focused on both sexes, and emphasised the ways in which the everyday lives of *pupils* were structured and framed. The boys are present in the text, but their masculinities are not well depicted there: certainly I did not manage anything approaching the quality of the insights of Mac an Ghaill (1994). The school lives and experiences of the girls and young women were more interesting to me, and my analyses were, I think, better. Given that harsh self-judgment, what light do the *capoeira* classes throw on male learning?

In Britain *capoeira* is a mixed activity, but among the serious participants men outnumber women by about four to one. The overwhelming majority of the people teaching it in the UK are also men. In Cloisterham, Tolnbridge and Longhampston the majority of the keenest students are men, and I have focused on those men in

this paper although there are several young women who train seriously and have obtained higher level belts. A Brazilian friend, about halfway in age between me and the majority of students dropped into the *capoeira* class taught by Achilles one evening, and went on to the pub with the participants. He commented later on differences between *capoeira* in the UK and his own experiences of it in Brazil as a young man, in an insightful way. One remark was about proxemics and interaction patterns between Achilles and the female students. I subsequently asked my key male informants about this, and was firmly told, "You'll have to discuss that with the girls, but they talk about that a lot..." I realized that I spoke with the women learning *capoeira* much less than to the men, and when I did speak with them it was mostly about their lives outside class – their jobs, studies, families, health, clothes and jewellery. I was, *de facto*, focusing on the young men, and hearing much more about what *capoeira* meant to them and why they loved it so much. I had not, ever, systematically talked to any of the female students about how they got into *capoeira*, why they like it, how they felt about its connections to African-Brazilian religion, what their *capoeira* ambitions were.

I had been a very poor ethnographer: I was behaving like all those men whose work on adolescents I had criticised for the past 30 years (Delamont, 1980, 1990). One consequence of writing this paper is a resolution that I must do some systematic data collection on, with, and about female *capoeiristas* in the UK, and on Andromeda, the only female instructor in my region. About 180 students attended the first European women's event in Utrecht in March 2005, so there are plenty of potential respondents. However, the rest of *this* analysis focuses on the young men and the contrasts between *capoeira* and higher education settings. There are marked contrasts between the engagement of the young men in the *capoeira* classes and the lack of it among many male undergraduates, and even more among young men who never entered higher education at all. These do raise some issues about how young men can be the keenest students any teacher could ever want. The themes are: discipline, uniform, time, reading, use of the web and email and music, explored in reverse order.

Music

The music is an attraction for many of the young men, in several ways. First, there are the many CDs of *capoeira* music, which are collected, swapped, copied, and discussed. Those with cars usually have CDs of *capoeira* music in them, most have *capoeira* to play on their walkman, or increasingly, the I pod. Music is downloaded from the web, and CDs are ordered from web sites. Visiting teachers bring CDs to sell, those who visit Brazil come back with new recordings. A CD of *capoeira* music is an acceptable gift, for any man who learns *capoeira* in the UK.

Second, there is the intellectual understanding of the different rhythms. These are well explained in Lewis (1992) and as that book circulates in the Tolnbridge group (7), the music chapter is frequently referred to as the best or most interesting. For the men interested in the music, aesthetic and intellectual links are made with other types of Brazilian music such as samba, samba-reggae, Brazilian hip-hop, and

maracatu; with Cuban music, with African rhythms, and with American blues. There is less interest in the interface with jazz that occurred in the early 1960s.

Third, there is playing the instruments, especially the *berimbau*. Men are much more likely to learn the instruments, make or buy them, and to play them in public. If there are eight *berimbaus* at a class, typically only one is owned by a woman. Some teachers and groups, such as *Capoeira Pasifika*, place much more emphasis on women learning the *berimbau* than Achilles does in Tolnbridge. One of the rules at the Utrecht women's event in March 2005 was that in all *roda* a woman had to play the lead *berimbau*: this was explicitly stated as a policy to correct a frequent imbalance in mixed groups throughout Europe.

Fourth, the singing. *Capoeira* is done to music. In *rodas* there is a lead singer, who sings a solo verse, and then, when *capoeiristas* start to play, sings short verses, interspersed with choruses sung by everyone. All participants have to sing the choruses in Brazilian-Portuguese, even ethnographers. Serious players are expected to learn to lead the singing to give the teacher a break, to let the teacher play in the *roda*, and to improve their own skills. Only one woman in Achilles's regular Tolnbridge class sings verses in public: at least three different men do. Again in New Zealand Mestre Brabo's *Capoeira Pasifika* places a much stronger emphasis on women singing leads and verses than Achilles does in Tolnbridge. At the Utrecht festival, an event rule was that all the lead singers in all the *rodas* had to be women. This was explicitly intended to correct a perceived imbalance in 'normal' mixed clubs. Thus, *capoeira* for men involves playing the lead instrument (which is quite hard to learn) and leading the singing. The greater enthusiasms men have for these are partly related to previous or contemporaneous experience playing in bands – more of the men have been or are still playing in bands.

The web and email

A great deal of information about *capoeira* is available on web sites: there are generic ones packed with information about the history, philosophy, music, and practice of *capoeira* and the lives of the masters. Every group, such as Senzala, has its own web sites setting out its history and present strength. When I arrived in New Zealand Mestre Brabo of *Capoeira Pasifika* commented to me on the quality of the web site posted by Achilles's and Perseus's group. Each local club typically has a web site and an email list: so when I knew I was visiting New Zealand it took my collaborator *Trovao* thirty seconds to find two groups training in Auckland, and I was able to email both the same day. When people move cities, even across the world, they can easily find a group to train with. When Bagheera was leaving Cloisterham for a job in a European city, I asked, "Have you found a *capoeira* group to train with?" and was told, "There are two with good web sites: one Senzala, one Corda d'Ouro."

Many of the websites also contain images of the different *capoeira* moves. It is therefore possible to watch players on the net, and practise at home. While this is seen as only marginally better than learning from a book, and classes with a teacher and live partners is seen as better, the web is a source of *capoeira* instruction. There are also endless websites on which people, mostly men, have posted their

reflections on learning *capoeira* and how it has changed their lives. Websites are a source of *capoeira* items for sale. Although *capoeira* teachers regularly sell clothing, instruments, CDs, DVDs, and books and pamphlets to students (there are stalls packed with goods at events), many men buy their instruments from websites, and download their music that way. The young men in the Tolnbridge and Cloisterham clubs use the club email more, in that they circulate things on it, use the web to learn about *capoeira*, to shop, and to get music, more energetically than the women do.

Reading

There are three kinds of book on *capoeira* around. First, those written in Portuguese by *capoeira* masters and experts, such as Mestre Zulu's (1995) book about establishing *Beribazu*. These are available in Britain at festivals and events. Second, there are books available in English designed for enthusiasts to learn the moves and encourage them to join a group and train, such as Almeida (1986) and *Capoeira* (2002, 2003). These are available in the 'martial arts' section of bookshops, but are generally ordered from Amazon, and have a big market in the USA. Third, there are academic books, especially Lewis (1992), Browning (1995) and Downey (2005). In Tolnbridge, where the club is not based in the university and contains a good many people who are not students, it is the men who read about *capoeira*: buying and reading all three types of book and getting the first type autographed by its author where possible. In Tolnbridge, there is only one woman who reads the academic books, but several men, do, including non-graduates.

Time

The Brazilian nature of *capoeira* is a big attraction for students, especially compared to other martial arts. The Brazilian-ness does however have a 'negative' aspect, which is the habitual 'lateness' of everything: an event scheduled for noon will not start until one, an arrangement for seven will actually happen at nine, and so on. The habitual lateness, especially of morning classes after celebratory nights, but also of regular events, is in sharp contrast to the scheduling of Aikido described by Twigger (1999). The normality of lateness can be illustrated by two typical field note extracts and one counter example:

One weekend Achilles had arranged for Patrokles to come from Fordhampton to teach a three hour workshop for his students from both Tolnbridge and Cloisterham in Tolnbridge. It was scheduled to run from 1p.m. to 4 p.m. When I arrived at 12.45 there were a few students, but no Achilles or Patrokeles. They eventually arrived at 2.30. All the students, who had been arriving between 12.45 and 1.15, grumbled, but it was clearly 'normal'. Similarly on the third day of the 2004 Cloisterham *batizado* master classes were scheduled from 10.00a.m. to 1.00p.m. At 10.00 there were perhaps 40 students out of a possible 200, and five of the 27 teachers. The instruction began at 10.20. Numbers gradually grew, so that when the event

closed at 2.00 there were over 100 students and 25 teachers. One of Achilles's loyal Cloisterham students, Rassalder, arrived at noon, with the teacher who had stayed in his home. When Achilles asked Rassalder why they were so late, he got the reply, "Have *you* ever tried getting Harmodias up in the morning?" and this was accepted. The exception that proves the rule occurred when Achilles asked Mestre Xenophon to teach a Sunday workshop, again from 1.00 to 4.00. I reached the hall at 12.45, and found Achilles, and Mestre Xenophon, the teacher from Antwerp, already there, changed and assembling the *berimbaus*. My amazement was so apparent that Achilles laughed out loud. He hugged me as usual, introduced me to Xenophon, and waited. I said, "I've watched you teach 75 times and you have *never* been in the hall before me" (in fact he had twice arrived before me). Achilles said he had decided to be English, to be punctual, and therefore had come on an early train and taken a taxi, rather than rely on lifts. As the students began to arrive I watched them express surprise (and pleasure) that Achilles and Xenophon were there, and they would get the three hour class they were paying for.

While many men grumble about the 'typical *capoeira*' lateness of classes, and the casualness of arrangements, it is actually an attraction. It is quite hard for young men to contrive to be 'late' themselves, and if they are, it is rare for anything to be said. Latecomers do apologise, but they are a routine part of the classes. They change, warm up and join in. Their grumbles about lateness are enjoyed precisely because it is unusual for the young men not to be targets for such complaints themselves, from parents, lecturers, girlfriends, employers and fellow workers.

Uniform

The *capoeira* teachers I have observed expect students to buy and wear a uniform. White trousers and T-shirts are bought from the teacher, as are other clothes, such as *capoeira* street trousers, other T-shirts, flip flops, swimming costumes and special *capoeira* underwear. When a student is going to be baptised into a *capoeira* lineage at a *batizado*, or be tested to go up to the next grade, the costs include a special commemorative T-shirt and the belt (*corda*) of the appropriate colour. Not only are the correct clothes to be worn, they are to be clean and ironed. While not everyone likes these requirements, and Achilles even gave one man an ultimatum to buy the kit or leave and he chose to leave, in general young men enjoy having relevant kit. They buy clothing, and talk about it. When Achilles began to teach in a new hall with a rough wooden floor, many men bought new training shoes to wear. The design and style of the *Batizado* T-shirt was discussed at length. In Longhampston, Raksha proudly showed me a T-shirt he had bought from Mestre Agamennon with an historic scene on it. Some men collect the T-shirts from events, perhaps even getting them autographed by the visiting teachers, and keep them as pristine souvenirs. The symbolic significance of uniform is discussed:

when Ikki came to Achilles's class in the T-shirt of Perseus's *Batizado* several people commented 'You're brave' meaning that Achilles might object. When I came back from Utrecht and, unusually, wore the event T-shirt to Achilles's class, it aroused favourable comments, of the 'You went – hey what was it like?' type. In New Zealand I attended all classes in T-shirts celebrating Achilles's group, and again received male comments on them (8). Women do buy and wear kit, but value it for its attractiveness or practicality for doing *capoeira*. Men are more engaged with the uniform and its symbolic importance as part of their membership.

Discipline

The academic literature on martial arts (e.g., Ashkenazi, 2002; Donohue, 2002; Holcombe, 2002) in South East Asia and in the USA, stresses the discipline that characterises them. The masters require, expect and receive obedience and deference from the novices. Twigger (1999) is enormously funny about this in his autobiographical account of learning Aikido. *Capoeira* does not require the same levels of humiliation and even degradation as the Chinese, Japanese and Korean martial arts do. However, students, called *discipulos* (literally disciples) are required to be loyal to one teacher in one lineage of *capoeira*.

During my fieldwork there was an uncomfortable period when Perseus began to teach classes in Cloisterham, and some of Achilles's students were told, publicly and forcibly, that they had to choose one teacher and be loyal to him. As Achilles put it, "Trust your teacher or leave." Perseus made a similar point in a more metaphorical way, saying in effect, that Achilles's students were not welcome in his classes except when he had a visiting master. The custom of UK *capoeira* is that once you have got your first *corda* in one group, that is your 'home', and if you have to live elsewhere, you train there, but return to your home group to be promoted to the next grade, your readiness being certified by the instructor of the group you have been a guest in. Achilles has two such 'guests' in regular attendance and at least three of his core students are guesting in other cities in Europe. Reis (2002) emphasises group loyalty as a positive force for *Beribazu* students in Warsaw. The young men attached to Achilles, to Perseus, and in New Zealand to Mestre Brabo all see their loyalty as a positive feature of *capoeira* and of themselves. A typical comment offered to me as the main explanation for choosing to stay with Achilles is 'I'm loyal'. Young women also value belonging, but the young men are explicitly enthusiastic about being part of a group who are loyal disciples of a popular teacher.

Attractive to Men?

Reflecting on *capoeira*, therefore, it appears to have, as well as a system for inculcating physical fitness and making friends, a set of features that suit young men (music, the net, reading, timekeeping, uniform, and discipline). Reflecting on undergraduate courses and their environment there are none of those features, nor their equivalents. Somehow it is 'cool' to work hard at *capoeira*, putting in eight or more hours of physical practice on top of training, reading, time on the net, playing the music, and washing their kit. It is not 'cool' to work hard at academic courses.

Those men who do work hard in the university keep quiet about it around fellow students. If British educational institutions want to engage boys and men, and to get sustained hard work out of them, it is more sensible to focus on what ‘works’ in settings such as *capoeira* and understand that than to re-examine the schools and universities which are not so successful. Understanding how *Muay Thai* or *TaeKwanDoh* engages men is a more useful project than another polemic about the feminisation of schooling.

Fieldwork in the Comfort Zone

It is important for me to understand why my field site is so attractive. On cold winter evenings I cheerfully walk for 25 minutes to a cold scruffy hall, or for 20 minutes to a small sweaty kickboxing gym, stand for up to two hours, and walk home again. Then I sit at my desk for a further two hours or so writing up my notes. Even on days when I am tired and cross or depressed, I make that walk up to three evenings a week, and that is only partly because I feel I *should* be doing fieldwork. It is also because I enjoy it. The *axe* lifts me, as much as it lifts *Trovaio*, *Lunghri*, *Jagai* and the rest. Once the music starts I forget the tedious aspects of my university work, and my physical or mental tiredness. The classes *are* work, but they are also *fun*, a commodity not very noticeable in the average university day. So my motives are mixed: doing fieldwork is a part of my identity as an ethnographer, and this research is manageable, and generates good data. Yet if I am honest, I keep on going to watch Achilles, Perseus and the rest because it is absorbing, entertaining, and I benefit from the *axe* as much as the *discipulos* do.

My intellectual conscience tells me I should be moving on: to the Angola group in Cloisterham, to Fordhampton to study Sher Khan’s *mestre* whose playing style is very different, or even away from *capoeira* to the samba bands or the samba dance classes. I ignore that conscience, and think that as long as I am not bored, and am still learning new things, walking to the regular class is a good way to do fieldwork and I do not need to start catching trains to other cities two evenings a week. Of course I know that studying Achilles has become doing fieldwork in a comfort zone.

When I got back from New Zealand in the Spring of 2005 I was forced to confront how far into that comfort zone I had slipped. Darzee kissed me and said, “Twice while you were away we had to train without music – no one had brought a CD” and laughed. A new student, Giovanni, had joined the class in my absence. As the class ended one evening, and I was helping Lunghri put away the *berimbaus*, he asked me who I was and what I was doing: “What are you writing in your notebook?” adding, “You know everyone and everyone loves you”. I took that to mean that I hug all the regulars, and was about to explain my fieldwork when Lunghri said “She’s Achilles’s skivvy”, and Tegumai added, “She just likes to look at men’s bodies”. Both were smiling, and I ‘knew’ they were teasing me and Giovanni. He asked if I was doing a thesis, and Lunghri said “She’s already a lecturer – you should see her office”. Giovanni revealed himself as a graduate student, and I explained my project as I always do. “I am a lecturer in sociology, I teach a course on Brazil, the *capoeira* is one of the few Brazilian things that happen

in Tolnbridge, and I am studying how different instructors teach it in Britain". Giovanni seemed happy with that explanation, and asked how long I had been observing. Lughri said Achilles had been teaching in Tolnbridge for two years, leaving me to say my project was eighteen months old. Giovanni said, "You must really enjoy it", and I heard myself replying that "It's lovely to see people getting better at something: and the guys on their second belt have learnt *so much*". As I said that, I realised that the visible improvements in the *capoeira* skills of the advanced group: those who currently have the second belt or better: are particularly absorbing. It is not just being where the boys are, it is being where the boys are getting better: kicking higher, walking on their hands, doing head spins, building combinations of moves, singing verses, playing the *berimbau*, and developing the *malicia* (deceit, trickery, malice) that is at the black heart of *capoeira*: which keeps me walking through Tolnbridge's mean streets to watch Achilles raise the *axe*.

CONCLUSIONS

Educational research suffers from the familiarity problem, and the 'taking' rather than the 'making' of problems. Recognising those endemic faults, and self-consciously striving to do Lebanon Gate research is necessary if educational research is to progress. However, all investigations need to be conducted with a clear-eyed, ruthless self criticism, whether in conventional settings or novel ones. The enthusiasm for autobiography, auto-ethnography, and confessional writing in qualitative research *can* be a useful part of ruthless self-criticism and reflexivity, but these need to be recognised as genres, and there is an ever present danger of self-indulgence.

NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper is a direct descendent of the plenary I gave at the NZARE and AARE conference in Auckland in 2003 called 'Four Great Gates', since published as Delamont (2005a). I am very grateful to the NZARE and AARE for inviting me to give that plenary. Since then I have been able to return to New Zealand and to watch some *capoeira* teaching there. Rodrigo Ribeiro has offered lots of insight and practical help, both as a Brazilian *capoeirista* and a social scientist. Paul Atkinson has put up with *capoeira* music echoing through the house and provided sociological insight. *Trovaio* is a colleague as well as a *capoeirista* whose insights in both capacities are invaluable. I am grateful to Mrs Rosemary Bartle Jones for word-processing this paper, and to all the *capoeira* teachers and students who have let me watch them fly, leap and play since October 2002, particularly Achilles, Perseus, Andromeda, *Trovaio*, *Lughri* and *Jagai*.

1. Achilles is the pseudonym for one of the *capoeira* teachers who has allowed me to watch him. In this paper all the instructors observed in Europe have been given the names of Greek mythological heroes or heroines. Achilles teaches in two British cities, called here Tolnbridge and Cloisterham, Perseus in Tolnbridge and two others, called here Twelford and Longhampston. I have

watched Achilles in both cities, Perseus in Tolnbridge and Longhampston. Because *capoeira* was illegal in Brazil for over 200 years, there is a tradition of protective nicknames, which are often more familiar to fellow students than the 'real' names of their fellow players. The students are referred to by pseudonymous *capoeira* nicknames: the men's come from Kipling's *The Jungle Book*, and the women's are flowers.

2. I have also watched classes in New Zealand thanks to Mestre Brabo of *Capoeira Pasifika* and Mestre China and their students, and in Utrecht at the first all-female *capoeira* festival in Europe run by *Capoeira Brazil* sponsored by the Brazilian Embassy to The Netherlands, in 2005. As *capoeira* in New Zealand is not the main focus of my research I have not disguised Mestre Brabo or Mestre China, but give them the public acknowledgement their warm welcome deserves.
3. *Capoeira* is performed to music, from the *berimbau* (a wooden bow, strung with wire from a car tyre, played with a small stick, the sound resonating from a gourd). The player also shakes a small wicker rattle. The *berimbau* player in charge also sings the verses of the songs while everyone else claps and sings the choruses. There can be other *berimbaus*, and will be on important occasions. Additionally drums (*atabaques*), tambourines (*pandeiros*) cow bells (*agogos*) and a scraper (*reco reco*) are played.
4. *Trovao* (the Portuguese for thunder) is the pseudonymous *capoeira* nickname of my main informant, a social scientist and co-author (Stephens & Delamont, 2006a, 2006b). He is better known in *capoeira* by his *capoeira* nickname than his actual name, so his *capoeira* pseudonym is a more important protection than a pseudonymous 'real' name.
5. When students in the *capoeira* group to which Achilles and Perseus belong get their first, baptismal, belt they also get a nickname and a certificate. As they move up through the levels each subsequent *corda* has an attached certificate. Achilles had given me a *capoeira* nickname after about six months of the fieldwork, which I pseudonymise as *Bruxa* or witch. After the joint Tolnbridge and Cloisterham event in November 2004, when Achilles gave out the Tolnbridge certificates he ended the presentation by giving me a certificate as well. The core members of the class seemed comfortable with that: for them the *corda* which is worn to all classes, events and performances: is much more important than the certificate. My paperwork obviously does not say I have been awarded a *corda*, but states it is for services to the group. I had spent a good deal of time setting out food and drink, running to local shops for milk, water, butter, coffee, tea bags and other items; cleaning up rubbish into bin bags, and counting the attendance. I was surprised, touched, and pleased by the certificate, which I do have framed in my study, but I recognise I am too deeply involved in the social structure of the Tolnbridge classes. It is always dangerous to enjoy fieldwork and do it for too long.
6. It would be invidious to name any specific projects here, but if the diagnosis is wrong, the proposed cures will not 'work'.
7. After 10 months of fieldwork I bought copies of Lewis (1992) and Browning (1985) for *Lunghri*, a key informant who reads widely on Brazil. When

Trovao submitted his PhD I gave him a copy of Lewis (1992) as a present. Inside *capoeira* it is not important that *Trovao* has eight years of formal education more than *Lughri*: both can read an anthropology book about their hobby with engagement. Only one woman in Tolnbridge and one in Cloisterham has ever asked me about things to read.

8. I do not normally wear *capoeira* clothing of any kind to do the research. I wear loose trousers so I can sit on the floor, or perch easily on any surface available, and casual T-shirts or sweatshirts, but I try not to look as if I am a *capoeirista*, or pretending to be one. I keep my event T-shirts as souvenirs, wearing them very rarely. The exception is visiting groups outside the UK, when arriving in one of Achilles's T-shirts is a quick way of 'introducing' myself. I do wear a miniature *berimbau* necklace at home and abroad, an identity badge and an ice breaker. When I *do* wear a *capoeira* T-shirt in Tolnbridge the response of the core *capoeira* students is always positive, but it seems to me to be 'wrong' to try to look as if I were a fit energetic player when I have the body of a grandmother.

REFERENCES

- Almeida, B. (1986). *Capoeira: A Brazilian art form*. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books.
- Arnot, M., David, M., & Weiner, G. (1995). *Educational reform and gender equality in schools*. Manchester: EOC.
- Ashkenazi, M. (2002). Ritual and the ideal of society in karate. In D. E. Jones (Ed.), *Combat ritual and performance* (pp. 99-118). Westport, Conn: Praeger,
- Atkinson, P. A. (1996). *Sociological readings and rereadings*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Atkinson, P. A. & Delamont, S. (1980). The two traditions in educational ethnography. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 1(2) 139-152.
- Becker, H. S. (1970). Whose side are we on? *Sociological works* (pp. 123-136). Chicago: Aldine.
- Becker, H. S. (1971). Footnote. In M. Wax, S. Diamond & F. Gearing (Eds.), *Anthropological perspectives on education* (pp. 3-27). New York: Basic Books.
- Browning, S. (1995). *Samba: Resistance in motion*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Capoeira, N. (2002). *Capoeira: The dance, fight, game*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Press.
- Capoeira, N. (2003). *The little Capoeira book* (2nd ed.) Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books .
- Delamont, S. (1980). *Sex roles and the school*. London: Methuen.
- Delamont, S. (1989a). *Knowledgeable women*. London: Routledge.
- Delamont, S. (1989b). Both sexes lose out. In A. Ramasut (Ed.), *Whole school approaches to special needs* (pp. 246-261). Falmer: London.
- Delamont, S. (1990). *Sex roles and the school* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Delamont, S. (1999). Gender and the discourse of derision. *Research Papers in Education*, 14 (1), 3-21.

- Delamont, S. (2000). The anomalous beasts. *Sociology*, 34 (1), 95-112.
- Delamont, S. (2005a). Four great gates: Dilemmas, directions and distractions in educational research. *Research Papers in Education*, 20 (1), 85-100.
- Delamont, S. (2005). No place for women among them? Reflections on the axe of fieldwork. *Sport, Education and Society*, 10 (3), 305-320.
- Delamont, S., & Galton, M. (1986). *Inside the secondary classroom*. London: Routledge.
- Denison, M. (1938). *Susannah of the mounties*. London: Dent.
- Donohue, J. J. (2002). Wave people: the martial arts and the American imagination. In D. E. Jones (Ed.), *Combat, ritual and performance* (pp. 65-80). Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Downey, G. (2005). *Learning Capoeira*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flecker, J. E. (1947). *Collected poems*. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Furlong, V. J. (1976). Interaction sets in the classroom. In M. Stubbs & S. Delamont (Eds.), *Explorations in classroom observation* (pp. 23-44). Chichester: Wiley.
- Hammersley, M. (2001). Obvious, all too obvious? In B. Francis & C. Skelton, (Eds.), *Investigating gender* (pp. 27-38). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Hickey, C., Fitzclarence, L., & Matthews, R. (Eds.) (2002). *Where the boys are*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.
- Holcombe, C. (2002). Theatre of combat. In D. E. Jones (Ed.), *Combat, ritual and performance* (pp. 153-174). Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Landes, R. (1947). *City of women*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lewis, J. L. (1992). *Ring of liberation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mac an Ghail, M. (1994). *The making of men*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Meyenn, R. (1980). School girls' peer groups. In P. Woods (Ed.), *Pupil strategies* (pp. 108-142). London: Croom Helm.
- Reiss, A. L. T. (2003). *Capoeira as subjective well-being*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol.
- Stephens, N., & Delamont, S. (2006a, forthcoming). Balancing the berimbau. *Qualitative Inquiry*.
- Stephens, N., & Delamont, S. (2006b, forthcoming). Excruciating elegance. In P. Vaninni & D. Waskul (Eds.), *Symbolic interactionism and the body*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Turner, E., Riddell, S., & Brown, S. (1995). *Gender equality in Scottish schools*. Glasgow: EOC Scotland.
- Twigger, R. (1999). *Angry white pyjamas*. London: Phoenix.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1981). Confessions of a "trained" observer. In T. S. Popkewitz & B. R. Tabachnik (Eds.), *The study of schooling* (pp. 247-263). New York: Praeger.
- Woods, P., & Hammersley, M. (Eds.) (1993). *Gender and ethnicity in education*. London: Routledge.
- Young, M. F. D. (1971). Introduction. In M. F. D. Young (Ed.), *Knowledge and control* (pp. 1-17). London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Zulu, M. (1995). *Idiopraxis de Capoeira*. Brasilia: Privately Printed.