A genealogy of the governance of the body in physical education in England from 1902 to 2016.

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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**Introduction**

The 'problem' of physical education

**The benefits of employing a genealogical approach**

**Key findings**

**Research Question 1:** Through what forms of governing have bodies been governed historically in physical education in England?

**Research Question 2:** What have been the effects of these different forms of governing on the construction of bodies?

**Research Question 3:** How do different forms of governing intersect with one another in the historical governance of physical education in England, and with what implications for the construction of bodies?

**Possibilities for future research**

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Certificate of Authorship

a. I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at Charles Sturt University or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgment is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by colleagues with whom I have worked at Charles Sturt University or elsewhere during my candidature is fully acknowledged.

b. I agree that this thesis be accessible for the purpose of study and research in accordance with the normal conditions established by the Executive Director, Division of Library Services or nominee, for the care, loan and reproduction of theses.

Name: Rachael Jefferson-Buchanan

Signature: [Signature]
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Publications resulting from the Research (see Appendix B)


Abstract

Since 1902 physical education has been constituted as a governable problem in England. It is argued in this thesis that there is a close relationship between physical education pedagogy\(^1\) and policy, and the construction and regulation of the body. Key ‘problems’ of public health, moral/social behaviour, class and gender dominate the literature on the governance of physical education. In addressing these ‘problems’, scholars have drawn from two of Foucault's power triad; governmentality in relation to health aspects of physical education, or discipline in physical education. Through the application of a genealogical approach, this thesis examines how governmentality is a central modality of power across a 114-year timeline (1902-2016), and the ways in which different mentalities of rule are contingent on, and variously constituted through, discipline and sovereign power. My research questions focus on what forms of governing have historically governed bodies in physical education in England, what the effects of these forms of governing have been on the construction of bodies, and how these different forms of governing have intersected with one another and with what implications for the construction of bodies.

Foucauldian-inspired literature on governmentality recognises the complex, contradictory and contingent foundations upon which (body) governance is based. In order to explore the rationalities and discourses through which different forms of governing have been constituted in physical education, historical physical education documents and associated policies, reports and Acts were selected as the forms of evidence. These facilitated a diagnostic methodology, whereby the ‘symptoms’ (singular rationalities and discourses) were able to be isolated, grouped and categorised. In doing so, governmentality was shown to intertwine regularly with discipline and sovereign power. Utilising such mundane texts, which are so often overlooked by physical education scholars, the thesis reveals power forms and

\(^1\) The term ‘pedagogy’, which is used throughout this thesis, refers to the interdependent and interacting components of curriculum, teaching, learning and assessment that are an integral part of physical education (see also Tinning, 2010).
their effects at the micro-levels of social practices, along with accidents, surprises, derivations and false assumptions.

The six core findings of this thesis illuminate how the body has been historically governed by various forms of governing (research question 1). Healthism is identified as a form of governing that underpins contemporary physical education with links to national efficiency-focused discursive practices of public health that surfaced during the first half of the twentieth century. Self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses emerged as enduring forms of governing in physical education across the time frame, revealing intimate links with the body and morality. The rationality of competition is found to have increased in significance from the Second World War onwards. National efficiency developed into a core rationality in the first half of the twentieth century, and traces of it are also apparent after this time. The findings challenge class- and gender-based rationalities and discourses in physical education that have been deemed pervasive by leading scholars in the field who employ different methodologies (research question 2). Significantly, implications for the construction of bodies highlight how the rationalities and discourses of healthism, competition, self-regulation and personal responsibility have dominated (research question 3). The findings affirm that a genealogical approach is well placed to challenge the assumed stable foundations through which present forms of governing physical education in England operate, unsettling the ‘taken-for-granted’ in the governance of physical education through non-linear and non-teleological historical approaches. Overall, these findings offer a substantive and theoretical contribution to knowledge in the field of physical education, confirming this school subject to be a technology where governmentality intertwines with discipline and sovereign power to constitute particular ways of corporeal governance.
# List of Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BMA</td>
<td>British Medical Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCPR</td>
<td>Central Council of Physical Recreation</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCMS</td>
<td>Department for Culture, Media and Sport</td>
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<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>Department of Education and Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>DfE</td>
<td>Department for Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>DoE</td>
<td>Department of the Environment</td>
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<td>DOH</td>
<td>Department of Health</td>
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<td>DNH</td>
<td>Department of National Heritage</td>
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<td>ERA</td>
<td>Education Reform Act</td>
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<td>HPE</td>
<td>Health and physical education</td>
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<td>IDCPD</td>
<td>Inter-departmental committee on physical deterioration</td>
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<td>LEA</td>
<td>Local Education Authority</td>
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<td>NCC</td>
<td>National Curriculum Council</td>
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<td>NCPE</td>
<td>National Curriculum for physical education</td>
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<td>NCPSPE</td>
<td>National Curriculum programme of study: physical education</td>
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<td>NHS</td>
<td>National Health Service</td>
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<td>PE</td>
<td>Physical education</td>
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<td>PESS</td>
<td>Physical Education and School Sport</td>
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<td>PESSCL</td>
<td>Physical Education, School Sport and Clubs Link</td>
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<td>PESSYP</td>
<td>Physical Education and Sport Strategy for Young People</td>
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<tr>
<td>QCA</td>
<td>Qualifications and Curriculum Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>QCDA</td>
<td>Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCPTS</td>
<td>Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland)</td>
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<td>SSC</td>
<td>Specialist Sports Colleges</td>
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<td>SSP</td>
<td>School Sport Partnerships</td>
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<td>TGfU</td>
<td>Teaching Games for Understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland)</td>
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<tr>
<td>WO</td>
<td>Welsh Office Education Department</td>
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<td>YST</td>
<td>Youth Sport Trust</td>
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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis focuses on how the body has been constructed and governed in physical education in England since the introduction of the first state elementary physical education syllabus in 1902, to the current day (2016). The thesis will examine how physical education in England came to be a governance ‘problem’, and how different forms of intervention and bodily practices emerged from this, shaping the construction of physical education as a school subject. In accordance with this, the content of this chapter will include: contextualisation of the thesis and the research problem; the scope and significance of the research showing how it differs from previous scholarly work on the governance of physical education; an outline of the theoretical framework through which changes in governing physical education are explored in this study, and; a synopsis of each chapter.

Contextualisation of the thesis

During the early stages of my physical education teaching career at the International School of Geneva I spent several years reviewing and rewriting the curriculum in order to make it less focused on competitive games. Indeed, I was determined to promote inclusive practice in my new role as the first female head of the secondary physical education department since the school’s origins in 1924. In particular, a key objective of mine was to raise motivation and participation levels amongst teenage girls and less sports-oriented students. When I returned to England, my country of origin, to take up a lecturing role in 2004, my interest in national physical education pedagogy began to intensify. This first decade of the millennium was a time of regular interventions in education by Government (then New Labour), which was in line with their 1997 general election campaign where education was named a top priority (Bache, 2003). Subsequent educational reforms led to physical education being funded and supported via a plethora of state-endorsed professional development opportunities and related resources. These were often targeted towards primary generalist teachers, whose university training in physical education had been drastically reduced following the implementation of the 1988
Chapter 1: Introduction

National Curriculum with its priorities of improving standards in English, Maths and Science (see Caldecott, Warburton, & Waring, 2006; Talbot, 2007, 2008). Concurrently, at policy level, there was a multitude of sports-based initiatives being endorsed, and these were aligned with physical education through a number of Government organisational networks (see Phillipps, 2013).

I became interested in training student teachers and practising teachers for some of the accredited movement programmes that were being advocated, and eventually became a national consultant for several of these. I was fascinated by the way in which movement programmes had so quickly become the core of professional development in physical education, and how state-constructed programmes were increasingly being accompanied by those from private organisations. These movement programmes were rarely research-led, and yet they were being taken up by schools and counties across England. Interestingly, this phenomenon was being documented by leading physical educational scholars at the time (see Macdonald, Hay & Williams, 2008). Furthermore, Government was actively encouraging the use of sports coaches in primary physical education, who often taught all curriculum content without the presence of teachers, or the latter merely acted in a supervisory capacity (see Griggs, 2008; Smith, 2015). These kinds of issues raised anxiety in the physical education profession about the progressively privatised and neoliberalist nature of physical education, the deskilling of primary teachers with the influx of sports coaches, and the Government-endorsed alliance between physical education and sport (see Blair & Capel, 2008, 2011; Evans & Davies, 2014; Griggs, 2007, 2010, 2012; Houlihan & Green, 2006; Lavin, Swindlehurst, & Foster, 2008; Macdonald, 2011).

It was amidst these shifting concerns and socio-political changes that I became curious about researching contemporary physical education in England to find out more about the kinds of power forms that underpinned these phenomena. This eventually led me to a review of the social inequalities that had been documented by many physical education theorists over several decades. Of course, my personal experiences of teaching and curriculum design had ignited my initial interest in
gender stereotypes within this school subject, but it was confirmed elsewhere that these were also legitimised and reproduced in the physical education context more generally (see Azzarito & Solmon, 2005; Fletcher, 1984; Gorely, Holroyd, & Kirk, 2003; Kirk, 1990, 2002a; Scraton, 1986, 1992, 2018; Wright, 1995, 1996, 1998). In addition, the emphasis on competitive team sports and games that I had encountered during my own physical education training and subsequent teaching drew my attention to class distinctions. I was already aware that these physical activities had their origins in the British private school system. However, on researching further, I discovered that many physical education scholars validated the class constructed nature of physical education (see Azzarito & Solmon, 2005; Dagkas, 2011; Evans, 1986, 1988, 1990a; Evans & Davies, 2006; Kirk, 1992, 1998; McDonald, 2003). In order to better understand contemporary power forms and the related class-gender social variables, I turned to some of the more traditional physical education history books for some answers (see Mangan, 1981; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh, Dixon, Munrow, & Willetts, 1981). Whilst these offered some useful historical contexts for such prominent themes as competition and health, there was minimal discussion of power relations. On reading more broadly, I stumbled upon Kirk’s (1992) book entitled Defining physical education: The social construction of a school subject in post-war Britain and quickly became captivated by the genealogical approach to British physical education that he had adopted. This strengthened my desire to pursue my own research interests, but I wanted to have a longer time span that would offer insights into pre-war and twenty-first century England as this had never been tackled before and it would enable assumed truths about contemporary physical education to be examined in greater depth. With the help of my supervisor, I was subsequently guided towards the work of Michel Foucault and encouraged to apply his genealogical approach to the construction and governance of the body in physical education in England. This was a noteworthy moment for me as a researcher, as it helped me to gain an understanding of the broader social significance of physical education, facilitating my analysis of contingent corporeal regimes of practice rather than resorting to a linear, chronological development of this school subject.
Chapter 1: Introduction

**Background to the research problem**

In order to frame the research problem underpinning this thesis, it is first important to highlight existing approaches to the study of physical education. On examining contemporary literature in the field, it is clear that the public health role of physical education is a ‘problem’ that has been acknowledged by a plethora of authors, scientific organisations and professional bodies since the late 1980s (see American Academy of Pediatrics Committees on Sports Medicine and School Health, 1987; Pate & Hohn, 1994; Sallis & McKenzie, 1991; Simons-Morton, 1994). In general, these reports conclude that physical education can contribute to public health by providing regular enjoyable and developmentally appropriate physical activity, and by nurturing a desire in students to engage in physical activity across the lifespan.

More specifically, since the end of the 1990s, physical education in England has assumed increasing significance vis-à-vis the formal political agenda. This has primarily been due to the alleged obesity epidemic, which emerged as a core problematisation of governing in contemporary society. Due to this, ruling authorities sought ways to broaden their “networks of governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73) and physical education subsequently emerged as a principal vehicle for improving public health. This was based on assumed links between health and weight, but also on how weight could be better managed by raising physical activity levels.

Several physical education scholars have focused on these kinds of public health ‘problems’ over the last few decades. For example, Gard and Wright (2001, p. 539), two prominent physical education scholars, have proposed that:

> Obesity as a health problem which is both caused by inadequate amounts of physical activity and which can be treated and prevented by increasing participation in physical activity is reproduced as ‘given’ knowledge. This ‘fact’ is then used to argue for the need for physical education in general and for specific kinds of physical education in particular.

Indeed, using Beck’s (1992) sociological account of contemporary ‘risk’ society, their work explores how ‘expert’ biomedical knowledge about children’s health and exercise needs is constructed and subsequently recontextualised in both scholarly and professional physical education literature. This has resulted in what they
perceive to be “unquestioning acceptance of the obesity discourses in physical education” (Gard & Wright, 2001, p. 535). They contend that ‘healthism’\(^2\) ensues, which effectively derives from epidemiological research and is translated into a discourse that places the responsibility for health with the individual. In turn, physical education practice focuses on individual attitudes and behaviours since each individual is deemed to be at risk of becoming overweight or obese. This leads Gard and Wright to conclude that physical education contributes to anxieties about the body, which is indicative of the significance of the body within public health-related debates on this school subject. Furthermore, what is particularly interesting about Gard and Wright’s work is their acknowledgement of how physical education legitimates itself on the basis of claims about obesity and weight management, which they maintain is “not only shaky but ethically irresponsible” (p. 537).

Nevertheless, Gard and Wright do not consider the power relations through which healthism is constituted as a legitimate and truthful object of physical education knowledge. Foucault’s (1978, 1980a, 1980b) capillary-like nature of power would be highly relevant here, especially as physical educators have clearly adopted the dominant rationality of healthism as their own to justify their health-focused pedagogy. This highlights the multifaceted nature of power as it shifts back and forth between ruling authorities and practising teachers. In addition, when discussing risk, although Gard and Wright (2001, p. 539) suggest the need “to employ the notion of ‘risk’ and ‘risk management’ to the human body and those who would claim knowledge about it”, their own analysis of related obesity discourses and healthism is not linked with any particular rationality or modern power form, such as governmentality, that is characterised by risk management and individual responsibility (see Ayo, 2012; Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999). Indeed, Dean (2010, p. 207) affirms that “Beck provides us with a ‘thought-figure’ that might usefully be adapted to governmental concerns”.

\(^2\) Healthism is considered to be a ‘new health consciousness’ that targets an individual’s personal responsibility and their body as sites of intervention and regulation (see Crawford, 1980; Gard & Wright, 2001; Kirk & Colquhoun, 1989; Tinning, 2010).
Interestingly, maintaining good health is also frequently constructed as a moral obligation and a citizen’s duty as opposed to their right (Galvin, 2002). This leads to a second ‘problem’ within physical education that has underpinned its theory for a great number of years; that of bodily regulation through physical education. In effect, the moral and social behaviours of the individual are perceived as being modifiable through certain types of corporeal work. One of the key scholars in this field is Kirk, who has utilised Foucault’s work on disciplining the body and his notion of biopower\(^3\) to explore how physical education involves regulating and normalising the bodies of students (see Kirk, 1992, 1994, 1998, 2003, 2004). More specifically, Kirk (1998) employs a genealogical approach in his book entitled *Schooling bodies. School practice and public discourse, 1880-1950*, contemplating how the body is constructed in Australian physical education with explicit reference to parallel developments in England. He concludes that power forms have shifted from discipline in the nineteenth and twentieth century to a more individualised and internalised self-regulation. Kirk underpins his work with the Foucauldian concepts of discipline and biopower to identify a subsequent progression from drill regimes of practice to fitness and competitive sports and games (see also Kirk, 1992, 2003, 2004). Through engagement in the latter activities, he argues that moral improvement and ‘civilising’ of working-class students were sought, particularly after the Second World War. Notably, while Kirk’s *Schooling bodies* study draws upon Foucauldian concepts of discipline and biopower, he does not examine the increasing significance of governmentality in the constitution and regulation of the body, nor does he consider how different forms of governing intersect with, engender or contradict the other power modalities identified by Foucault (see Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999). Similar issues arise in Kirk’s (1992) earlier genealogical analysis of the orthodoxies and conventions in British physical education from the end of the Second World War to 1992, where moral and social regulation of students through corporeal regimes of practices in certain physical education activities such as competitive sports and games are revealed. Herein, Kirk’s emphasis is on the social

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\(^3\) Biopower focuses on the ‘species body’ (Foucault, 1978), which comprises the basis of biological processes affecting birth, death, health and longevity. In effect, it constitutes a ruling authority-operated technology that guides human populations to adopt and live by approved societal norms (see also Chapter 2 of this thesis).
Chapter 1: Introduction

construction of physical education through analysis of the “underpinning or ‘structuring’ discourses” (Kirk, 1992, p. 2). Moreover, his work has a limited time span that does not extend to include pre-Second World War physical education or post-1992 periods.

In both of the ‘problems’ discussed above – (a) the public health role of physical education, and (b) its corporeal regulatory capacities – the body has been confirmed as central to the governance of physical education. The body is also fundamental to the social distinctions through which such governance is exercised. In particular, class and gender are frequently cited as being the most significant and influential social distinctions in physical education research for the ways in which they construct the body, and impact upon pedagogy (see Azzarito & Solmon, 2005; Evans, 1986, 1988, 1990a; Fletcher, 1984; Kirk, 1990, 1992, 2002a; Scraton, 1986, 1992, 2018). Scraton’s gender-focused work is of particular relevance here, especially as it extends across several decades. Her earlier contribution to the field involved a feminist analysis of physical education in which she explored how its teaching, content and general organisation reinforced images of ‘femininity’ and gender-appropriate behaviour (Scraton, 1986). Its primary focus was on one local education authority in England, and contemporary policies and practice were also examined for their assumptions around femininity and sexuality. Scraton’s later work (Scraton, 1992), situated in the north of England, involved the use of a socialist feminist lens to identify issues in the construction and reproduction of dominant gender power relations. She duly concludes that the body is the foundation for gender stereotypes and dominant ideologies in physical education. However, Scraton also contemplates how these were resisted by female students, whilst acknowledging the phenomenon of mandatory heterosexuality within teaching and structuring processes in physical education. These two localised studies provide examples of how gender constructions of the body have permeated physical education over the last few decades, influencing pedagogy and policy. Notwithstanding this, due to the employment of a socialist feminist theoretical framework, Foucault’s (2007) power triad was not the focus of Scraton’s earlier writings. This could have enriched her 1992 study when notions of resistance in
female students were introduced, enabling an inquiry into the relational and multiplicitous nature of power (see Foucault, 1978) through discussion of the girls’ “regulated freedom” (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 174). In her most recent writing, Scraton (2018) reviews how understandings of gender and physical education have developed since the 1980s, in parallel with various feminist approaches. She concludes that there is an ongoing problem between feminist theory and physical education practice that requires further investigation; one way to improve this situation is to develop “a critical PE feminism that recognises multiple categories and identities whilst locating these within political, social and economic power structures” (Scraton, 2018, p. 36). This implicitly confirms the need to examine ‘productive’ power forms in physical education that contribute to corporeal governance.

**The scope and significance of the research**

Through close examination of the work of the three central physical education scholars above, it has been highlighted that a number of research ‘problems’ exist in physical education. These include public health (Gard & Wright, 2001), regulation of individual’s moral and social behaviours through certain corporeal regimes of practice (Kirk, 1992, 1998), and significant social distinctions such as gender (Scraton, 1986, 1992, 2018). During this process, certain aspects that scholars have overlooked in their respective work have revealed the current state of knowledge vis-à-vis body governance. This ensuing section focuses on how my thesis will build on and contribute to this literature in terms of the relationship between physical education and body governance.

Whilst various perspectives in the physical education literature seek to explain *why* particular forms of regulation have been used in certain physical activities, there are few that explore *how* this has been possible. In the previous section, a range of prominent scholars have endeavoured to address this how question, often using parts of Foucault’s power triangle, but clearly their work has potential for development. Other more traditional physical education historians have confirmed
that physical activities such as drill are a significant component of early twentieth century physical education for the working classes in England (see Mangan, 1981; Mangan & Galligan, 2011; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981). Nevertheless, an inquiry into how this occurred, by examining the intersecting power forms that underpinned its emergence as a regulatory practice, is often amiss. This type of analysis would include how “different locales are constituted as authoritative and powerful, how different agents are assembled with specific powers, and how different domains are constituted as governable and administrable” (Dean, 2010, p. 40). In accordance with this, my England-based study seeks to challenge the types of history that are based on addressing questions of ‘why’, since these can sometimes be founded on universal truths. Instead, I embrace physical education as a complex, governable problem that is characterised by power relations throughout its existence, in an endeavour to find out the relations between historical events or causes. Thus, the broad aim of this thesis is to gain an understanding of the intricate, subtle discourses and techniques through which physical education in England has been constituted as knowable and governable across its lifetime in the state school setting. This begins with the year 1902, when the first physical education syllabus in England was introduced to the working classes following the 1902 Education Act, which advocated for a new system of national education. My thesis finishes in 2016, where there is a predominant focus on the construction of contemporary physical education in the National Curriculum in England. In this manner, my study builds on current knowledge by paying attention to all three of Foucault’s power modalities, with a key focus on governmentality whilst also considering the ways in which different mentalities of rule are contingent on, and variously constituted through, discipline and sovereignty. By applying a genealogical approach in which governmentality is discussed as a central modality of power across a 114-year timeline in physical education, the thesis exposes particular ways in which corporeal governance is constituted.

Within this timeline, four epochs have been demarcated and these will be analysed in reverse chronological order, beginning with the current day: 1999-2016 (Chapter 4), 1970-1998 (Chapter 5), 1946-1969 (Chapter 6), 1902-1945 (Chapter 7). After a
detailed review of England-based historical documents, these epochs are selected as they demonstrate explicit shifts in body governance. This epoch-based structure enables governable problems in physical education in England at specific sites and specific points in time to be scrutinised. As a result, “particular momentary manifestation of ‘the hazardous play of dominations’ or a stage in the struggle between forces” become discernible (Smart, 2002, p. 50). Furthermore, structuring the thesis backwards in this way highlights the intricate interdependencies between governmental rationalities and technologies. It permits power relations between individuals, institutions and ruling authorities to come to the fore, enabling governance within the physical education context in England to be explained with greater ease. This is in accordance with the “history of the present” that Foucault (1977a, p. 31) proposes, whereby the present is not regarded as a sequential result of the past. Indeed, the past should only be viewed as a means to interrogate and identify the present; events closest to the contemporary ‘problem’ under investigation should therefore frame the inquiry, rather than temporal limits or any kind of linear progression.

It should also be noted here that this thesis focuses on state physical education in England and not physical education in the private school system in England. I was born and raised in England and trained as a teacher there. In addition, I have spent eleven years teaching physical education in secondary schools in England and in higher education from the late 1980s to 2013. This has given me an insider’s perspective on physical education in England and has therefore framed the final scope of the study. There are some references to the private school system in England in the literature review (Chapter 2), but this is mainly when it impacts on the construction of state physical education. For example, when traditional competitive sports and games from the elite schools were introduced to the state physical education curriculum in England in order to help develop a particular set of social and cultural practices in the working classes (see Kirk, 1992, 1998). Initially, the intention of the thesis was to primarily focus on state physical education syllabuses in England, but it quickly became evident during the analysis processes that these would not suffice by themselves. There was a need to situate
these syllabuses alongside related reports, sports policies and Acts, and to ensure that socio-political events during each epoch were also reviewed and documented as necessary (see Appendix A). In this manner, the interrelationships between this more extensive range of documents and events might be able to reveal new physical education 'truths', uncovering an elaboration of “the surfaces of events, small details, minor shifts and subtle contours” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 106).

The analytical framework: a genealogy of government

During the course of constructing a history of the governing of physical education, a Foucauldian-inspired genealogy was selected as the analytical framework. This approach differs from other more traditional (and prevalent) linear and teleological approaches by not searching for the origins or foundations of knowledge and power. In lieu of this, the genealogical approach is “concerned with the historical inscription of power on the body, or with the emergence of the ‘social’ and the modern forms of regulation and administration of populations with which it is concomitant” (Smart, 1983, p. 73). Hence, there are no essences to be discovered at the heart of genealogy that explain why things developed as they did. Moreover, it is accepted that there are no unbroken continuities within historical timelines; instead, the aim is to track contingency, disparity and complexity. Indeed, Foucault (1977b) substitutes continuity and origin with two alternative concepts that he borrows from Nietzsche (1887/1998): emergence and descent. Emergence seeks to question the set of historical conditions out of which specific practices emerge, acknowledging that something is merely an episode and not a final state. The latter concept, descent, involves tracing and exploring an idea, institution or practice that was previously considered to be unitary or immobile, rather than revealing an implicit essence that is perceptible across time. The contingencies of both emergence and descent are perceived as continuing to shape the present. Thus, for Foucault, history is a practice that is always of its own time and place, as are the needs that it attends (Dean, 1994). History does not therefore become a search “for future-determining continuities, it is only a tireless sifting out of disparate components that our interests and our priorities turn into episodes in an imposed progression” (Prado, 2000, p. 34). In this
sense, genealogy is “effective history” because its intent is to problematise the present by exposing the power relations upon which it depends and the contingent processes that have formed it (see Dean, 1994). It thereby exposes the contests for truth that underpin the alleged neutrality of knowledges and regimes of practice. In effect, this involves a reconceptualising process that shifts from a place of secure rationality to a political struggle wherein the power to define and impose meaning occurs (Foucault, 1972).

In order to better understand power relations in this study, an analytics of government (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 1990; Rose, 1993, 1999; Rose & Miller, 1992) enables exploration of how physical education has been constituted historically as a governable problem. In accordance with this, Foucault’s (2007) previously mentioned triangular conception of power (sovereignty-discipline-governmentality) will become an instrument of critique during the analysis of the forms of evidence. This decentred and diffuse notion of power also enables attention to be paid to ways in which governmentality operates through the production of normalisation discourses, regulation techniques and political rationalities that construct the body in physical education. In effect, exploration of how governance occurs within different regimes is made possible through an “analysis of the specific conditions under which particular entities emerge, exist and change” (Dean, 2010, p. 30). An investigation of the “historical ontology” (Foucault, 1984, p. 45) of ruling authorities will ensue, allowing discontinuities in the regimes of truth to be examined, along with practices of governing that are constituted in a knowable and manageable form. Importantly for this study, which focuses on the analysis of mundane documents, an analytics of government also permits an investigation at the micro-levels of social practices. Hence, the smallest and most insignificant details that produce rather than repress ‘reality’ are deemed valuable (see Tomboukou, 1999); indeed, these help to illuminate the problematisations of the present. The methodological task of studying physical education in this way involves unsettling the ‘taken-for-granted’ in contemporary physical education in England, whilst simultaneously examining power relations in order to highlight how this school subject’s pedagogy constructs and governs the body. During this process,
Chapter 1: Introduction

there is a reconstruction of the regimes of practice through which physical education has been assembled as a governable problem. Historical discourses that are shaped by different forms of governing subsequently emerge as a key focus, illuminating ways in which the former give rise to historically specific forms of knowing and governing the body in physical education. Hence, as Roth (1981, p. 43) confirms, “Writing a history of the present means writing history in the present; self-consciously writing in a field of power relations and political struggle [emphasis in original].”

Utilising the genealogical approach outlined above, insights into the ways that physical education has been constituted as a governable problem over a period of 114 years are offered in this thesis. This is made possible via the framework of three research questions that will help to reconstruct the rationalities and technologies of governing through which this school subject has been assembled across time:

- Through what forms of governing have bodies been governed historically in physical education in England?
- What have been the effects of these different forms of governing on the construction of bodies?
- How do different forms of governing intersect with one another in the historical governance of physical education in England and with what implications for the construction of bodies?

Outline of the thesis

These three research questions are addressed in the subsequent Chapter 2, the literature review, where three perspectives of the body warrant consideration in this thesis: Marxist, gendered and poststructural. Interrelationships between these corporeal perspectives and physical education are duly presented and explored, along with the power structures and struggles in physical education that arise. By examining these three selected perspectives of the body in this way, the reasons why a poststructuralist perspective has been adopted for this thesis are elucidated. Indeed, the poststructuralist perspective is confirmed as having the potential to
challenge physical education in its contemporary form, and in so doing, an improved understanding of its governance and how it has been constructed as a regime of practice across time becomes apparent. In Chapter 3, there is an analysis of the analytical approach utilised in this thesis. As formerly explained, a genealogical approach enables an in-depth empirical study of rationalities and related discourses in the nominated historical documents. Methodological assumptions that lie beneath the genealogical approach are expounded, and criticisms, along with potential limitations of the methods, presented. Finally, the forms of evidence used during the research process are investigated.

There is a drawing together of theory and method in Chapter 4 (1999-2016), where the genealogy of governance in physical education in England commences with the present, examining the rationalities and technologies that have affected the construction of the body across this epoch. As hitherto mentioned, this type of reverse chronological structure conforms to a genealogical approach; indeed, it offers a means of exposing the assemblage of historically contingent truth claims, political configurations and alliances, and regimes of practice upon which the governance of contemporary physical education is created. The three analysis chapters that follow Chapter 4 are differentiated according to shifts in these assemblages and the associated body governance, although both continuities and discontinuities between each epoch are shown to prevail. In terms of Chapter 4 more specifically, it is here that there is an examination of how public health promotion emerged as a particular problematisation of governing during the late 1990s, and how this came to steer the regulation of the body in physical education. In so doing, I examine how healthism developed as a rationality of ‘third way’ governance, and obesity is contemplated as its key focus of problematisation. Of particular interest in this chapter is the way in which class and gender, recognised objects of governing in physical education (see Chapter 2 of this study), have been displaced by a governmental focus on the self-regulating individual due to the increasing emergence of personal responsibility discourses. Notwithstanding this, when governmentality does not achieve its desired effects (that is, when personal responsibility to undertake physical activity does not occur), disciplinary
governance through the promotion of engagement in sport is shown to re-emerge. This highlights the intertwining of power modalities and also how regulating authorities and their designated ‘experts’ actively guide individuals’ ‘risk’ of weight gain and poor health. Indeed, it is primarily through the technologies of physical education and competitive sport that the alleged obesity epidemic is deemed resolvable.

Chapter 5 (1970-1998) extends the central self-regulation and health concerns of the previous chapter, illuminating a problematisation of welfarist rationalities of governing that occurred in the early 1970s and a consequent increasing focus on governing physical activity (and conduct more broadly) through communities. During the course of this epoch it is argued that self-regulation was viewed as the solution to dependency that had derived from welfarist rationalities of governing. As such, self-regulation is shown to emerge as a core rationality, aligning itself with a ‘moral individual’ discourse; this is recognised as particularly significant in working-class communities, where sports policies of the time concentrated their efforts. However, the emerging focus on elitism within competitive sport constitutes a threat to the ‘moral contract’ between authorities and the citizens whom they govern. Self-regulation is also seen to intersect with physical education, especially with the 1992 implementation of the National Curriculum. A distinctive finding from this chapter is how the body interweaves with emerging discourses of self-regulation and individual morality; this provides a unique contribution to current governmentality literature on which the chapter draws (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999). Ways in which the social distinctions of class and gender are effectively displaced by the key emphasis on individualism and personal responsibility are also noteworthy, showing continuities between the preceding chapter and this one.

The key focus of Chapter 6 (1946-1969) is the rationality of competition and how this helps to construct character and national identity after the Second World War (1939-1945). In respect of governing rationalities, this is revealed as both a continuity and a discontinuity. With regard to the former, an insight into the
persistence of competition across time is offered. However, the individualistic ways that competition underpinned the two previous epochs is also acknowledged as a discontinuity, for Chapter 6 goes on to illuminate how the competitive capacities of individuals are fostered in distinctively socialised ways through traditional team games. Thus, the rationality of competition, through social means, comes to be accepted as ‘traditional’ physical education in state schools. In this manner, physical education/competitive team sports are exposed as technologies to help ruling authorities build citizens’ characters (particularly young, working-class males), along with a sense of unified national identity and commonality in the international competitive sports arena. Interestingly, the one physical education syllabus change during this 23-year epoch highlights ongoing tensions between competition and collaboration in the school and policy context, along with the emergence of self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses. This is a significant finding, not only because these self-governance discourses arise much earlier than other governmentality scholars have argued (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999), but also because of the explicit uncoupling of physical education from sports policy.

In Chapter 7 (1902-1945), the predominant focus is the rationality of differentiation and how it came to be one of the main governing priorities for both physical education and sport. This rationality is illuminated by showing how students were educated according to key social distinctions, particularly class, due to the national efficiency rationality which arose from the inception of this epoch. Notably, class-based differences proved to be far more relevant to the rationality of national efficiency than gender; indeed, references to the latter are minimal across this epoch, retreating altogether in later versions of the physical education syllabus. Educating working-class students in different ways from the offspring of the ruling classes permitted their diagnosis, which is shown as a means to better govern their conduct (morality/character development) and their health. Differentiation techniques that are used in the physical education context at this time effectively highlight the core problematisation of how to manage the problem of working-class poverty, and how a corporeal school subject might contribute to the attainment of
national efficiency goals. Significantly, Chapter 7 exposes formative traces of progressivist elements within the syllabuses and related documents, as well as self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses. This is much earlier than other scholars have reported, thereby serving to extend existing governmentality and physical education theory; the latter often refers to this epoch being predominantly discipline-oriented in the earlier decades.

Chapter 8 draws together the key arguments of the thesis, through its review and evaluation of the empirical and theoretical points from the preceding analysis chapters. Six core findings are illuminated in respect of the governance of the body in physical education in England, with responses formed to the three research questions that were outlined at the outset of this chapter. Furthermore, the broader applications of these findings are contemplated, with a number of recommendations for future genealogical studies of physical education proposed.

**Conclusion**

In this introductory chapter, the background to the thesis and the associated research problem were initially provided, with pertinent literature highlighted. Following this, the scope and significance of the research were considered, which illuminated how the focus of my thesis differs from previous studies on the governance of physical education. The analytical framework that underpins this thesis was also discussed, and the three research questions were subsequently drawn out of this. Finally, a summary of the content of each forthcoming chapter in the thesis was presented. Chapter 2 now begins the process of conceptualising physical education as a governable problem by offering an exploration of scholarly literature that aligns with the research questions.
Chapter 2: Exploring perspectives of the body in physical education

Introduction

Physical education is a practical subject that has been recognised as being principally physical in nature (Armour, 1999). Arnold’s (1979, 1988) triumvirate curriculum model for physical education is noteworthy in this domain, due to its concentration on the interrelated dimensions of learning ‘in’, ‘through’ and ‘about’ movement. Taking into account the dominance of “practical knowledge” in physical education (Reid, 1996; Ryle, 1949/2009), it might be concluded that the body is at the centre of learning in this subject, affirming the need to examine different scholarly perspectives on the body in order to better understand physical education per se. Game (1991) appears to validate this conjecture through her conception of the body as a site of interplays, which she believes provides the possibility for an alternative conception of knowledge. Similarly, other scholars propose (Evans, 1986; Kirk & Tinning, 1990; Wright, 1996), that physical education pedagogy socially and culturally constructs the body over time. Indeed, the history of physical education has allegedly been dominated by disciplining, controlling, moulding and gendering the body, which has subsequently been objectified (see Kirk & Tinning, 1994; Vertinsky, 1992; Wright, 1998). Hence, the body needs to be recognised as a complex entity that might be governed in a multiplicity of ways; accordingly it could “be conceptualised as an object that can be laboured on, and as the outcome of an evolving interaction or mutual conditioning with the mind and between nature and culture, between biology and society” (Bates, 2015, p. 142). In parallel with such thinking, three primary ways in which the body is represented have been identified as particularly pertinent to this study; accordingly, Marxist, gendered and poststructural views of the body will each be explored in succession. The convolute interrelationships between these perspectives of the body and physical education will be illuminated as such; for the body's significance in this curriculum area has already been established. Moreover, inherent corporeal power structures and
Chapter 2: Exploring perspectives of the body in physical education

struggles in physical education will be exposed during this analytical process. This enables historical shifts of body governance to be exposed.

**Marxist perspectives of the body in a physical education context**

As previously mentioned, class is one of a number of social variables that form the foundation of this study’s inquiry; thus, the Marxist body perspective, with its recognised emphasis on class, could prove fundamental to understanding the ways in which a school subject’s pedagogy can be shaped in specific social and cultural contexts. An examination of the effects of this for those involved in the field of physical education might subsequently be able to be developed. Interestingly, there is an “absent presence of the body” in the work of Marx (Shilling, 2012, p. 25) and he has likewise been accused of “a tendency to occlude the question of the body, in favour of consciousness and ideology” (Foucault, 1980a, pp. 58-59). Accordingly, various Marxist concepts and themes are explored and developed in relation to the work of authors who have sought to address this deficit. As well as class, notions of competitive sports and games, and the body as a machine, are subsequently analysed in more depth through the framework of the capitalist economy in the following discussion of Marxist perspectives of the body. In this manner, power relations within the context of physical education can be examined further, which will help to reveal ways in which the body becomes a site of class struggle through physical education pedagogy.

**Capitalism and class-based bodies**

The origins of classical theories of social class can be traced back to Karl Marx, who viewed class struggle between the exploited workers (proletariat) and the upper class (bourgeoisie) as an integral component of the industrialisation process (Evans & Davies, 2006). Various concepts of class coexist within Marxism, but for the purposes of this discussion an acceptable usage of the term might refer to a social group that has some form of experiential or structural commonality (Gibson-Graham, 1996). The notion of class is also underpinned by value systems and hierarchies involving “lower”, “middle” and “upper” classes (Ball, 2003), and is
referred to as an “economically grounded concept” (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2003, p. 312). Despite the fact that, as a set of social and economic relations, class has the potential to influence, dominate and dictate people’s lives, it has been given limited attention by politicians during the last thirty years or so in the UK due to the culture of individualism that has developed (Evans & Davies, 2006). Furthermore, Evans and Davies (2006, p. 799) confirm that the work of Marx has “rarely made an impact directly on research in physical education”. Instead, class has often been extracted and integrated with contemporary social theorists such as Bernstein, Foucault and Bourdieu (see Evans, Davies, & Wright, 2004; Hargreaves, 1986; Kirk, 1993). For example, utilising feminism/poststructuralism as a theoretical framework, Azzarito and Solomon (2005, p. 25) deconstruct what they perceive to be “historically dominant gender, race, and social class discourses around the body in sports and physical education”. Interestingly, rather than analysing class as a unitary category, Azzarito and Solomon’s (2005) work prioritises dynamic, relational studies of class in tandem with other social variables. Similarly, Flintoff, Fitzgerald and Scraton (2008) examine the intersection of class, race, gender, sexuality and disability, arguing that physical education can learn from and contribute to discussions of difference, identity and embodiment. In this manner, these multi-focused scholars endeavour to expose the fluid and incongruous nature of social variables, recognising that their intersection can help to reconceptualise physical education and enhance its pedagogy. Social class has also emerged as a critical differentiation tool in relation to how health and obesity messages impact varying populations (see Dagkas & Burrows, 2016; Wright, Burrows, & Rich, 2012; Wright & Macdonald, 2010). Notably, some physical education scholars have focused on ‘capital’ and how it is concerned with the production of contemporary ‘risk’, linking this with public health agendas such as childhood obesity (see Gard & Wright, 2001). Hence, it might be surmised that although Marx’s original understanding of the idea of a working class within the context of nineteenth century industrial capitalism has become less tenable in contemporary society, class remains pertinent in a corporeal subject such as physical education and thereby merits further analysis.
Chapter 2: Exploring perspectives of the body in physical education

Within any class-focused discussion, a central question that warrants examination is how class-based bodies are developed in the physical education setting; this inevitably highlights broader power relations that exist beyond the subject, which seek to simultaneously sustain disadvantage and affirm privilege. Whilst there is contention as to whether Bourdieu's (1984) understanding of class is the result of the influence or a rejection of Marxism (Potter, 2000), his work on social class and the body is important to this discussion in the sense that he analyses the specific effects of class on the body, viewing the body “as a carrier of class dispositions which are themselves the channels of interest within the habitus or life-world of various classes” (Turner, 1992, p. 55). It should be noted at this point that Bourdieu popularised Mauss’s (1973) concept of habitus, which was elaborated on in the latter’s discussion of the ‘techniques of the body’. Originally written in 1934, the core premise of Mauss’s work was that everyday activities such as digging, walking, marching and running have a psychosocial dimension: “These 'habits' do not just vary with individuals and their imitations, they vary especially between societies, educations, proprieties and fashions, prestiges. In them we should see the techniques and work of collective and individual practical reason” (Mauss, 1973, p. 73). Furthermore, Mauss contends that it is through education of the body, formally or informally, that corporeal techniques can be learned. This implies that they are socially constructed and reconstructed across time. Although Bourdieu’s (1984) work, in accordance with Marxist tradition, effectively aligns class to its position in the relations of production, he extends this and Mauss’s analysis of class to include its geographical space, and other subsidiary characteristics such as sex and ethnic origin. This more “sophisticated” class model (Bairner, 2007, p. 27) maintains that through acts of labour, bodies adopt a particular posture, walk, talk and dress style. These socially learned aspects result in a body that is imprinted with class, due to an individual’s social location, habitus and taste. Class habitus comprises a structure of the mind that develops from its social location and is characterised by a set of acquired schemata, dispositions or sensibilities, but it is important to note that “habitus is embodied” (Dagkas, 2011, p. 181). Taste is also embodied and can influence how people of differing social classes relate to their bodies, naturalising
and perpetuating this according to their perceived lifestyle choices and material constraints (Shilling, 1991).

Wellard (2009, p. 27) confirms, “for Bourdieu, the ‘habitus’ reflects an internalisation, as natural, of the taste of his or her class”. In the physical education context this is noteworthy, since historical ‘taste’ differences, particularly in terms of curriculum content, arose between the social classes at the end of the nineteenth century. This implicitly relates to Shilling’s (1991, p. 654) discussion of the concept of physical capital, which is produced through what he calls the “social formation of bodies by individuals through sporting, leisure and other activities in ways which express a class location and which are accorded a symbolic value [emphasis in original]”. In particular, sports and games such as rugby, lacrosse and cricket were favoured in the elite private schools for their character-building potential in tandem with their contribution towards creating future leaders for Britain and the Empire (Dixon, McIntosh, Munrow, & Willetts, 1973; Mangan, 1981). By way of contrast, the working classes were allotted obedience training through militaristic drill techniques (Penn, 1999), with their ‘taste’ preferences, to all intents and purposes, brushed aside due to their low social status. Furthermore, the concept of habitus could be related to specialised techniques of the body that are an inherent part of physical education activities such as competitive sports and games (Kirk, 2010). In effect, they become part of a collective culture, and in the physical education lesson more specifically, a ‘traditional’ bodily practice that has explicit class origins. Kirk appears to affirm this when he comments that “The creation, selection, development and maintenance of particular techniques of the body are underpinned by and reflect deeply held values and beliefs about embodiment in any given society” (Kirk, 2010, p. 100).

Marxist and neo-Marxist concepts of alienation and commodification are utilised to analyse capitalism, class domination and the exploitation of athletes and spectators in modern sport. Whilst this thesis has physical education as its core focus, sport and physical education intertwine across various epochs in England, and so the former warrants discussion. A Marxist study of sport essentially views it as a
Chapter 2: Exploring perspectives of the body in physical education

significant sociocultural entity but recognises the structural limitations that are placed on it due to capitalism. Although it is recognised that there is no monolithic Marxist school of thought, some contend that Marxian sport-related critical theory has developed across several decades (see Macdonald, 2008). Thus, ‘activist-Marxism’⁴, allegedly emerged across the 1960s and 1970s, whereby sport was primarily negatively framed due to its exploitative and divisive characteristics (see Hoch, 1972; Macdonald, 2008). During the 1980s and 1990s, power relations were explored through ‘cultural-Marxism’, with different social groups in sport challenging their domination. Resistance possibilities were offered, and insights into the cultural significance of sport and its shifting ideologies were duly investigated (see Hargreaves, 1986; McKay, 1986). Notably, sport was viewed by some proponents of cultural-Marxism as a critical device in the construction and maintenance of bourgeois hegemony over the working classes (see Hargreaves, 1986). In addition, some cultural-Marxism studies have interrogated how “commodity sports”⁵ create “false solidarity” between ‘workers’, owners, nations and global capitalist systems (Young, 1986, p. 6). From the late 1990s onward, ‘post-Marxism’ surfaced, intersecting with poststructuralist and postmodern theories, especially in the domain of identity and recognition politics (see Andrews, 2001). In effect, post-Marxism theory reworked and developed cultural-Marxism, critiquing relations of power in sport and borrowing Gramscian concepts such as ‘hegemony’ and ‘cultural contestation’. These were used “to re-theorise the sport-society relationship as part of the contested terrain of capitalist culture in the war of position between different social groups and blocs” (Macdonald, p. 46).

Physical training versus competitive sports and games

Although sport per se does not feature in Marxian theory, competition is clearly located within Marx’s market competition theory, but its direct relevance to the body per se is somewhat tenuous. What is more pertinent to this discussion is

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⁵ Commodity sports are those that have been turned into consumer goods or services, with consumers willing to pay to play or watch. As such, commodity sports have a potential exchange value.
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Marx's (1844/1975) *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, where his views on competition in relation to human nature unfold. In this conception, Marx proposes that human beings are not naturally competitive; they are instead social creatures that depend on mutual support for their survival. This directly contravenes the capitalist ideology of individualism whereby competitiveness is deemed a true representation of human nature, with an individual being rewarded for their ability to overcome their rivals in a subject such as physical education (Althusser, 1984). It also challenges the emphasis on competition and standards that has dominated physical education pedagogy since the 1950s (Kirk, 1992). What makes matters even more complicated in the physical education milieu is that

> Any competitive game is potentially Janus-headed. It has the potential to foster both togetherness and selfish individualism but the function is determined not by any qualities inherent in the game or activity, but by the ideological carapace which surrounds and supports it (Evans, 1988, p. 186).

In this manner, competition and its social effect on the body in physical education is shown to be somewhat complex.

During the early twentieth century, the development of school-based competitive sports and games in physical education reflected society's class divisions in England, since the “games ethic” was endorsed by the private schools but remained inaccessible to the working classes (Phillips & Roper, 2006, p. 131). Working-class students were served drill, whilst the ruling classes were given a menu of competitive sports and games. Such differences were advocated by different sections of the bourgeoisie, indicating that the lower classes became the objects of these practices. It was not until the end of the Second World War that working-class children were eventually permitted to participate in competitive school sport across England; a historical development that was more than seventy years in the making but was latterly influenced by the devastating effects of world wars, economic depression, and a move towards creating a stronger national identity (Kirk, 1992, 1998). In the wake of two world wars, competitive sports and games were thus a more acceptable substitute for drill with its inherent military origins. Introducing the working classes to competition through games and sports paved the way for
them to be assimilated into the bourgeois society that was struggling to initially rebuild itself.

Although at first sight the introduction of competitive sports and team games from the privileged classes offer a counterpoint to the working-class regimented physical training with their looser forms of power over the body, it should be remembered that these physical activities originated in the elite schools as a vehicle for developing a particular set of social and cultural practices. As such, they needed to be “sanitised and reconstructed for use in the mass secondary school system, and reconstructed in a form that could enlist the identification and support of working class pupils” (Kirk, 1992, p. 84). Hence, these physical activities still regulated and normalised the body in terms of space and time through strict moral codes and a plethora of rules that dictated proper conduct, fair play and etiquette. Such aspects will be explored further within the ensuing discussion of forms of power in the poststructuralist perspectives of the body. For the moment, suffice it to say that following the Second World War the actual practice of competitive sports and games for the working classes would have varied according to the socio-economic location of the school, as well as the sex and ethnic origin of the children (Kirk, 1998). What appears to remain constant, however, is that competitive sports and games were designed by the bourgeoisie as a means of “civilising the bodies of the children of the working classes” through their enactment (Kirk, 1998, p. 89). These civilising processes are neither neutral nor universal; they reflect the values and expectations of society, and are applied in a variety of ways to children according to their social backgrounds.

Taking the above discussion into account, introducing competitive sports and games to the working classes could not be considered a progressive measure; nor did “playing games the middle-class way” have a “benign influence” on the participants (Kirk, 1998, p. 139). Rather, these activities continued to uphold drill’s utilitarian goals of preserving the social order whilst at the same time introducing the working classes into ‘respectable’ bourgeois society. In effect, the inclusion of competitive games and sports was justified in terms of “their encouragement of a corporate
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spirit and their development of the physical strength and moral fibre of working class youth – thus contributing to imperial success and stability” (Humphries, 1981, p. 41). Working class bodies could therefore potentially be shaped according to societal needs, both physically and mentally, through these bourgeois-derived sports and games that used the “playing field as a highly visible symbol of social superiority” (Kirk, 1998, p. 92). From the 1950s through to the 1980s, competitive games and sports thus became the core of the physical education programme, often dictating the content and also timing of the physical education lesson in relation to seasonal variations in sports (Kirk, 1992, 1998). It could be ventured, therefore, that competitive games and sports acquired the epithet of ‘traditional’ physical education during this particular period in time. This ‘traditional’ knowledge would not, however, be passively received and absorbed, for “Knowledge... flows within a corporeal context that determines its salience and that shapes what individuals make of the curriculum on offer to them” (Shilling, 2004, xv). Notwithstanding this, the regulation of working-class bodies through competitive games and sports activities needs to be recognised; indeed, similar class power struggles can be seen through the body when it is dehumanised and treated as a machine (Marx, 1975).

The body as a machine in the capitalist economy

The notion of competition will be elaborated on further when the gendered body is explored. For the moment, it is to the Marxian principle of the body being likened to a machine that the discussion now turns. Indeed, Marx’s analysis of the body shows “how the development of capitalist technology linked and subordinated working-class bodies to machinery” (Shilling, 2012, p. 25), with specified quantities and qualities of work needing to be undertaken irrespective of workers’ bodily needs. Thus, the individual worker became like the limb of a powerful organism, the ‘living’ machine-like system, itself symbolic of a new stage of capitalism in the Industrial Revolution. In this manner, Marx (1975) contends that labouring bodies are not only exploited but also dehumanised under the capitalist economic system; people who labour for numerous hours every day without adequate periods of rest and relaxation become alienated from society, the human race, and the object they produce. Since heavy manual labour is increasingly a thing of the past in Western
society. Marxian descriptions of the industrial proletariat appear less applicable to contemporary society, but the Marxist phenomenon of an ‘organic’ machine has nevertheless had a significant effect on corporeal representations across time (de la Peña, 2003; Hawkins, 2002). Shilling (1993), for example, notes that when endowed with machine-like qualities, the body can effectively break down, and each part is then able to be repaired through manipulation, enhancement or even substitution processes. Notwithstanding this, when viewed as a machine that can be made more efficient, the body takes on a predetermined capacity that does not enable it to be extended beyond an assumed limit (de la Peña, 2003).

Within the sporting context, “the conception of the body as a fixed machine has fundamentally influenced modern constructions of the athletic body” (Magdalinski, 2009, p. 35). For instance, Brohm (1978, p. 5) maintains that through sport the body has come to be understood as “a technical means to an end, a reified factor of output and productivity, in short, as a machine with the job of producing the maximum work and energy”. This evokes the previously discussed use of drill for working-class students in the physical education milieu. Indeed, drill was devised to promote the efficient functioning of the working-class body at a young age in preparation for their future manual labour; it was a precursor to the industrial working life that lay in wait for them. As such, “Employers of labour were advised of the potential advantages which would accrue if physical exercises... taught children how to move in unison and how to utilise their combined lifting capacities” (Penn, 1999, p. 44). When viewed as part of the Marxist labouring or productive schema, drill would thus seem to inculcate machine-building capacities. Movements were rigid and artificial, timing was immaculate, and individual groups of muscles were worked on in a precise manner and order within drill techniques. There was no place for independent thought, critical awareness or creativity; the body was instead instrumentalised and objectified through its performance of mechanistic movements. Often a rank-and-file arrangement was also utilised in drill, bearing witness to its military origins (Kirk, 2011), while concurrently revealing the need for mechanical meticulousness with intricate spacing and alignment.
Interim summary of Marxist perspectives of the body

Despite the fact that Marx has been condemned for failing to address the body within his work, the above account illustrates, via a range of scholarly perspectives, that a number of his core concepts do apply to the body as well as to historical moments and developments in physical education. Certainly, notions of class-focused physical activities have been shown to be evident in physical education over the last hundred years or so, with drill dominating the first half of the twentieth century for working-class children, and competitive sports and games following this after the Second World War (Evans, 1986; Kirk, 1992, 2001). Class differences in core physical education activities such as this are notable, since they illuminate ways in which the working-class students have been moulded through hierarchical social structures that seek to preserve broader power relations. At first sight it appears that the mid-twentieth century transition from drill to competitive sports and games is indicative of progression, but after further investigation it becomes evident that competitive sports and games were less free-flow than this, since they were effectively used to ‘civilise’ the working classes (Kirk, 1998). Thus, the plethora of rules and inherent moral codes within competitive sports and games served a clear purpose, helping the nation to rebuild itself after two World Wars by attempting to reconstruct and regulate young, working-class students.

Notwithstanding the need to review certain concepts and themes through alternative body representations, the other principal Marxian notion discussed above - the body as a machine - shows that the rigid, repetitive techniques found in drill helped turn working-class children into more efficient ‘machines’ for their future work as manual labourers. This exposes the destructive effects of capitalism as a system that transmits its main structural characteristics through institutional practices such as drill within the school subject context. In this manner, a more productive labour force can be created under capitalist rule, and the body effectively becomes the “carrier of labour-power” (Turner, 1992, p. 11). The ruling classes therefore seem to become a significant singular source of power, with far-reaching effects on working-class bodies through such institutional processes as schooling. In terms of physical education per se, Kirk (1998, 2001) and Evans (1986) confirm
the part that it plays as a subject within this power matrix through their work on schooling bodies, proposing that corporeal regulation and normalisation are prevalent in physical education through the “learning [of] physical skills and other practices specific to the school as an institution” (Kirk, 2001, p. 477). Despite this, the relevance of the Marxian body as a machine in our post-industrial society might well be questioned; indeed, some claim that the body is no longer capable of achieving the goals of modern production methods (Turner, 1992). Nonetheless, the machine metaphor has also been illuminated through the post Second World War ascendancy of performance and skill-focused objectives within physical education. The significance of Marxian machine analogies therefore seems to hold firm even in the twenty-first century. It might therefore be deduced that Marxian concepts such as those outlined above, particularly in relation to class, remain significant for the construction of the body in the physical education context.

Thus, how class constructs the body and how the ruling classes have dictated history appear to be particularly relevant concepts for this study, and it is these concepts that can be investigated through the Marxist perspective. Nevertheless, this Marxian analysis does not shed any light on connections between social distinctions such as class and gender, which have been shown to exist within physical education across time (Kirk, 1990, 2001). If it were accepted that the introduction of competitive sports and games to the physical education curriculum during the 1950s was a bourgeois manoeuvre, it might be concluded that gender is a significant social variable alongside class due to the gendered roots of these physical activities. Hence, the discussion will subsequently lead into an exploration of the second body perspective, the gendered body, since the Marxist perspective appears to overlook how this might also be a social variable of significance.

**Gendered perspectives of the body in a physical education context**

Challenging the capitalist oppression of the working classes is at the heart of Marxist theory, and as hitherto discussed, Marxist theory has sought to dismantle the neutral and natural appearance of upper class superiority over the working classes.
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Similarly, feminist sociologists deconstruct and dispute the allegedly neutral and natural division of labour, gendered distribution of resources and roles, and the ways in which women are dominated by men. As acknowledged previously, gender issues are significant at an institutional level within the physical education context. Indeed, some maintain that “Selections of which knowledge is worthwhile [in physical education] reflect class and other interests, such as gender and race, mediated by relations of power, authority and control” (Evans & Davies, 2006, p. 796). Once again, connections between class and gender are noteworthy here, and these will be revisited towards the end of this chapter. For now, this chapter section will endeavour to elaborate on a number of feminist perspectives in relation to physical education pedagogy, focusing on those that are perceived as having the most impact on this subject, namely liberal, radical, socialist and poststructuralist (Flintoff & Scraton, 2005). Feminist perspectives seek to comprehend and explain gender relations, illuminating inequalities between the sexes whilst simultaneously advocating strategies for change. Each of these four perspectives requires explanation in order to reveal their fundamental nature and the implications of this vis-à-vis the governance of female and male bodies within a physical education context. However, it is recognised that a complete overview of all four selected feminist perspectives would be an impossible task within the limitations of this discussion; moreover, feminist theories are inherently dynamic and fluid, with one theory never entirely being replaced by another despite their chronological development. It should be remembered, therefore, that there is coexistence of different traditions of feminist thought in one text. Furthermore, gendered accounts of physical education do not always elucidate which specific feminist perspective underpins them. Notwithstanding this, an endeavour will be made to organise the ensuing discussion of gender and physical education into particular feminist strands, thereby connecting issues raised with the perspective that is most akin to these.

Liberal feminism

As one of the earliest organising strands of feminist scholarship, liberal feminism is “characterised by its political commitment to using existing democratic processes
and structures to equalise opportunities for women and girls” (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2009, p. 54). In this manner, structural and attitudinal barriers are acknowledged and challenged through legislation and personal-professional development activities. Liberal feminists contend that the ‘oppressor’ relative to women is their lack of opportunity due to biological determinism, gender role differentiation of activities, and patterns of socialisation that normalise this in the school, family, and media (see Flintoff & Scraton, 2005; Greendorfer, 1993; Oglesby, 1978; Scraton & Flintoff, 2013). Hence, “Liberal feminists... work within the system to bring about change” (Nilges, 2006, p. 79), developing strategies to eradicate oppression and improve girls’ and women’s access, rights and privileges. They expose and challenge traditional assumptions about the body as a natural, biological entity, as well as related discriminatory practices such as stereotyping and attitudes (see Flintoff & Scraton, 2005; Scraton & Flintoff, 2013). Some scholars, for example, have concentrated on teacher attention to girls and boys in lessons (Macdonald, 1990), or physical educators’ preferred teaching strategies (Vertinsky, 1984). Scraton’s (1992) work in this domain focused on how girls and boys are socialised into respective gendered physicalities, and traditional ‘feminine’ activities (netball, gymnastics) or ‘masculine’ activities (football, rugby).

Liberal feminism is perhaps better understood if a brief historical review of the development of girls’ physical education is undertaken. During the nineteenth century, dominant ideologies wherein the female body was portrayed as frail and susceptible to illness, were somewhat contested in the private school context (Scraton, 1986; Shilling, 2012). Evidently, prior to the establishment of physical education in the curriculum, physical activity for girls was limited to marching for deportment, social dance and occasional calisthenics within home and private schooling environments (Borer, 1976). This reflected the need for ‘ladylike’ behaviour and training for motherhood, creating a powerful ideology that restricted girls’ physicality whilst reinforcing notions of female-male biological differences. Hence, opportunities for vigorous exercise were not offered to middle and upper class girls during the majority of the nineteenth century, as they were seen to require separate physical activities of a lower intensity level (Fletcher, 1984). With
the introduction of Swedish gymnastics towards the end of the nineteenth century, which became an integral part of the physical education programme for girls in private secondary schools, more energetic movement systems were ultimately introduced. However, these were predicated on women’s ‘natural’, biologically-determined abilities since the founder of Swedish gymnastics, Per Henrik Ling, reinforced the need for modified exercises that respected women’s rounded bodily forms and their reproductive roles in society (Scraton, 1986). Thus, “When women performed Swedish gymnastics, their movements were required to be dainty, nimble and flexible. When men performed Swedish gymnastics, they were required to be strong and powerful” (Kirk, 2002b, p. 27). In a similar vein, certain working-class physical education activities within the various early nineteenth century Board of Education syllabuses for elementary schools were deemed more appropriate for boys than girls and were consequently regulated, particularly vis-à-vis exercises that affected the chest or pelvic region (Scraton, 1986). Unitary conceptions of sexual differences such as these are highly problematic, since they lead to gender-based practical training techniques that refute, ignore or alternatively conceal commonalities between female and male bodies. Indeed, this is perceived as one of the limitations of liberal feminist research, with critics noting that there is a tendency to frame women as a universal and homogenous group (see Evans, 1997; Tong, 1998; Whelehan, 1995). Another criticism of liberal feminism is that merely giving women “access and opportunity to a “man’s world” (sometimes referred to as the mix and stir approach)” does not necessarily improve power relations between the sexes (Nilges, 2006, p. 80).

It might be deduced from this brief historical discussion that scientific discourses underpinned the preliminary institutionalisation of physical education for girls. Indeed, these permeated the choices of physical activities that were on offer to girls and boys respectively. Accordingly, traditional ‘masculine’ activities (for example rugby) that emphasised strength, endurance or physical contact, were modified to accommodate girls’ ‘innate’ feminine qualities. New feminine-based activities such as netball, lacrosse and field hockey that did not run the risk of promoting overt masculinity and active sexuality were introduced in the private school sector.
Netball promoted restrictions of space which reduced the speed of the game, and its no contact rule ensured suitable spacing between players was maintained. This ‘protected’ the girls for their future reproduction function and minimised sexual contact or awareness (Scraton, 1992). Similarly, lacrosse and field hockey involved an implement that effectively assured distance was created between the ball and the player, therefore minimising body contact. Hence, eugenic and social Darwinian arguments about the female body needing gentler treatment in order to enhance its maternal energy - and thereby not jeopardise the survival of the human race - seem to have endured during decisions about what constitute ‘appropriate’ games for boys and girls. Unsurprisingly, gendered pedagogic principles and content such as these were retained when state-provided secondary schools were developed for children of all social classes during 1944 in England.

**Radical feminism**

When examining radical feminism, sexuality is more centralised in this perspective and regarded as the principal site of male domination over females through the social convention of heterosexuality (Flintoff & Scraton, 2005). A woman’s right to control and redefine the meanings of her own sexuality and her own body is at issue here, in tandem with the acknowledgement of how seldom this is the case both historically and in contemporary times (Nilges, 2006). Thus, the manner in which patriarchy is sustained through structural power relations becomes the primary focus, along with how these serve to disempower women. Under patriarchy, femininity and masculinity therefore become relationally defined hegemonic constructions (Macdonald et al., 2002). Masculinity, through historical constructive processes, encompasses physicality in a way that excludes femininity, with women becoming alienated by virtue of the sex-gender divides within the social system in which they reside. In this manner, gender oppression is normalised and becomes the status quo (see Frye, 1983; Nilges, 1998; Pateman, 1988).

It would appear that the gendered differentiation of physical education activities provided to girls and boys, in tandem with the ways in which both sexes are effectively manoeuvred into gender-appropriate activities and thereby not granted
equal opportunities are indicative of longstanding gender oppression in this school subject. Whilst several researchers have affirmed such matters (Griffin, 1984, 1985a, 1985b; Kirk, 1992; Talbot, 1993), others have also been influential, maintaining that girls are socialised into ‘female’ activities such as netball and gymnastics, whilst boys pursue the more ‘male’ activities of football and cricket (Leaman, 1984; Vertinsky, 1983). Girls’ differential and restricted physical education provision could therefore be said to reflect and reinforce an ideology of femininity, appearing to therefore validate women’s inferior status in society. Such phenomena also appear to substantiate the gender normalisation process mentioned earlier. Certainly, such clearly defined gender roles imply that a heterosexual body is central, and also actively promoted, within the physical education milieu. In addition, radical feminism in the physical education context might be discernible when considering how stereotyping and gender-related attitudes arise. Whilst the ‘performance’ and construction of normative conceptions of femininity and masculinity will be examined in more detail forthwith, it might be recalled that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century agents from the fields of medicine and physical education (structural power relations), successfully constructed a stereotypical view of the female body as powerless, passive, physically weak, and therefore needful of modified, ‘feminine’ physical activities.

With regard to contemporary physical education, it has been recognised that “teaching behaviours and practices reveal entrenched sex stereotyping, based on ‘common-sense’ notions about what is suitable for girls and boys, both in single-sex and mixed-sex groups and schools” (Talbot, 1993, p. 74). Thus, despite the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act in the UK (which is often associated with liberal feminism), there remain restricted opportunities for both sexes to certain physical activities, specifically in relation to girls’ access to competitive sports (Talbot, 1993). Such matters point to the fact that physical education is one of the few subjects on the curriculum where a gendered history of curriculum differentiation has prevailed (Fletcher, 1984; Kirk, 1992). Efforts to facilitate mixed sex physical education from the 1980s onwards have indeed proven complicated, with gendered body stereotypes often uncontested and reproduced by teachers (Evans, 1989; Flintoff,
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1996; Scraton, 1993; Vertinsky, 1983). Moreover, a widespread presence of perceptions of male superiority and female inferiority by both teachers and students has been acknowledged (Chepyator-Thompson, Jepkorir, & Ennis, 1997; Santina, Solmon, Cothran, Lofthus, & Stockin-Davidson, 1998). Evidence of gender inequalities in physical education classes have also been highlighted elsewhere, with boys discriminating against girls and dominating participation in team sports, whilst girls adopt maladaptive behaviours such as giving up or acquiescing due to gendered practices being favoured in the curriculum (Griffin, 1984, 1985a, 1985b). It would therefore appear that divisions between the sexes have often endured in physical education as a result of ‘natural’ biological differences; these have accounted for variations in content between girls’ and boys’ physical education, together with differences in their expected participation and performance levels by peers, teachers, curriculum designers and ruling authorities. This, combined with broader socio-cultural influences on both girls and boys, leads to very different gendered experiences in physical education, with girls often being alienated due to ‘traditional’ sex-gender disparities in the school system (Evans, Davies, & Penney, 1996; Leaman, 1984; Scraton, 1992).

**Socialist feminism**

The third feminist perspective to be examined, socialist feminism, locates oppression in the intersection between capitalism and patriarchy (Tong, 1998), maintaining that liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women’s oppression. Essentially, socialist feminists argue that capitalism strengthens and supports the sex-gender division status quo as men hold the power and money (Eisenstein, 1999). Analytical connections between class relations and gender relations in society are therefore made, in an endeavour to relate changes in the role of women to changes in the economic system and patterns of ownership of the means of production. Hence, the social variables of class and gender are intertwined; while women are recognised as being divided by class, they are viewed as experiencing a common oppression as the female sex. In terms of physical education per se, a socialist feminist perspective maintains that boys are prepared for the job market through physical activities that
promote aggressiveness, independence and competition, whilst girls learn modified
behaviours such as nurturing and cooperation to facilitate them into their future
devalued labour, namely their reproductive role (Bray, 1988). Through
interrogation of gendered images of masculinity and femininity, Scraton (1992)
highlights the relationship between sexuality, motherhood and girls’ physicality.
Comparing nineteenth century ideologies of femininity with contemporary physical
education teacher expectations about girls’ physical capabilities, she contends that
girls remain defined as less able than boys, passive, vulnerable and subordinate.
Indeed, she argues that physical education teachers actively promote gender-
appropriate activities and behaviours for girls. In some of their later socialist
feminist work, Flintoff and Scraton (2001) explore economic and gender relations
in their analysis of the decisions that girls make to be physically active. Focusing on
structural issues such as cost and transportation, they illuminate how girls made
positive choices about their engagement in physical activity, despite the constraints
they experienced.

Shilling (2012) maintains that Western historical constructions of masculinity and
femininity, as intimated by Scraton (1992) in her research outlined above, have long
been associated with the body. Since the body has already been established as
central to physical education, it becomes the key vehicle through which subject
knowledge is built and replicated. Taking this into account, Kirk (2002b, p. 25)
maintains that

for over one hundred years, the practices that make up physical education
have been strongly associated with stereotypical views about the behaviours
and activity that is appropriate for girls and boys respectively and with
notably singular images of femininity and masculinity.

Whilst physical education practices have already been investigated, the latter point
requires additional consideration and contextualisation, since the way in which
physical education provides both informal and formal sites for the construction and
reinforcement of gender identity is essential for an enriched understanding of the
gendered body. Indeed, Clarke (2002, p. 42) maintains that students and teachers
actively “learn and recognise the required feminine and masculine codes for
acceptance within physical education and schooling more generally”. The body thus
becomes inscribed by the gender-appropriate, dominant discourse and this has an impact on the ‘lived’ body experience, transforming it into a place of personal, cultural and economic desire and struggle in pursuit of an ideal. In accordance with Garrett’s (2004) ‘comfortable’ body analogy that is discussed in greater depth forthwith, Bordo (1995) and Wright (2004) claim that the female body ideal is associated with slenderness. Conversely, masculine bodily ideals are linked to strength and musculature (Connell, 1990; Martino & Pallota-Chiarolli, 2003), which symbolise superiority, aggressiveness, independence, leadership and bravery. Although these are polarised body conceptions, there are gender commonalities to be found in the very notion of bodily concern, for it has been confirmed that “Body shape, size, musculature, and physicality... are of central importance to [both] girls and boys” (Azzarito, 2009, p. 20). Notwithstanding this, a significant narrowing of girls’ physical activity choices can occur, since body shape and size appear to be connected to female and male engagement in gender-appropriate physical activities (Gorely et al., 2003). This is merely one example of various tensions and contradictions that have already been illuminated between the body, gender, and the body ‘work’ that is undertaken in the physical education environment.

Poststructural feminism

The poststructural feminist perspective has developed more recently than the three previous ones outlined. By exploring connections between oppression, discourses, language and subjectivity as they impact upon gender identities and relationships, it endeavours to dismiss normalising conceptions of female and male, thereby promoting the shifting, plural and complex nature of gender. Experience, according to poststructuralist theory, is conferred meaning in language through a variety of “discursive systems of meaning, which are often contradictory and constitute conflicting versions of social reality, which in turn serve conflicting interests” (Weedon, 1997, p. 33). Indeed, poststructural feminist analysis illuminates ways in which dominant discourses can ensnare a person in conventional meanings and modes of being, noting that language and the range of subject positions that it provides always reside in historically specific discourses which are, in turn, located in and structured by discursive fields such as the education system. This latter point
will be developed to some extent in the ensuing poststructuralist body discussion, where Foucault’s ‘discursive field’ will be considered when attempting to understand the relationship between social institutions, power and the body. For the moment, it should be noted that Foucault’s work has been adopted by some poststructuralist feminist scholars to interrogate the notion of corporeal, gendered styles that are embedded, resisted and controlled.

At this point it is important to acknowledge the work of Butler, a key poststructuralist feminist theorist, who collapses the distinction between sex and gender, contending that there is no sex that is not always already gendered and that both are constructed as opposed to originating from any biological foundations. As a result, Butler (1990, p. 139) argues that “the body is not a “being” but a variable boundary, a surface whose permeability is politically regulated, a signifying practice within a cultural field of gender hierarchy and compulsory heterosexuality”. Hence, for Butler (1990), the ‘natural’ body cannot precede culture and discourse, but it should be remembered that the body is not a passive medium that is inscribed by external sources. In a similar vein, gender is not perceived as a passive construct that is “determined by nature, language, the symbolic, or the overwhelming history of patriarchy” (Butler, 1988, p. 531); it is instead produced through stylisation of the body and becomes a site through which agency takes place. The notion of performativity consequently comes into play, with the body being naturalised into a specific gender role through repetitious and ritualistic acts over time. This effectively repudiates the notion of gender being a stable identity or locus of agency, enabling the body to step outside of its “restrictive frames of masculinist domination and compulsory heterosexuality” (Butler, 1990, p. 141).

Butler’s work frequently draws from Foucault’s (1980a, 1980b) theory of power relations, emphasising the need to deconstruct ‘female’ and acknowledge pluralities of femininities and masculinities, which has implications for the diversity of girls’ and boys’ experiences in the physical education context. As such, the individual has to be taken into account, with an analysis of ways in which they can become empowered, disempowered or actively resist the effects of power through the
gender construction process. Garrett’s (2004) poststructural examination of how young women experience their body during physical activity in contemporary society is of particular relevance here. She maintains that there are three main female body types that are constructed within physical education, namely the comfortable body, the bad body and the different body. The ‘comfortable’ body is one that conforms to the slim, white, Western, middle-class conception, wherein the individual accepts the need to engage in physical activity to achieve a ‘good’ body whilst continuing to survey herself and others. The ‘bad’ body is one that is essentially viewed as fat and non-sporty, which inhibits the development of physicality and physical identity. In effect, individuals with ‘bad’ bodies seem to have internalised the Western culture of thinness as well as patriarchal standards of what constitutes an appropriate, and indeed attractive, female body. Finally, there are individuals who are described as having the ‘different’ body, because they do not conform to traditional discourses that focus on visual identity; they instead enjoy sensation and empowerment during movement experiences through their ‘lived’ body experiences. These three deconstructed body types expose the corporeal diversity that can be developed and sustained in physical education, illuminating how contemporary young women experience their bodies in multiple and sometimes incongruous ways. Hence,

the dominant discourses which define femininity are continually allowing for the eruption of ‘difference’, and even the most subordinated of subjects are therefore continually confronted with opportunities for resistance, for making meanings that ‘oppose or evade the dominant ideology’ (Bordo, 1993, p. 193).

This implies that female identity is constructed differently by each ‘actor’, who is inspired by historically specific values and ideas. Nevertheless, it should be remembered here that historical realities will influence the possibilities for resistance and transformation, and that sexism remains a normalising force in Western society (Bordo, 1993). Indeed, when viewed historically, the body is recognised by poststructural feminists as being a text of culture on which central rules and hierarchies are inscribed, simultaneously operating as “an amazingly
durable and flexible strategy of social control” (Bordo, 1989, p. 14). Power is thus exercised through such corporeal discourses, but poststructural feminists advocate that “To be effective, they [discourses] require activation through the agency of the individuals whom they constitute and govern in particular ways as embodied subjects” (Weedon, 1997, p. 108). Social conditioning and normalisation processes on the female body therefore underestimate the unstable nature of subjectivity, as well as the creative agency that the individual has (Bordo, 1993). Moreover, the continual need for body work through the uptake of physical activity, implicitly alludes to the unpredictability and duplicity of the body, as well as it always being in the process of ‘becoming’. It is in this space that dominant bodily codifications might be mediated, which is of particular interest to poststructural feminists.

Garrett’s (2004) hitherto mentioned analysis of the comfortable body, the bad body and the different body demonstrates the complex interrelations between bodies, gender and discourses. Other poststructural feminists (Hall, 1996; Theberge, 1987) have also used Foucault’s notions of discourse, concurrently revealing ways in which surveillance and technologies of the self operate through disciplinary power. Using such points of reference, the manner in which young women’s bodies are constructed and inscribed with knowledge have been shown to affect their understanding of self along with their involvement in physical activity. Theberge (1987, p. 393), for example, emphasises that physical activity and sport offer liberatory possibilities, providing “the opportunity for women to experience the creativity and energy of their bodily power”. This is akin to Garrett’s (2004) conceptions of ‘good’ and ‘different’ body types, notably vis-à-vis the ‘lived’, embodied experiences to which she alludes. It would seem, therefore, that girls in physical education, with or without ‘good’ bodies, can potentially offer some resistance to traditional viewpoints surrounding femininity and the body through their rejection of restrictive gendered body discourses along with stereotypically feminine physical activities. Whilst some of these power struggles are shaped and driven by popular culture, the physical education profession has an opportunity to help girls contest discourses that define bodily norms and dictate what physical activities girls should undertake as opposed to boys. Interestingly, in their attempt
to make physical education curricula more meaningful to girls, Oliver and Lalik (2004) discuss how they planned a curriculum strand that focused on girls’ bodies and physical activity. Critical literacy processes such as reflection, inquiry, and artistic representation were included, giving girls opportunities to name the discourses that regulate their bodies and impact on their lives more generally. This is akin to Vertinsky’s (1992) plea for physical educators to offer possibilities for adolescent girls to become aware of and critique discursive practices that impinge on the body, shaping subjectivity and desire.

The work of poststructural feminists highlights the performative nature of gender with its iterations of socially constructed codes that construe and confirm gender. Thus far, performative approaches to gender such as those proposed by Butler (1990) in the above account have been shown to be significant in terms of how they extend our understanding of gendered bodies in the physical education context. The poststructuralist feminist account has also drawn attention to the need for further examination of the poststructural body per se in this chapter, since this has often been overlooked in physical education research (see Flintoff & Scraton, 2006). Hence, complexities and interconnectedness between ‘biologically determined’ bodies and the social construction of gender might be able to be investigated through the lens of power relations. Such matters will subsequently be prioritised in the study, by means of an examination of what opportunities there might be to challenge, resist, or at the very least, negotiate dominant discourses through which social codes have been allowed to perpetuate across time at school subject level in contemporary society. Prior to this, it is important to draw together key aspects from this discussion of gendered perspectives of the body.

**Interim summary of gendered perspectives of the body**

The relevance of the gendered body in the physical education context has been affirmed through the above exploration of four widely accepted feminist perspectives, even though boundaries between these are recognised as being fluid and traversable. What has become evident are the specific ways in which female and male bodies are differently constructed, viewed and treated in physical education.
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Indeed, the legitimisation and reproduction of social inequalities connected to female-male differences in the physical education milieu have been highlighted, together with some of the accommodation and resistance to gendered body ‘norms’. It is apparent that ideologies of gendered physical capacities are embedded in the development of the pedagogical practices and content of physical education, and that they have become an important aspect of its tradition across time. Thus, “both as a school subject and as a ‘profession’, historically physical education in the UK has developed in explicitly gendered way” (Evans & Penney, 2002, p. 3). This not only rejects the possibility of a student being an individual with multiple identities, thereby relegating girls and boys to discrete homogeneous groups, but it also fails to recognise the shifting nature of gender and gender relations within physical education pedagogy. Indeed, some would even go as far as saying that “physical education as it currently exists in many British schools is a masculinised form of the subject. But it is not merely masculinised. A particularly narrow form of masculinity informs and is expressed in this masculinisation” (Kirk, 2002b, p. 35).

Acknowledgement of such power relations is pivotal to achieving deeper comprehension of gender issues. Furthermore, it needs to be recognised that gendered representations of the body are far more complex than at first sight, which signifies that analyses of gendered bodies will always fall short if there is no explicit engagement in the dynamics within and between gender and sexuality (Butler, 1990). Once it is recognised that gender is “a corporeal style” (Salih & Butler, 2004, p. 93), and that societal structures have a vested interest in maintaining divisions between the sexes, notions of normativity in relation to what constitutes female or male, and their respective roles, can begin to be contested. What this discussion of the gendered body has therefore revealed is that an alternative frame of reference, namely the poststructuralist body, warrants further exploration. The limitations of framing the body in a gendered way, as previously discussed, might subsequently be able to be transcended. Indeed, a poststructural perspective, with its focus on power-knowledge, enables social variables such as gender and class to be recognised as effects of historically variable and contingent discursive practices.
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This permits a more in-depth examination of the body and how it is constructed in physical education, which constitutes this study’s principal focus.

Poststructural perspectives of the body in a physical education context

It has been established through the two different body perspectives discussed thus far that physical education is

a site of struggle over values and different conceptions of how the body, the individual and the society ought to be, a contest in which individuals and interest groups may not all have the same opportunities or power to make their voices heard (Evans, 1990a, p. 142).

This statement logically leads the discussion into the subsequent review of poststructuralist perspectives of the body, since they offer the possibility of challenging the cultural representations and structures that give rise to historical inequalities. Foucault’s (1977a, 1977b) analytical approach becomes of particular interest here, for it contests the development of rational knowledge as emancipatory, progressive and continuous, emphasising instead the need to acknowledge discontinuities in the progression of knowledge and the application of power. In this sense, it becomes possible to see how truths are constructed within discourses across time, but it should be remembered that these same “historical truths’ rest upon complex, contingent, and fragile ground” (Marshall, 1990, p. 19). Hence, a different way of studying ideas and issues raised in the two previous body perspectives is needed; one that contrasts with the more traditional ‘narrative’ histories and investigations of historically situated social practices such as physical education. The Marxist and gendered body perspectives could therefore be viewed as discursive practices, and consequently be interrogated to ascertain their linkage to the conjunction of power, the production of particular ‘truths’ in regard to physical education, and the ultimate effect these have had on traditional pedagogy. In an endeavour to clarify such matters further, Foucault’s theory of discourse will be duly examined. Within the ensuing section there will be a particular focus on Foucauldian theory and how this might be applied within the physical education context. This will enable the deconstruction of power structures on the body and an introduction to the broader notion of governmentality that constitutes an inherent
component of Foucault’s (2007) triangular conception of power. Initially, however, closer examination of key Foucauldian themes is required as a prelude to an investigation of the ways in which Foucault contends the body has been governed across time.

**Foucault and discourses**

In contrast with Marxian theory, the body seems to occupy a more central place in the Foucauldian tradition, for it is considered a site where discourses operate to both control and invest the body with power. Indeed, discourse is the most omnipresent concept in Foucault's work, and he uses it in multiple ways; this, he perceives, is a strength that adds to the complexity and usage of the concept (Foucault, 1972). Thus, Foucault broadens his understanding of discourse from an earlier linguistic definition to include the material discourses of “institutions, political events, economic practices and processes” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Aligned with language, discourse also refers to “overlapping sets of deep principles incorporating specific grids of meaning that underpin, generate and establish relations between all that can be seen, thought and said” (Shilling, 2012, p. 79). Hence, “Discourse lies between the level of pure atemporal linguistic ‘structure’ (langue) and the level of surface speaking (parole): it expresses the historical specificity of what is said and what remains unsaid [emphasis in original]” (Ball, 1990, pp. 2-3). Moreover, discourses have been referred to as the connection between daily practices and the organisation and employment of power (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). It is therefore “through discourses, that is, the mix of beliefs, ideas and concepts which make up and organise our relation to reality, that power and knowledge come together” (Foucault, 1972, p. 48). By comparing traditional with modern societies through his genealogical approach, Foucault explores such power relations in depth. In so doing, he claims that the construction of bodies have been shaped by discourses that initially considered it to be a mere fleshy object, but have subsequently perceived it as a mindful body that might be controlled effectively through surveillance and stimulation.

**The body and power according to Foucault**
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Acknowledging modifications to power that have taken place across time is important in this study, since it has already been explained that its aim is to understand contemporary physical education and practice through a historical analysis that addresses ways in which the body has been constructed, reconstructed and governed. As a poststructuralist theorist, Foucault's conception of power in all its guises - for example in language, action, events - permits the body to be explored in a way that meets this aim. Indeed, in Foucault's work during the 1970s, he added the body to his discourse-power dialectic, demonstrating its importance through his genealogical approach, whilst simultaneously recognising how the body has been marginalised throughout history. Foucault (1976, p. 140) views power as being “incorporated or invested in the body through meticulous, insistent work on people's bodies – on children in families and schools; on soldiers, prisoners and hospital patients; in the gym, at the dinner table and in the bathroom”. It is here that Foucault's archaeology of discourse becomes apparent, for he tracks knowledge production through institutional formations. In effect, Foucault's (1973) work at this point constructs a genealogy of certain regimes of truth as they evolve in particular institutions, which has implications for how their operation is understood. Subsequently, Foucault considers how social practices associated with disciplinary institutions such as schools, prisons, hospitals and barracks shape consciousness and social relations, investigating connections between power, knowledge and the body (Foucault, 1977a). It is in this latter work, Discipline and punish, that there is a privileging of the genealogy of power/knowledge relations whereby power is followed as it explicitly acts on and regulates the body through disciplining practices of being. As a result, an analysis of how spatiality and certain regimes mould the body to enhance its functionality for the purposes of social control is revealed.

Foucault's shifting conceptions of power

During the 1970s, Foucault expanded and reworked his conception of power. Indeed, in his lectures at the Collège de France between 1975 and 1979, there were significant shifts from the themes of disciplinary power and his notion of biopower to the broader issue of governmentality. It is important to review these here, as
without such contextualisation, aspects of Foucault’s theory of power will remain unclear. With this in mind, Foucault’s work entitled *Security, territory, population* (2007) is perhaps even more significant for this study than the previously mentioned *Discipline and punish* (1977a), since it is here that a characterisation of historical power and the emergence of Western governmental power become apparent. Accordingly, three interrelated primary modalities are delineated, constituting a "triangle: sovereignty, discipline, and governmental management” (Foucault, 2007, p. 107), as opposed to three successive types of society. These three concepts “advance in a chronological, coherent and encompassing order through Foucault's work” (Sánchez García & Rivero Herraiz, 2013, p. 497), documenting a shift from governing territory to governing populations, elucidating the emergence of liberalism and the collapse of feudalism. The main target of this triangular power framework is the population, and its tools are “apparatuses of security” (Foucault, 2007, p. 108). Hence, Foucault refines his concept of power, ostensibly developing his preliminary conception of it as domination to become the conduct of conduct. It is important at this point to outline differences between the three disciplinary mechanisms of power to which Foucault alludes, in an attempt to investigate their potential relationship to power structures that have dominated physical education pedagogy during the last hundred years or so. Some of these, such as the supremacy of competitive sports and games since the 1950s until today, have already been shown in previous sections of this chapter to have gendered derivations. Drawing out distinctions and connections between the three modalities within Foucault’s power triangle has a number of implications vis-à-vis perceived shifts of governance for the construction of the body within movement contexts. However, it should be noted at this point that Foucault's (2007) power triangle appears to have rarely been cited or used in its entirety as a guiding framework by physical education scholars to examine ways in which the body has been governed across time in physical education (see Sánchez García & Rivero Herraiz, 2013).

**Foucault’s power triangle: sovereignty/sovereign forms of power**

The first form of power within Foucault’s (2007) triangle comprises sovereignty, which is a hierarchical conception of how power emanates from the top downwards...
via the royal ruler. Sovereignty is also regarded as being a singular source of power (Rose, 1999) and has been specifically described as “a discontinuous exercise of power through display and spectacle, law as command, [and] sanctions as negative and deductive” (Rose, 1999, p. 23). To all intents and purposes, the object of sovereignty is the preservation of a principality or territory, as well as the “Prince’s safety in the reality of his territorial power” (Foucault, 2007, p. 65). Sovereignty also requires simultaneous submission of the people to the law through which sovereign rule is maintained, in order to sustain the public good. As such, “law and sovereignty were absolutely united” (Foucault, 2007, p. 99). Moreover, there is an “essential circularity” to sovereignty, whereby “The good is obedience to the law, so that the good proposed by sovereignty is that people obey it” (Foucault, 2007, p. 98). Initially, sovereignty took a juridical form but was subsequently “democratised and anchored in the rights of the legal and political subject” (Dean, 2010, p. 122). According to Foucault (2007), academic conceptions of power have been more closely allied to sovereignty issues and combined forms of power than with government, which instead of involving the defence of territory comprises a series of power networks that invest the body, knowledge, family, technology and more. Thus, power becomes a part of the social fabric. This is something that will be further examined in the subsequent governmentality section, but prior to this, a review of sovereignty in relation to the Marxist body perspective is necessary to explore potential connections between them.

Foucault’s historical account of power aligns sovereignty to medieval times in particular, so its relevance for contemporary society and physical education per se might therefore be called into question. However, “Running through the [Foucault’s] versions of juridical power and of liberal power, there is a common analogy between power and commodities, between power and wealth, and between power and ‘sovereignty’ (be it King or parliament)” (Marshall, 2009, p. 138). This highlights that power has an economic functionality, that is to say, it seeks to preserve the relations of production and to perpetuate class domination through these. Accordingly, power works in a macro and top down way, with someone (the singular source of power) imposing itself upon another who is ‘owned’ as a commodity. In
contemporary society, a discernible singular source of power might be the ruling classes. However, an institution such as a school, or a physical education teacher as an agent of the institution, could also be viewed as possessors of sovereign power. For example, in respect of physical education pedagogy it might be ventured that the singular power of the ruling classes is expounded and shown to be hierarchical therein (see Evans, 1986; Kirk, 1998). More specifically, the “games ethic” was endorsed by elite private schools during the early twentieth century but it remained inaccessible to working-class students who instead endured drill as a physical alternative for many years during their schooling process (Phillips & Roper, 2006, p. 131). This indicates that the bourgeoisie held the sovereign power during this period, giving their young successors more free-flow, progressive physical activities to develop their prospective leadership capacities. In contrast, working-class students were prepared for their future manual labour positions in the capitalist economy and thus became the objects of regimented, military-based physical education practices.

Hence, it can be seen that regulation and normalisation processes were adopted with working-class bodies through the teaching of certain techniques and exercises in the physical education milieu (Kirk, 1992, 1998). Relations between sovereignty and Foucault’s second form of power, discipline, seem to therefore be visible within the physical education context. In this manner, the ruling classes hold sovereign power, but maintaining their position and keeping control of their subjects necessitates the employment of discipline mechanisms. When institutionalised to become a part of physical education pedagogy, these discipline mechanisms are implemented by teachers who ostensibly embody sovereign power. This effectively introduces the second form of power in Foucault’s triangle, namely discipline. Interestingly, this form of power has been researched far more extensively by physical education scholars than sovereignty. This might be due to the supposed contemporary irrelevance of sovereignty, but some theorists believe that sovereignty coexists alongside governmentality (Foucault’s third form of power to be discussed) in modern society. For example, sovereignty has been described as an inherent part of governmentality, due to the way in which it can be “transformed
and used as a tactic, thereby producing a lawless power that relies on both sovereignty and governmentality and that acts in the name of the state” (Erlenbusch, 2013, p. 54) during certain emergency political contexts. Hence, when more subtle power techniques do not work, it would seem that there is always a ruling authority-led contingency plan on which to rely. Linkages between the different power forms in Foucault’s triangle therefore seem apparent, which has been corroborated elsewhere:

it is most helpful to consider that, in the power regimes that began to take shape in the liberal societies of the nineteenth century, the theematics of sovereignty, of discipline, and of bio-power are all relocated within the field of governmentality (Rose, 1999, p. 23).

If the next two forms of power (discipline, governmentality) are considered in more detail, this assertion, as well as its relation to the work of physical education scholars, might be examined in more depth.

**Foucault’s power triangle: the disciplined and docile body**

The second form of power in Foucault’s (2007) triangle constitutes discipline, which essentially refers to a technology – either technique/practice or knowledge/discourse - that shapes and produces subjects. In contrast to the previous concentration of power in the body and person of the king that are evident within the notion of sovereignty, “Disciplinary technology... involved the diffusion of power throughout the social body” (Kirk & Spiller, 1994, p. 88). Accordingly, “political power was no longer exercised by threat of death (at the hand of the sovereign) but rather by fostering normative expectations pertaining to the life and well-being of populations” (Jette, Bhagat, & Andrews, 2014, p. 3). Foucault (2007, p. 107) proposes that this more modern form of power flourished during the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century through schools, workshops and armies, which were “part and parcel of, and can only be understood on the basis of, the development of the great administrative monarchies”. In the school context, a docile, compliant and “biddable (i.e. commandable)” child was sought, who had been “tamed, if not acculturated, to the rhythms and routines of factory production” (Hamilton, 1990, p. 58). As “the theorist of the disciplined body” (Franks, 1991, p. 56), Foucault sought to concentrate on and conceptualise the
body’s importance within modern society, by reviewing it through such themes as punishment, sexuality, madness and medicine. It is the theme of punishment that is pertinent at this point in the discussion, since it is shown to have strong links with physical education. In one of his works that prioritises the theme of punishment, *Discipline and punish*, Foucault (1977a, p. 138) suggests that the methods of knowing and controlling the body might be termed disciplines: “discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, docile bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes the same forces (in political terms of obedience)”. He also refers herein to the manner in which the body is formed by “a policy of coercions” that act upon it, affecting its operation to make it comply with required “techniques”, “speed” and “efficiency” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 138). The previous Marxian machine metaphor seems to be recalled at this point, since Foucault (1977a, p. 138) proposes that through a “machinery of power” the body is investigated, deconstructed and rearranged. The crux of the argument appears to be that as the body becomes more useful and efficient, so it becomes more obedient, and vice versa. Accordingly, a “constricting” relationship between discipline (“aptitude”) and docility (“domination”) is established in the body (Foucault, 1977a, p. 138).

Within this docility-utility construction process, attention to “the political anatomy of detail” is paramount. This is why Foucault (1977a, p. 139) refers to the “meticulous” and “minute” techniques that are employed. Usage of the word “anatomy” appears to confirm the corporeal nature of all of this, and each minutiae is underpinned by pervasive, subtle tactics that are integral components of the “new micro-physics’ of power” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 139). These tactics comprise “the highest form of disciplinary practice” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 167), since they assist in the construction of “coded activities” and “trained aptitudes”. When comparing these techniques described by Foucault with the previous discussion of physical education drill techniques, similarities can readily be observed; indeed, in the latter it was highlighted that regulated, artificial movements required absolute precision until they became routinised traits. In their role as “agents of normalisation” (Halas & Hanson, 2001, p. 123), teachers and other adults, effectively enforced children’s
compliant participation through these everyday practices of corporeal regulation and normalisation that were embedded within physical education texts and manuals of the early twentieth century. Thus,

Military practices represented a ready-made technology of power well suited to the manipulation of potentially unruly bodies in space and time, and they offered schools a stock of physical activities and scripts containing words of command and advice on how these activities should be implemented (Kirk, 1998, pp. 29-30).

It would seem, therefore, that drill involved the acquisition of mental habits and all that is implied in the word discipline through its physical techniques in the school environment.

Taking this into account, there seems to be a penchant for Foucault’s notion of discipline when physical education pedagogy are investigated (see Azzarito, 2009; Kirk, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2003; Wright, 2000, 2004). Notwithstanding this, discipline is predominantly discussed within a secondary school milieu, unless a historical approach is undertaken and nominal references are then duly made to the physical education of younger students. Hence, there would appear to be a hierarchical model of physical education research in regard to this particular Foucauldian power form, with secondary analyses overshadowing primary ones. This phenomenon is also apparent within the Marxist and gendered perspectives discussed earlier, where team games were shown to have been used as “paradigm cases of disciplinary technology” (Kirk, 1998, p. 89) through their regulation of the body in time and space. Wright (2004, p. 21) confirms such disciplinary phenomena too, explaining that institutions such as schools are deemed as sites through which power techniques are channelled and eventually mould the individual in systematic ways in order to manage and essentially govern the general population. This, Wright (2004, p. 21) maintains, plays out in the contemporary physical education context through its pedagogical practices such as ability groupings, fitness testing, picking of teams and the like, with each of these producing “‘normalising’, ‘regulating’, ‘classifying’, and ‘surveillance’ effects”. These latter discipline techniques to which Wright refers might be better comprehended once Foucault’s notions of biopower
and the Panoptican have been explained; so it is to these that the discussion now turns.

For Foucault, disciplinary power is an integral component of something much larger; thus, it "arises in a capillary-like fashion from below, expressed in people's concrete knowledges, dispositions, interactions and relations" (Harvey & Sparks, 1991, p. 166). Foucault's (1978) concept of biopower becomes evident here, since it is an integral part of discipline as a power form. Arising in the nineteenth century, biopower is a technology of the body that focuses on two interconnected, complementary 'poles' within the body-knowledge construct. Discipline is considered to be the first level of biopower, comprising a technology whereby the individual body is worked on in terms of its capacities, behaviours and movements "through drills and training of the body, through standardisation of actions over time, and through the control of space" in the institutional setting such as a school (Rabinow, 1984, p. 17). The second level is termed biopower; this focuses on the "species body", which serves as the basis of biological processes affecting birth, death, health and longevity. As such, it constitutes a ruling authority-operated technology that works with human populations to steer them to take on board certain discourses and thereby live according to approved societal norms. Hence, general biological processes take the place of the body as it becomes “the object of systematic, sustained political attention and intervention” (Rabinow, 1984, p. 17). Biopower therefore illuminates how the population might be managed by ruling authorities, which is undoubtedly why Foucault inserts it into the broader framework of governmentality in his later work (see Foucault, 2007).

Within the biopower technologies mentioned above, self-regulating bodies that internalise certain roles and practices are produced, which in turn facilitates governance of the population. Foucault's (1977a, p. 200) usage of Bentham's Panoptican provides an instance of how such political technologies of the body function. Discussed in relation to a prison environment, the prisoners are observed from the Panoptican (a high, central tower), which permits an increase in the number of bodies under control and thus becomes a "kind of laboratory of power"
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(Foucault, 1977a, p. 204). In effect, the Panoptican is therefore “the oldest dream of the oldest sovereign: None of my subjects can escape and none of their actions is unknown to me” (Foucault, 2007, p. 66). The Panoptican thus becomes an effective symbol of disciplinary forces in action, for it manages prisoners by making them potential targets of the authority’s gaze at all times, inducing “in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the functioning of power” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 201). The prisoners never actually know whether they are being surveyed as individuals or not, but adjust their behaviour accordingly. In the educational context, Foucault (1977a) believed that ranking, involving the organisation of space, was a similar practical surveillance technique to the Panoptican. Effectively, these are examples of power being both “visible and unverifiable” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 201), which engenders self-regulation; once the body has been shaped and formulated in specific ways the subject goes on to function appropriately and efficiently without the need for constant intervention. Accordingly, self-regulation is a more economic and efficient method of surveillance and, ultimately, governance. Moreover, the Panopticon schema highlights the enabling potential of disciplinary power as a catalyst for individual agency, contravening the “passive conceptualisation of embodiment [that] has tended to dominate sociology of the body” (Shilling, 2005, p. 1). Watkins (2012, p. 25) agrees, suggesting that Panopticism contributes to “embodied discipline”, helping students to acquire appropriate behaviours in larger social groups and thereby potentially functioning as a technology of the self rather than a mere technology of power. In this manner, Panopticism might be considered a lighter and more rapid exercising of power, designed to coerce in subtle ways (Foucault, 1977a).

Foucault (1977a) considered surveillance to be central to the practice of teaching but studies in physical education that explore this are somewhat infrequent (see Azzarito, 2009; Macdonald, 1995, 1999; Macdonald & Kirk, 1996; Webb, McCaughtry, & MacDonald, 2004). However, one example warrants attention, due to the way in which it highlights gendered practice in physical education and simultaneously acknowledges the multi-directionality of surveillance as a technique of power, drawing out examples of top-down, lateral and bottom-up surveillance in
physical education (Webb et al., 2004). Indeed, Webb et al.’s (2004) study supports Foucault’s (1980a, 1980b) modern notion of power by functioning in a complex, “capillary” fashion. Furthermore, the centrality of the body in physical education pedagogy is substantiated; “Bodies were both an instrument for, and the focus of, surveillance. Bodies were gazed upon, with teachers as tools of surveillance, as objects of surveillance, and subjected to stories about surveillance” (Webb et al., 2004, p. 219). The gendered aspects of surveillance that arose within this inquiry correspond to elements of the previous account of the gendered body, with it being affirmed that “physical education is an important location in and through which bodies are inscribed with gendered identities” (Webb et al., 2004, p. 207). Oliver (1999) maintains that the body is a central focus for adolescent girls, referring to its association with their confidence levels. Working with a selection of female teenagers in a physical education and health context, Oliver analysed perceptions of their body through their written and illustrated narratives, giving them opportunities to cut out pictures of female bodies from magazines and organise them into a number of self-elected categories. During this process, she explored how girls covet and seek to attain a body image that conforms to cultural norms: “these girls were learning that their bodies could be, or needed to be, manipulated and controlled to create the desired images” (Oliver, 1999, p. 230). Similarly, Azzarito’s (2009) qualitative research explored young people’s social construction of the ideal body in physical education through the use of body images drawn from fitness and sport magazines. Essentially, it reveals the prevalence of gendered stereotypical views of the body, which physical education pedagogy can allegedly help students to challenge: “Physical education settings can become sites of transformation in resistance to the Panopticon; conceivably safe learning spaces in physical education can destabilise oppositional and hierarchical gendered... constructions of the body” (Azzarito, 2009, p. 39). However, it is recognised in both Azzarito’s (2009) and Oliver’s (1999) respective studies that transformation is only possible if an individual exercises their agency to subvert dominant discourses. The notion of agency alludes to Foucault’s third form of power that will be discussed forthwith, namely governmentality.
The concept of the Panopticon might thus be said to operate through the physical education culture that has promoted class-constructed and gendered ideal bodies during its history. Class and gender power relations such as these have already been discussed in the previous Marxist and gendered body perspectives. Suffice it to say here then that pedagogy seeking to discipline and normalise the body through the promotion of specific physical activities such as drill, fitness, or competitive sports and games could be constructing preferred body types (see Azzarito, 2009; Garrett, 2004; Kirk, 1998, 2002a, 2002b). A hierarchy of bodies, involving their classification as high or low status, could therefore be in operation at the intersection of gender and social class. Accordingly, the principle of the Panopticon involves individuals disciplining themselves to achieve or maintain a specific body shape, size and muscular build so that they can duly perform society’s gendered ideals. The notion of subjects playing an active role in their own self-government, whilst the body becomes an entity to be managed in relation to strategies of the economic and social governance of populations is something that needs to be explored further in a physical education context. As previously outlined in the Marxian analysis of the body, a healthy, skilled and productive population is a requirement for capitalism to thrive in modern states. Evidently, the ways in which physical education has been used as a government technology to construct and regulate bodies vis-à-vis certain historical health discourses require further consideration. A summary of the extensive research by physical education scholars in this domain will be undertaken within the context of the ensuing discussion of Foucault’s third form of power, namely governmentality.

Foucault’s power triangle: governmental management, governmentality

It would seem from the discussion thus far that Foucault’s triangular conception of power has persisted across time in physical education, specifically with regard to power being exerted over and through the body via the two respective power forms of sovereignty and discipline. His third form of power, governmentality (also termed governmental management) now warrants scrutiny in order to explore whether this is the case, and to determine how power may be operating over or through the body in our contemporary age. It should be noted at this point that connections between
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Foucault’s triangular forms of power are once again visible, since biopower is an inherent part of a broader complex of power relations that Foucault (1991) later referred to as ‘governmentality’. Rose (1999, p. 23) confirms, and indeed extends, this line of reasoning, arguing that in liberal societies of the nineteenth century “the thematics of sovereignty, of discipline, and of bio-power are all relocated within the field of governmentality”. As regards what governance per se constitutes, Rose’s (1999, p. 15) generic explanation is also a useful one: “the term ‘governance’ is used as a kind of catch-all to refer to any strategy, tactic, process, procedure or programme for controlling, regulating, shaping, mastering or exercising authority over others in a nation, organisation or locality”.

If Foucault’s (2007) notion of governmentality is explored, it can be seen that it has three elements that lie at its core. Firstly, it comprises the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument (Foucault, 2007, p. 108).

Secondly, governmentality is the dominance of ‘government’ over all other types of power (for example, sovereignty and discipline) in Western society, from which government technologies and knowledges have sprung forth. Lastly, within any analysis of governmentality, the historical development of the state needs to be taken into account, particularly in terms of how the state of justice of the Middle Ages became the administrative state corresponding to a society of regulations and disciplines in the ensuing fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Subsequently, it should be noted that the state was ‘governmentalised’ during the eighteenth century and defined by the mass of the population, utilising economic knowledge as an instrument. In this manner, Foucault proposes a ‘modern’ conception of rule as government that focuses on governing conduct, contending that “the survival and limits of the state [in its current format] should be understood on the basis of the general tactics of governmentality” (Foucault, 2007, p. 109).
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Foucault recognised that there was not enough discussion of agency when defending his determinist position in *Discipline and punish* (1977a), which is why he later redefined power to include agency as self-regulation to address some of the political issues in his earlier work (Foucault, 1985, 1988b, 1990; McNay, 1992). When reflecting on the agentic nature of individuals, an important related understanding within Foucault’s work is that of freedom being a precondition for a relationship of power: “there is necessarily the possibility of resistance, for if there were no possibility of resistance – of violent resistance, of escape, of ruse, of strategies that reverse the situation – there would be no relations of power” (Foucault, 1987, p. 12). Accordingly, “to govern is to presuppose the freedom of the governed. To govern humans is not to crush their capacity to act, but to acknowledge it and to utilise it for one’s own objectives” (Rose, 1999, p. 4). A ‘reversibility’ of authority can thus be perceived, with

what starts off as a norm to be implanted into citizens [being] ...repossessed as a demand which citizens can make of authorities. Individuals are to become ‘experts of themselves’, to adopt an educated and knowledgeable relation of self-care in respect of their bodies, their minds, their forms of conduct and that of the members of their own families (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 215).

Taking this into account, governmentality is situated at the contact line between technologies of power and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988b); amidst the tension of technologies of governance of others and technologies of self-governance. Hence, “one might be urged and educated to bridle one’s passions, to control one’s own instincts, to govern oneself” (Rose, 1999, p. 3), which is almost certainly why Foucault’s conception of governance is often referred to as ‘the conduct of conduct’.

It is appropriate at this juncture to clarify the nature of rationalities and technologies that are an inherent part of a genealogy of government, since it is through these that particular practices of governing are constituted. This is congruent with a Foucauldian analysis of power as productive rather than repressive, for it operates at multiple points of the social body and flows through ever-changing arrangements of alliances (Foucault, 1982; Rose, 1999). Thus, this type of approach constitutes an ‘analytics of government’ due to its concern with “the conditions under which
regimes of practices come into being, are maintained and transformed” (Dean, 2010, p. 31). Indeed, ‘modern’ regimes that endorse the conduct of conduct rationalise themselves according to a particular notion of truth, which results in them operating according to a particular rationality (Rose, 1999). Foucault’s work on governmentality illuminates such phenomena, identifying specific political rationalisations emerging in certain sites during certain historical epochs - these are “underpinned by coherent systems of thought... different kinds of calculations, strategies and tactics” (Rose, 1999, p. 24). As well as helping to regulate the population, these rationalities also have distinctive moral configurations, epistemological characters and language (Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999). However, rationalities can only become governmental through technologies, which comprise “an assembly of forms of knowledge with a variety of mechanical devices and an assortment of little techniques oriented to produce practical outcomes” (Rose, 1999, p. 52). In effect, technologies, enable authorities to act on the conduct of individuals from a distance in contemporary liberal times, helping to promote certain desired effects and obviate less favourable ones (see Miller & Rose, 1990, 2008). As human beings, physical education teachers and their students alike therefore have their conduct “technologised” in that they are concurrently capacitated and governed by the institution (the school) that lies within a technological field (Rose, 1997). In this thesis, technologies that seek to construct bodies are of particular interest.

Rose (1999) provides examples of technologies of government, which elucidates their characteristics even further, enabling a comparison to be made between these and the focus of this study. One of these technologies of government is the schoolroom, since it comprises an assemblage of pedagogic knowledges, moralising aspirations, buildings of a certain design, classrooms organised to produce certain types of visibility, techniques such as the timetable for organising bodies in space and time, regimes of supervision, little mental exercises in the classroom, playgrounds to allow the observation and moralisation of children in something more approaching their natural habitat and much more, assembled and infused with the aim of the government of capacities and habits (Rose, 1999, p. 53).
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Physical education, the subject of this study, is an integral part of such a pervasive technology, which validates the use of an approach that includes an ‘analytics of government’ (Rose, 1999) or what Dean (2010, p. 28) refers to as “regimes of practice” or “regimes of government”. Indeed, an exploration of these regimes helps to illuminate “the organised practices through which we are governed and through which we govern ourselves” (Dean, 2010, p. 28). This is an important point to note for this particular study, as it not only investigates these ‘indirect’ mechanisms of rule within physical education pedagogy, but it also considers how power is exercised today through a multitude of alliances between differing authorities. Hence, instead of the student merely being disciplined through the technology of physical education (see Kirk, 1994, 1998, 2001), they are concurrently inducted into a kind of “regulated freedom” (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 174). Accordingly, physical education students become both subjects of power and an intrinsic part of its operations.

Technologies of government comprise an assemblage of the following:

forms of practical knowledge, with modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies, types of authority, forms of judgement, architectural forms, human capacities, non-human objects and devices, inscription techniques and so forth, traversed and transected by aspirations to achieve certain outcomes in terms of the conduct of the governed (Rose, 1999, p. 52).

More specifically, technologies of the self are one of four interrelated technologies within Foucault's typology, comprising the various “operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being” that people make either by themselves or with the aid of others “so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality” (Foucault, 1997b, p. 225). This form of governmentality therefore involves a pastoral element which shapes thinking and individuals due to the discourses of truth that propose paths to attain happiness, health and education. Clearly, these are socially constructed, which helps elucidate why certain health and physical education discourses are taken up as opposed to others. Thus, “Choice, chance and power govern our relationships to the discourses we employ” (Sawicki, 1991, p. 1). In this
sense, technologies of the self are never completely free since the active construction of self is always mediated by a person’s societal context. When relating such Foucauldian principles to the body per se, an individual therefore needs to accept the idea that their body is a project to be managed (Shilling, 2012), but this does not prevent them from engaging in “strategic, embodied resistance” (Bell, 2011, p. 387). In the physical education context this might mean that they disengage from certain physical activities provided, and perhaps lead a sedentary lifestyle beyond the institutional walls in order to resist societal pressure to be active and busy (Bell, 2011). However, resistance is only possible through “practices of the self and freedom”, so in this sense, Foucault (1997a, pp. 298-299) believes that governmental power involves “games of strategy” that effectively permit power to be exerted through the body.

When contemplating governmentality in relation to the work of physical education scholars, an interesting phenomenon occurs; a handful of studies focus on physical education per se, but there is a plethora of twenty-first century research on the governance of health discourses (see Chapter 1). It would therefore seem that governance of the body in physical education, particularly in relation to social variables, has been overlooked, or perchance marginalised. For example, Kirk, reconstructs how bodies in physical education in England and Australia have been understood in his book entitled *Schooling bodies* (1998), concluding that power forms have shifted from discipline in the nineteenth and twentieth century to a more individualised and internalised self-regulation. The notion of governmentality is not made explicit in this research, instead, Kirk draws on the Foucauldian concept of biopower to identify how curriculum shifts have led to drill being replaced by fitness and competitive sports and games (see also Kirk, 2003, 2004). These physical activities have, each in turn, resulted in students developing certain bodily capacities to the detriment of others; empowerment and regulation have thus become entangled. Arguably, Kirk’s (1992) earlier genealogical examination of British physical education and how its orthodoxies and conventions were established from the end of the Second World War to 1992 shares strong similarities with this study. However, as well as Kirk’s study having a much shorter timeline
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than my study, his work has an inconsistent focus on Foucault’s three power forms; nor does it contemplate in any great depth the construction of the body in physical education. Wright’s research (1996, 1998) builds on Kirk’s British and Australian work, and its feminist poststructuralist perspective is of particular interest for this study with its partial focus on gendered bodies. Archival material and interviews with those who participated in physical education during the 1980s in Australia (New South Wales) were collected and analysed by Wright in order to elucidate how female physical educators, their students and traditional female physical activities have been marginalised due to the dominance of various institutional discourses. Although Wright’s genealogical research is pertinent from a gender perspective, its focus on Australian physical education is clearly different from this study’s contemplation of constructions of the body within a physical education context in England.

Another study by Penney and Evans (1999) of the first National Curriculum in physical education in England contains a number of themes and discourses that will be illuminated in Chapter 5 (1970-1998). Indeed, Penney and Evans’ (1999) work concludes that sport constitutes a dominant discourse in the National Curriculum for physical education (NCPE) and they explore the implications of this for students and teachers in the subject. However, their in-depth analysis of curriculum development and its contextual influences considers the 1990s only, and Foucault’s power forms are not central to the whole as they are in my study. A subsequent genealogical analysis by McCuaig & Hay (2013) focuses upon the literature and commentary surrounding three twentieth-century Queensland health and physical education curriculum reform agendas (see McCuaig 2008). It highlights the need to have an understanding of stakeholders’ principled positions to better consider how certain elements of education or a curriculum become privileged in particular ways. This study was undertaken in an Australian curriculum context and drew on three forms of evidence only, so both of these differences implicitly support the originality of my study. Finally, Öhman, & Quennerstedt’s (2008) exploration of subject content and governing processes in Swedish physical education corresponds with certain aspects of my study. However, the starting point for their methodological
framework is discourse theory and Foucault’s governing perspective as opposed to my emphasis on Foucault’s (2007) power triad. Notwithstanding this, the researchers conclude that physical education develops a certain type of social citizen in contemporary Sweden; this implicitly connects to ruling authorities’ social aims that will be shown to dominate during the 1970s to the 1980s in Chapter 5, albeit in the context of England.

Indeed, in the particular domain of primary physical education, there does not appear to be any research that focuses on how the body is governed through pedagogy in relation to social variables such as class and gender. Admittedly, Garrett’s (2004) physical education research that was previously mentioned in the gendered body perspective is a useful example of governance in the secondary sector, in that technologies of power (school-based physical education) are seen to be working alongside technologies of self. This is made evident through its concentration on how young Australian women experience their body in contemporary culture and physical education more specifically. Hence, drawing on Foucault’s theories of discourse, surveillance and technologies of self in her analysis of ‘comfortable’, ‘bad’ and ‘different’ bodies, she interrogates how meaning and control are created around the body. Nonetheless, she expands Foucault’s work by integrating Shilling (1993) and Turner’s (1991) notion of embodiment with it, when attempting to explore meaning in relation to physical identity. Garrett’s (2004, p. 154) conclusion that “Many unresolved tensions and contradictions around gender, the body and physical activity still stand”, accentuates the need to confront these tensions within the physical education context.

In contrast with Garrett’s (2004) interview-based research, Öhman’s (2010) study reviews interplay between teachers and students during physical education lessons via video recordings, in order to ascertain where and what types of power forms and governance might be in operation. Foucault’s notion of governmentality thus constitutes the starting point for the research, and the teaching practice content is analysed in terms of what precedence is given to certain ways of acting and being in the physical education environment. Many studies based on a power and
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governance perspective are apparently historical in nature, with analyses of text material being undertaken to reveal issues that are politically framed (Öhman, 2010). This study is therefore less conventional, since a power and governance perspective is utilised to study student-teacher interactions playing out in the physical education classroom. Surprisingly, issues of class and gender do not surface throughout the study; instead, the key discourses that are elucidated are about being an active and willing student in the physical education lesson context. In a similar vein, McCuaig and Tinning’s (2010) genealogical research explores the moral and governing practices of Health and Physical Education (HPE) vis-à-vis how these practices construct certain types of citizens. Their primary endeavour was to deconstruct the strategies, technologies, principles and practices that were adopted within twentieth century Queensland HPE programmes. Underpinning their work with Foucault’s concept of pastoral power and governmental technologies, they conclude that

HPE’s capacity to operate as a mechanism of social and moral training relies not on any one special dimension, but through the orchestrated deployment of its subject matter, learning environments and caring teachers, as the definitive governmental technologies of the HPE apparatus (McCuaig & Tinning, 2010, p. 39).

Hence, HPE teachers are viewed as “agents of pastoral power” (McCuaig & Tinning, 2010, p. 39) with the responsibility of training students in ways to become future active, healthy citizens.

Although McCuaig and Tinning’s (2010) study above has drawn attention to linkages between governmentality and physical education, implications for governance of the body remain imperceptible. Despite this, due to its emphasis on the discourse of being and becoming an active, healthy citizen, McCuaig and Tinning’s (2010) research is congruent with a wide range of studies that investigate connections between governmentality and health in the physical education setting (see Chapter 1). It should be remembered here that earlier in the chapter physical education was shown to have involved itself in a number of health discourses across the last hundred years or so. Notably, it was originally developed as a subject in elementary schools in England due to a medical rationale, with its central aims being
to improve the medical and nutritional provision for working-class children (Kirk, 1986, 1992). In addition, drill was seen as having a therapeutic effect on these students’ bodies as it was designed to correct certain health irregularities such as poor posture and feet problems (Kirk, 1992). From a Foucauldian perspective, these examples could be seen as historical evidence of normalising processes that institutions undertook with their subjects. In more recent times, such normalising and regulatory phenomena are also apparent, since physical education has been used by governments and non-governmental agencies as implementation sites for health initiatives that challenge childhood obesity and sedentary behaviours (Evans, Rich, Davies, & Allwood, 2008).

Hence, physical education acts as a technology of power, facilitating the early reproduction of normative embodied practices in children; clearly, there are parallels to be drawn here between this conjecture and Foucault’s (2007) notion of the conduct of conduct mentioned previously. McDermott’s (2012) analysis of a Canadian primary school’s introduction of a school-wide fitness-based initiative known as ‘Thrash yourself Thursdays’ confirms how power relations are enacted through such an intervention. The fact that the word ‘thrash’ is being used is, of course, indicative of Foucault’s notion of physical education as discipline. However, McDermott’s (2012) focus is on the ways in which the normative ‘healthy’ child is promoted during this programme and how physical education is effectively made accountable for realising such health objectives. As such, physical education is transformed “into an institutional site [a technology of power] ensuring the productive health of its future citizenry” (Dermott, 2012, p. 422). Primary and preschool (kindergarten) health discourses are seldom made as explicitly apparent as they are in McDermott’s (2012) study, although a small amount of early years and primary physical education-governmentality research is available (see Burrows, Wright, & McCormack, 2009; Macdonald, Rodger, Abbott, Ziviani, & Jones, 2005; McEvily, Verheul, & Atencio, 2015; Powell & Gard, 2014). For example, McEvilley et al.’s (2015) research is concerned with investigating the place and meaning of ‘physical education’ to practitioners and children in three preschool contexts in Scotland. Ways in which the participants engaged with discourses related to
physical activity and health in order to construct their subjectivities are analysed. Interestingly, the practitioners talked about physical activity as a means of regulating children’s behaviour, which is reminiscent of Foucault’s discipline power form. However, in terms of specific governance processes at work, the study revealed that “both the adults’ and children’s talk illustrated the dominance of neoliberal, healthism meanings that position individuals as responsible for their own health through engagement in ‘healthy’ practices such as those related to eating and physical activity” (McEvilly et al., 2015, pp. 847-848). Although this primary school-focused research has helped reveal governance at work in relation to health discourses, connections between class, gender and governmentality in the primary physical education milieu do not appear to have been interrogated in this or other studies, which opens up potential research spaces in this domain.

As intimated above and in Chapter 1 of this study, Foucault’s (2007) triangular conception of power (originally formulated during the 1970s), in its entirety, appears to have been overlooked by physical education scholars. Instead, there is evidence of a specific power form being utilised - mostly discipline with occasional allusions to governmentality - and minimal references are made to their original context. Whilst this study primarily focuses on one power form within Foucault’s (2007) triangle, namely governmentality, allusions to the two other power forms constitute an inherent component of the whole. This is in accordance with the earlier discussion in which the importance of taking into account Foucault’s entire triangular conception of power and being aware of how it has evolved across time has been highlighted. Only then will a deeper insight be gained into the historical intersections between these different forms of power and the specific effects on body governance to which these give rise. Indeed, it has been demonstrated above that there is a particular need for more physical education-governmentality research, as opposed to the current dominance of health-governmentality studies. This reveals ways in which the body per se is constructed and reconstructed in physical education through its pedagogy. The body is, after all, central to this school subject (Evans, 1986; Kirk & Tinning, 1990; Wright, 1995, 1996), and should therefore remain at the forefront of any future investigations into the governance of
physical education. Within this particular study, a focus on the governance of primary and secondary physical education is also fitting, as the majority of physical education research that has been explored in the above poststructuralist body perspective is distinctly secondary-focused. Moreover, as stated previously, it draws predominantly on discipline with some references to governmentality in the context of health. Social variables such as class and gender, having been shown to be key components throughout this chapter, also require attention within this process.

**Research questions**

Thus far, two principal research aims have underpinned the literature review, guiding its inherent content and direction. The first of these research aims constitutes an exploration of how the governance of bodies in physical education in England has shifted historically. The second research aim is concerned with the implication of these shifts of governance for the body in terms of how it is constructed by certain social distinctions in physical education. During the previous discussion, there have been explicit references made to historical changes in physical education since its late nineteenth century origins through each of the three body perspectives. In particular, the social variables of class and gender have been illuminated as significant in relation to physical education pedagogy. Within the Marxist perspective, class was able to be examined in further detail. It became evident in this account that the ruling classes have dominated the historical development of physical education, indicating that power relations function within and beyond the school context. However, it was not possible to scrutinise links between class and gender herein as the Marxist perspective overlooks gender. Since patterns of male dominance are shown to exist in physical education pedagogy, the gendered body perspective was introduced in an endeavour to examine these types of historical power relations further. It was elucidated within this perspective that ideas of gendered physical capabilities have underpinned the development of physical education curriculum offerings and general practice across time (Evans & Penney, 2002; Kirk, 2002b). It was proposed that society has a vested interest in maintaining such gender and sex divisions as the norm, thereby paying no heed to
proposals by poststructural feminists that gendered representations of the body can be challenged due to their inherent complexity and dynamism (see Butler, 1990; Salih & Butler, 2004).

Although power relations have been illuminated to varying degrees within the two body perspectives reviewed (Marxist, gendered), neither of these permits interrogation of the broader forms of power-knowledge and governmental practices through which bodies are governed in the physical education context. However, a poststructural perspective has been shown to offer this possibility, for it acknowledges social distinctions such as class and gender as effects of historically changeable and contingent discursive practices. This enables a more detailed investigation of such social variables to take place. Indeed, when Foucault’s (2007) power triangle is drawn upon, physical education is shown to act as a technology of power across time, promoting and legitimising normative embodied practices in children and young people; this is reminiscent of the previously discussed notion of the ‘conduct of conduct’. The introduction of Foucault’s (2007) power triangle within the final poststructural perspective therefore facilitates an analysis of governance in relation to historical changes in physical education, but it simultaneously highlights how social distinctions such as class and gender are constituted as objects of governing.

Whilst it has already been confirmed that this study will focus primarily on one of the three power forms to which Foucault alludes – governmentality – it should be noted that the two additional power forms (sovereignty, discipline) will be incorporated since they interconnect with governmentality, highlight significant historical moments, and help to enrich and broaden the notion of power per se. Indeed, “the notion of governmentality implies a certain relationship of government to other forms of power, in particular sovereignty and discipline” (Dean, 2010, p. 29). Interrelationships between the three forms of power such as these have been shown to be significant, affirming the need to take into account Foucault’s power triangle when framing the research questions. In this manner, people will be viewed as “living individuals, as members of a population, as resources to be fostered, to be
used and to be optimised” (Dean, 2010, p. 29). It is this notion that drives and shapes both the content and structure of the three ensuing research questions, which endeavour to illuminate how physical education has functioned across time as what Foucault (2007, p. 117) would term a “technology of power”. Moreover, specific governmentality-physical education research in relation to the body per se is minimal (see Sánchez García & Rivero Herraiz, 2013), so there is an opportunity to build on existing work in the field and offer a new contribution to knowledge in this study. Accordingly, the “practices of modern freedom” will be contemplated in relation to how they “have been constructed out of an arduous, haphazard and contingent concatenation of problematisations, strategies of government and techniques of regulation” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 216) within the physical education milieu. Interestingly, and as mentioned previously, governmentality dominates physical education-health discourses (see Chapter 1). There is also an abundance of literature on the manner in which discipline is an integral part of physical education (Azzarito, 2009; Kirk, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2003; Kirk & Spiller, 1994; Wright, 2000, 2004). These studies indirectly support the need for an examination of a different modality of Foucault’s power triangle in relation to physical education, specifically governmentality. Whilst this power form has been drawn upon in physical education-health contexts it has not formerly been utilised as a critical tool with which to deconstruct physical education pedagogy across time. Moreover, since governmentality has previously been verified as the most prevalent power form in the twenty-first century its usage in a specific physical education context seems both opportune and timely. Taking all these matters into account, the first of the study’s three research questions is: **Through what forms of governing have bodies been governed historically in physical education in England?**

Since the first research question of this study focuses on what forms of governing have historically governed the body in physical education in England, it is important at this stage to briefly contemplate forms of governing that have arisen from Foucault. These, together with Foucault’s own previously mentioned triangular conception of power (sovereignty-discipline-governmentality), will therefore become instruments of critique in the study’s exploration of the forms of evidence.
Whilst Foucault’s body of work effectively traces the mentalities of government and liberal rationalities of rule that assume the freedom of the subject, expansions of this are offered in the work of Dean (2010), Rose (1999) and Rose and Miller (1992). Dean (2010), for example, refers to two distinct regimes of government in liberal democracies: *welfarism* and *advanced liberalism*. Whereas the former seeks to promote national growth and well-being through the development of socialised forms of responsibility and intervention (Dean, 2010; Rose & Miller, 1992), advanced liberalism involves a decentring of ruling authorities’ capacities to govern in the name of the social, preoccupying itself with economic growth and entrepreneurialism (Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999). Both governmental regimes need a multitude of new technologies and mechanisms for the government of conduct in order to construct habits and dispositions for a proclaimed improvement in lifestyle (Rose, 1999). These governmental regimes should not, however, be perceived as distinct epochs; instead, they are ways in which rationalities and technologies have been combined to construct a certain ‘truth’. This means that a genealogical analytics of government in physical education necessitates an exploration of such rationalities of rule and technologies; this will help to clarify how a school subject has been constituted historically as a governable problem (research question 1). For example, the notion of an individual student of physical education needing to take responsibility for their own well-being (advanced liberalism) through the technology of physical education could constitute a potential starting point for an analysis of body governance. Accordingly, “the activation of the powers of the citizen” (Rose, 1999, p. 166) can be examined in physical education pedagogy to determine how they are guided to fulfil themselves as free agents.

As already explained above, Foucault’s (2007) triangular notion of power offers a decentred and diffuse notion of power, drawing attention to ways in which forms of governing operate through the production of normalisation discourses, regulation techniques and political rationalities that construct an individual in society. This is especially pertinent to class and gender phenomena that were hitherto deemed significant in physical education, as it enables in-depth analysis of them as fluid and enacted social distinctions. Furthermore, the underlying power forms that construct
the body in physical education more generally can be illuminated. It should also be remembered here that class and gender have been highlighted as significant to varying degrees within all three previous body perspectives. For example, the Marxist and feminist perspectives have shown how social inequalities linked to class and gender respectively have been perpetuated in the physical education context through its historical content and delivery. More specifically, Butler’s (1990) poststructuralist feminist work refers to the instability and complexity of sex-gender divisions, arguing for recognition of the multifaceted nature of ‘female’ and ‘male’. Enriching these two body perspectives, the third and final poststructural approach elucidate how social variables such as class and gender are enacted in historically contingent ways across significant epochs through technologies of governance. This exposes power structures in physical education, suggesting that deeper analysis of certain historical epochs would contribute to a richer understanding of forms of governing. By using a Foucauldian perspective, evidence of normalising and regulatory processes that institutions employ might be examined across time. In this manner, physical education could be studied as a site for the construction of bodies, with the techniques of government that underpin the ruling authorities and physical education being considered. Combined class and gender studies within physical education have already been acknowledged as limited (see Penney, 2002), which points to the need for this type of approach, notably in the under-researched domain of governmentality-body constructions in physical education. In response to these various points, the second research question has emerged: *What have been the effects of these different forms of governing on the construction of bodies?*

As already highlighted above, governmentality is the most significant form of power in modern democracies, which is why it has been selected as the central focus of this study. This does not, however, diminish its intimate relationship with sovereignty and discipline in any way. Life is thus linked to ruling authorities, to the macro-mechanism of Government, which encourages contemporary citizens to take on an active role of self-governance. This effectively complies with “the rationality and practice of an individualising art of government that has developed in Western
of the body in physical education

states since the early modern period” (Burchell, 1991, p. 122). The importance of adopting a historical analysis to investigate such shifts in the governance of physical education bodies is essential for this study. Indeed, it has already been emphasised that Foucault’s (2007) matrix of power relations not only endures but also evolves across time within his triangular analysis of power. Diverse, multiple connections between the institutionalisation of ruling authorities’ apparatus and historical modes of subjectivation have therefore become apparent, revealing the co-evolution of the modern sovereign, neoliberal state and the modern autonomous individual (Lemke, 2007). “The notion of a government of population [therefore] renders all the more acute the problem of the foundation of sovereignty… and all the more acute equally the necessity for the development of discipline” (Foucault, 1991, p. 102). Foucault’s (2007) triangular power forms are therefore critical to this component of the investigation, for they will help to trace historical shifts of governance within the school context. They will also enable the notion of agency to be investigated in more detail through analysis of the more modern power form known as governmentality, revealing how physical education is a regime of practice through which children and young people are governed and through which they also govern themselves. Moreover, forms of power that seek to normalise and regulate deviant bodies in the physical education context will be able to be examined using Foucault’s power triangle, along with the consequences of this for the construction of bodies. Hence, when used as an analytic framework, Foucault’s (2007) power triangle will help to make sense of historical connections within and between physical education and the body as socially constructed domains. Taking these factors into account, the third and final research question is: How do different forms of governing intersect with one another in the historical governance of physical education in England, and with what implications for the construction of bodies?

Conclusion

It has been established in this chapter that a poststructuralist perspective challenges the idea that any power structure or norm generates fixed patterns and regularities within the body. Accordingly, an account of the body that points to its
diversity has become apparent, revealing both its contingency and contestability. This creates new possibilities for constructions and reconstructions of the body to take place, offering challenges to physical education both as a school subject and as a regime of practice. Assumed and conventional ways of teaching and learning in physical education are therefore able to be brought under the Foucauldian microscope in this study, with the three above research questions directing the investigation process. Heightened understanding of how governance underpins physical education pedagogy will subsequently be pursued, and the significance of social variables within the governance process will be determined with relevant implications proffered. Indeed, if traces of governance within significant historical practices that manage and regulate the body in physical education milieus are to be located and destabilised, governmental rationalities and discourses that infuse physical education pedagogy warrant consideration. This would be particularly relevant within the primary physical education setting, for it has already been acknowledged as an under-researched domain.

However, before the research process can commence, it is essential to explore how the investigation will be undertaken. The subsequent chapter will thus include an overview of the analytical approach to be utilised, showing how governance might be studied empirically in the technology of physical education. The chosen approach is illuminated as one that assists analysis of how dominant and marginalised discourses serve to construct the body in contemporary physical education pedagogy. Accordingly, a Foucauldian genealogical approach and the methodological assumptions that lie beneath this are expounded, with the forms of evidence used during the research process duly examined.
Chapter 3: Reconstructing the governing of the body in physical education in England: a genealogical approach

Introduction

The previous chapter established the analytical approach and research questions that underpin this thesis. It was argued that a Foucauldian analytical approach, with a particular emphasis on governmentality, was most suitable in making sense of the ways in which bodies have been constituted and governed historically in physical education in England. Based on this approach, three research questions were formulated: Through what forms of governing have bodies been governed historically in physical education in England?; What have been the effects of these different forms of governing on the construction of bodies?, and; How do different forms of governing intersect with one another in the historical governance of physical education in England, and with what implications for the construction of bodies? This chapter builds on the literature review by outlining the analytical approach and forms of evidence used in addressing the research questions. It draws on a genealogy of government (Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999) as the analytical basis for addressing the research questions. A genealogy of government effectively expands on Foucault’s (see Foucault, 1977a, 1978) own genealogical studies in which there was an exploration of power and knowledge relations that constituted specific norms, together with the development and variation of such practices as disciplinary control and sexual regulation.

In accordance with a genealogical approach, this chapter focuses on the historical discourses through which different forms of governing are constituted. Ways in which these discourses give rise to historically specific forms of knowing and governing the body in physical education, and the power effects that underpin these discourses, are therefore be able to be explored. Indeed, a genealogical approach aims to unsettle the ‘taken-for-granted’ in contemporary physical education, troubling rather than cultivating consensus, and thereby facilitating an examination
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of power relations in order to illuminate how this school subject’s pedagogy constructs bodies. However, discussion of the epistemological and methodological framework to be utilised in this specific study is initially required to clarify how the notion of governance might be studied empirically within the physical education context per se.

**A Foucauldian genealogical approach: analysis and justification**

Genealogy is predominantly associated with Nietzsche’s (1887/1998) book entitled *On the Genealogy of morality*, and the more recent text by Foucault (1977a), *Discipline and punish*. Although written ninety years apart, both theorists contest the assumption that history moves forward from some specific origin, arguing that a genealogist often finds these origins are fabricated or even cease to exist. Hence, at the heart of genealogy is the notion that there are no essences to be determined behind historical progressions, that is, there is no linear and teleological sequence of events. In view of this, Foucault’s previously mentioned genealogical studies (see Foucault, 1977a, 1978) focused on the power-knowledge relations that established the specific norms, growth and deviation of such practices as sexual regulation and disciplinary control. These analyses also demonstrated an archaeological concern that led to governing strategies attaining unity, due to regimes of practice involving sanctioning, exclusion and scarcity (Foucault, 1972). Archaeology is a term used by Foucault to explain a method of research and analysis in the history of thought that he developed. It involved digging down into the past to uncover the discursive remnants of distinct historical periods, which would then be reconstructed, with each demonstrating its own order of discourse. Thus, the role of the archaeologist is not to locate processes of change (as in traditional history), but instead they need to separate out these historical epochs and map the discrepancies in logic between each of their structures: “An excavation of specific discourses from each of these historical periods thus appears like so many archaeological strata, each layered atop the other, each one displaying its own distinct pattern and structure” (Garland, 2014, p. 370).
Due to its set of critical tools that can be utilised in any type of grouping, genealogy is often perceived as a break from Foucault’s earlier archaeological work with its structuralist connotations and highly interrelated set of constructs; however, it is clear that both approaches do share similarities (Dean, 1994; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Garland, 2014; Gutting, 2005; Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008). As such, “like successive waves breaking on the sand, each [approach] is discovered after the fact to have been an implicit interest of the earlier one, for which it served as the moving force” (Gutting, 2005, p. 29). For instance, the two approaches consider that historical research can challenge contemporary conceptions and help bring about change, even though this is less evident in archaeological works such as The birth of the clinic (Foucault, 1963/1973). In addition, both question the possibility of ever securing objective access to the past, and history is characterised as diverse and diffuse rather than emanating from one source of origin; instead, the idea is to trace the unpredictable, disjointed process that results in the past becoming the present. Foucault himself also suggested that his archaeological method should be used to support genealogical analyses, maintaining that their differences predominantly resided in their “point of attack, perspective and delimitation” (Foucault, 1984b, p. 132).

In accordance with this, Foucault replaces continuity and origin with two alternative concepts that he borrows from Nietzsche: emergence and descent. Emergence seeks to question how that which exists came into being in the first place, acknowledging that something is merely an episode and not a final state. The second concept, descent, involves tracing the descent of an idea, institution or practice as opposed to revealing an implicit essence that is visible across time. Indeed, the genealogist discovers “randomness, piecemeal fabrications, dissension, disparity, passion, hatred, [and] competition” (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008, p. 326) in lieu of origins, which aligns with Foucault’s (1988a, p. 373) contention that the genealogical approach can uncover “details and accidents... petty malice... the minute derivations – or conversely, the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations”. It would
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seem, therefore, that rather than searching for essential beginnings, “genealogy [instead] serves a critical purpose, exposing the contingent and “shameful” origins of cherished ideas and entrenched practices” (Bevir, 2008, p. 263). It is at this point that a Foucauldian genealogy departs from Nietzsche’s work, which used genealogy to make judgements about certain concepts such as morality and truthfulness. Conversely, Foucault’s conception of genealogy is as problematisation with his concern being to invite reconstruction, by posing problems that require responses and resolutions in an endeavour to transform the present. Genealogies might thus be said to articulate

submerged problems... that condition us without our fully understanding why or how. They are depth problems in that they are lodged deep inside of us all as the historical conditions of possibility of our present ways of doing, being and thinking (Koopman, 2013, p. 1).

Indeed, Foucault’s genealogical methods demonstrate that the past ordered things rather differently due to incessant power struggles between various parties; therefore, earlier practices and institutions deemed inevitable are nothing more than an entwinement of power and truth.

Importantly for this study, due to its primary focus on governmentality in relation to physical education, genealogy thus offers an opportunity to study power relations within society’s ‘truths’ and ‘conditioning’ processes. Pedagogy in a school subject such as physical education carry the mark of power, simultaneously embodying past confrontations and present struggles. It is thus my role to deconstruct links between discourses and technologies, as well as societal power struggles that underpin the former. Discourses have been clarified in the previous literature review as comprising a fusion of stated and unstated beliefs, ideas and concepts that support and construct relations between power and knowledge (Foucault, 1972; Shilling, 2012). They are not therefore considered as documents that can be ‘read’ for their latent meanings and representations in order to reconstruct the ‘truths’ of the past. Rather, Foucault is preoccupied with how the knowledge is produced, represented and regulated, along with how this then becomes institutionalised as practice. His premise is that systems of thought and knowledge are governed by rules which
operate beneath the consciousness of subjects, delineating a system of conceptual possibilities that effectively define the boundaries of thought and language used in a certain domain or historical period. Gutting (2005, p. 31) highlights inherent issues with this process: “on the one hand, practices establish and apply norms, controls and exclusions; on the other, they render true/false discourse possible”. Discourses are often perpetuated through technologies (also referred to as ‘apparatus’ by Foucault) such as schools and the subjects that are taught therein; indeed, a subject such as physical education has a strategic function in that it responds to a particular need at a given historical moment. Over time then, the technology - physical education in the context of this study - has thus constructed and reconstructed bodies in a range of ways due to the power relations that govern it. This enables exploration of the ‘problem’ of current day physical education in relation to a number of social variables, in order to trace how they have developed across certain epochs where governance shifts are evident.

When discussing genealogy, Foucault (1977b, p. 148) describes the body as the primary document for the genealogist, since it is the body that is “the inscribed surface of events (traced by language and dissolved by ideas), the locus of a dissociated Self (adopting an illusion of substantial unity), and a volume in perpetual disintegration”. This is particularly relevant to this thesis, in which the governing of bodies in physical education in England are a key focus. For Foucault, historical events arise within the body, which is both shaped by history but also destroyed by it, and genealogical processes involve revealing the body as such. Foucault (1998, pp. 375-376) explains in some of his later work that “genealogy is... [therefore] situated within the articulation of the body and history. Its task is to expose a body totally imprinted by history”. Thus, techniques, discourses and practices that are utilised to construct and normalise the body can be traced by the genealogist in a variety of historical technologies such as physical education, which has hitherto been recognised as a predominantly practical subject with the body as its central concern (Armour, 1999; Reid, 1996; Ryle, 1949/2009). Contemporary techniques, discourses and practices that construct the body in physical education (research
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questions 2 and 3) can subsequently be interrogated with a view to demonstrating how they derive from genealogical developments of older practices. In this manner, the body serves as an external, yet, common link in what would otherwise be incommensurable dispositifs [technologies]. In brief, it is the body which provides the source or well-spring for a naturalistic justification for a genealogical interpretation of an historical event (Lightbody, 2010, p. 49).

For this to happen, genealogy must accept the trustworthiness of the body, thus substituting “our sacrosanct ‘memories’ of history, culture and philosophy with “counter-memories” generated from a tracing of the imprinting and destruction of the body and, therefore, demonstrating in effect, that this tracing could have been different” (Lightbody, 2010, p. 55).

It would therefore seem, from Foucault’s (1977a) employment of a genealogical approach to the body, that if attention is paid to the markings of power on the body it is possible to “come into contact with the historical “emergence” of the economic forces which lie dormant within the body” (Lightbody, 2010, p. 67). Fraser (1989, p. 61) agrees, commenting that in Discipline and punish there is “a history of the politically and historically invested body, of the distinctive ways in which various successive power/knowledge regimes institute the body as an object within their respective techniques and practices”. Taking this into account, the body clearly has a significant role in relation to such historical investigations, offering clarification of historical power formations as well as an opportunity to analyse them (research question 1). For example, if closer inspection of the body within Foucault’s (1977a) genealogical work is made, it can be seen that penal practices affected the body both negatively and directly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through barbaric rituals that reaffirmed absolutist rule. Conversely, in modern society, it has already been mentioned that the body is governed in different ways through its individualisation, regulation, and normalisation; taking such governance processes into consideration helps me to explore these further when contemplating the ‘problem’ of contemporary physical education.
It should be noted at this point that a principal Nietzschean insight for Foucault is that truth cannot be separated from the procedures of its production. The aim of this study is thus to “criticise, diagnose and demythologise ‘truth phenomena’” (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 202) in physical education. As such, the primary concern is with the processes, procedures and technologies by which truth and knowledge in relation to bodies are produced in contemporary physical education. As such, the genealogical approach adopted will begin to decipher historical objects and events in physical education differently with its emphasis on contingency and complexity. It effectively “provides a functional microanalysis of power relations, operating on the smallest and most insignificant details. These are always local, but impossible to be localised for good, ‘passing through every point’, producing rather than repressing reality” (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 205). In the case of this particular study, contemporary physical education teaching and learning methods become ‘signs’, pointing the reader of these to historical societal processes embedded within the selected forms of evidence that establish and seek to maintain such a system of practices or values. Hence, “Genealogies start with the present in order to trace the conditions of the emergence of the presence in which we are present” (Koopman, 2013, p. 24), effectively making visible the problematisations of the present.

**Genealogy and governmentality**

Taking such matters into account, genealogies of government look to reconstruct the problematisations to which programmes, tactics, strategies are deemed a solution (Rose, 1999), interrogating their parameters and presumptions in order to make sense of and challenge the present. Thus,

> Genealogy is… an attempt to renew an acquaintance with the strangeness against all the attempts to erase it under the dialectic of reason in history or to mark it as a moment of millenarian rupture, final denouement, or irreversible loss (Dean, 2010, p. 56).

Consequently, programmes, tactics and strategies can be “denaturalised” and “destabilised” (Rose, 1999), and the examination process will illuminate alleged altruistic attempts by those who govern to influence the population’s needs and
well-being. This will assist the subjects of government to question contemporary ‘truths’, subjectivities and governing practices in pursuit of their freedom. When applied to this particular study, a genealogy of government will therefore enable the deconstruction of traditional physical education pedagogy in an endeavour to comprehend how this has become a governance technology, or as Rose (1999, p. 48) terms it, a “translation mechanism” for authorities wishing to govern (research question 1). In addition to its acknowledged diagnostic qualities in relation to the present, genealogy is anti-anachronistic in relation to the past (Dean, 2010). Accordingly, past ‘truths’ or regimes of practice are not viewed as necessary stages towards the present. Indeed, it is essential to challenge universals that shape human conduct and experiences throughout history, endeavouring instead to “grasp regimes of practice by means of their own terms [emphasis in original]” (Dean, 2010, p. 56).

In addressing the relationship between genealogy and governmentality, it therefore becomes possible to write history in such a way that an analysis of the present, and how it could be different, might be formulated. Indeed, it has been argued above that an assumed linear evolution of history can be challenged through a genealogical approach. In this manner, the present is considered to be merely an episode and the result of struggle, domination and power relations; this is of particular significance for research question 1, where forms of governing that have historically governed bodies in physical education in England are explored. It effectively enables the traditionally linear historical approach to be challenged and reconstructed. However, as previously discussed, Foucault’s work also recognises that within such episodic relations of power, individuals and groups have the capacity to resist domination and exercise their own freedom. This is the junction at which Foucault’s (2007) modern power form called governmentality – the conduct of conduct - becomes perceptible, in that it seeks “a direction of conduct rather than a violent or gross form of corporeal domination” (Dean, 1994, p. 177). Indeed, contemporary liberal practices of government assume a ‘free subject’, that is, “one whose subjection is consistent with forms of choice” (Dean, 1994, p. 178). By structuring
the potential field of action in which subjects govern themselves they can thus be governed through their freedom. Government is therefore located by Foucault (1987) as between a primary type of power - with its open, reversible and strategic qualities - and domination wherein these same qualities are predetermined and blocked. This illuminates the relationship between ‘practices of government’ and ‘practices of the self’, which Foucault (2007) contends are somewhat independent, but interdependent domains. Research question 2 becomes important here, for it is through examination of these practices of government and self that intersecting forms of governing might be found and applied to the historical governance of physical education in England. Hence, rather than proffering a theory of ruling authorities, Foucault examines the operation of governmental power, which includes the techniques and practices that support it as well as the rationalities and strategies that are invested within it. However, despite the growing significance of governmentality in modern societies, sovereignty and discipline continue to remain relevant forms of power, which points to the significance of research question 3 in this specific study. For the genealogist then, historical change is more suitably conceptualised in terms of the continual institutionalisation of power, which results in the succession of one mode of domination by another (research question 1). These types of power relation differences might be traced through a body-based subject as physical education to reveal the complexity, contingency and fragility surrounding its pedagogy across time.

**Reflecting on criticisms of a genealogical approach**

It has been proposed in the above account that both the archaeological and genealogical approaches focus on a ‘history of the present’, something which Foucault (1977a, 1977b) himself confirms. Interestingly, there have been various criticisms of genealogy in relation to such matters, primarily among Anglo-American political theorists such as Habermas (1987) and Fraser (1989). Habermas (1987, p. 267), for example, claims that Foucault’s work is caught up in an “involuntary presentism”, whereby he dismisses “what actors are doing and
thinking out of a context of tradition interwoven with the self-understanding of actors” in favour of an explanation of “the horizon within which such utterances can appear meaningful at all in terms of underlying practices”. Foucault’s alleged rejection of hermeneutics subsequently results in a historiography that is “narcissistically oriented to the standpoint of the historian” (Habermas, 1987, p. 278), enabling them to instrumentalise the past for their present needs. The use of the word ‘alleged’ is important to note here, since hermeneutics per se is not actually discarded by Foucault; rather, by focusing on the knowledge-truth that is articulated within certain practices, Foucault identifies traces of subjectivity. These are, in effect, residues from the human agent(s) who initially created and subsequently regulated these practices (see Foucault, 1982). Thus, as stated earlier in this chapter, Foucault’s aim is to analyse power/knowledge relations that underpin regimes of practice, in order to illuminate truths and states of domination. Moreover, by reflecting on the past – as opposed to instrumentalising it as his critics have claimed - Foucault endeavours to understand why a contemporary regime of practice is as it is and how it might be constrained in the future due to certain power relations that it embodies.

Another principal criticism directed at Foucault’s genealogical approach is that of it being relativist and descriptive due to its lack of normative criteria. Accordingly, Patton (1994) comments that Foucault’s minimalist conception of the human subject does not enable a single, universal response as to why domination ought to be resisted. Fraser (1989) further claims that Foucault does not distinguish between forms of power that involve or do not involve domination. However, Foucault (2007) presents, as explained earlier in the literature review and this chapter, a theoretical framework through which his triangular notion of power illuminates differing but interrelated forms of power: sovereignty, discipline, and governmentality respectively. Despite this, Fraser (1989) maintains that Foucault’s lack of distinctive power forms seems to ratify an indiscriminate rejection of modernity, and that nothing is offered to replace this. In offering no alternative ideal, that is to say, neither a human agent nor a society that is free from regimes of
practice, Foucault’s work is seen by some as politically weak and thus unable to contribute to normative critical politics (Habermas, 1987). Koopman’s (2013, p. 88) response to such normative reproaches is an important one to draw on here, for it clarifies that “Foucault did not use genealogy to normatively evaluate the present practices whose histories he was writing. He rather used genealogy to clarify and intensify the dangers of the present whose histories he studied”. Hence, Foucault’s genealogy was an analytical and diagnostic project and never meant to be a normative exercise in subversion, which has led to some misinterpretations of his methodology (Koopman, 2013). Moreover, if it were accepted that genealogy is not normatively robust, presumably this would not automatically render it ineffectively critical of the present.

Foucault is also sometimes criticised for offering a pessimistic theory of power, since the subject can never escape power relations and will always comprise an effect of it (see Habermas, 1987). Certainly, Foucault thought it was hopeless for modern day subjects to try and liberate freedom from power; this was based on his core belief that freedom and power presuppose one another in modernity. Accordingly, practices of modern disciplinary power and modern autonomous freedom illuminate “these reciprocal yet incompatible aspects of modernity into more explicit tension with one another” (Koopman, 2010, p. 551). Understanding this latter point could help to resolve interpretive issues of Foucault’s work. Furthermore, if Foucault’s (1987) discussion of the relations of power is examined more closely, an agent’s capacity to resist domination and exercise their own freedom is proposed. This point is clearly made in Discipline and Punish where Foucault’s (1977a) techniques of discipline are deployed in corporeal forms of power, and the body is duly endowed with forces and capacities.

Whilst it is true that Foucault does not utilise a traditional humanist form of critique, he does recognise this, and maintains that any references to ‘man’ [sic] within philosophical discussions need to be seen as historically constituted and contingent regimes of truth (Patton, 1994). Foucault’s relinquishment of historical realism and
genealogical bracketing of claims to truth does not, then, support the assertion that this approach is uncritical. Indeed, Owen (1995) considers genealogy to be ‘exemplary critique’ since its power struggles are constantly being reinvented and their contingent nature is explicitly demonstrated. This gives the genealogist an opportunity to see themselves as something other than they are, even though they are unable to separate themselves from power relations. For example, in this study of governance within physical education, I inevitably contribute to the discourse and thereby constitute the objects (national physical education syllabuses, related reports, policies and Acts) that will be analysed. As long as I understand that in so doing I am involved in a ‘will to truth’ (Foucault, 1981), and that my analysis will be an interpretation, this will be compatible with the need in genealogy for reflexivity and contextualisation. Subsequently, as the social actor, I will be able to critique certain problems during the research process; these will inevitably be multiple and shifting, but will nonetheless seek to shape the construction of meaning within the specific context of physical education.

Having now reviewed and also refuted a number of criticisms in relation to Foucault's genealogical approach it is important to contemplate criticisms of a genealogy of government. In point of fact, criticisms are nominal across the theoretical sources reviewed, but they still warrant consideration. For example, some have noted that Foucault's theory of governmentality does not emerge in a systematic form (see Gane, 2008; Taylor, 1986), as it shows shifts in thinking and therefore develops somewhat arbitrarily across a series of lectures given at the Collège de France (see Foucault, 2007). At first sight, this could be seen to adversely affect the robustness of Foucault's genealogy of government. However, the fact that Foucault is thinking through his concept of governmentality in these lectures neither weakens its originality, its longevity, nor its uptake by other scholars (see Dean, 2010; Lemke, 2010; Rose, 1999). Indeed, some suggest that Foucault is not changing his position, rather, he is seeking to resolve a fundamental problem over the existence of the state (Dean, 1994). He thus “endeavours to show how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each
other's emergence” (Lemke, 2010, p. 33). These lectures therefore offer a new analysis of governance modalities, with continuities illuminated between the microphysics of power (and the political technology of the body) and the macro-level involving societal/government concerns (Dean, 1994). Perhaps a more prevalent criticism is whether a genealogy of government would be deemed a global concept and could be duly applied across a range of societies, with the different social dynamics of these still being respected. If advanced liberal (Rose, 1999) notions within contemporary physical education are recalled from earlier discussions, whereby individuals are guided to become responsible for monitoring their own health and levels of physical activity, it is indeed questionable whether this would be applicable in non-Western societies. Hence, it is important to be clear in this physical education study where the genealogy of government is operating, and in this case England has been verified as the research site. As such, from a sociological perspective, a genealogy of government would be an appropriate analytical approach, since England is similar to the Western context in which governmentality was initially conceived (see Rose, 1999). By way of summary, criticisms of a genealogy of government outlined above have been shown to be both sparse and debatable, which serves to strengthen the decision to pursue this particular methodological approach. Taking this into account, it is now important to explore the forms of evidence that will be used in this study per se.

**The forms of evidence**

Having established that there is a need to begin with a contemporary problematisation of physical education in England in this genealogical study and to subsequently trace how this developed historically, it is important at this point to outline the forms of evidence that support this endeavour and how they were chosen. The forms of evidence comprise the entire collection of national physical education syllabuses from a 114-year period in England, as well as pertinent reports, policies and Acts. Since the main concern of this research process was to explore the governance of the body in physical education, it was decided that the
national physical education syllabuses would need to be prioritised. These comprise Government-led curriculum documents that contain principles and directives for teachers in relation to the required physical education pedagogy. As such, it was envisaged that they would provide an insight into the types of corporeal regimes of practice that took place during each epoch. Furthermore, a mapping exercise of core discourses in physical education across the 114-year period was undertaken, by reviewing relevant scholarly literature in the field and any cited reports, policies and Acts. Whilst this ‘discourse map’ was an important process, I was aware that it would eventually serve primarily as a foundation for my historical knowledge, as the final selected documents would always need to be the principal objects of analysis. Notwithstanding this, the scholarly literature greatly enriched my knowledge and understanding of the proposed timeline, which facilitated the analysis process.

During the examination of the physical education syllabuses, various supplementary reports, policies and Acts also emerged; subsequently, these were added to the document collection if they helped to fortify the analysis, and if they were readily available. Unfortunately, some of the early twentieth century documents that were deemed potentially useful proved to be unattainable, but overall these were minimal in number.

Utilising commonplace documentary forms of evidence is congruent with Foucault’s (see Foucault, 1961/2006, 1963/1973, 1966/1970, 1977a) genealogical work in which he draws on written samples to explore their discourses and historical ‘truths’. In so doing, he does not view documents as remnants through which the past might be reconstituted, with their chains of significant consequences being a measuring stick for their high value. Indeed, for Foucault, history is always of its own time and place, as are the needs that history serves; this underpins his premise that history is a practice (Dean, 1994). Taking this into consideration, the forms of evidence will be contemplated in terms of their usefulness for the study, especially via-à-vis how they construct bodies in physical education. They do not represent, as is the case in traditional history, “the noblest periods, the highest forms, the most abstract ideas, the purest individualities” (Foucault, 1977b, p. 155); instead they
might be seen as oft neglected or lowlier forms of existence and knowledge which offer teachers guidelines for training or educating the body through a practical-based school subject. Herein, a “barbarous and shameful confusion” (Foucault, 1977b, p. 155) might be exposed, enabling marginal elements from certain epochs to be liberated. In view of this, the research follows Foucault’s (1977b) conjecture that getting as near as possible to the object of study is essential in order to reveal the disparity and dispersion behind its origin, which, in turn, illuminates the power forms that momentarily constructed it during a specific epoch. This is possible by examining what is closest to history, namely the body, even though it has been marginalised in philosophy and history for centuries (Foucault, 1977b).

Having determined that the forms of evidence in this study will be primarily educationally based, Government-created and Government-directed, it is necessary to explain why these particular documents are being utilised. This study requires forms of evidence that permit access to discourses on physical education pedagogy in England that construct the body and render it knowable and governable (research questions 1, 2 and 3). In this endeavour, an examination of national physical education syllabuses, as well as pertinent reports, policies and Acts will constitute the archive, since these evidence samples will enable an analysis at the micro-level of society in England. This corresponds with Foucault’s (1977b) belief outlined above that such everyday documents can help to expose ‘truths’ and marginalised knowledges through an analysis of their smallest and most insignificant details. Indeed, the physical education forms of evidence in this study will be shown to be embodiments of dynamic power struggles and relationships in society that are intimately linked to certain social variables (research question 2). A primary task will be to identify the most immediate and local power relations in operation, in an endeavour to explore how such objects make certain kinds of discourses possible and how they are subsequently used to support power relations. The problem of physical education will therefore be reconstructed, with close attention paid to the discourses that have sought to constitute and regulate pedagogy as an object of governing (research question 1), along with the forms of subjection that this has
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necessitated. An examination of the ways that physical education discourses and regimes of practice have come to be as they are, as well as why and how they have risen to prominence will thus be made possible. During this process, consequences for individuals and social groups in terms of social distinctions (for example, gender and class) will be revealed (research question 2), along with ‘truths’ and discourses about past corporeal governance and whether, or indeed how, this has shifted over the last century or so (research questions 1 and 3).

The forms of evidence themselves have been selected from a period of 114 years in the teaching of physical education; from its early origins to the current day. In adhering to a Foucauldian genealogical approach a historically specific ‘problematisation’ of these 114 years will therefore be offered, in order to ascertain how a phenomenon (physical education pedagogy) came to be regarded as a particular kind of problem for specific authorities during a particular time period. By taking into account such a broad timeline, it will be possible to review and trace key shifts in the historical governing of physical education in England, enabling an analysis of general regimes of practice and the intervention of ruling authorities through the selected documents (research question 1). This will facilitate an episodic approach to history, which has already been confirmed as appropriate in the earlier discussion of a genealogical approach, for when history is perceived as continuous, significant truths can be obscured (Foucault, 1977b). Indeed, Foucault (1977b, p. 153) recommends that the notion of “retracing the past as a patient and continuous development must be systematically dismantled”. The rationale for each epoch that arises within the broader 114-year timeline will be expanded upon in the subsequent analysis chapters. For now, however, it is important to consider how these forms of evidence will help to answer this study’s three central research questions.

In effect, the forms of evidence will enable a diagnostic methodology (Rose, 1999, p. 57) to evolve, whereby the genealogy of government in this specific study will “seek to establish the singularity of particular strategies within a field of relations of truth,
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power and subjectivity by means of a work on the symptoms”. During the diagnostic process in this study, there will be an attempt to differentiate symptoms by isolating, grouping and categorising them, thereby creating what Rose (1999, p. 57) terms a “symptomatology”. Thus, discourses that underpin both the written and visual content of the selected historical physical education documents will be examined. These will subsequently be grouped and placed in relation to one another to form series, relationships, unities and totalities across the 114-year timeline of governance in this school subject (Foucault, 1972). This is consistent with a genealogical approach in that the principal task is to explore what form of relations might exist between these different series, and what successions, interplays and simultaneities might become visible. Hence, no general principle or centre holding the data together will be assumed, which will permit new ‘truths’ to be constructed in regard to the study’s three central research questions.

Foucault’s oeuvre has a visual character, which manifests itself in the tables, illustrations, scenes and figures that he depicted; indeed, some believe that his discourse proceeds from “vision to vision... The step that marks the rhythm of the discourse’s forward march, in which that march finds support and from which it receives its impulse, is a visual moment” (de Certeau, 1986, p. 196). Thus, when examining the forms of evidence in this study it is important to consider the visuals as they arise, and they will be treated the same as the written texts whilst employing the diagnostic methodology outlined above. Accordingly, an analysis of them will be based on the discourses that they are enacted through, and which they reflect. It should also be noted here that the representative function of the images explored in the selected documents will always be considered as performative. As such, images are explored as objects that are unstable and complex, embodying a system of values that conform to what Foucault (2001, p. 649) terms a “cultural symptomatology”. Hence, the focus in the images to be analysed is not on “regularity as laws, combinations, linear relations, but... [is instead based on] functions and processes of operation, productive games incorporated in plasticity” (Fornacciari, 2014, p. 8). This is consistent with Foucault’s (1972, p. 169) notion of discourse as being
practices that exhibit a regularity with their “own forms of sequence and succession”. The analysis of images will therefore involve enquiring into the procedures and processes at work to explore how they construct knowledge and what they are endeavouring to impart. Knowledges have a critical role to play in respect of governing practices and in the construction of forms of ‘reality’ (see Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). By exposing the discursive practices that are embodied in the images it will consequently be possible to investigate and articulate the modalities of power and governance technologies that underpin them, particularly because in some documents the discursive field is constructed as much visually as it is linguistically. This will facilitate contemplation of “what type of assumptions, of familiar notions, of established unexamined ways of thinking the practices are based” (Foucault, 1994, p. 456), opening up the possibility for challenge and change. In so doing, the artifice of the visual experience will always be acknowledged; what is self-evident and taken for granted as ‘natural’ will thereby be called into question (see Rajchman, 1988). Thus, in line with Foucault’s genealogical approach the exploration of document images will become “an art of trying to see what is unthought in our seeing, and to open as yet unseen ways of seeing” (Rajchman, 1988, p. 96).

This type of analysis thereby conforms to Foucault’s understanding of power as being both relational and productive, in that it generates ‘objects’ such as the written-visual forms of evidence in this study following the construction of a problematisation. On the basis of a certain symptomatology (that is garnered from both the written and visual content being analysed), genealogies of government therefore reconstruct problematisations to which this study’s forms of evidence are viewed as solutions. However, their significance as solutions is dependent on the very existence of certain questions, which when examined more closely, contain inherent conjectures, parameters and ‘truths’. Hence, analysing historical physical education curriculum documents and related reports, policies and Acts requires in-depth reconstruction of problematisations in order to fully appreciate their role as governmental technologies and understand why twenty-first century physical
Chapter 3: Reconstructing the governing of the body in physical education in England: a genealogical approach

education is currently as it is. It is essential to undertake this process in relation to any social variables that arise as significant for this study. Indeed, the forms of evidence help to clarify the three research questions formerly outlined, as discourses in physical education are able to be studied within the written text and the images.

It should be recalled at this point that, as explained in the preceding chapter, the new objects of government in the present day are individuals who become resources to be optimised and fostered (Dean, 2010); this is particularly relevant for this study's focus on a problematisation of contemporary physical education. Hence, it is recognised that this modern notion of governmentality contrasts with sovereignty - which constitutes power that is exercised over subjects - and Foucault's second power form termed discipline, which involves the exercise of power over and through the individual, the group, and the body and its capabilities (see Chapter 2 of this study). Notwithstanding this, in order to understand and untangle such a complex web of power relations, an analytics of government becomes helpful in this study, for it investigates the “historical ontology” (Foucault, 1984a, p. 45) of ruling authorities, seeking discontinuities and fissures in the regimes of truth. In so doing, it recognises that governmentality has a relationship to other forms of power (particularly sovereignty and discipline), offering a perspective on questions of power and rule as opposed to an absolute standard of truth by which the analytics might be judged. This is especially important for this study's third research question, which considers ways in which forms of governing intersect with disciplinary and sovereign forms of power in the historical governance of physical education in England.

For the purposes of clarity then, “an analytics of government takes as its central concern how we govern and are governed within different regimes, and the conditions under which such regimes emerge, continue to operate, and are transformed [emphasis in original]” (Dean, 2010, p. 32). It therefore focuses on the ‘how’ questions, which involve four dimensions according to Dean (2010, p. 32):
Chapter 3: Reconstructing the governing of the body in physical education in England: a genealogical approach

1. characteristic forms of visibility, ways of seeing and perceiving
2. distinctive ways of thinking and questioning, relying on definite vocabularies and procedures for the production of truth (e.g. those derived from the social, human and behavioural sciences)
3. specific ways of acting, intervening and directing, made up of particular types of practical rationality (‘expertise’ and ‘know-how’), and relying upon definite mechanisms, techniques and technologies
4. characteristic ways of forming subjects, selves, persons, actors or agents.

These four dimensions offer an analytical framework through which regimes of practice in a school subject such as physical education might be deconstructed, which is the focus of research question 1. They are therefore drawn upon during the ensuing analysis process, where pedagogy is illuminated.

Thus far, the above account contends that within an analytics of government it is firstly important to investigate the micro-levels of society as opposed to starting from macro-social theories of ruling authorities; the former involves the knowledges, objectives and forms of expertise through which specific rationalities of governing are established and accumulated. This is why the everyday forms of evidence that have been chosen for this genealogical study are relevant, despite their rather unremarkable nature and context. Indeed, as already stated above (Bevir, 2008), it is the details, accidents and diminutive derivations that serve to expose conflicting and contingent historical ‘truths’. Secondly, where there are doubts about the very existence of governing within certain contexts or institutions, analysis is absolutely essential to deconstruct the underpinning discourses and forms of representation. Something as banal as a series of Government-endorsed physical education curriculum documents and related reports, policies and Acts could therefore offer a critical lens through which to view and explore contemporary physical education and its traditional discourses.

Taking such matters into consideration, in this specific study of physical education it is therefore important to analyse the forms of evidence in depth. This includes their proposed philosophy, their aims and objectives, their suggested teaching and learning methods, as well as the knowledge or values that underpin them or that
have been marginalised. This will help in exploring similarities and differences between how bodies have been governed in physical education in England across time (research question 1). Moreover, by tracing these types of elements outlined within the forms of evidence, it is also possible to examine how different forms of governing have constructed bodies (research question 2). As acknowledged in the literature review, dominant and marginalised discourses continue to influence the gender- and class-constructed body in contemporary physical education pedagogy. For example, competitive discourses were shown to dominate physical education since the 1950s in the previous literature review, which has contributed to classed and gendered constructions of the body in pedagogy (research question 2). By paying attention to the micro-level of society through a range of historical curriculum documents and programmes, as well as significant education Acts and government policies that reveal corporeal constructions, various ‘truths’ that rise and fall across time are exposed.

Finally, within an analytics of government, the ways in which authorities seek to transform rationalities of rule into programmes that influence the conduct of individuals over time warrant attention. Considering that historical documents are pivotal forms of evidence in this specific study, it is important to investigate how systems of thought within these operate according to a particular rationality and influence a person’s conduct and the way in which the body is constructed (research questions 1 and 2). The forms of evidence, in effect, enable a range of power modalities that are visible across time to be mapped; from the documents’ initial implementation and delivery phases in schools and society more generally (as relevant) until the ruling authority eventually reshapes or replaces them when a ‘new’ rationality takes centre stage. Indeed, the perspectives and concepts of governmentality are shaped against a genealogical analysis of the emergence of ruling authorities, including their techniques and rationalities. In so doing, the governance of physical education in the institutional context will become apparent, with longstanding relations between power, knowledge and the body highlighted. This third aspect of an analytics of government is therefore vital for this study’s third
research question, as it facilitates an investigation of ways in which forms of governing intersect with disciplinary and sovereign forms of power in the historical governance of physical education in England, suggesting implications for the production of bodies. Taking this into account, along with other matters discussed previously, it is now essential to draw key content from this chapter to a close in the ensuing conclusion.

Conclusion

It has been argued in this chapter that there is much to be gained from an examination of physical education and how it is constituted as a knowable problem. Indeed, by focusing on the rationalities and technologies through which physical education problematisations are constructed, an analytics of government illuminates the contingency of contemporary forms of governing. Thus, by interrogating the past in physical education through the genealogical approach that is employed in this study, it is possible to illuminate why the present is as it is, whilst acknowledging that there is no universal ‘truth’ sought. The analysis process will therefore employ the critical use of history, reconstructing genealogically the contemporary governing of physical education by reflecting upon “the contingency, singularity, interconnections, and potentialities of the diverse trajectories of those elements which compose present social arrangements and experience” (Dean, 1994, p. 21). Hence, a need to increase knowledge in this domain is the main purpose for this genealogical study, with recognition that the work is a historical interpretation that highlights power relations operating on bodies in certain historical epochs through its investigation of discontinuities, contingencies and complexities across a 114-year timeline.

Whilst it is acknowledged that analysing a selection of historical physical education documents and associated reports/Acts over a 114-year period could be construed as limiting, in the sense that they provide incomplete access to the marginalised and “illegitimate” knowledges that have been “disqualified” (Foucault, 1980a, p. 83), any
omissions will be addressed by drawing on theory from the literature review, and elsewhere as required. Notwithstanding this, the distinct advantage of this study’s genealogical approach is that it involves an analysis of written forms of evidence with some visual content; this is an unobtrusive method for gathering data since it involves no human relations. Consequently, it has the potential to offer a ‘new’ perspective on the research area that goes beyond the viewpoints of physical education practitioners in the field if they were to be interviewed about the same subject matter. However, due to the fact that the documents used represent a specific version of ‘truths’ constructed for specific purposes, each form of evidence will need in-depth contextualising over the next four chapters vis-à-vis their respective purposes and functions if an analysis of body governance over time is to be laid bare. Thus, I am aware that conceptualising relations between the documents’ contexts, their explicit content, and their implicit discourses involves “patience and a knowledge of details” as well as “relentless erudition” (Foucault, 1977b, p. 140).

Taking these factors into consideration, the genealogy of governance in physical education in England commences in the subsequent chapter with the present, examining the rationalities and technologies that have affected the construction of the body during this epoch. Having established some of the ‘problems’ in contemporary twenty-first century physical education therein by examining intersections between the practices of government and the practices of the self, the ensuing three chapters continue to explore governmental rationalities and technologies but they are presented in reverse across the twentieth century, focusing on epochs that demonstrate distinct shifts in body governance. In this manner, governable problems in physical education at specific sites and specific points in time are interrogated. As mentioned in Chapter 1, structuring the study backwards is consistent with Foucault’s “history of the present” (1977a, p. 31), whereby the present is not considered to be a sequential result of the past. Hence, events that are closest to the contemporary research ‘problem’ should frame the inquiry and linear progression becomes irrelevant. This helps to illuminate how
Chapter 3: Reconstructing the governing of the body in physical education in England: a genealogical approach

A historical analysis of the intricate interdependencies between governmental rationalities and technologies facilitate understanding of a subject such as physical education in the present day. In so doing, heightened awareness of the multiple and complex power relations between individuals, institutions and ruling authorities is fostered, enabling transformation within the physical education context to be explained and proposed.
Chapter 4: How disciplinary power complements healthism in the governing of physical education (1999-2016)

Introduction

In this first analytical chapter, an examination of how from the late 1990s public health promotion emerged as a particular problematisation of governing, and how this came to shape the regulation of the body in physical education is undertaken. In so doing, the development of healthism as a rationality of ‘third way’ governance is explored and obesity is contemplated as its key focus of problematisation. Accordingly, forms of governing that regulate the body in physical education in England during this contemporary epoch (research question 1) are considered. Notably, the power modality of discipline is shown to increase in significance through the technology of sport, intertwining with and complementing healthism as a key form of governing underpinning physical education. An analysis of how Foucault’s (2007) triangular forms of power intersect in this contemporary period of public health promotion is therefore made, particularly in regard to the implications for the production of bodies (research question 3). Furthermore, the effect that the intersection of disciplinary power modalities and forms of governing have on the construction of bodies (research question 2) is contemplated. Thus, what becomes of particular interest in this chapter is how social distinctions such as class and gender, objects of governing in physical education under previous regimes of rule (as will be elaborated in Chapters 5, 6, and 7), are superseded by a focus on the self-regulating individual. Indeed, personal responsibility discourses become prominent in the forms of evidence. Hence, the ruling authorities’ (and their experts’) promotion of the need to take greater responsibility for individual health prompts an analysis in the forms of evidence of how physical activity and sport are used as core technologies to tackle obesity. Consideration of how these technologies penetrated physical education via national curriculum documents subsequently ensues. This investigation of ways in which ruling authorities
Chapter 4: How disciplinary power complements healthism in the governing of physical education (1999–2016)

broadened their “networks of governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73) to include a school subject as a ‘solution’ to the so-called ‘problem’ of obesity will help to illuminate how physical education became a governmental and discipline technology for public health at this particular time.

A shift in the problematisation of governing during the late 1990s

The governmental shift towards the individual and their need to take personal responsibility for their own health is indicative of the presence of advanced liberalism, which is a ‘modern’ conception of rule that focuses on ‘the conduct of conduct’ (see Foucault, 2000). According to this modern art of governing, “one never governs a state, a territory, or a political structure. Those whom one governs are people, individuals, or groups” (Foucault, 2007, p. 122). Notwithstanding this, the specific form of advanced liberalism that arose during the late 1990s in England was influenced by New Labour’s ‘third way’ thinking when this left wing party came to power in 1997. It should be mentioned here that third way politics endeavoured to reposition parties of the Left within the political mainstream as a feasible alternative to those of the Right, enabling them to govern capitalist economies in an era of globalisation (Baer, 2000; Campbell & Rockman, 2000; Hay, 1999). In terms of this chapter’s focus, third way politics is particularly noteworthy, as it placed emphasis on “personal responsibility, as well as upon the transparency and reform of state mechanisms” (Giddens, 2000, p. 56). Thus, New Labour endeavoured to achieve its governance aims of securing an attainable level of health for the total population by endowing the entrepreneurial citizen with regulated freedom and autonomy to pursue their personal health promotion; this essentially involved them evaluating and addressing their ‘unhealthy’ or ‘risky’ lifestyles. By shaping the individual to become more self-regulating and productive, citizens’ newly moulded interests - along with the health promotion aims of ruling authorities - could be satisfied.

Maintaining good health was therefore constructed as a moral obligation and a citizen’s duty as opposed to their right (Galvin, 2002). During this process, class and gender distinctions were not apparent in Government policies and national
curriculum documents. Indeed, in the case of physical education, curriculum documents were redeveloped to support third way thinking that involved students needing to take personal responsibility for the weight, appearance and general health of their bodies; this signifies the presence of healthism and ‘governing at a distance’ (Rose & Miller, 1992). Alongside this, sport discourses became more prevalent during this epoch, indicating a renewed engagement with disciplinary techniques. However, before such matters can be discussed in further depth, it is important to examine the shift in governing that occurred during the late 1990s. This will serve to highlight how the socio-political context affected the construction of physical education, before the notion of healthism, obesity and physical education per se might be examined in greater depth (see also Appendix A).

For nearly eighteen years, from 1979 to 1997, a Conservative government was in power in England, led by Margaret Thatcher from 1979 to 1990 and subsequently John Major for the final seven years of right-wing rule. The new Thatcher regime was elected following the aftermath of the macroeconomic crisis of the 1970s wherein there was a slow growth rate, high inflation and high unemployment (see Kus, 2006). Since Britain’s problems were interpreted by the Conservative government as outcomes of a national crisis, Thatcher began to embark on a radical ‘roll-back’ neoliberal programme to 'modernise' the economy, state, and civil society, and to promote an enterprise culture (Hall, 1986, 1993; Kus, 2006). Conservative neoliberalism in England eventually reached its political and institutional limits when the neoliberal project began exhibiting internal tensions and contradictions. This was due to market, state, and governance failures that derived from neoliberalism itself (Kus, 2006; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Thus, neoliberalism began to be transformed during the early 1990s and Tony Blair’s New Labour party subsequently endeavoured to reconstruct social democracy as the optimal variant of neoliberalism, looking for interaction between public and private sectors, and using the dynamism of markets whilst taking into account the public interest (Giddens, 1998). In accordance with this, the state education system was gradually marketised and privatised by New Labour from the late 1990s, with
academy schools being developed as an integral part of this process. Social reform, individualism, free enterprise, and low state involvement on all fronts were duly embraced (see Giddens, 1998, 2000; Hall, 2011). Moreover, this newly developed form of neoliberalism was noted for “its “social” and penal policies, aggressive reregulation, disciplining, and containment of those marginalised or dispossessed by the neoliberalisation of the 1980s” (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 389). Thus, in order to legitimate itself, such a regime was also characterised by unrelenting reform and regulatory restructuring. Indeed, reform of the state is considered to be a fundamental principle of third way politics, serving to extend and fortify democracy (Giddens, 1998). In particular, the reform process involves the ‘democratic state’ (rather than the sovereign state) replenishing civic culture and acting in partnership with agencies in civil society to promote renewal and development in the community through what Giddens (1998, p. 69) calls “transnational systems of governance”. This, of course, aligns well with Foucault’s (2007) previously mentioned power modality called governmentality.

Contemporary approaches to the regulation of public health represent part of this simultaneous limiting of the state’s role, state re-regulation, and rise in individualism that is underpinned by third way neoliberalism. Indeed, during the Thatcher years in the 1980s there was a reduction of trading activities in England, through privatisation activities and the ‘downsizing’ of the public sector. This limiting of the state’s role coincided with government reluctance to employ regulatory instruments; there was instead a focus on ‘softer’ interventions that sought to provide advice and advocate the need for individuals to act responsibly (Kelly, 2011). When after nearly eighteen years of Conservative rule, a Labour government headed by Blair was finally elected to office in 1997, calling themselves

6 Academy schools are publicly funded independent schools that operate independently of local education authority control. They were introduced by New Labour (and continued by the coalition party from 2010), as an alternative to the public sector of schooling and its traditional forms of governance that were perceived to be failing (see Ball, 2017). Academies are self-governing, non-profit charitable trusts and do not have to follow the National Curriculum. Early academies apparently involved “a self-conscious attempt to promote entrepreneurship and competitiveness” (Ball, 2017, p. 203).
‘New Labour’, this heralded a social-democratic alternative to the work begun in England by Thatcherism since it remained a fundamental part of the neoliberal revolution (Hall, 2011). Indeed, New Labour’s policies have been recognised as ‘third way’ neoliberalism (see Giddens, 1998, 2000). The ‘third way’ is often viewed as an alternative public philosophy to the two other ways of ‘traditional’ social democracy and neoliberalism respectively (see Giddens, 1998, 2000, 2001), surpassing social democracy’s preoccupation with economic security and neoliberals’ concern with competitiveness by merging these values through an “entrepreneurial culture” that attends to the nature of contemporary societal risks rather than leaving individuals “to sink or swim in an economic whirlpool” (Giddens, 1998, p. 99). Furthermore, third way politics abandons collectivism and instead seeks new relationships between the individual and the community, resulting in a redefinition of rights and responsibilities. Subsequently, there are “no rights without responsibilities... With expanding individualism should come an extension of individual obligations [emphasis in original]” (Giddens, 1998, p. 65). Hence, when New Labour came into power, individual personal behaviours were targeted through a range of interventions that guided individuals to take greater responsibility for their own health and well-being. This discursive shift towards personal responsibility warrants further exploration in a health-specific context, and so it is to this that the chapter now turns.

**Healthism as a third way rationality of health governance**

Whilst personal responsibility has been illuminated as a core component of third way policy, it should also be acknowledged here that it was an inherent component of the ‘New Public Health’ model which gained currency during the 1980s (see Ashton & Seymour, 1988). In this model, ‘health promotion’ became part of the public health project and individual citizens’ lifestyles subsequently began to be examined (Green & Thorogood, 1998). However, it was not until the 1990s that health promotion became increasingly prevalent in the public policy arena, gaining popular media and corporate attention (Ayo, 2012). A manifestation of this
discursive shift of personal responsibility led to a ‘new health consciousness’, which has been referred to by many scholars, following Crawford (1980), as healthism (see Gard & Wright, 2001; Kirk & Colquhoun, 1989; Tinning, 2010). Dutton (1995, p. 273) explains the notion of healthism a little further, linking it explicitly with the body when describing it as “a particular form of ‘bodyism’; in which a hedonistic lifestyle is (paradoxically) combined with a preoccupation with ascetic practices aimed at the achievement or maintenance of appearance of health, fitness and youthfulness”.

Under the guise of health promotion strategies, healthism gradually became more prominent during the 1980s and the 1990s, targeting an individual’s sense of personal responsibility and their body as sites of intervention and regulation rather than overarching social systems. Working under the assumption that everyone should endeavour to maximise their own health, healthism therefore suggests that the individual has a choice when it comes to preventing their body from becoming diseased (Petersen & Lupton, 1996; Rich & Evans, 2009). This notion of personal responsibility conforms to both New Labour’s third way policies and to Foucault’s (2007) ‘modern’ conception of rule that focuses on the conduct of conduct; indeed, it might be ventured that healthism is a rationality of governing. The concept of healthism has been developed by Rose (1999, p. 74), in line with Foucault’s theory, and is alluded to as an advanced liberal doctrine “that links public objectives for the good health and good order of the social body with the desire of individuals for personal health and well-being”. In essence, this involves the message of healthism from ruling authorities (in this instance, New Labour) being internalised by individuals, resulting in “regulated freedom” (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 174). The subsequent need for self-surveillance closely aligns with the development of Foucault’s (1977a) Panoptic principles of surveillance and control, whereby the conduct of individuals is regulated and gradually normalised.

When the need for weight loss is justified on health grounds, with medical discourses constituting obesity as a disease, internalisation processes are stimulated. Healthism and obesity discourses are, therefore, interconnected through this notion of personal responsibility. However, this is perhaps made even
more apparent when moral aspects are introduced to the relationship. Indeed, it has been documented elsewhere that when responsibility for one’s own health and body size is individualised the overweight or obese person is often characterised as lazy, greedy, self-indulgent and lacking in self-control (see Crawford, 2000; Gordon, 2000; Murray, 2009; Rich & Evans, 2005). In line with this, bodies become acceptable (normal) or unacceptable (abnormal) in terms of their health behaviours; this decision is directly associated with their body composition. Thus, a complex contemporary health problem has a built-in behavioural component that can only be solved through a change in lifestyle. Indeed,

The pursuit of health through work on the body has become a crucial means by which an individual can express publicly such virtues as self-control, self-discipline, self-denial and willpower – in short, those qualifications considered important to being a ‘normal’, ‘healthy’ human being (Petersen & Lupton, 1996, p. 25).

This type of contemporary moral discourse has led to public health authorities making assumed links between health and weight. As such, excess weight is causally related to ill health and it is thereby deduced that in order to be healthy a person needs to be slim and have control of their weight (see Davies, 1998). To all intents and purposes, this is a governance strategy that attempts to regulate bodies by controlling any that are perceived as abnormal, dangerously unhealthy and undisciplined. The need for individuals to manage their weight also explicitly connects to third way policies that are underpinned by the notion of personal responsibility. Indeed, during this time, obesity was constructed as an undesirable side-effect of modern Western living in which fat is equated with being sick, despite the fact that this overlooks growing evidence on physical inactivity and poor nutrition as risk factors that are independent of body weight (see Schorb, 2013). The importance of the social and economic behaviours that contribute to obesity are also disregarded, which ostensibly prevents obesity from being problematised as the consequence of market failure (Mazzocchi, Traill, & Shogren, 2009). In paying no attention to such matters, “Healthism acts as an ideology by reducing the complex causes or etiology of diseases [such as obesity] to simple behaviour or lifestyle factors” (Colquhoun, 1990, p. 175). It is important to now consider how sport and
physical activity have been constructed during these years of third way rule as proposed solutions to the alleged obesity epidemic.

The construction of sport and physical activity as proposed solutions to the obesity ‘epidemic’ under third way neoliberal rule

For the purposes of this study based on physical education, an improved understanding of how sport and physical activity became entangled with healthism and obesity discourses is needed. Tinning (2010, p. 155) offers this when he explains that healthism is

a set of ideas that includes the unquestioned assumption that exercise = fitness = health; that the individual is solely responsible for his/her own health; that body shape is a metaphor for health, and that it is through the physical that health is manifest.

Thus, by defining certain health behaviours in relation to exercise and diet as ‘bad’, obesity discourse effectively constructs a public health risk with the help of experts’ advice and biomedical interventions (see Evans, 2003; Gard & Wright, 2001). Solutions subsequently need to be sought for such health risks, and physical activity therefore began to take on much more importance in public health policy during this contemporary epoch. The emergence of a relationship between physical activity and health is significant for this study, because it denotes a shift in the locus of social control to an individualised, internalised mode of corporeal control. This, of course, aligns with third way thinking hitherto discussed in which personal responsibility for health was shown to be prominent. In so doing, such social variables as gender and class became less pertinent than individualism (see Giddens, 1998) to New Labour, the ruling authority.

Notwithstanding this ongoing debate and uncertainty, the construction of physical activity as a solution to the alleged obesity problem is regularly apparent during this period. On review, what becomes increasingly evident is that as obesity develops in significance during this contemporary period, the importance of physical activity and a citizen’s concomitant duty to be physically active becomes more
commonplace. This is particularly evident in the report *Obesity: Third report of session 2003-04* (House of Commons, 2004), where sensationalist overtones become perceptible. Indeed, from the outset, the manner in which modern life has affected citizens’ activity levels is made evident with statistical data drawn upon by way of justification:

Turning to the role of physical inactivity, only just over a third of men and around a quarter of women achieve the Department of Health’s target of 30 minutes of physical activity 5 times a week. Levels of walking and cycling have fallen drastically in recent decades, while the number of cars has doubled in 30 years. Children are also increasingly sedentary both in and out of school. A fifth of boys and girls undertake less than 30 minutes activity a day. Television viewing has doubled since the 1960s, while physical activity is being squeezed out of daily life by the relentless march of automation (p. 3).

Later, in a section entitled ‘Causes of obesity related to physical inactivity’ (pp. 23-45), the role of physical activity in the war against obesity is established when National Heart Forum evidence is utilised to affirm that levels of physical activity in England are below the European average; this is claimed to be one of the reasons why there are higher obesity rates (p. 41). As a result, the report asserts that “There is little doubt that the nation as a whole is not as active as it should be” and support from the Department of Health is subsequently used to explain the need for “individuals to undertake at least 30 minutes of moderately intensive activity (e.g. brisk walking) on at least 5 days a week” (p. 41). This quantification of physical activity is subsequently aggrandised by biomedical research from The Chief Medical Officer’s report into the impact of physical activity and its relationship to health. An ensuing section devoted to children’s activity levels reveals the work of several ‘experts’ who warn about the long-term risks of lowered physical activity, which “will not fall simply on the health of the present generation of schoolchildren, but will be carried into adulthood and will be perpetuated when today’s children become parents themselves” (p. 44).

Hence, fundamental to the notion of risk is that by naming it - in the cases above it is posited as the adverse effect of low physical activity levels on health - there is a possibility of better managing and governing it (see Gard & Wright, 2001; Rose,
1999). In effect, by illuminating the lines of causality an individual is able to be more easily guided during the governance process to act rationally and avoid the purported health risk. In several of the forms of evidence in this chapter, the risks for inactive individuals are corroborated, with statistical correlations made to patterns of chronic disease. The importance of regular physical activity is duly proposed as a solution to these. For example, the White Paper *Saving lives: Our healthier nation* (Secretary of State for Health, 1999, p. 7) comments that “By not doing the recommended levels of physical activity - 30 minutes of moderate exercise 5 times each week - you are at: twice the risk of getting coronary heart disease; three times the risk of suffering a stroke”. Similarly, in *Game plan: A strategy for delivering government’s sport and physical activity objectives* (Department for Culture, Media & Sport/Strategy Unit, 2002) it is asserted that “The benefits of physical activity on health are clear, well evidenced and widely accepted. 30 minutes of moderate activity five times a week can help to reduce the risk of cardiovascular diseases, some cancers, strokes and obesity” (p. 14). In this same physical activity-specific form of evidence, international medical research is later used to claim that “regular moderate activity yields physiological benefits in terms of reduced risk of: obesity (physical activity helps prevent the development of obesity by ensuring an adequate energy balance)” (p. 45), and a decrease in the prevalence of several other chronic illnesses such as cardiovascular disease and some forms of cancers. This former conjecture is problematic to say the least, reducing a complex health condition such as obesity to an energy in-out equation (see Gard & Wright, 2001).

Notably, within a range of health-focused national programmes that are elucidated in many of the forms of evidence, the dominance of sport as a solution to weight management and better public health becomes visible. For example, in the *Healthy weight, healthy lives* report (Cross-Government Obesity Unit, Department of Health and Department of Children, Schools and Families, 2008) the long-term investment in Sport England becomes evident: “Sport England is developing a new strategy to build a world class community sport infrastructure to sustain and increase participation in sport and allow everyone the chance to develop their sporting
talents”. Since sports have been historically linked to discipline discourses (see Kirk, 1992, 1994), this could be considered an example of how when governmentality does not achieve its desired effects (that is, personal responsibility to undertake physical activity and thereby manage weight gain), disciplinary governance re-emerges (see Dean, 2010). In the White Paper Saving lives: Our healthier nation (Secretary of State for Health, 1999) a somewhat narrow definition of physical activity is proffered from the outset; indeed, it is equated with sport, which was confirmed in Chapter 2 of this study as having discipline and gendered origins (see Kirk, 1992; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002; Wellard, 2009; Wright, 1998). Examples of what a physically active lifestyle might constitute are outlined, with “walking, cycling or participating in sport” (p. 23) suggested, and a truth claim as to how they reduce the risk of coronary heart disease and promote good mental health becomes apparent. Moreover, there is reference to a forthcoming “sports strategy” that is designed to “promote greater scope for participation in sport and physical activity for all” (p. 24), thereby building on previous sports programmes to encourage people with obesity to be more physically active. This shows the way in which sport and physical activity are conflated by ruling authorities, whilst also illuminating how information is manipulated to create a level of certainty about suggested relationships between inactivity, poor health and obesity. In the Game plan strategy (Department for Culture, Media & Sport/Strategy Unit, 2002) it becomes very clear early on in the report that ruling authorities view sport as pivotal to health promotion. Indeed, it is acknowledged that “The whole Government knows the value of sport. Value in improving health and tackling obesity” (p. 11). This highlights the presence of sovereignty as the Government’s overriding belief in sport is subsequently used in this document as a vehicle through which the obesity epidemic can be managed. However, the Game Plan strategy also recommends a ‘twin track’ approach, whereby “increasing participation in sport and physical activity and developing sustainable improvement in success in international competition” is apparent. This is particularly noteworthy for this chapter, as it shows how the strategy focuses simultaneously on public health and global competitive objectives; the latter complies with third way thinking outlined
previously in which it was recognised that marketisation involving competition became the cutting edge of New Labour’s neoliberal project (see Giddens, 1998; Hall, 2011).

The Tackling Obesity in England report (National Audit Office, 2001) constructs physical activity as a health promotion strategy for obesity, but in so doing, “networks of governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73) involving partnerships between Government departments become particularly visible. According to Dean (2007), such networks displace state sovereignty, helping to focus attention on the individual and their personal responsibilities. This phenomenon is apparent within the report’s main findings and recommendations on cross-Government initiatives to prevent obesity, where it is emphasised that “the Department of Health should lead the development of a new cross-Government strategy to promote the health benefits of physical activity” (p. 5). Consequently, the Department of Health’s work needs to liaise with a multitude of governing authorities to “increase the average time spent on sport and physical activity by those aged 5 to 16” (p. 5).

Governmentality is clearly at work here in this report with such extensive networks of physical activity interventions directed towards school aged children. In effect, these agents of governance become citizens’ health “partners”, “facilitators” and “tutors” in the multiple forms of risk (Dean, 2010, p. 202). Indeed, one thing that remains constant throughout the forms of evidence in this chapter is the importance of tackling the problem of obesity in a multifaceted manner that involves individuals, communities and industry as well as ruling authorities.

Thus far, it has been demonstrated that all of the documents reviewed have healthism discourses underpinning them, particularly in the way that they advocate the internalisation of the need to be healthy and to maintain a healthy weight. The notion that all citizens are actual or potential casualties of the obesity crisis and therefore have a personal responsibility to be risk aware has been shown to be perpetuated through a range of governance rationalities in the forms of evidence. Each of the forms of evidence has also revealed that one of the principal ways an
individual citizen can achieve their personal health goals is to undertake regular physical activity, although prescribed amounts have differed; this is perhaps why when reflecting on the topic of the alleged obesity epidemic Gard and Wright (2001, p. 547) conclude that “While it is probable that some level of physical activity has some health benefits for some people, there is little else that we can say with any certainty in this area [emphasis in original]”. Notwithstanding this, the emergence of sport and physical activity as proposed solutions to the obesity ‘epidemic’ has been demonstrated in all of the forms of evidence. Indeed, weight management, and therefore avoidance of obesity, has been highlighted as a duty for each citizen; this corresponds to Crawford’s (1980, p. 368) notion that “healthism treats individual behaviour, attitudes and emotions as the relevant symptoms needing attention”. This emphasis on the responsible individual means that a range of social distinctions such as class and gender are deemed irrelevant or less relevant. Furthermore, it illustrates how healthism is facilitated by third way thinking, with a ‘softer’ approach to ruling authorities’ intervention that is characterised by risk management and individual responsibility (see Ayo, 2012) in the forms of evidence. Sports discourses have, nevertheless, also arisen in several of the selected documents, illuminating the interrelationships between Foucault’s (2007) power modalities of sovereignty, discipline and governmentality. It would seem, therefore, that in respect of healthism during this epoch, ruling authorities’ endorsement of personal responsibility for physical activity essentially means promotion of engagement in sport.

Taking these matters into consideration it is now important to review additional forms of evidence from this epoch to explore the effects on physical education discourses of the construction of physical activity as a solution to the alleged obesity crisis. Indeed, the exposure of both healthism and sports discourses that emerged in previous forms of evidence reveals how corporeal governance came to the fore through the technology of a school subject. The intertwining of social variables with discourses of corporeal governance are also considered across this time period, since these are significant for this study’s research questions.
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Healthism and sport: converging and diverging discourses in the governance of physical education

The above account has shown how the body has become the target of many of the new health risk-management strategies under third way neoliberalist rule (see Giddens, 1991; Shilling, 2012), particularly in relation to the alleged obesity crisis where the conduct and appearance of the body are pivotal. Indeed, by the end of the twentieth century, several authorities such as politicians, the medical profession and scientists viewed physical activity as a solution to the obesity ‘epidemic’ (see Gard & Wright, 2001). Hence, as ruling authorities sought to extend their reach in terms of promoting health within the population, schools became a site through which obesity might be tackled, and physical education - being a body-based subject - was the logical place for this to occur. However, it should be noted here that this reconstruction of physical education as a technology for public health promotion is steered by a particular view of the relationship between health, physical activity and sport. Indeed, what became apparent in the documents reviewed previously was that healthism prevailed and this was underpinned by third way neoliberalism (Giddens, 1998), with sport discourses having a growing level of influence. It is these discursive shifts that this section of the chapter will contemplate in additional forms of evidence that are primarily curriculum-based, although contextual policies will be drawn upon wherever appropriate.

In many of the physical education-based forms of evidence within this chapter it can be seen that healthism is an integral and seemingly dominant part of the core content. This suggests that physical education has adopted healthism as a principal form of governing. For example, healthism is a significant component of the Learning through PE and sport (Department for Education and Skills/Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2003) policy. Herein, high quality physical education (and sport) are viewed as technologies for health: “When there is high quality PE and school sport, you will see young people who have an understanding of how what they do in PE and school and community-based sport contributes to a healthy and active
lifestyle” (p. 3). Similarly, in the section entitled ‘What are the outcomes of high quality PE and sport?’ in *High quality PE and sport for young people* (Department for Education and Skills, 2004, p. 3) several of the ten outcomes connect physical education with healthism. For instance, outcome 3 states: “When schools and sports clubs are providing high quality PE [physical education] and/or sport, they see young people who understand that PE and sport are an important part of a healthy, active lifestyle” (p. 3). When this same outcome is elaborated on further in the school context, students are expected to “know how their participation in PE and sport contributes to a balanced healthy, active lifestyle” and be “able to explain how the school helps them to maintain a healthy, active lifestyle” (p. 6). Such examples of internalisation of the importance of health have been previously explained to be an integral part of healthism, whereby individuals voluntarily comply with ruling authorities’ health promotion concerns by implementing a more disciplinary approach to their daily lives (see Crawford 2000; Rose, 1999). Interestingly, in this particular report it is the amalgamated technologies of physical education and sports that enable healthism to flourish and be enacted as a form of governing, demonstrating their intimate relationship in policy documents. This phenomenon will be investigated in more detail at a later point in this chapter section.

The presence of healthism is again perceptible in the *Learning through PE and sport* (Department for Education and Skills/Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2003) policy. Herein, however, teachers - through the technology of physical education - become the agents of healthism for the “enabling state”, guiding students to take on “a portion of the responsibility for their own well-being” (Rose, 1999, p. 142). A more specific example of healthism operating as a form of governing is when schools and partnerships involved in the policy investigation are encouraged “to provide purposeful skill and health enhancing activities that improve behaviour, attitudes to learning and healthy living” at break and lunch times (p. 9). In this manner, students’ free time during the school day is being regulated in an endeavour to influence their personal approaches and values towards health. Similarly, free Government-driven professional development for teachers is referred to as having
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the capacity to “improve the understanding of how high quality PE and school sport can be used to support healthy lifestyles and physical activity” (p. 12), indicating how teachers are guided to regulate students in respect of their personal health. Schools involved in the research confirm in this report that developing physical education and sport in such ways has positively affected students, who “are now more committed to a healthy, active lifestyle” (p. 9). This shows how healthism operates as a governance technology within the physical education context, with students being steered by teachers to internalise appropriate health behaviours so that they become the norm in their future role as ‘good’ citizens.

Similar healthism rationalities can be observed in the revised edition of the National Curriculum for key stages 3 and 4 (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority [QCA], 2007). Herein, it is made clear that physical education can make a contribution to holistic health and that positive values and attitudes towards health need to be assimilated by students to ensure they are active throughout their lives. For instance, in the section where the importance of physical education is expounded, it is confirmed that

they [students] develop the confidence to take part in different physical activities and learn about the value of healthy, active lifestyles. Discovering what they like to do, what their aptitudes are at school, and how and where to get involved in physical activity helps them make informed choices about lifelong physical activity (QCA, 2007, p. 189).

There are four key concepts delineated in the key stage 3 and 4 National Curriculum in physical education: “competence”; “performance”; “creativity”; and “healthy, active lifestyles” (pp. 190-191). These underpin the study of physical education and students “need to understand these concepts in order to deepen and broaden their knowledge, skills and understanding” (p. 190). The latter concept, “healthy, active lifestyles”, again supports the notion of holistic health and affirms that students should take on board the importance of physical activity, since it is considered to be the foundation for healthy living: “physical activity contributes to the healthy functioning of the body and mind and is an essential component of a healthy lifestyle” (p. 191). The “healthy, active lifestyles” concept also involves individual
students internalising the value of regular physical activity: “Recognising that regular physical activity that is fit for purpose, safe and enjoyable has the greatest impact on physical, mental and social wellbeing” (p. 191). This is an example of how healthism “treats individual behaviour, attitudes and emotions as the relevant symptoms needing attention” (Crawford, 1980, p. 368). Subsequently, in the five key processes that are explained in this 2007 curriculum document, there is again evidence of healthism with a section devoted to the need for students to “identify the types of activity they are best suited to; identify the types of role they would like to take on; make choices about their involvement in healthy physical activity” (p. 193). Such examples help to establish how healthism, this “new health consciousness… [that] situates the problem of health and disease at the level of the individual” (Crawford, 1980, p. 365), is an integral part of the general key stage 3 and 4 National Curriculum physical education content, essentially governing its rationale, concepts and processes.

Similar healthism rationalities can be seen to develop in a curriculum document that was never implemented due to a change of Government: The National Curriculum primary handbook (Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency [QCDA], 2010). This primarily occurs in one of the four distinct sections within the three pages dedicated to curriculum progression in the newly titled ‘Understanding physical development, health and wellbeing’ area of learning. The four sections comprise: ‘Across the area of learning’, ‘Physical education’, ‘Personal wellbeing’ and ‘Economic wellbeing’. The first and last of the four sections contain generic skills, which appear to be framed by third way neoliberal discourses, but one of the middle sections is more relevant for this particular chapter section as it is here that healthism discourses become perceptible. Indeed, in the ‘Personal wellbeing’ section, it is during the ‘early phase’ that students need to be taught “why healthy eating and physical activity are beneficial” (p. 57). This develops in the ‘middle phase’ to the need to learn “about the relationship and balance between physical activity and nutrition in achieving a physically and mentally healthy lifestyle” (p. 57). In the ‘later phase’, students should be taught
to understand the particular benefits of different physical activities for promoting health; to take responsibility for their physical activity and nutrition in achieving a physically and mentally healthy lifestyle; [and] that hygiene, physical activity and nutrition needs might change as a result of growth and adolescence [emphasis added] (p. 57).

The progression in health learning is evident here across the three phases, and this is primarily constructed through dietary and physical activity guidance that has persisted across all this epoch’s forms of evidence. But perhaps more importantly for this chapter section, the presence of governmentality is evident through the key directives herein that guide students to take increasing responsibility for their own health. Indeed, by the end of their primary school years, students are required to be adept in regulating their own physical and mental health through exercise and diet: “students should be taught... to take responsibility for their physical activity and nutrition in achieving a physically and mentally healthy lifestyle [emphasis added]” (p. 57).

A curriculum-based form of evidence that acts in a similar way to help students internalise the importance of being physically active is the National Curriculum programme of study: Physical education. Key stages 1-4 (NCPSPE) (QCA, 1999). Interestingly, although governmentality is clearly apparent here through the discourses that promote the internalisation of health-based norms, discipline becomes increasingly present as the pedagogical content progresses from the primary to the secondary physical education context. For example, at key stage 1, and again at key stage 2, there is an explicit declaration that students should be taught “why physical activity is good for their health and well-being” (QCA, 1999, p. 18). This is an example of governmentality at work, but this is built upon during key stage 3 when the notion of “regular exercise” is proposed, with students being advised how to access physical activities that contribute to their general health. Later, at key stage 4 there is evidence of self-regulation needing to be developed in respect to being physically active, with the term “monitor” being utilised in conjunction with students’ development of training/exercise/activity programmes. These latter examples from the secondary context (key stages 3 and 4) indicate how
healthism, as a third way rationality of governance, remains dependent on disciplinary forms of power in physical education. Indeed, from key stages 1 to 4, it can be seen that physical education constitutes a technology in which the individual body is progressively regulated through health and fitness training. Accordingly, this school subject becomes a Government-operated technology that guides physical education students to take on board certain healthism discourses and thereby live according to specified and approved health norms. The healthism aspect in the NCPSPE could therefore be viewed as power that is both “visible and unverifiable” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 201) across the four key stages, ultimately leading to self-regulation once certain health ‘norms’ have been embodied. Nonetheless, this embodiment process involves disciplinary governance through exercise and fitness training, which become ever more conspicuous beyond the primary curriculum content. This confirms Dean’s (2010, p. 29) conjecture that “governmentality retains and utilises the techniques, rationalities and institutions characteristic of both sovereignty and discipline, [although] it also departs from them and seeks to reinscribe and recode them”.

In 2008, the Physical education and sport strategy for young people (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2008) was implemented. This report evolved after a successful bid in 2005 by London to host the Olympic Games in 2012. It formed an integral part of a Public Service Agreement that sought “To deliver a successful Olympic Games and Paralympic Games with a sustainable legacy and get more children and young people taking part in high quality PE and sport” (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2008, p. 1). Indeed, it is clear in this strategy that the Olympic Games are being used as a catalyst for increasing the prevalence of sport in England: “we want the Games to energise everything that we do, and inspire every child and young person in the country to participate in more sport on a regular basis”. This statement reveals, once again, the presence of discipline, but an elite construction of sports also seems inescapable with Dame Kelly Holmes, an ex-Olympic gold medallist leading the strategy (National School Sport Champion, British middle distance athlete). Perhaps due to this dominant pro-sport ideology,
physical education looks as if it has been sidelined in this strategy, with few references made to it aside from the new ‘5 hour offer’ for all 5-16 year olds in which children and young people are expected to take part in at least two hours high quality physical education and sport at school each week. This latter figure is to be topped up by a further three hours of “sporting activity” (p. 1). Interestingly, even when physical education is specifically alluded to herein it is always linked to the term sport, highlighting ruling authorities’ construction of physical education as sport that takes place in the school environment. It would thus appear that non-competitive physical education activities are not represented in this particular form of evidence, even though its title refers explicitly to physical education. Instead, sport/discipline discourses underpin and dominate the whole. Furthermore, tension between healthism and disciplinary techniques is also visible due to the dominance of the latter herein as a governance technology. Indeed, only cursory references to health are apparent in this report, with involvement in high quality physical education and sport alleged to foster an “Increased involvement in a healthy, active lifestyle” (p. 1).

Similarly, in the ‘Physical Education’ section of The National Curriculum primary handbook (QCDA, 2010) the persistence of sport can be observed, and so it might be proposed that healthism jostles for position with sport herein. Indeed, out of six ‘physical education’ learning outcomes in the ‘early phase’ of The National Curriculum primary handbook (QCDA, 2010), the large majority (four) are sports and performance based, focusing on developing body control and coordination, improving performance, using tactics and strategies, and observing rules. One of the remaining ‘early phase’ outcomes discusses creating sequences, and the final learning outcome is health-based: “Children should be taught about the benefits of regular exercise and how their bodies feel when they exercise” (p. 56). Interestingly, this dominance of sports discourses continues across the subsequent two phases (‘middle’ and ‘later’ phases) in the physical education section, with healthism discourses evident in the ‘middle phase’ only: “Children should be taught to recognise ways in which stamina and flexibility can be improved through daily
physical activity” (p. 56). There is no mention of health in the ‘later phase’ of the physical education section, whereas references to performance and competition are explicit across all three phases. This suggests that contemporary primary physical education seeks to discipline the body through its sport-performance regimes, and that in so doing, there is a reconfiguration and recoding of governmentality and healthism.

On exploring the NCPSPE (QCA, 1999) document further, it becomes evident that it is also through the technology of sport that corporeal regulation takes place, and that healthism is given limited attention. For example, although the holistic approach to the learning that takes place in physical education reveals the presence of both governmentality and discipline in the discussion of moral development, sport terminology is clearly central. Indeed, students are encouraged to self-regulate in physical education with their assimilation of “fair play based on rules and the conventions of activities” and “positive sporting behaviour”; but at the same time, they are required to “accept authority and support referees, umpires and judges” (p. 8). In this manner, ‘sport’ is the only physical activity cited as having the capacity to foster moral development in the NCPSPE, which illuminates ruling authorities’ priorities for sport/discipline-oriented endeavour. In two of the other three NCPSPE learning areas, sport is again explicitly referenced when there is discussion of how social and cultural development can be nurtured in physical education. In the former, the notion of “teamwork” is discussed, along with taking “responsibility” in “physical activity, sport and dance” (p. 8). The previous sections of this chapter alluded to the third way emphasis on personal responsibility for health in this contemporary epoch, which seems to complement this inclusion in the National Curriculum. In the section on cultural development the NCPSPE document notes how “sport can transcend cultural boundaries” (p. 8). It is clear from examples such as this that sport discourses tend to dominate the NCPSPE learning areas, particularly as only two other activities are even named: dance and traditional games. Apart from these minor examples, the generic term “physical activity” is used from time to time, but “sport” is utilised throughout, and healthism references are
rarely apparent, signifying the dominance of disciplinary discourses in this national physical education curriculum document.

When considering the context of the NCPSPE a little further, it should be noted that ministerial orders for curricula were amended in a revamped National Curriculum model under the advice of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority. This was in response to concerns within the physical education profession about the relevance of the current curriculum content and the predominance of games (sport discourse) (see Green, 2008). At first sight then, competitive sports and games seem to have become less dominant in this report, which is perhaps due to New Labour’s emphasis on reducing obesity in the population and the health discourses that subsequently intensify in the NCPSPE. Indeed, it was agreed to broaden the activities on offer in the NCPSPE, and games - which has been recognised as the core of ‘traditional’ physical education since the 1950s (Kirk, 1992) - became an option rather than a requirement at key stage 4 (Year 10-11). This modification is confirmed by the NCPSPE (QCA, 1999, p. 6), but ruling authorities’ priorities are still fervently advocated in this regard: “At key stage 4, although pupils can choose other activities instead of competitive team and individual games, the Government expects schools to continue to provide these for pupils who wish to take up this option”. In accordance with this focus on discipline-oriented activities, the introduction of four ‘aspects’ of physical education in this revised national curriculum are also primarily underpinned by discipline. These ‘aspects’ form a conceptual structure for the primary and secondary programme of study, comprising “acquiring and developing skills”; “selecting and applying skills, tactics and compositional ideas”; “evaluating and improving performance”; and “knowledge and understanding of fitness and health” (QCA, 1999, p. 6). With such a strong emphasis on skill acquisition, application and performance enhancement in the initial three aspects, Kirk’s (2010, p. 2) notion of “physical education-as-sports-techniques” becomes apparent, and the dominance and persistence of sport/discipline discourses appear to be confirmed. Nonetheless, there are inherent tensions between discipline and healthism that have been alluded to, which include
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the fact that healthism features in only one of the four ‘aspects’ formerly mentioned. This suggests that the curriculum’s overarching purpose of promoting “positive attitudes towards active and healthy lifestyles” (p. 15) is predominantly to be achieved through disciplinary forms of governance.

Evidently, the pedagogical structure in both the primary and secondary NCPSPE context is activity-based, which implies that physical education is essentially about performance in specific activities (see Evans & Penney, 1995a). Better performance can be achieved through the acquisition of skills, particularly if the central position of the four previously discussed ‘aspects’ of physical education is acknowledged. Moreover, at each key stage, competition is strongly featured through the inclusion of ‘competitive games’. As mentioned earlier, this complies with the longstanding hierarchy of areas of activity in physical education, whereby competitive games are accorded the highest status in the curriculum (see Evans & Penney, 1995b; Kirk, 1992). More specifically, the NCPSPE programme of study content is organised into six areas of activity. Three activities of these form the core of physical education learning at key stages 1 and 2 (year 1-6: primary level): dance, games and gymnastics respectively (QCA, 1999, pp. 16-19). Swimming is a potential fourth activity area as it is compulsory in either key stage 1 or 2. At key stage 1 in the games curriculum, students need to be taught how to:

a) travel with, send and receive a ball and other equipment in different ways;
b) develop these skills for simple net, striking/fielding and invasion-type games; c) play simple, competitive net, striking/fielding and invasion-type games that they and others have made, using simple tactics for attacking and defending (p. 17).

This games content is progressed at key stage 2 to include more playing and creating of “small-sided and modified competitive net, striking/fielding and invasion games” (p. 19). In addition, skills and tactics, along with attacking and defending principles, and teamwork capacities are to be fostered. Athletics and Outdoor and Adventurous activities also become compulsory at key stage 2. At key stage 3, games is the only activity that is compulsory, there is then a choice between dance or gymnastics, and a further two activities from the following must be selected: swimming activities
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and water safety, athletic activities, outdoor and adventurous activities. Key stage 4 students are required to learn two of the same six activities from key stage 3.

These examples highlight the recurring sport/discipline discourses in the NCPSPE and the enduring nature of competition within physical education, which has already been confirmed as a central component of third way thinking. Indeed, Giddens (1998, p. 99) comments that “The neoliberals placed competitiveness and the generating of wealth much more to the forefront. Third way politics also give very strong emphasis to these qualities, which have an urgent importance given the nature of the global marketplace”. It was noted in Chapter 2 that a shift occurred in physical education during the 1950s, with competitive sports and games gaining precedence over Swedish gymnastics (see Kirk, 1992, 2010). However, although sport is seen as more free-flow activity that has a “looser form of power over the body” (Kirk, 1998, p. 89), some maintain that the disciplinary power in Swedish gymnastics merely morphed into another disciplinary form due to the corporeal regulation of the body that prevails in sport, albeit in a more individual and indirect manner (see Vlieghe, 2013). This latter point is particularly interesting, given the third way focus on individualism highlighted earlier in this chapter (see Giddens, 1998). Moreover, New Labour’s neoliberal project involved replacing nationalisation as a major policy for industrial revival with competition, in order to make the domestic economy more prosperous in international terms. By enforcing competition policies nationally and internationally, the loss of ruling authorities’ key traditional social and economic functions were accepted (see Cerny, 1995; Giddens, 1998; Hall, 2011). In essence, New Labour continued John Major’s government policy of introducing limited competition primarily within the public sector and limited outsourcing to the private sector. This policy was Janus-headed, initiating competition within the public sector through tools such as league tables in health and education, which were based on financial incentives along with prestige and results. Secondly, right wing policies of introducing limited private sector involvement were maintained, through contracting out or private management of public organisations (see Giddens, 1998, 2000). These types of competitive
developments and emphases seem to align with New Labour’s promotion of sport through the forms of evidence due to its traditional competitive structure, and perhaps help to explain some of the tensions already outlined between sport and healthism at curriculum and policy level.

**How discipline complements healthism as a way of governing physical education**

Having explored ways in which discipline is evident alongside healthism and examined the tensions between them, the final section of this chapter focuses on how discipline complements healthism as a way of governing physical education. It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that when a sport framework dominates physical activity this might be indicative of the presence of discipline, which resurfaces when governmentality is unsuccessful (see Dean, 2010). Accordingly, governmentality would be inadequate as a power form when citizens do not take personal responsibility for their own health and levels of physical activity. Competitive sport might therefore be used as a fall-back technology to help guide citizens to take greater personal responsibility, although it seems from the discussion thus far that sport has a more significant overall influence in this epoch. Indeed, it appears to work in partnership with healthism to govern physical education. Certainly, this might be discerned in a strategy report cited earlier in this chapter: *Game plan: A strategy for delivering government’s sport and physical activity objectives* (Department for Culture, Media & Sport/Strategy Unit, 2002). In section 2 of this report, entitled ‘Why do we care? Benefits and the role for government’, there is explicit reference to the need for citizens to become “sports literate” (p. 55). This allusion to sports literacy is, however, accompanied by healthism and therefore draws attention to the ways in which sport and healthism work in alliance as governance technologies in physical education. Interestingly, the findings of two European comparative studies of cross-country participation and a USA based study are cited at this point in the report; these established a positive correlation between increased physical activity amongst women who had five sessions of physical education per week during their six years of primary schooling (p. 55). Citing such
'expert' biomedical findings in relation to women's physical activity levels (who have thereby become “sports literate” in the words of the report) when they have been involved in daily physical education at an earlier age effectively forges a link between physical education, sports and health across the lifespan. Indeed, it might be ventured that these three discourses have been constructed in the report so as to complement one another. Similarly, the report claims that “In England the developmental view of sport is reinforced through the presence of physical education as a statutory requirement in the national curriculum from key stages 1 to 4 (ages 5 to 16)” (p. 55). This, of course, directly aligns sport with physical education, suggesting that it is the foundation from which lifelong participation in health-focused activities such as sport might be attained. The same report subsequently goes on to discuss a White Paper called *Schools: Achieving success* (Department for Education and Skills, 2001), in which there is a Government commitment to two hours of high quality physical education and sport each week within and beyond the timetabled curriculum (p. 55), once again connecting these two domains. However, it is made clear that this national strategy for physical education, school sport and clubs links is designed to promote other objectives such as “improved health... and to create continuous pathways for participation beyond school” (p. 55). This contributes to a construction of physical education as a subject where work has to be undertaken in order to improve the capabilities of the body to engage in sporting activities across the lifespan, thereby highlighting the connection between discipline and healthism as they simultaneously govern physical education.

These types of examples showing the complementary relationship between discipline and healthism as ways of governing physical education challenge the notion that healthism is the dominant discourse in present day physical education, as many scholars believe (see Gard, 2004, 2014; Gard & Wright, 2001; Jette et al., 2014; Johns, 2005; Macdonald, 2011; McCuaig & Tinning, 2010; McDermott, 2012; McEvilly et al., 2015; Ohman & Quennerstedt, 2008; Powell & Gard, 2014; Thorpe, 2003; Tinning & Glasby, 2002; Wright, 2004). Indeed, healthism and discipline/sport clearly work together to govern physical education in the
previously discussed NCPSPE (QCA, 1999) and the *National Curriculum for key stages 3 and 4* (QCA, 2007). This is particularly apparent in the former’s general description of the curriculum for each key stage within the programme of study, where discipline features strongly at all times, but healthism intensifies from key stage 2 onwards and thereby also acts as a governance technology. The curriculum descriptions can be found alongside each of the four aspects and they differ in terms of the pedagogical discourses that underpin them and the general language, particularly between the primary and secondary school years. At key stage 1 the following statement is made:

> pupils build on their natural enthusiasm for movement, using it to explore and learn about their world. They start to work and play with other pupils in pairs and small groups. By watching, listening and experimenting, they develop their skills in movement and coordination, and enjoy expressing and testing themselves in a variety of situations (QCA, 1999, p. 16).

This encapsulates the more progressive play-based pedagogy that is commonly found in the primary sector in England with children of this age (5-7 years), and notably, there is no explicit reference to health included. However, the acquisition of skills (sport discourse) is apparent, and the notion of students ‘testing themselves’ lays the foundation for competition in subsequent key stages. Similarly, the key stage 2 curriculum also focuses on sport as opposed to healthism discourses:

> pupils enjoy being active and using their creativity and imagination in physical activity. They learn new skills, find out how to use them in different ways, and link them to make actions, phrases and sequences of movement. They enjoy communicating, collaborating and competing with each other. They develop an understanding of how to succeed in different activities and learn how to evaluate and recognise their own success (QCA, 1999, p. 18).

The only tangible connection to healthism discourses that can be found here is in the phrase: “pupils enjoy being active”, which has the potential to construct both students’ and teachers’ views of the importance of being physically active, and as argued previously, this claim is often aligned with healthism discourses (see Tinning, 2010). However, sport discourses strengthen at this key stage, with the learning of “new skills” being promoted, and the notion of them enjoying “competing with each other” also surfacing.
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It is at secondary level that sports and performance discourses begin to govern physical education more strongly in the NCPSPE (QCA, 1999) general curriculum descriptions. At key stage 3,

pupils become more expert in their skills and techniques, and how to apply them in different activities. They start to understand what makes a performance effective and how to apply these principles to their own and others’ work. They learn to take the initiative and make decisions for themselves about what to do to improve performance. They start to identify the types of activity they prefer to be involved with, and to take a variety of roles such as leader and official (p. 20).

Herein, sport discourses are firmly established, with the refinement of skills and techniques becoming a priority so that they become proficient and there is an emphasis on students working to improve their performance levels so that they become movement “experts”. Moreover, a role that they are supposed to adopt such as an ‘official’ would inevitably be connected to a competitive activity such as a traditional sport, which has rules and conventions to follow. In a similar vein, sport/performance discourses accompany the pervasive healthism discourses that have already been illuminated earlier in this chapter section within the National Curriculum for key stages 3 and 4 (QCA, 2007). For example, “competence” and “performance” sit alongside “healthy, active lifestyles” in the section describing physical education concepts (pp. 190-191). The “competence” concept promotes “Developing control of whole-body skills and fine manipulation skills” (p. 190) together with the capacity to adapt movement competence to differing contexts and activities. The “performance” concept focuses on “Understanding how the components of competence combine, and applying them to produce effective outcomes; Knowing and understanding what needs to be achieved, critically evaluating how well it has been achieved and finding ways to improve” (p. 190). These types of performance skills and abilities should be able to be modified in different size groups and physical activity contexts. Furthermore, “developing skills in physical activity” are an explicit component of the five key processes in this same 2007 curriculum document, as is “evaluating and improving”, indicating that performance/sport discourses are prevalent here, acting as disciplinary technologies on the body. In the first “developing skills in physical activity” section,
students are required to “refine and adapt skills into techniques; develop the range of skills they use; develop the precision, control and fluency of their skills” (p. 192). Through the fourth process of “evaluating and performing”, performances are to be analysed, with decisions made as to how performances might be improved in students' own and others' work. These examples highlight how social regulation and normalisation of bodies occurs through educational practices such as learning and evaluating physical skills, and they simultaneously allude to the way in which healthism (discussed earlier as a key governance technology in this 2007 National Curriculum) and discipline mutually work to govern physical education.

Interestingly, this complementary healthism-discipline governance of physical education is also apparent in the curriculum description statement at key stage 4 within the 1999 version of the physical education National Curriculum (QCA, 1999):

pupils tackle complex and demanding activities applying their knowledge of skills, techniques and effective performance. They decide whether to get involved in physical activity that is mainly focused on competing or performing, promoting health and wellbeing, or developing personal fitness. They also decide on roles that suit them best including performer, coach, choreographer, leader and official. The view they have of their skillfulness and physical competence gives them the confidence to get involved in exercise and activity out of school and in later life (p. 23).

Although at first sight sports discourses that involve both competition and performance dominate here, clear guidelines are concurrently given regarding different types of physical activity in which students should engage. These conform to three types, two of which have a health, well-being or fitness focus, whilst the third has a competitive/performance emphasis. Together, these are reminiscent of historical health and fitness discourses in physical education that have discipline derivations, as well as the post-Second World War dominance of competitive sports and games in England (see Kirk, 1992, 1994). In particular, the notion of physical education being used as a technology to promote lifelong physical activity is apparent when references are made to students becoming involved in exercise and activity within, outside of, and beyond the school context. This conforms, as discussed previously, to a healthism discourse that is framed by a biomedical model.
in which physical inactivity is constructed as a risk factor. Accordingly, taking personal responsibility for health (“developing personal fitness” in the NCPSPE case) is viewed as a means to counter some of these alleged risks in contemporary society (see Johns, 2005; Tinning, 2010), and is thereby an example of ‘governing at a distance’ (Rose & Miller, 1992). This key stage 4 example therefore illustrates how discipline and healthism operate simultaneously in the National Curriculum to guide physical education students to become ‘good’ (disciplined) citizens who take personal responsibility for their health.

The alliance between discipline and healthism as governance technologies in the physical education National Curriculum versions and previously mentioned reports can also be found in the Game plan (Department for Culture, Media & Sport/Strategy Unit, 2002) report. Herein it is explained that the Physical Education, School Sport and Clubs Link (PESSCL) strategy, which eventually developed into the Physical Education and Sport Strategy for Young People (PESSYP), contributes to objectives such as improved health and socialisation. With New Labour at the helm, this therefore generated a significant policy departure from ‘sport for sports sake’ into ‘sport for social good’ (Bloyce & Smith, 2010a, 2010b; Devine, 2013). This highlights how a national strategy might be utilised as a governmental as well as disciplinary technology for public health, and alludes to the intimate relationship between sport/discipline and healthism. It should be noted at this point that the first few years of the twenty-first century were significant in terms of policy development for physical education and school sport (PESS) in England; indeed, it was during this period that ruling authorities invested considerable amounts of public funding to create an extensive infrastructure for PESS (see Jung, Pope, & Kirk, 2016). The Game Plan strategy created continuous pathways for sports participation beyond school (p. 55) through secondary-primary school networking that was designed to

7 In particular, the Youth Sport Trust (YST), spearheaded by Chief Executive Baroness Sue Campbell, emerged as one of the central organisations in the development of the Specialist Sports Colleges, and the PESSCL and PESSYP strategies from the late 1990s. The YST was established in 1994 as an independent charity and had a strong focus on the promotion of sport in schools (notably primary schools). It was funded by Sir John Beckwith, the National Lottery and British Telecom (Phillpots, 2011).
“provide a range of sports opportunities [which] will develop the talents, enrich the lives and benefit the health of children right across the country” (Department for Education and Skills, 2001, p. 28). This again allies sport/discipline and the development of sporting abilities with children’s health, showing how they converge and complement one another. At the same time, it is also an example of governmentality in operation, with the ruling authorities’ overarching health aims being translated into a cross-departmental strategy that is publicly funded. To clarify, the PESSCL strategy was designed to deliver a joint Department for Education and Skills and Department for Culture, Media and Sport programme under a Public Service Agreement target. At first, it included eight separate strands of work: Specialist Sports Colleges (SSCs), School Sport Coordinators (later incorporated within the School Sport Partnerships: SSPs), Gifted & Talented, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority PE & School Sport Investigation, Step into Sport, Professional Development, School/Club Links and Swimming. SSCs and SSPs were a core component of the PESSCL and PESSYP strategies. In particular, SSCs had a pivotal role in raising standards of teaching and learning in physical education and school sport, with emphasis on promoting ‘sporting excellence’, extending participation in sporting activities and providing quality sports coaches (see Department for Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS], 2001). Thus, under PESSCL and PESSYP, SSPs were instrumental in offering young people high-quality physical education and sport opportunities both within and beyond the curriculum. In effect, this shows how physical education and ‘school sport’ became one under Government policy, with the terms physical education and sports used interchangeably by the ruling authority and PESSCL/PESSYP agents who themselves came from a range of physical education-sports backgrounds. In terms of the specific focus of this chapter section, the Game plan report thus elucidates a number of convergences between sport, physical education and healthism; these also arise in various ensuing forms of evidence.

For example, the publication of Learning through PE and sport: A guide to the physical education, school sport and club links strategy (Department for Education
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and Skills/Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2003) has already been shown to confirm the intimate relationship between physical education and sport. However, it is in the introduction of this report that the notion of ‘sport for social good’ (Bloyce & Smith, 2010a, 2010b; Devine, 2013) becomes apparent, with healthism underpinning much of the sport/discipline discourse. Accordingly, physical education and sport can allegedly improve pupil concentration, commitment and self-esteem; leading to higher attendance and better behaviour and attainment; fitness levels; active children are less likely to be obese and more likely to pursue sporting activities as adults, thereby reducing the likelihood of coronary heart disease, diabetes and some forms of cancer; and success in international competition by ensuring talented young sports people have a clear pathway to elite sport and competition whatever their circumstances (p. 1).

Hence, it might be construed that physical education and sport are being utilised as technologies by ruling authorities, in that they are regarded as having the capacity to shape young citizens’ social and emotional skills for the better, to enhance their health and fitness levels and ward off obesity (healthism), and to concomitantly help facilitate future elite performance and international success. In the follow-up policy, *High quality PE and sport for young people* (Department for Education and Skills, 2004) these kinds of social and health aims are again visible on the inside of the front cover when Richard Caborn, Minister of State for Sport and Tourism, declares:

> The Government believes that everyone should have the opportunity to participate in sport. Getting school children into sport – and keeping them involved – is especially vital as regular participation can reduce obesity, improve fitness levels and, by improving concentration and self-esteem, can help attendance, behaviour and attainment.

Similarly, the *Physical education and sport strategy for young people* (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2008, p. 1) refers to the positive social and health outcomes that will extend beyond a person’s engagement in the “sporting arena”; these are alleged to comprise:

- Increased involvement in a **healthy, active lifestyle**;
- **Leadership skills** that can be transferred to everything they do;
- Increases in **positive behaviour**;
- Increased confidence and self-esteem, leading to better **attitudes to learning**;
- **Citizenship qualities** – many young people involved in sport become involved in volunteering opportunities [emphasis in original].
Clearly, discipline serves to complement healthism as a way of governing physical education in these various examples discussed above. Thus, although at first sight it seems that healthism dominates the physical education curriculum (as previously discussed), on delving deeper it has been shown in this chapter section that discipline is also omnipresent as a governance technology. This phenomenon becomes apparent in one of the key sports/discipline focused policies that was published in the new millennium: *A sporting future for all* (DCMS, 2001). The title of the report per se expresses its core purpose, but its principal aim builds on this: “to ensure that every member of our society is offered opportunity and encouragement to play, lead and manage sport... Without a broad base of participation... enjoyment, health, ambition, and fun for millions of people” will not be achievable (p. 55). Whilst the interchangeable usage of physical education and sport is revealed on many occasions throughout this form of evidence, the policy’s ‘vision’ of ‘sport in education’ warrants particular attention (pp. 7-8). Not only are physical education and sport discussed simultaneously herein - which leads to them becoming indistinguishable - but there is also explicit reference to both ‘discipline’ and ‘responsibility’ within the initial exploration of values that are gained from participating in sports. It would seem, therefore, that two of Foucault’s (2007) power forms, discipline and governmentality, are evident here:

Physical education and sport are a fundamental part of the education of all young people. They should have an opportunity to take part in a range of sporting activities. Participation is important in itself, but it can also help to develop important values like discipline, team work, creativity and responsibility [emphasis added] (p. 7).

This demonstrates the overt pro-sport ideology of New Labour, which effectively sought to bolster perceptions of physical education as being sport in the school context. The ‘sport in education’ vision in this form of evidence is apparently due to an alleged “decline in after school sport and competition” (p. 7), which led ruling authorities to address this issue through investment in sports resources and a new
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Sports infrastructure. Such matters highlight the economic imperatives of neoliberalism; indeed, it might be ventured that being disciplined (through sports participation) is vital for economic performance and productivity. Interestingly, as well as the report’s focus on increasing individuals’ pathways to success in sport and the creation of sporting opportunities for all, discipline and healthism appear to work together herein vis-à-vis how they govern physical education. For instance, whilst high quality physical education and school sport are explicitly fostered, there is acknowledgement that “lifelong participation” in sport is a key goal (p. 37). Likewise, “sport and healthy exercise” are considered crucial foundations to develop “a lifelong habit” of physical activity (p. 29). Hence, the report concludes that “Sport played or learned in early years ought ideally to be a foundation for lifelong participation” (p. 37), with people of all ages taking part in both competitive sport and non-competitive activities.

An alliance between sport and healthism discourses is also evident in various extracts from the current primary and secondary physical education programmes of study (Department for Education, 2013a, 2013b), which have remained in place since 2010 despite a subsequent change in Government (see Appendix A). In the year prior to this 2013 curriculum’s implementation, Great Britain had experienced a highly successful Olympic Games in which a total of sixty-five medals were won, leaving them fourth in the total number of medal rankings. Riding the wave of global competitive success, it was surely no coincidence that the 2013 programmes of study for physical education had competition at their core. Indeed, both the primary and secondary physical education programmes of study (Department for Education, 2013a, 2013b) set the scene from the start in relation to this by confirming in the ‘Purpose of the study’ section that:

A high-quality physical education curriculum inspires all pupils to succeed and excel in competitive sport and other physically-demanding activities. It should provide opportunities for pupils to become physically confident in a way which supports their health and fitness. Opportunities to compete in sport and other activities build character and help to embed values such as fairness and respect (p. 1).
Thus, within two out of three sentences, competition is explicitly advocated, in tandem with sport. “Sport and other activities”, referred to in the third sentence, are to be used as mediums through which social values such as character building, fair play and respect are promoted. This highlights how sport, and especially team games – which have long been used as technologies for character formation in private schools (see Kirk, 1992) – have become institutionalised in contemporary physical education. Indeed, the right wing (Conservative party) priority for physical education has traditionally been to emphasise competition with a focus on elitism⁸ (see King, 2009), so to discover these types of discourses underpinning a Conservative-Liberal Democrat curriculum document is hardly surprising.

Interestingly, the middle sentence in the 'Purpose of the study' section above refers to the need for students to become “physically confident”, which is proposed as a way in which their “health and fitness” levels might be improved (p. 1). This reveals how performance (sport/discipline) discourses are viewed as an essential scaffolding mechanism for student’s future health and fitness levels, which suggests that discipline and healthism complement one another in their role as governance technologies in the physical education context. Moreover, in the aims sections of both the primary and secondary physical education programmes of study it is stated that students need to “develop competence to excel in a broad range of physical activities; are physically active for sustained periods of time; engage in competitive sports and activities; lead healthy, active lives” (p. 1). Whilst movement “competence” is clearly seen as important for improved performance, and competitive sports are explicitly referred to as essential activities (sport/discipline discourses), these points are flanked by healthism/governmentality discourses when it is stated that students need to be “physically active” and to “lead healthy, active lives” (p. 1). This example demonstrates the partnership between healthism and sport. Following the ‘aims’ sections, the ‘subject content’ is outlined in the

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⁸ Elitism in physical education and sport involves favouring and rewarding the most talented athletes who are deemed capable of achieving success at major sporting events. Elitist practices in physical education and sport are often prioritised due to a Government’s increasing recognition of the powerful symbolism of global sporting success (see Green & Houlihan, 2005).
physical education programmes of study for the primary and secondary sector across two of its three pages (Department for Education, 2013a, 2013b, pp. 2-3). It is here that there are some interesting similarities and differences discernible between sport and healthism discourses within the primary and secondary programmes of study, especially when considering that the ‘aims’ and ‘purpose of study’ sections have been shown to be identical. Indeed, what becomes clear on closer analysis is that healthism increases in significance as a governance rationality in the secondary physical education context, complementing and supporting the ever-present power form of discipline. In other documents that have been examined it is the other way around, with discipline becoming more prominent. This highlights the complex nature of power along with its non-linear form. As such, in the primary physical education programme of study (Department for Education, 2013a) there is evidence of sport discourses beginning to dominate, but healthism is not readily apparent across the content. Instead, at key stage 1 there is an emphasis on the need to develop children’s fundamental movement skills in order to improve their physical competence and confidence; this will enable them to “engage in competitive (both against self and against others) and co-operative physical activities, in a range of increasingly challenging situations” (p. 2). As well as this focus on skills, students are also required to “perform dances” and “participate in team games” (p. 2). Interestingly, although dance is one of only two physical activities to be specifically named apart from team games, it is aligned with ‘performance’; indeed, composition abilities that involve creativity rather than technical accuracy are not included, which highlights the performance-sport discourses that are introduced to this younger age group. Similarly, ‘swimming and water safety’ (the other named activity) also has a skills-based, “technocratic” focus (McKay, Gore, & Kirk, 1990, p. 53). Accordingly, there is a specific distance of twenty-five metres advocated, along with using “a range of strokes effectively” and “perform[ing] safe self-rescue” (p. 3).

This dominance of sport-performance discourse in the current primary physical education programme of study (Department for Education, 2013a) persists into the
key stage 2 subject content, which involves developing “a broader range of skills” and applying these, as well as “communicating, collaborating and competing” with one another (p. 2). There is an emphasis on “how to improve in different physical activities and sports” (p. 2), which again indicates the way in which ‘sports’ are given a higher profile than other generic ‘physical activities’ and how performance discourses reign supreme at this age level. Indeed, traditional “competitive games” such as hockey, netball, cricket and rounders⁹ are referred to as specific examples in the key stage 2 content that students should undertake (p. 2). Furthermore, the subject content discusses the need to develop skills and components of fitness such as flexibility and strength, along with being able to “compare their performances with previous ones and demonstrate improvement to achieve their personal best”. As mentioned previously, such sport-performance regimes comply with patterns in pedagogical design that have been prominent in physical education since the 1950s (see Kirk, 1992, 1994), which signifies the persistence of discipline throughout both key stages in the primary sector. However, at key stage 2, the need for the body to be fit, flexible and strong is also indicative of the emergence of healthism alongside discipline. In the key stage 3 and 4 (secondary) physical education programme of study (Department for Education, 2013b, pp. 2-3), the dominance of sport discourses continues, with students needing to become “more competent, confident and expert in their techniques, and apply them across different sports and physical activities”. They should understand what a proficient performance looks like and be able to apply these principles to their own and others’ work. However, they are also required “to get involved in exercise, sports and activities out of school and in later life, and understand and apply the long-term health benefits of physical activity”. It is here that healthism and sport discourses explicitly converge. In effect, “exercise” and “sports” are depicted as the vehicles through which personal health goals can be progressed and achieved across the lifespan (healthism), illustrating the

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⁹ Rounders is a bat and ball game that has been played in the UK since Tudor times. There are two teams who bat and field the ball respectively. One at a time, the batting team hit a small, hard ball with a rounded end wooden bat. Whilst the fielding team retrieves the ball, the batter endeavours to run anticlockwise around the four bases on the field. If they do so without being stopped they score a 'rounder'.

complementary governance roles of discipline and healthism in the physical education context.

The first statement within the more detailed breakdown of the key stage 3 programme of content in the current secondary physical education programme of study (Department for Education, 2013b) refers to the need to “use a range of tactics and strategies to overcome opponents in direct competition through team and individual games” (p. 2). This is followed by a second statement that focuses on students being required to “develop their technique and improve their performance in other competitive sports [for example, athletics and gymnastics]” (p. 2). In the ensuing series of requirements performance can also be identified as central, although there is one minor exception to this with “outdoor and adventurous activities which present intellectual and physical challenges” being used to encourage teamwork (p. 2). The final key stage 3 subject content statement comments that “Pupils should be taught to take part in competitive sports and activities outside school through community links or sports clubs” (p. 2), thereby explicitly advocating the importance of competitive sports with this age group beyond the curriculum boundaries. At key stage 4, the subject content is very similar, with healthism only evident in the initial description statement, where it is framed by sport discourses. Hence, students “should get involved in a range of activities that develops personal fitness and promotes an active, healthy lifestyle” (p. 3), but these “activities” clearly seek to develop a student’s performance and competitive abilities. Indeed, out of the five ensuing description statements, four refer to competitive team games, competitive sports, evaluating performances to achieve a personal best (elitism), and continuing to “take part regularly in competitive sports and activities outside school” (p. 3). Once again, the only exception to these sport discourses is outdoor and adventurous activities, which is, nevertheless, used as a medium to foster teamwork. It might be concluded, therefore, that this exploration of both the primary and secondary physical education programmes of study (Department for Education, 2013a, 2013b) demonstrate connections between healthism and the governance technology of
sport, but the predominant curriculum focus is seemingly the latter. This suggests that discipline is much stronger as a modality of power in this 2013 form of evidence than in previous ones that developed during New Labour’s rule, which illuminates how discipline has endured, and indeed, strengthened during this contemporary epoch within the selected documents that have been examined. Notwithstanding this, healthism supports discipline at various key stages, and this indicates how the two function together in a range of different ways to govern both primary and secondary physical education.

**Conclusion**

This chapter reinforces existing research that highlights the predominance of healthism as a rationality of governing physical education. The forms of evidence examined show that healthism promotes personal responsibility practices that involve the conscientious monitoring and regulation of the body and behaviour that might cause bodily excess. Nonetheless, in physical education, tensions between the allegedly dominant healthism and discipline have been illuminated, across and between primary and secondary curriculum documents, with discipline emerging through sport, performance and competition discourses. Interestingly, competition discourses have also been seen to underpin third way neoliberalism in earlier sections of this chapter (see Giddens, 1998). However, perhaps more importantly than this, discipline is shown to complement healthism as a way of governing in physical education, and sport discourses have clearly increased across time. This has resulted in the terms ‘sport’ and ‘physical education’ being used synonymously by ruling authorities; a phenomenon that Kirk (2010, p. 6) refers to as the “‘sportification’ of school physical education”, with it effectively being characterised as “a political football that can be kicked back and forth at the whims of government” (Johnrose & Maher, 2010, p. 15). These chapter findings therefore serve to illuminate the tensions, convergences and divergences between governmentality (the conduct of conduct) and disciplinary techniques (research question 3) in this contemporary epoch.
From the discussion to date, it is therefore proposed that the contemporary physical education student is individualised, normalised, and regulated in present day physical education lessons through a complex combination of healthism-discipline rationalities and technologies that pervade this epoch’s central forms of evidence. Notably, the exposure of such healthism and sport discourses reflect and reinforce corporeal governance, highlighting how the ‘good’ (disciplined), ‘healthy’ citizen is shaped through the technology of a school subject. Physical education has therefore been used as a technology to change health-related behaviour in order to improve not only the body but the self. As such, regular references within the forms of evidence to individual freedom and lifestyle changes that can be made are often at the expense of more significant discussions of gender and class inequality (research question 2) that give rise to a lack of physical activity in the first place. Hence, individual’s bodies are targeted by ruling authorities as the site of intervention and regulation rather than the broader socio-cultural context within which individual behaviour is located and influenced. In this manner, the notion of personal responsibility in relation to health displaces social variables such as gender and class (research question 2) and privileges individualistic discourses, which construct individual behaviour as the mediator of personal health. Social problems thus become constructed as the problem of individuals and groups who do not conform to particular recommended lifestyle choices, thereby masking social injustices that are embedded within the dominant groups (who design and produce the forms of evidence) and subordinated groups for whom the forms of evidence are primarily written. Intriguingly, however, sport/discipline discourses never really disappear from view in all of the forms of evidence (research question 1) and are actually shown to increase in significance across the contemporary epoch. This implies that discipline sits alongside healthism and that the two complement one another, which effectively challenges previously cited health-physical education research proposing the dominance of healthism and governmentality in this epoch.
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Analysis of the forms of evidence has made it possible to explore “the intricate interdependencies between political rationalities and governmental technologies... to understand the multiple and delicate networks that connect the lives of individuals, groups and organisations to the aspirations of authorities in the advanced liberal democracies of the present” (Rose & Miller, 1992, pp. 175-176). Accordingly, by focusing on the contingency of the forms of power that are assembled in the present day and duly embedded in the forms of evidence, it has become possible to think about how this school subject could be alternatively constructed. This, as explained in Chapter 3, is the main purpose of this genealogical study, which seeks to explore the governing of the body in physical education by reflecting upon “the contingency, singularity, interconnections, and potentialities of the diverse trajectories of those elements which compose present social arrangements and experience” (Dean, 1994, p. 21). At this point, it becomes necessary to review forms of evidence from earlier epochs in this genealogical study in order to trace further discursive shifts in the governance of physical education in England and to ascertain whether there are continuities, gaps or ruptures visible. In so doing, it is acknowledged that “There are... important continuities between the past and the present; echoes from the past... continue to exert an influence on practice in the present” (Kirk, 2011, p. 36). An enriched understanding of contemporary physical education is therefore sought, which aligns with Foucault's (1977a) explanation of his genealogical approach as a ‘history of the present’. Hence, the ensuing chapter focuses on an epoch that immediately precedes this chapter's review of the present day, investigating a twenty-eight year time span from 1970 to 1998. Herein, the body, through physical education, emerges as a ‘solution’ to ruling authorities’ desire for greater self-regulation and enhanced moral attributes in its citizens. An intertwining of the body with discourses of self-regulation and individual morality therefore becomes apparent, particularly when there is engagement in competitive team sports.

Introduction

In Chapter 4 it was demonstrated that third way neoliberalism dominated the contemporary epoch, and that its core emphasis was on the production of self-regulation in individual citizens. Indeed, personal responsibility in relation to health was shown to be particularly significant due to the alleged obesity epidemic. Government policies and documents therefore began to promote personal responsibility whilst simultaneously constructing sport and physical activity as health-obesity solutions. These matters directly link to the focus of this chapter, where the self-regulation that emerged from the late 1990s/early 2000s is traced to a problematisation of welfarist rationalities of governing that occurred in the early 1970s and a consequent increasing emphasis on governing physical activity (and conduct more broadly) through communities. Rose (1999, p. 176) refers to this phenomenon as “governance through community”, and explains that it involves “bonds between individuals [which] are rendered visible in a moral form, and made governable in ways compatible with the autonomy of the individual and the reproduction of the collective”. Ruling authorities during this epoch argued that self-regulation was the solution to dependency that had been engendered by welfarist rationalities of governing; “recipients of welfare were... [therefore] portrayed in terms of a moral problematisation: those lured into welfare dependency by the regimes of social security themselves” (Rose, 1996b, p. 346). This need to self-regulate and thereby become a ‘moral individual’ began to infiltrate sports policies of the era, which were often used as technologies for governing the working classes (young males in particular). Self-regulation also permeated physical education, especially when the National Curriculum was implemented towards the latter half of the selected epoch in 1992. Hence, in this chapter it is argued that the body, through technologies of physical education and sport, became a ‘solution’ to ruling
authorities' aspiration for greater self-regulation and enhanced moral attributes in its citizens across the epoch. As such, the intertwining of the body with emerging discourses of self-regulation and individual morality provides a unique contribution to current governmentality literature on which this chapter draws (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999). Whilst these scholars discuss schools as technologies of governance in a more generalised way, they do not focus on any particular school subjects such as physical education. Moreover, they do not consider how the body might be governed within such an educational context. An exploration of how self-regulation and personal morality discourses play out through the technologies of physical education and sport/recreation is therefore a core and distinctive focus of this chapter (research question 1).

At the commencement of this epoch the welfare state was the dominant institution through which ruling authorities were operating and the rationality of welfarism was prevalent. The focus of the latter was on the fostering of national growth through social responsibility (see Miller & Rose, 2008). An analysis of how the rationality of welfarism constituted the ascendant form of governing during this selected epoch will initially be contemplated through the documents in this chapter, particularly vis-à-vis how this developed to involve the body through the notion of self-regulation and individual responsibility. As such, there was a remodelling of welfare and a reconstruction of what ‘good’ (moral) citizenship should comprise. Interestingly though, the welfarist form of governance that became apparent across the first two decades of this epoch gradually transformed at the end of the 1980s and through into the 1990s, intersecting with advanced liberal forms of governing wherein the responsibilised, entrepreneurial individual dominated. In regard to welfarism more precisely, this affected the way in which the self-regulated individual was conceived and constructed by ruling authorities. This conforms to Foucault's (2008, p. 313) premise that differing governmental rationalities cohabit with one another; they “overlap, lean on each other, challenge each other, and struggle with each other”. The exploration of how the ‘moral individual’ came to be governed through their social allegiances and how their individual moral endeavour
in the community came to be valorised, highlights the effect that forms of governing have on the construction of bodies (research question 2).

**The socio-political context during this selected epoch**

It is important to offer a brief summary of the socio-political context during this selected twenty-eight year period, as there were several Government changes and state decisions that led to successive modifications in state policies and curriculum design; these inevitably affected the governance of physical education (see also Appendix A). At the beginning of this epoch, in 1970, a surprise win by the right wing Conservative party led by Edward Heath defeated the previous governing left wing Labour Party under Harold Wilson. The programme of the Heath Government signified a “clear break with the post-1945 policy consensus” (Kavanagh, 1987, p. 216), promoting more free-market policies, reduced state intervention in the economy, trade union reform, higher taxes, and increased selectivity in welfare (see Kavanagh, 1987). Such measures were designed to foster enterprise and initiative, helping to reverse the country’s economic decline. However, when Wilson and his left wing government rose to power in 1974 he was “handed a poisoned chalice” (Whitehead, 1987, p. 242), with only thirty-seven percent of the popular vote, no mandate and economic problems that had been inherited from the Conservatives. Two years later, the Labour government borrowed £2.3 billion from the International Monetary Fund, which signified the end of Keynesian economics and “was the moment which marked the first great fissure in Britain’s welfare state” (Timmins, 1995, p. 315). This was to be the last left wing government for eighteen years, as Margaret Thatcher gained power in 1979 (leader of the right wing Conservative party) and maintained her position as Prime Minister for the next eleven years, with John Major following in her footsteps from 1990 until 1997. Indeed, it was only under the leadership of Tony Blair that the left wing New Labour party was voted in for the latter part of this epoch from 1997-2007.
During the early Thatcher years there were regular outbursts of civil unrest within inner-city regions. These disturbances often involved a large majority of unemployed black citizens who protested against their social disadvantages and racist police treatment (see Havighurst, 1985). Thatcher’s Government considered these riots to be a ‘Law and Order’ issue that needed addressing, but the inquiry they commissioned by Lord Scarman (Scarman, 1981) confirmed that social and racial disadvantage, as well as inner city decline and racist police behaviours had provoked the riots (see Havighurst, 1985; Rubinstein, 2003).

It has been suggested that during the 1980s, Thatcher’s party was involved in “roll-back neoliberalism”, due to the primary focus being on “dismantling social-collectivist and Keynesian-welfare institutions” (Tickell & Peck, 2003, p. 168). ‘Roll-out neoliberalism’ has been said to occur from the 1990s onwards, focusing on state building with neoliberalism being institutionalised as an overarching policy framework (see Kus, 2006; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Tickell & Peck, 2003). However, these types of successive neoliberal transition phases have been questioned by governmentality scholars who claim that neoliberalism is instead a governance rationality that effectively “re-codes the place of the state in the discourse of politics” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 80). As such, it “forges a kind of alignment between political rationalities and the technologies for the regulation of self that took shape during the 1960s and 1970s” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 80). Indeed, Foucault (2008, p. 132) considers that neoliberalism has its own governmental logic, which involves “permanent vigilance, activity, and intervention”. It might therefore be better comprehended as a form of governing that extends from the market to ruling authorities with inherent practices of regulatory intervention and surveillance (see Gane, 2012). Hence, neoliberalism and other governance rationalities such as welfarism are continuously interlinking and hybridising with one another and contemporary political projects (see Higgins & Larner, 2017).

There is greater consensus in respect of neoliberalism involving a shift in government emphasis from national welfare provision to international economic
competitiveness (see Larner, 2000). Others suggest that the welfare state – which allegedly preceded neoliberalism – was nothing more than “an ethos of government or its ethical ideal” as opposed to it being a collection of completed institutions and reforms (Dean, 2010, p. 68). Hence, it became the final goal of certain problematisations such as old age, unemployment, and sickness, with its practices involving public education, housing, and health support. Notwithstanding this, the welfare state was often cast as “the arch enemy of freedom” (Hall, 2011, p. 706) during Thatcher’s rule. Indeed, the Conservatives considered that society was a problematic of national government and therefore in need of review and self-limiting; “individuals’ exercise of freedom and self-responsibility” was thus promoted, with society no longer being viewed as a “source of needs that are individually distributed and collectively borne” (Dean, 2010, p. 179). In this manner, the Conservatives sought to re-moralise recipients to become aware of their responsibilities. A decentring of ruling authorities’ capacities to govern in the name of the social was the result, which led to its preoccupation with economic growth and entrepreneurialism (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999). Thus, Governments pursuing neoliberal objectives do not abandon the ‘will to govern’ (Miller & Rose, 2008; Payne, 2012). Rather, the political mentality of neoliberalism cautions against an excess of government whereby ruling authorities overextend and overburden themselves.

**Problematising of a welfarist rationality governing sport/recreation and physical education**

The relatively brief overview above highlights some of the social unrest and political upheavals that arose during this twenty-eight year time span, which help to clarify certain aspects within this study of the governance of physical education. Indeed, a core problematisation during this epoch becomes apparent on review of these changes and the relevant scholarly literature: how might it be possible to align existing technologies of governing with the shift in governmental rationalities from a welfarist form of governance towards a more advanced liberal ‘individual’ entrepreneurial focus? In considering this particular problematisation it is
important to explore how the ‘welfarist’ approach to governing (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 2003) that is evident in this epoch was progressively problematised. Welfarism comprises “a political rationality [that] is structured by the wish to encourage national growth and well-being through the promotion of social responsibility and the mutuality of social risk” (Miller & Rose, 2008, pp. 72-73). In this sense, welfarism might be considered a reconfiguration of social government instead of its conclusion (see Dean, 2010). From the perspective of the Labour party, welfarism was underpinned by the need for fair and equal treatment for all citizens, and this could be realised through state support in the areas of health, education, housing and security (see Morgan, 1984). However, the Beveridge Report (Beveridge, 1942), an influential document in the founding of the welfare state in England, created a type of contract between ruling authorities and its citizens in order to fight the five giant evils of “want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and idleness” (Beveridge, 1942, p. 6), expecting the citizen to be regulated and socially responsible in return for a social insurance system that would redistribute wealth (see Miller & Rose, 2008). Accordingly, during the late 1970s and onward into the years that followed within this epoch, citizenship began to no longer be understood in terms of “solidarity, contentment, welfare and a sense of security established through the bonds of organisational and social life. Citizenship is to be active and individualistic rather than passive and dependent” (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 24). This shift supports the notion that “welfarism is a ‘responsibilising’ mode of government”, since social insurance “transforms the mechanisms that bind the citizen into the social order” and thereby situates the individual within “a nexus of social risk” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 77).

Thus, under the rationality of welfarism, multiple agencies were needed to steer citizens’ actions in order to regulate and optimise their conduct and performance so that they became knowable, calculable and comparable. In so doing, Government departments, educational authorities, teachers and other such agencies became facilitators and also tutors in the different forms of risk. This enabled the articulation and legitimation of a variety of programmes that would help regulate problematic
areas of social and economic life, as well as certain sectors of the population that were perceived as challenging. Miller and Rose (2008, p. 89) suggest, for example, that the advancement of community programmes in England during the 1960s is an example of a network of governance that developed from “a language of resistance and critique” into “an expert discourse and a professional vocation”. Hence, ‘the West Indian community’ and other sectors of society that were considered problematic at this time became a point of entry for the previously mentioned governance through community, whereby “novel programmes and techniques... operated through the instrumentalisation of personal allegiances and active responsibilities” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 90). The rationality of community therefore appears to be an integral part of welfarism, and it is particularly pertinent for this epoch in which a wide range of community-focused physical education and sports policies and reports were developed by ruling authorities to regulate the population and manage the pervasive social unrest highlighted previously in this chapter. As such, governing through community becomes the key apparatus through which welfarist notions of social responsibility are aligned with emerging discourses of self-regulation. This is a noteworthy contribution to physical education theory as the rationality of welfarism has not yet been aligned with curriculum content in this manner, despite widespread sport policy analysis in this domain (see Green, 2004; Houlihan & White, 2002; King, 2009). Interestingly, my findings are consistent with the arguments of governmentality scholars in which governing through community is deemed critical to the shift from welfarist to advanced liberal forms of governing. For example, Miller and Rose (2008, p. 91) suggest that through the construction of the rationality of community, there is a shift from ‘the social’ (welfare state) in which individual responsibility was traversed by such social variables as class and gender, as well as economic forces, to a new “moral individual” in their community, who is “both self-responsible and subject to certain emotional bonds of affinity to a circumscribed ‘network’ of other individuals unified by family ties, by locality” and the like. Thus, the rationality of community helps to transform personal morality and self-regulation in the individual citizen and it becomes possible to be governed through such an allegiance; indeed, “Communitarianism... [offers the] promise of a
new moral contract, a new partnership between an enabling state and responsible citizens, based upon the strengthening of the natural bonds of community” (Rose, 1999, p. 186).

Programmes that involve community in this way can subsequently be translated into welfarist technologies such as a school subject to help ensure that individual citizens are governed and monitored appropriately. In terms of this study’s focus, one of these technologies is physical education. This technology has already been shown in the previous chapter to govern the individual citizen to self-regulate, through the rationalities of third way neoliberalism and healthism. In the ensuing analysis, physical education and sport/recreation (particularly in the community context) will also be shown to be technologies that govern the individual. Notably, this corporeal governance is underpinned by the welfarist rationality hitherto outlined, which gradually morphs into advanced liberalism. To examine such matters further, various themes and discourses from the above account will be used to guide the ensuing exploration of welfarism within state reports and curriculum documents. These will include the rationality of community, social responsibility and the development of individual responsibility, social risk, and emerging networks of multiple agencies, which individually and collectively foster the self-regulating individual.

**Developing sports facilities and governing through community**

As mentioned above, during this epoch there is a focus on the rationality of community within the notion of welfarism, whereby governing through community becomes a particular type of enactment and translation of welfarist rationalities of governing. Accordingly,

community is not simply the territory of government, but a *means* of government: its ties, bonds, forces and affiliations are to be celebrated, encouraged, nurtured, shaped and instrumentalised in the hope of producing consequences that are desirable for all and for each [emphasis in original] (Rose, 1996b, p. 335).
Across this particular time period, physical education and sport/recreation are reconstructed as technologies to enhance the social good in that they help to develop ‘good’ (self-regulated) citizens, particularly in working-class communities. Governing through community also introduces the idea of personal responsibility, which came to replace the social citizen and their common society (see Rose, 1996b). Welfarist rationalities were problematised through personal responsibility discourses, with tensions between socialised and individualised notions of risk arising. At first sight, increasing government interest and investment across the epoch in these domains would appear to substantiate the existence of governing through community, but it has also been confirmed elsewhere that post-war government interest in sport can be traced back to a number of reports from the 1960s onwards (see Coghlan & Webb, 1990). Indeed, community development revived in the 1970s after some disillusionment with the community action-development approach during the 1960s (see Houlihan & White, 2002). This resulted in a period of twenty-five years or so when sport was earmarked as a focus for community regeneration and integration: “Consequently, the community was to remain an important, if controversial, focus for service development and welfare provision in general” (Houlihan & White, 2002, p. 14). It is therefore from the beginning of this chapter’s epoch in the early 1970s that a distinctive sport-focused area of public policy developed, with social problems such as disorderly youth (in working-class communities) eventually leading to an increase in state-funded sport facilities (see Houlihan, 1991, 1997; Houlihan & White, 2002). In particular,

Inner city tensions and riots in the late 1970s and early 1980s accelerated government concern with the more volatile disadvantaged groups, but economic recession equally fuelled concern about state spending on welfare services (including sport and recreation) in other less sensitive areas (Bramham, 1991, p. 141).

In two Sports Council documents, Provision for sport. Volume I and Volume II respectively (The Sports Council, 1971; The Sports Council, 1973), the bulk of the content emphasises the demand for and assessment of community requirements on the level of sports facility refurbishment. This is substantiated by associated reports

from a wide range of sport governing bodies. However, in *Provision for sport. Volume I*, welfarist rationalities become visible with the proposition that “sport and physical recreation... represent a very important aspect of community life outside the home” (The Sports Council, 1971, p. 2). This implies that a person’s first sense of community is the home, but that beyond this, the broader community can act as a new territory within which “micro-moral relations” might be conceptualised and governed through a corporeal technology such as sports and physical recreation (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 88). In this manner, individuals can be both the subjects of government and responsible subjects of the community they belong to, with the latter embodying a certain set of beliefs, values and obligations that have been steered by ruling authorities. Interestingly, these two *Provision for sport* reports flanked the ‘sport for all’ campaign that was begun in 1972 by Roger Bannister10 with the full support of The Sports Council. The key purpose of this operation was “to develop a new awareness in public authorities of the value of sport to the mass of the people of every age, colour and ability in every community throughout the land” (Coghlan & Webb, 1990, p. 69). Notwithstanding this, it has been suggested that the campaign was actually nothing more than a watchword, with Government increasingly directing The Sports Council to target their resources towards certain groups in society such as young people in working-class communities and ethnic minorities (see Coalter, Long, & Duffield, 1988; Henry, 2001). The notion of ‘sport for all’ will be further examined in the subsequent section of this chapter.

For now, it is important to continue exploring the welfarist rationality that underpinned the governance of sport and recreation at this time. An in-depth discussion of the significance of providing sport and recreation for the working classes is immediately evident in the Cobham Report (House of Lords, 1973), and welfarist rationalities can subsequently be observed. It should be noted here that during the 1970s there was a move away from a ‘voluntarist’ approach to sport with central Government intervention subsequently increasing (Coalter et al., 1988).

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10 Roger Bannister was an English former middle distance athlete who ran the first sub-four-minute mile.

Accordingly, the advisory Sports Council was granted a Royal Charter and executive powers, and it was simultaneously renamed as the Great Britain (GB) Sports Council. This status change served to distance the Sports Council from Government, which enabled ruling authorities to utilise sport and recreation as technologies for their broader welfare strategies. Indeed, “It was supposed to develop knowledge of sport and physical recreation in the interest of social welfare and to encourage the attainment of high standards in conjunction with the relevant governing bodies” (Whannel, 1983, pp. 91-92). The Cobham Report (House of Lords, 1973) was implemented at this time and is significant in terms of it being one of several reports that advocated the employment of sport and leisure as social and welfare tools, thereby drawing closer links between ruling authorities and these governance technologies. Indeed, the Cobham Report (House of Lords, 1973, p. xxvi) Committee affirm that:

> the provision of opportunities for the enjoyment of leisure is part of the general fabric of the social services. Until Parliament government, planners and educators accept the place of leisure as an essential ingredient of life, there will be no satisfactory provision of recreational facilities, and the well-being of the community will suffer. Society ought to regard sport and leisure not as a slightly eccentric form of indulgence but as one of the community’s everyday needs.

This statement appears to be underpinned by the ideological pre-eminence of social democracy, but it also illuminates the politicisation of sport/leisure and how they became governance technologies in this period of welfarism. Similarly, within the conclusion of the Cobham Report (House of Lords, 1973, p. cxxviii) the Committee determine that: “Until leisure is accepted as an essential ingredient of life there will be no satisfactory provision of recreational facilities. Provision for recreation must be treated as a social service”. In so doing, The Cobham Report laid the foundation for subsequent debates concerning social policies for sport.

**Governing the moral (working-class) individual through ‘sport for all’**

From the discussion thus far, sport - notably competitive games - was used as a welfarist technology during the 1970s and 1980s to govern the working classes, but particularly young people in socially deprived contexts. It was previously mentioned
that the ‘sport for all’ campaign, developed in 1972 by The Sports Council (spearheaded by Roger Bannister), was a key driver for fostering this type of sports participation in England. Although the European ‘Sport for All Charter’ was not ratified until 1975, the Council of Europe had been a leading protagonist in discussions about this issue since at least the mid-1960s, and clearly, one of the Charter’s core concerns was to promote the positive effect of sport on health, social, educational and cultural development across all community sectors (see Hartmann-Tews, 2006). Early stages of this European policy seem to have therefore emerged in England, if the hitherto discussed governance of (working-class) communities through the welfarist technologies of sport and recreation are taken into consideration. This alludes to the intimacy between, and the interchangeability of, ‘sport for all’ and governance through community sport/recreation. Indeed, it might be ventured that governmentality scholars who focus on governance through community (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999) offer a theoretical lens for sports policy sociologists such as Green (2006) and Houlihan and White (2002). This seems to be confirmed by the latter authors who comment that the dominant policy programmes of the newly created GB Sports Council in 1972 was located within a broad welfare state discourse best reflected in the egalitarianism of what was later to be referred to as the “Sport for All” campaign (Houlihan & White, 2002, p. 24).

However, as hitherto intimated, ‘sport for all’ is a problematic notion, for although it is promoted by ruling authorities as a desirable social concept, the reality is that it is targeted towards a particular social group - often working-class youth who inhabit the inner cities (see Coalter et al., 1988; Henry, 2001). It would thus appear that the Sports Council’s ‘sport for all’ campaign conceals underlying tension between its central premise of every individual having the right to benefit from community-focused sporting opportunities (that are an integral part of a comprehensive welfare state), and its usage as a regulatory technology for certain sectors of society. This chapter sheds a light on this through its focus on the welfarist governance of sport/recreation, which has been fully contemplated by neither governmentality nor sport policy scholars. Furthermore, ways in which this
welfarist body governance has permeated physical education have also been unexplored to date by scholars in the field. In a later chapter section, additional tensions within ‘sport for all’ will be illuminated when its alleged social inclusion and social regeneration properties will come to be displaced by its use as a technology for talent identification and elite athlete development during the latter half of the epoch. Prior to this, it is important to reflect in more depth, through exploration of some central forms of evidence, on how opportunities for participating in sports began to be transformed via state investment in community facilities and programmes during the 1970s and 1980s due to the ‘sport for all’/welfarist agenda. For example, the Cobham Report (House of Lords, 1973) and the Department of the Environment’s White Paper *Sport and recreation* (1975) demonstrated the “acceptance of sport and leisure as aspects of welfare provision and the broad quality of the life of communities” at Government level (Houlihan & White, 2002, p. 21). Recreational deprivation was thereby deemed to be a contributory factor to urban deprivation; however, sport was also used as a state technology at this time to regulate and responsibilise working-class citizens to become moral individuals within their respective communities. One of the ways in which sport has been utilised in this way is evident in the *Sport and active recreation: provision in the inner cities* report (DoE, 1989), where it is confirmed that sport has “a uniquely important role in society today”, with its positive effects on communities (p. xiv). Indeed, a little later in this same report the benefits of sport are delineated, with sport being affirmed as a regulatory mechanism for social services to employ with young felons and potential lawbreakers:

The importance of sport and recreation as tools in achieving a number of objectives is now widely recognised. For example, the Police and the Probation Service, in pursuing their objectives in crime prevention, community relations and rehabilitation of offenders, have recognised and developed sport’s potential to provide satisfying and demanding activities through which *offenders, potential offenders and ‘at risk’ youngsters can learn to play by the rules, accept a level of authority, work with and help their peers and achieve personal success, perhaps for the first time* [emphasis added] (p. 5).

This affirms what Dean (2010, p. 201) considers to be “the security” of such technologies as they “take a form which is consistent with the objectives of
government and which promotes individual and institutional conduct that is consistent with those objectives” (Dean, 2010, p. 201).

Learning to play by the rules and accepting authority are also core aspects of playing competitive sports and games that were outlined in Chapter 2, where it was noted that regulation and normalisation processes were adopted with working-class bodies in physical education through the teaching of certain techniques, exercises and activities in physical education (see Kirk, 1992, 1998). When discussing the physical education context per se, the Sport and active recreation: provision in the inner cities report (DoE, 1989, pp. 15-16) advocates that all inner city children need to “learn the benefits of competition and achieving excellence” whilst also learning “social skills including discipline, abiding by rules, [and] contributing to teamwork and leadership [emphasis added]”. In this manner, “Physical education prepares each child for satisfying participation in sport” (p. 16) and their regulation is thereby facilitated through the body and its forces and capacities, particularly through participation in competitive team sports. The report thus considers that it is the role of the physical education profession to “raise public awareness of the importance of sport and physical education in the lives of children... [and] formulate and publicise its policies on the place of sport in the curriculum” (p. 58). Similarly, the Sports Council (1988, p. 41) believe that physical education has a “crucial role... in developing post-school sporting attitudes and habits”, highlighting how this school subject can be used as a regulatory technology during and eventually beyond the school environment through the shaping of students’ attitudes and values. This illuminates the developing interconnections between physical education and sport that were made explicitly visible and built on by ruling authorities later in the twentieth century and through to the present day (see Chapter 4), whilst also affirming the construction of moral individuals within the physical education and sport contexts.
The welfarist governing of physical education: social and individual responsibility

During this selected epoch, physical education is also employed as a regulatory technology for children and young people, which complements the previously discussed social responsibility rationalities of different Government parties in their drive to regulate and govern inner city, working-class youth through community-oriented sports policies of the 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, when reflecting on such matters within the specific context of physical education, a welfarist rationality becomes apparent in curriculum documents of the period. As mentioned earlier, this is one of the unique contributions to knowledge that this genealogical study can claim, since its approach enables the author to trace the random emergence of welfarist governance of the body through sport/recreation policies across this particular epoch into state curriculum documents. However, welfarism can be seen to transform across time, hybridising with advanced liberal rationalities when the NCPE was first introduced in 1992. This highlights the emerging shift within welfarism from social responsibility in the first two decades of this epoch to individual responsibility during the early 1990s with the implementation of the NCPE, although this is not a linear process. Twenty years prior to the NCPE, Movement. Physical education in the primary years (Department of Education and Science [DES], 1972, pp. 7-8) constituted the only other physical education syllabus change in the early part of this selected epoch. Within the ‘General considerations’ section in the preliminary section of the 1972 syllabus, it is claimed that: “In games, sports and dance, there are opportunities for man [sic] to channel his aggressive impulses, satisfy social needs and relieve emotional stresses in creative and recreative pursuits”. This statement seems to confirm those that were hitherto discussed in sport/recreation policies, whereby it was demonstrated that sport/recreation are used as technologies for ruling authorities’ social aims in this epoch. Indeed, games, in particular, are considered to be “an educative medium” with their dependency on rules, which can “contribute considerably to personal development” (DES, 1972, p. 67). Furthermore, “A long-term aim must be to train children to accept as much responsibility as possible for self-management”, and it is

proposed that “The growth of sound attitudes, a sense of fair play and good sportsmanship [sic] are implicit in all games teaching” (DES, 1972, p. 81).

Similar welfarist rationalities can be observed in the secondary sector towards the end of the 1970s, with curriculum working papers by Her Majesty’s Inspectorate (DES, 1979) confirming the contribution of physical education to “social and ethical aspects of personal development” (p. 80). This is ratified via allusions to the “collaborative and competitive” nature of physical education activities (p. 80). Once again, games are singled out as an optimal medium for rule learning and following, which highlights their function as regulatory tools: “Games, with their codes of rules, give experience of action within structured situations, and of personal reaction and initiative within an accepted frame-work” (p. 80). Since the Government-led Department of Education and Science steered the development of this report, it might be surmised that the “accepted frame-work” depicted here is according to their perception of how an individual should conduct themselves in a social context. Moreover, the report considers that it is a “general human need” to participate in a range of physical activities in order to develop relationships and enable young people to expend their physical energy in positive ways; indeed, this process will foster “Acceptable social behaviour and social responsibility” (p. 80) as opposed to social disorder which could arise from alternative sedentary behaviours. These examples help to demonstrate how during the early part of this epoch there was a strong emphasis on a child being guided through physical education (particularly team games) to become a socially responsible member of their current and future community. Thus, they conform to Miller and Rose’s (2008, p. 208) premise regarding how “the citizen could be problematised and acted upon by means of norms that... [calibrate] personal normality in a way that was inextricably linked to its social consequences”.

National Curriculum for physical education links to community and the emerging shift from social to individual responsibility

One of the most influential Acts during this epoch, which greatly impacted upon both the governance and content of physical education, was The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA). Amongst its various directives the ERA sought to redefine educational provision, authorising the development of a National Curriculum for state-funded schools in England and Wales. This signified that there would be more direct intervention from Government, and it was in keeping with the Conservatives’ belief that there was a ‘crisis’ occurring in state education due to excessive centralisation and progressivism; this led to a perceived decline in standards that needed addressing. Hence, “education [was] promoted as the key to ameliorating all Britain's social and economic ills” (Penney & Evans, 1999, p. 1), and the market was viewed as the saviour of the nation's economy and moral welfare. In physical education per se, Kirk (1992, p. 3) argues that the subject entered “a new phase” from 1985 to 1988 prior to the development of the National Curriculum, with the relationship between it and elite sport being regularly debated in public. It was claimed that due to the prioritisation of progressive, cooperative and individualistic activities in physical education, a decline in school sport and competition had developed. In accordance with this, physical educators were accused of having forsaken their core responsibilities of promoting elite sport in England (see Evans, 1990b; Kirk, 1992). As Evans (1990b, p. 156) points out, “official discourses” in physical education were thereby attacked and “culturally legitimate conceptions of the body, the individual, social order and society” duly challenged.

Despite the alleged ‘crisis’ in education, and concomitantly physical education, the model provided by the ERA re-established a ‘traditional’ curriculum with core and foundation subjects, rather than proposing a novel, innovative framework. English, mathematics and science were classified as core subjects in England, and the foundation subjects comprised physical education, technology, geography, history, art, music and a modern foreign language. The first phase in writing a National Curriculum for physical education was undertaken by an informal working group that had been inaugurated by the British Council of Physical Education in 1990. They were known as the interim working group for NCPE and their report, the National

*Curriculum physical education working group interim report* (Department of Education and Science [DES], 1991a), apparently provided in-depth commentary on equal opportunities in physical education (see Hargreaves, 1994, 2000; Penney, 2000; Talbot, 1993). However, this did not persist in ensuing NCPE documents; indeed, “equal opportunities and more specifically gender issues were hard to find... The bland impression was simply that [these] ...issues were simply not worthy of sustained commentary in the NCPE” (Penney, 2000, p. 112). Notwithstanding this, the 1991 report does contain a particularly significant discourse within the rationality of welfarism known as social risk. This is connected to healthism rationalities that were discussed in the previous chapter. Both the notion of social risk (welfarism) and healthism in this report warrant further consideration, but for now, it should be noted that explicit “links between the school and community” are visible herein (p. 9). Indeed, community discourses are embedded within the report’s statements of attainment, with references to students needing to “plan links with the community to enhance opportunities for participation for themselves and others”, whilst other examples illuminate the ways in which students should set up programmes linking school and community (p. 58). It is also clearly stated in this same report that “Within the physical education programme pupils learn the necessary competences, conventions and rules of activities that are a valued part of the local community and a wider culture” (p. 9). This implies, as with the previous 1972 syllabus, that physical education is utilised as a technology to engender social responsibility due to the way in which it can shape and steer students to conduct themselves in a particular manner. Its inherent subject conventions and rules facilitate this possibility; indeed, this is implicitly evident in the discussion of the development of “inter-personal skills” in the report, wherein young children are taught “to consider others, to share, and to wait for their turn” (p. 9).

In a broader sense, similar discourses are observable in the *National Curriculum consultation report* (National Curriculum Council [NCC], 1991, p. 14), where there is a particular focus on games as a vehicle for social responsibility, with discussion of how participation in this activity leads to stronger links with the community:
A balanced programme of games, as well as other areas of activities, contributes to pupils’ social as well as their physical development. It provides opportunities for the development of inter-personal and problem-solving skills and for forging links between the school and community.

This matter is reinforced but somewhat developed in the Physical education for ages 5 to 16 report (DES/WO, 1991b, p. 68), through the setting up of opportunities for partnership. Herein, governmentality can be observed, via directives that include “increasing dual use of school facilities, encouraged by the Government and welcomed by local clubs and communities”; “the development of community schools”; and “the greater willingness of schools and governing bodies to see themselves as part of the wider community”. Whilst “schools/teachers” are seen as the key participants in respect of potential partnership opportunities, the “community” and “parents” sit directly alongside them; this is evident in the explanation that accompanies it, where “genuine cooperation” is advocated (p. 73).

Interestingly, when discussing the responsibilities of citizenship, Miller and Rose (2008, p. 208) contend that the family is “instrumentalised as a social machine – both made social and utilised as a social machine” within the governance process. In this particular instance, the community seems to operate in similar ways to the family. Although this is reminiscent of the “networks of governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73) that were illuminated in Chapter 4 (1999-2016), it also suggests that having worked with sport/recreation in the community via a plethora of welfarist policies and reports highlighted earlier in this chapter, ruling authorities began to extend their reach and influence the construction of physical education curriculum documents in similar ways from the late 1980s onwards. This illuminates the presence of governmentality with its looser forms of government whereby “The national state takes on less of a directive and distributive role, and more of a coordinative, arbitrary and preventive one” (Dean, 2010, p. 200). Thus, through the structured school context, physical education practices enable the individual to be steered from a young age before they fully enter society as regulated citizens.

Certainly, in the Sport and recreation report (DoE, 1975), community and school partnerships can be clearly seen when there is discussion of the practice of joint facility usage and joint provision of community sport. These links encourage
students to continue their active participation once they leave school by “helping pupils to see that the school and the community are not set apart from one another” (DoE, 1975, p. 1). As Rose (1999, p. 142) indicates, the “social state” therefore gives way to the “enabling state”, with individuals, schools and other organisations becoming “partners” who “take on a portion of the responsibility for their own well-being”.

Social risk and expertise in relation to individual responsibility in the National Curriculum for physical education

At first sight, the finalised Physical education in the National Curriculum (DES/WO, 1992) document shows less evidence of welfarist rationalities than its lead-up reports, particularly in the area of community rationalities. However, this is not the case if the notion of social risk is contemplated within the welfarist framework. In effect, social risk fosters lifestyle maximisation whilst also holding the individual accountable for events that adversely affect their quality of life. The emphasis is therefore no longer on governing through ‘the social’ with obligations and powers for the social citizen deriving from being a member of a collective body; instead, it is about governing through the calculating choices of individuals (Rose, 1993). Hence, an individualistic and active conception of citizenship becomes evident with the focus being on individual responsibility and personal fulfilment. The expert is central to the construction of a sense of control over the alleged risks. In the case of the NCPE, the national curriculum working groups became, in effect, ‘the experts’, and their influence on the curriculum content is duly apparent. This process in the NCPE document therefore exposes how individuals are guided to become involved in their own risk management and therefore “re-responsibilised” in a society that is “characterised by uncertainty, plurality and anxiety, thus continually open to the construction of new problems and the marketing of new solutions” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 101). Termed as a ‘post-social’ technology of governing conduct (Miller & Rose, 2008), citizens consequently need to conduct themselves with prudence in order to access ‘social’ benefits such as good health. Such individual responsibility rationalities tend to dominate throughout the first version of the NCPE (DES/WO,

1992), and this becomes immediately apparent within the majority of the content that is devoted to tabulated end of key stage statements and activity-specific programmes of study. Prior to these, there is the customary inclusion of attitudes and values that can be shaped through physical education in the initial “general requirements”, which connect to previously discussed self-regulation discourses:

In order to develop positive attitudes pupils should be encouraged to: *observe the conventions of fair play*, *honest competition and good sporting behaviour*; understand and cope with a variety of outcomes, including both success and failure; *be aware of the effects and consequences of their actions on others and on the environment*; and appreciate the strengths and be aware of both the weaknesses of both themselves and others in relation to different activities [emphasis added] (DES/WO, 1992, p. 3).

Aside from this, it could be argued that the end of key stage statements and programme of study show stronger evidence of governing individual conduct due to the progressive training in practices, knowledge, values and habits that construct a student herein according to certain norms of measurement (see Apple, 2007; Davies & Bansel, 2007). These norms are underpinned by risk management discourses in that they primarily concern the need for students to be physically active throughout their life-course. Thus, a shift from social to individual responsibility seems to transpire within this initial version of the NCPE. Indeed, “a numericised environment in which... free, choosing actors may govern themselves by numbers” (Rose, 1999, p. 185) appears to emerge, with experts and their techniques drawn upon in order to render an individual citizen’s existence calculable, numerical and thereby governable. In accordance with this the curriculum document explains that the ERA (1988) “defines attainment targets as the knowledge, skills, and understanding which pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have by the end of each key stage” (p. 4). This becomes apparent across each key stage, with detailed illustrations provided for each component, and these explicitly allude to the individual’s responsibility in terms of their personal health and future lifestyle. For example, one key stage 3 statement refers to healthism rationalities that were discussed in Chapter 4: “understand the short and long term effects of exercise on the body systems and *decide where to focus their involvement in physical*
activity for a healthy and enjoyable lifestyle [emphasis added]” (p. 8). This is developed at key stage 4 to: “prepare, carry out and monitor personal programmes for a healthy and enjoyable lifestyle, considering the use of community resources where appropriate [emphasis added]”. Although utilising community resources is mentioned specifically in the latter end of stage statement, this example and others in the Physical education in the National Curriculum (DES/WO, 1992) document seem to primarily focus on an individual’s responsibility for their own health, which implies that they will pose a risk to the community if they cannot self-govern and effectively manage their life (see Rose, 1996b). Moreover, it should be noted here that “Fundamental to the notion of risk is that by so naming the risk it can be managed, and uncertainty reduced” (Gard & Wright, 2001, p. 538). Hence, the ‘risk’ of being inactive is explicitly referred to here at each key stage, with progressively individualistic regimes proposed to address this; the assumption is that having identified the risk it is possible to reach health targets (see Lupton, 1995).

Hence, under a welfarist rationality, the problem of social risk enables an exploration of ‘post-social’ strategies for governing approaches. As such, a veritable “industry of risk” develops, with thrift and prudence rewarded, responsible individuals becoming autonomised, and new problems and risks being regularly constructed with relevant solutions (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 100). The individual therefore needs to become a personally responsible citizen who is subject to certain other ‘networks’ of individuals: “Conduct is retrieved from a social order of determination into a new ethical perception of the individualised and autonomised actor, each of whom has unique, localised and specific ties to their particular family and to a particular moral community” (Rose, 1996b, p. 334). This serves to highlight the shift from welfarism to advanced liberalism, with its focus on citizens being steered by ruling authorities through mechanisms that focus on their individual lifestyles and conduct. An individual’s dependency on the welfare state is thereby reduced and governance can take place at a distance via reorganised programmes of ‘post-social’ government that involve a plethora of experts on lifestyle, family life, and self-fulfilment. In effect, these experts help citizens to responsibly adopt their
freedom once they have been regulated and guided to assume their social duties in accordance with the objectives of political authorities. Accordingly, “the programmatic and strategic deployment of coercion… has been reshaped upon the ground of freedom” (Rose, 1999, p. 10), with alternative persuasive and educative tactics being employed.

Thus, in the *Physical education in the National Curriculum* (DES/WO, 1992) document there is evidence of welfarist rationalities throughout. However, although welfarism is a form of governing per se, it would seem that social responsibility has been displaced as affiliation to what Miller and Rose (2008, p. 101) term “communities of lifestyle” occurs. Hence, individuals take personal responsibility for their conduct in this regard. For example, key stage 1 students are expected to “recognise the effects of physical activity on their bodies” (p. 4), and at key stage 2 they should be able to “sustain energetic activity over appropriate periods of time in a range of physical activities and understand the effects of exercise on the body” (p. 6). This is developed at key stage 3 and 4 respectively, with explicit reference to students needing to decide “where to focus their involvement in physical activity for a healthy and enjoyable lifestyle” (p. 8) and being able to “prepare, carry out and monitor personal programmes for a healthy and enjoyable lifestyle” (p. 10). In the latter statement, it becomes clear with the use of the word ‘monitor’ that self-regulation is an expected and integral part of maintaining corporeal health, particularly at this concluding phase of the students’ schooling experience. Moreover, both the key stage 3 and 4 statements illustrate the need for students to make personal decisions and take individual responsibility in respect of their future healthy lifestyles. These examples reveal traces of welfarism due to the way in which students are guided through the rationality of social risk (in this case, sedentary behaviours) to become more personally responsible for their health. It might therefore be ventured that students learn to pursue their health-based preferences via the curriculum framework of physical education norms and objectives for their age level. In this manner, they are mobilised to pursue their personal health goals
and will, as such, attain an enhanced moral status and be less of a medical burden on society.

Thus far, under the welfarist regime it has been demonstrated that the ‘social’ citizen is guided by various Government-derived technologies to become more of an ‘active’ individualistic citizen (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1993) who manages the social risks they encounter. They therefore “fulfil their national obligations not through their relations of dependency and obligation to one another, but through seeking to fulfil themselves within a variety of micro-moral domains or communities – families, workplaces, schools, leisure associations, neighbourhoods” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 214). In similar ways to previously discussed reports, the National Curriculum physical education working group interim report (DES, 1991a) could be said to be an example of a technology that steers students on the level of ‘micro-morals’ in respect of health. This can be seen in the planning and composing section of ‘attainment target 1’, where it is stated that “pupils should be able to plan simple and safe health and exercise programmes and set up a system for monitoring personal participation” (p. 35). Similarly, in ‘attainment target 3’ it is subsequently confirmed that students should “be able to monitor and adjust as appropriate personal performance against given criteria” (p. 54). This self-regulation whilst working independently to meet criterion-referenced goals is somewhat extended in ‘attainment target 1’ when students are required to plan their individual progress in physical activities in a suitable manner: “be able responsibly to plan commitments for personal development in a chosen activity [emphasis added]” (p. 36). It might also be suggested that the focus on problem-solving and personal development in various statements of attainment in this document could be linked to the welfarist notion of citizens needing to become ‘active’ and responsible as individuals. Thus, the attainment statement: “learn how to apply and extend known skills in solving problems in new and different situations” (p. 35) could be viewed as a means to scaffold students’ future roles as responsible, entrepreneurial citizens in society. In a similar manner, this discourse appears to underpin statements within the
previously mentioned *Physical education for ages 5 to 16* report (DES/WO, 1991b), where there is allusion to the need for students to be:

taught to solve for themselves the problems that they will encounter in the course of their physical activities. They should learn to face problems, consider the possible solutions and select responses while considering the possible consequences of their actions, the effects on others and on the environment (p. 28).

Indeed, this “general requirement” that has been built into the physical education curriculum infers that students should be taught personal responsibility from an early age in order that they can fit better into their local community and eventually society more generally. It might therefore be concluded from such samples that ruling authorities are guiding students through curriculum design and content to become moral and personally responsible citizens who can make appropriate, regulated choices in the physical education context. Actions of individuals are therefore shaped and steered, but not necessarily determined, and the role of such governing is to “secure normality and order at the level of population” (Simons, 2006, p. 526).

### A shift from governance of the moral individual through community to governance of the responsibilised, entrepreneurial individual

As mentioned above and in the previous chapter, physical education and sport/leisure have recurrently been used as technologies for the regulation of citizens, to help install and support “the civilising project by shaping and governing the capacities, competencies and wills of subjects” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 214). Notably, in the first two decades of this selected epoch, sport/leisure has been shown to be a central part of individual self-regulation discourses, particularly vis-à-vis working-class youth in their inner-city communities. Here, it was observed that the citizen was steered and shaped via sport/leisure to become a moral individual through the allegiances and personal responsibilities that they developed towards their community. This phenomenon has been referred to as governance *through* community by Rose (1999) and it was mentioned earlier in this chapter that this might be used interchangeably with the ‘sport for all’ social concept that became

evident from the beginning of this epoch. This genealogical study of physical education in England builds on Rose’s work through its in-depth examination of physical education and sport forms of evidence. Indeed, Rose does not consider governance of the body in the educational and broader societal context. More particularly, this study has exposed ‘sport for all’ as an inherently problematic social concept, and considered the ways in which it has been problematised during this epoch. Furthermore, it has revealed how both welfarist and advanced liberal rationalities have intersected within physical education and sport documents. Following this, it is essential to now contemplate various documents that were implemented in the latter half of this epoch, in order to fully comprehend the shift in governance from the moral individual within their ‘social’ context to the responsibilised, entrepreneurial and individualistic citizen of the 1990s. In so doing, the rise of elitism from the community sport focus during this time period will be able to be examined in more detail; indeed, this will form the final section of this chapter. Rose (1999, p. 139) considers this shift in governance to be commensurate with the emergence of advanced liberalism:

the relation of the state and the people was to take on a different form: the former would maintain the infrastructure of law and order; the latter would promote individual and national well-being by their responsibility and enterprise... Once responsibilised and entrepreneurialised, they [autonomous actors] would govern themselves [emphasis added].

Hence, the individual citizen is guided to strive for personal fulfilment, understand their individual responsibilities, and shape their life through personal acts of choice. Their responsibilised and entrepreneurial comportment can therefore be maximised through a new “diagram of government” termed advanced liberalism (Rose, 1999, p. 138), involving a wide range of political apparatus such as communities, professionals and private citizens.

In the Sports Council report entitled Young people and sport (Sports Council, 1993) young people between ages 5 to 18 years are targeted in regard to their health behaviours, with their responsibilisation being the ultimate aim (p. 26). For example, there is explicit reference to the need to develop young children’s
movement efficiency in the primary school so that “by the age of eleven children should be sufficiently enthused and ‘movement literate’ to participate in specific sports and start developing their sports performance” (p. 36). As well as this being evidence of a responsibilising process that the young child needs to experience, this is an example of governmentality in operation, with primary schools being added to the existing technologies that are involved in the training of appropriate sporting habits in children and young people. Government has therefore become “more multiple, diffuse, facilitative and empowering” (Dean, 2010, p. 200). Indeed, schools and teachers are recognised for their “critical role in laying the foundations for young people’s lifetime involvement in sport and recreation” (p. 6); and more generally speaking, it is proposed that through sporting involvement young people can realise their full entrepreneurial potential (p. 7). Within the school context, teachers should therefore focus their physical education programmes on “The establishment of appropriate attitudes to fair play, and respect for fellow competitors” (p. 6). Such tangible references to “fair play” and “competitors” in this latter statement show how competitive sports and games within the physical education curriculum are employed as technologies for the corporeal regulation of students, which accords with previously mentioned literature in Chapter 2 (see Kirk, 1992, 1998). In this manner, students are guided by Government agents (teachers), to become lifelong participants in sport, having also embodied upstanding sporting attitudes that complement their physical capabilities and enable them to become responsibilised, entrepreneurial citizens.

Governmentality and personal responsibility discourses are also evident in both the 1992 NCPE (DES/WO, 1992) and the modified 1995 NCPE (DfE/WO, 1995). Herein, students are regulated at all key stages until they eventually become personally responsible for their health, and governance can subsequently operate from a distance. The 1992 syllabus explicitly states that “In physical education lessons pupils should be taught to be physically active” (p. 3). This requirement effectively guides students at key stage 1 to thereby “recognise the effects of physical activity on their bodies during exercise” (p. 4). At key stage 2, students are taught to “sustain
energetic activity over appropriate periods of time in a range of physical activities and understand the effects of exercise on the body” (p. 6), but at key stage 3, the regulation of their current and future health choices becomes evident: “pupils should be able to understand the short and long term effects of exercise on the body systems and decide where to focus their involvement in physical activity for a healthy and enjoyable lifestyle” (p. 8). This notion of leading a healthy and enjoyable lifestyle is reinforced at key stage 4, with students needing to “prepare, carry out and monitor personal programmes” so that their life regimes are health-giving and as a result deemed pleasurable. The 1995 NCPE syllabus contains comparable discourses and regulatory progressions that seek to foster the development of a responsibilised individual. Key stage 1 students are taught to be “physically active” (p. 2), and key stage 2 students need to be able to identify the effects of physical exercise on their bodies (p. 3). At key stage 3, students are required to undertake health-promoting physical activities within the community where possible, and they are expected to engage in appropriate preparation and recovery regimes and also know the role of exercise in relation to health promotion (p. 6). Finally, at key stage 4, students “should be given opportunities to participate in frequent physical activity conducive to a healthy lifestyle”, revealing their understanding of health-promoting exercise programmes through the planning and undertaking of these (p. 9).

In this manner, by the end of their schooling, students have been effectively steered in both NCPE documents to become regulated and responsibilised citizens who actively pursue personal health goals. Rose (1992, p. 146) appears to confirm that this is evidence of entrepreneurial behaviour, in that

> The enterprising self will make a venture of its life, project itself a future and seek to shape itself in order to become that which it wishes to be. The enterprising self is thus a calculating self, a self that calculates about itself and that works upon itself in order to better itself.

Such responsibilisation directives were also discussed in Chapter 4 (1999-2016) as being in line with health promotion aims by ruling authorities. Similar responsibilisation discourses can be observed in the Raising the game report
(Department of National Heritage [DNH], 1995, p. 6), wherein it is confirmed that when sport is “properly taught in schools [it] can channel the energy, high spirits, competitiveness and aggression of the young in a socially beneficial way”. In this rationality it can be seen that sport is operating as a welfarist technology, but within the school as opposed to the inner city community context hitherto outlined. This is developed to include more intense self-regulation a little later in the report, when it is maintained that “team spirit, good sportsmanship, playing within rules, self-discipline and dedication [emphasis added]” will benefit all students (p. 6). It is clear then that team games are viewed as the principal vehicle through which social attributes such as self-regulation can be acquired. Indeed, this is subsequently reiterated in the report when Government plans are explained to set up a working group with members “to examine current best practice in the teaching of sporting conduct” (p. 7) in order that ideas might be disseminated more widely across the nation's schools.

In this same report, further directives for guiding young people to become responsibilised through the technology of sport are explored in the section entitled “putting sport at the heart of school life” (pp. 8-10). Here, discussion takes place regarding the alleged advances that have been made in respect of having “team games” assuming greater importance in the National Curriculum. This is an interesting point to note, as team games have apparently been a central component of the physical education curriculum since the 1950s according to a number of scholars (see Evans & Penny, 1995, 1998; Kirk, 1992, 1998; Penny & Evans, 1998, 1999). Strategies are also established for ensuring how schools should all offer two hours a week of physical education and sport in curriculum time, and there are additional incentives for schools that provide four hours of sport (particularly team games) outside formal lessons with the possibility of a Sportsmark award being given. The latter are managed and paid for by the Sports Council, who conduct validation visits every year to a sample of schools to review the effectiveness of their

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11 A Sportsmark award is given to a school that is deemed to “have effective policies for promoting sport” (DNH, 1995, p. 13).
policies for promoting sport (p. 13). They therefore operate as a self-organising agent for ruling authorities, helping to ensure that Government sport policy is being enacted and meeting the required standard. Hence, corporeal regulation of the responsibilised, entrepreneurial individual is accomplished via a complex set of strategies, utilising and encouraging the new positive knowledges of economy, sociality and the moral order, and harnessing existing micro-fields of power in order to link their [state institutions’] governmental objectives with activities and events far distant in space and time (Rose, 1999, p. 18).

The emergence of elitism and resultant tensions

Having formerly explained the problematic nature of the ‘sport for all’ concept, particularly in terms of its targeting of specific social groups, it is interesting to see how this rationality begins to be displaced by a concern for elitism from the end of the 1980s until the closing moments of this epoch. This rise of elitism seems to be entwined with the responsibilised and entrepreneurial individual gaining greater importance during the final decade of this time period. As such, whilst demonstrating how the responsibilised, entrepreneurial individual became a priority for ruling authorities in the latter part of this epoch, a number of the selected documents have shown how elite sport development surfaced as an increasingly significant area of interest for Government across this time period. Accordingly, national policies focused on developing a framework of support systems to nurture a squad of elite athletes who were capable of winning Olympic medals (see Green & Houlihan, 2005). Notwithstanding this, tensions are visible between elite and community sport (‘sport for all’) policy goals at several points in this epoch; these have been acknowledged by a number of other scholars in the field (see Green, 2004; Green & Houlihan, 2005; Houlihan & White, 2002). At the same time, there is a gradual retreat in governance through community (‘sport for all’), where advanced liberal forms of governing become entrenched and individual citizens are guided to become responsibilised and entrepreneurial.
Interestingly, Rose (1996b, p. 335) comments that this entrepreneurial phenomenon involves “Government through the activation of individual commitments, energies and choices, through personal morality within a community setting”. Some suggest that the self as enterprise also involves “dynamics of control in neoliberal regimes which operate through the organised proliferation of individual difference in an economised matrix” (McNay, 2009, p. 55). Such conjectures might be enriched by adding that this governance shift is also consistent with the emergence of neoclassical economics, which has a basis of methodological individualism, whereby the individual is modelled as an evaluating, choosing, and acting agent (see Buchanan, 1980; Lowenberg, 2011). In this manner, discernible self-interest in respect of a behavioural goal such as becoming a high-level athlete is believed to motivate the agentic individual. Indeed, market imperatives could be said to be underpinning this shift in governance, rendering the need to target specific social groups (such as working-class youth) obsolete. The assumption is then, that the market will provide for one and all, and so investment in the top end of the pyramid via high-end resources and facilities for elite athletes is deemed a priority. This, in turn, has a trickle-down effect, facilitating regulation and steerage of the working classes. Elitism also enables attention to be paid to those who are most able to take responsibility for their self-governance; subsequently, these responsibilised elite athletes have their corporeal capacities honed by experts (for example, sports coaches). These matters and related concerns require further consideration within the ensuing forms of evidence. Thus, earlier documents (1970s to 1980s) will be analysed initially, followed by documents from the late 1980s in an endeavour to trace the descent of elitism rather than revealing an implicit essence that is visible across time.

Tensions between ‘sport for all’ and elitism within documents from the 1970s and 1980s

Early on in this epoch, tensions are evident between sports for the working-class majority who reside in the inner cities (‘sport for all’) and Government emphasis on developing elitism through sport. As mentioned previously in this chapter, the
advisory Sports Council was granted a Royal Charter and executive powers in 1971. This led to a shift of strategic responsibility for sport and eventually sports development was located in the Department of the Environment, distancing sport from education and the youth service. The CCPR gained a privileged position in the new Sports Council, which led to frictions; the Council subsequently needed to balance its support for elite athletes with its more central concern to nurture mass participation (see Houlihan & White, 2002). In the report *Provision for sport. Volume II* (1973), some of these resultant tensions can be observed. For example, Roger Bannister's (Chairman of the Sports Council) foreword alludes to the “glum recreational deserts” that towns have become, and in keeping with the prevailing 'sport for all' state policies he endorses the need for more community sports facilities (p. 4). However, this is also accompanied by a call for elite sport and “high-level performance”; indeed, it is considered that “sporting talent” must be developed by “expert coaching, [and] high-level competition” (p. 4). Interestingly, this is mirrored in the subsequent *Sport and recreation* report (DoE, 1975, p. 17) when physical education is discussed and it is confirmed that

Teachers of physical education can play a particularly valuable part in this programme [The Youth Sports Programme]. They have a dual role – to encourage young people generally to take part in physical recreation ['sport for all'], and to develop standards of excellence among the more gifted [elitism].

Tension between the interests of the working classes and the social elite are also discernible in the formerly mentioned Cobham Report (House of Lords, 1973). For example, when the notion of ‘sport for all’ is explained, the Sports Council’s aim over the next ten years is confirmed as “improving the supply and use of facilities, *encouraging the development of excellence* among sportsmen [sic] and urging people to take up sport [emphasis added]” (p. xxv). This might be considered an example of the trickle-down effect mentioned earlier, whereby elite sportspeople are viewed as potential motivating and regulatory mechanisms for the general population’s physical activity levels. Notwithstanding this, the report notes that “sport is a minority occupation” and thereby advocates “Recreation for All” instead of ‘sport for all’ (p. xxv); this is deemed more appropriate since “the provision of
opportunities for the enjoyment of leisure should be part of the general fabric of the social services” (p. cxxii). This latter statement directly connects the technology of sport/leisure to welfarist rationalities. However, earlier in the report, it is made apparent that the Committee “urge the Sports Council to continue to devote part of their grant aid to the training and payment of coaches, and to the assistance of governing bodies of sport in maintaining their own coaching services” (p. cii). This appears to confirm their ongoing support for elite sport and the experts who guide athletes to refine their entrepreneurial capacities through specialised physical training; notably, the economic context is key to this endeavour, as are the networks of governance (see Dean, 2007).

In the previously mentioned Sport and recreation report (DoE, 1975), there is also a blend of community-based sport/recreation aims and elitist sport agendas. The latter is particularly perceptible in the ‘Priorities’ section, where it sits alongside ‘The Youth Sports programme’:

In the sporting world the pinnacle of achievement is to represent one’s country. The Government feel it is right to give special encouragement to sportsmen and sportswomen capable of performance at international level, and expect clubs and other bodies to give priority to international calls over local interests (DoE, 1975, p. 18).

Similarly, the report seems to corroborate the intersection between ‘sport for all’ and elitism in sport when it comments that international sport success “has great value for the community not only in terms of raising morale but also by inspiring young people to take an active part in sport” (p. 3). Hence, the elite athlete, alias the entrepreneurial individual, is held up as a triumphant success story. This is considered to be a way of attracting the general public into higher levels of sports engagement; ‘sport for all’ thereby becomes an integral part of the governance process, acting as a motivating force for Government’s entrepreneurial and mass participation aims. Furthermore, in a later section of this same report, it is explained that Government is seeking to directly fund those who are gifted in sport by offering bursaries that are financed by commercial sponsors for established athletes; this will assist “outstanding sportsmen and sportswomen to train for, and participate in,
competition at the highest level" (p. 18). This is reminiscent of the previously mentioned focus on the entrepreneurial individual who operates in an “economised matrix” (McNay, 2009, p. 55). Additional Government resources include the development of “centres of sporting excellence at universities and other colleges” (p. 18).

**The increasing significance of elitism in documents from the end of the 1980s onwards**

It has already been proposed in this chapter section that there is a gradual retreat in governance through community (‘sport for all’) across this epoch, with advanced liberal forms of governing emerging, and individual citizens being guided to become responsibilised and entrepreneurial. Moreover, it was suggested that neoclassical economics begin to become visible in the latter half of the selected time period, with social outcomes being treated as the product of individual choice and exchange (see Lowenberg, 2011). Analysis of the above sports/leisure reports from the 1970s suggest that there are visible traces of relationships and tensions between 'sport for all' and elitist rationalities from an early point in this decade. However, it is in the documents from the late 1980s onwards that advanced liberalism and neoclassical economics become more firmly established with governance through the enterprising self/elitism ascending and governance through community duly receding. This assertion seems to be partially confirmed by Houlihan (1991, p. 29) who comments that “In the 1980s sport has generally become more heavily politicised as the dominant consensus has shifted away from welfare state collectivism towards the economic liberalism of the Thatcher governments”. When examining the hitherto mentioned *Sport and active recreation: provision in the inner cities* report (DoE, 1989), the use of sport and its increasingly intimate relationship with elitism becomes apparent from the outset within the ‘Summary of recommendations’ (pp. vii-xiii). Indeed, it is proposed that partnerships should be created between national governing bodies of sport and inner city schools, with both teachers and children being given access to facilities and coaches. Moreover, the report recommends that elite performers in sport should become involved with
schools and community projects as “Youngsters in inner cities often look up to, respect and are more responsive to sports stars than to anyone else” (p. xii); the trickle-down effect is immediately explicit herein. Such examples show the interplay between the technology of community sport, schools and elite sport; but more importantly for the key argument in this chapter section, they are indicative of an advanced liberal form of rule emerging. Indeed, elite sportswomen and sportsmen are showcased as successful entrepreneurial individuals to whom students might aspire.

Green (2004) proposes that there were changing sport policy discourses in England during this selected epoch, and he also confirms the shift away from a ‘sport for all’ policy to an increasing focus on elite sport from the mid-1990s. It is only by examining the somewhat mundane documents presented thus far that traces of this shift can actually be observed as early as the 1970s, with this intensifying at the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s. The relationship between sport for the working classes and sport for the elite is therefore more complex than at first sight. Some theorists suggest that “a ‘virtuous cycle’ of sport” is in operation here, whereby elite sport success is viewed as enhancing the nation’s international reputation, as well as people’s interest in being active and their lives more generally (Grix & Carmichael, 2012, p. 73). However, in terms of this specific chapter section, what appears to be more relevant is that central Government’s promotion of elite sport illuminates the growth of advanced liberalism. Rose (1999, p. 142) explains that advanced liberalism involves ruling authorities’ power being “directed to empowering the entrepreneurial subjects of choice in their quest for self-realisation”. In the sport context, individual entrepreneurial citizens are thus guided to maximise their bodily capacities and extend their choices, which include being a future international sports star. This illuminates clear relationships between the alleged “mass/elite divide” to which Green and Houlihan (2005, p. 61) refer. At the same time, it also shows how ‘sport for all’ morphs to progressively involve more elitism as advanced liberalism intersects with it across the latter part of the selected epoch.

The *Raising the game* (DNH, 1995) report mentioned earlier illuminates two central and interrelated themes that link to this current chapter section: an increasing preoccupation with elite sport development, and a retreat from support for community recreation (see Green & Houlihan, 2005). Its contents effectively demonstrate a compelling shift from governance of the moral individual in the previous two decades (via governance through community) to governance of the entrepreneurial citizen towards the 1990s. In this sense, publication of *Raising the game* followed a period when sport policy largely focused on mass participation (‘sport for all’) initiatives and the provision of facilities for sport and recreation. This has been illustrated in this chapter and also confirmed elsewhere (see Coghlan & Webb, 1990; Henry, 2001; Houlihan, 1991, 1997; Oakley & Green, 2001). However, the diminishing of governance through community as advanced liberalism develops is not something that other physical education and sports scholars have recognised as yet. Notwithstanding this, many scholars consider this report to be a seminal sports-based report, heralding a noticeable transformation in policy priorities at a national level. Indeed, two key changes took place just before the report’s publication; firstly, the raising of the status of sport through the creation of the Department of National Heritage, and secondly, the establishment of a National Lottery in 1994 which helped to transform the development of elite sport across England (see Green, 2004). The latter is certainly significant in respect of the advanced liberal regime of rule in which sport finds itself. One year later, when *Raising the game* was published, Government also changed the Royal Charter under which the Sports Councils were established and set up a separate UK Sports Council with a narrower focus on school sport, sport for youth, and improving international performance (Collins & Buller, 2003).

More specifically, in terms of this chapter’s focus, the implementation of this report exposed John Major’s (the then Conservative Prime Minister) ambition “to put sport back at the heart of weekly life in *every* school. To re-establish sport as one of the great pillars of education alongside the academic, the vocational and the moral
[emphasis in original]” (DNH, 1995, p. 2). In accordance with this, he initiated a radical re-evaluation of the utility of sport to Government, promoting and legitimating such rationalities as elitism. For example, one of the key messages that Major proposes in the report's preamble is as follows: “Together I want us to bring about a seachange in the prospects of British sport – from the very first steps in primary school right through to the breaking of the tape in an Olympic final” (p. 3). Major therefore targets each individual student herein and their need to harness and fulfil their own capacities as future, potentially elite, sporting citizens. This corresponds to previously discussed governmentality literature in which the individual entrepreneurial citizen is steered to shape and augment their lives through the regulated choices they make (see Rose, 1989, 1996b, 1999; Dean, 2010).

Dean (2010, p. 202) also confirms that under advanced liberal regimes of government there is “a new linkage between the regulation of conduct and the technical requirements of the optimisation of performance”, which aligns effectively with the Olympian goals referred to by Major.

On closer examination of the *Raising the game* report, a plethora of references to elitism become evident from the outset. Major, for example, confirms in his opening statement that he wants “to help our best sports men and women make the best of their talents. I take as much pride as anyone in seeing them lead the world” (p. 3). He goes on to explain the support and resources that will facilitate this endeavour, referring to the need for improved links between school and club sport, “a network of regional and sport academies to bring on the best”, world-class facilities, and high quality coaching from experts in the field (p. 3). It is in the ‘Action Agenda’ section of the report that Dean’s (2007) previously mentioned ‘networks of governance’ can be seen, with a thirty-eight point summary of strategies and targets considering sport in schools, the extension of sporting culture, further and higher education, and the development of excellence. Here, advanced liberal rationalities become immediately apparent, with a metricised environment emerging through the recommended Sportsmark Scheme that recognises the best sport-promoting schools, Gold Star awards for the most innovative schools, regular inspections and
surveys by the Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills (Ofsted), and an agreed number of hours of physical education and sport per week. In addition, experts are nurtured and afforded specific roles in this Action Agenda, with a Sports Council working group being established. Examples such as these suggest that advanced liberalism, a new formula of contemporary rule, has - to all intents and purposes - usurped that of welfarism. This “does not seek to govern through ‘society’, but through the regulated choices of individual citizens” (Rose, 1993, p. 297). Hence, the increasing focus on elitism during this mid-1990 period endangers the ‘moral contract’ outlined previously during the first two decades of this epoch, but interestingly, it appears to simultaneously sustain and build on it in particular neoliberal ways. On the one hand, it seeks corporeal regulation as welfarism did, but on the other hand, it extends it to include governance networks which are underpinned by a neoclassical economic matrix (see McNay, 2009).

It was hitherto mentioned in this chapter that under the leadership of Tony Blair the New Labour party was voted in for the latter part of this epoch from 1997-2007. With this change in Government, a new publication, *Labour’s sporting nation* (The Labour Party, 1997), was implemented. Although it was demonstrated earlier in this chapter that this document contained welfarist rationalities, with sport viewed as “a valuable social service” (p. 3) and its potential to be a positive outlet from social issues and disorders affirmed (p. 5), a wide range of advanced liberal rationalities can also be observed in its contents. Blair notes in the preface that “At the centre of Labour’s Sporting Nation is the belief that everyone has the right to strive for excellence” (p. 3), which implies that the individual and their entrepreneurial potential is key to this document as opposed to social variables such as class and gender being of political concern. For Rose (1996a, p. 41), this focus on entrepreneurialism is evidence of advanced liberalism with governance through ‘society’ diminishing and governance “through the regulated choices of individual citizens, now construed as subjects of choices and aspirations to self-actualisation and self-fulfilment”. Rose (1996a, p. 56) also discusses the “de-governmentalisation of the State” that occurs in advanced liberal regimes; a phenomenon that he believes
is connected to a mutation in the notion of ‘the social’. This would seem to draw a parallel with this chapter’s premise that during this epoch there is evidence of ‘sport for all’ morphing to involve elitism rationalities as welfarism recedes and advanced liberalism emerges as a key form of rule. Certainly, Labour advocates “working in partnership with sporting organisations to enable sport to flourish in the new millennium” (p. 5). This entails a range of processes being activated such as local authorities being encouraged to develop and publish a leisure and sports strategy, a ‘Taskforce for Football’ set up to tackle the problems of the game, an advisory body overseeing and ensuring access to top televised sporting events, and the development of a British Academy of Sport to satisfy the requirements of elite athletes (p. 4). Furthermore, the need for quality “facilities and support” for those who enjoy and engage in sport is underpinned by advanced liberal rationalities, with the National Lottery acknowledged as the primary funding mechanism that will “make a real difference” to the overall “strategy for excellence” (p. 10).

Interestingly, claims that this report promotes ‘sport for all’ might be contested when examining the contents a little more closely. Indeed, elitism appears to be dominant overall in what is described as the four levels of Labour’s approach to sport (p. 6). In level 1 young children are to be introduced to “a broad and balanced programme of activities”, and in level 2 it is stated that “participation in sport and recreation has no age or ability boundaries. It should be available for everyone who wishes to take part for enjoyment, health or social reasons” (p. 6). However, these two levels are followed by a strong focus on performance and excellence respectively. In the former, performance, it is maintained that “a ladder of opportunity for those who are capable of moving from foundation to excellence” should be provided, “regardless of where they live or their social background”. This highlights the Labour Party’s view of “the individual as an active agent in their own economic governance”, who needs to enhance “their own skills, capacities and entrepreneurship” in their pursuit of sporting merit, despite their socioeconomic circumstances (Rose, 1996b, p. 339). In the latter level, excellence, references to the need for individuals to draw on expert advice is illuminated, as it was in *Raising the

game (DNH, 1995); gifted athletes are thus steered by a support structure involving “quality coaching, sports science and medicine, access to suitable facilities, athlete education, and funding support programmes” (p. 6). It was previously discussed how advanced liberal rule involves such ministrations of solicitous experts and programmes in order to govern the modern citizen at a distance, thereby equipping them with the necessary skills of self-actualisation and self-promotion to achieve sporting excellence. Individuals can eventually become ‘experts of themselves’ with a Government-derived norm such as excellence in sport being translated into a demand that citizens can make to ruling authorities (Miller & Rose, 2008).

Notwithstanding this sustained political interest in sport, and the Raising the game report’s claim that “sport at the highest level engages the wider community” (DNH, 1995, p. 34), it should be noted that there is no direct link from elite sports to participation in the population at large. To all intents and purposes, “the ‘elite sport’–‘participation’ causality” is therefore considered problematic; “It sounds eminently sensible, but there is little evidence to support it” (Grix & Carmichael, 2012, p. 79). Thus, it might be proposed that the relationship between elite sport and mass participation that underpins this report and several others during the same period is an assumed truth. Furthermore, McDonald (2000, p. 84) argues that “a qualitative shift in the sports-participation culture away from the egalitarian and empowering aspirations of community-based sporting activity to an hierarchical and alienating culture of high-performance sport” is occurring. Indeed, when further examining both the Raising the game (DNH, 1995) and Labour’s sporting nation (1997) propositions that sport can benefit everyone, regardless of their individual contexts and abilities, this does appear to overlook social variables such as class and gender that have long been established as affecting physical education and sports participation and performance levels in the population (see Collins & Buller, 2003; Evans & Davies, 2006; Fletcher, 1984; Flintoff & Scraton, 2005; Haywood, Kew, & Bramham, 1989; Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, & Woodward, 2013; Kay, 2000; Kirk, 1992, 1998; Rowley, 1992). Synergies between elitism in sport and ‘sport for all’ might therefore be better understood as a complex assemblage where governance
rationalities such as those explored above interplay. As such, they shape and steer physical education and school sport policy, exposing the inherent power relations concealed within core Government concerns. These have been shown to stimulate a shift from the moral individual to the ‘active’ entrepreneurial citizen, and elite sport has become a core Government technology to assist in this endeavour. It effectively supports the self, which becomes the target of a reflexive objectifying gaze, committed not only to its own technical perfection but also to the belief that ‘success’ and ‘failure’ should be construed in the vocabulary of happiness, wealth, style, and fulfilment and interpreted as consequent upon the self-managing capacities of the self (Rose, 1989, p. 243).

**Conclusion**

This chapter and the preceding chapter have both demonstrated that governmentality, one of Foucault's (2007) three modalities of power, is apparent across each respective epoch (research question 1), operating “through the delicate and minute infiltration of the ambitions of regulation into the very interior of our existence and experience as subjects” (Rose, 1989, p. 11). In each chapter, this regulation has been shown to occur corporeally via sport/leisure and physical education; this effectively builds on prevailing governmentality theory (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999), which does not consider governance of the body in the educational and broader societal context. It also extends a study by Penney and Evans (1999) mentioned in Chapter 2, which concludes that sport constitutes a dominant discourse in the NCPE. However, their in-depth analysis of curriculum development and its contextual influences considers the 1990s only, and Foucault’s power forms are not central to the whole as they are in my study. Indeed, through exploration of the wide-ranging sports/leisure and physical education documents, the first section of this chapter demonstrates how the rationality of welfarism became a form of governance in sport/recreation, especially for the working classes and young males from this social group. Thus, ruling authorities heavily invested in sports facilities during the 1970s and 1980s, and governed primarily through the community, which has been shown to be a particular type of
enactment and translation of welfarist rationalities of governing. Inner-city team sports were considered by ruling authorities to be a way of defusing social conflict at this time and a “new moral contract” was thereby observed between ruling authorities and their citizens (Rose, 1999, p. 186). Moreover, this chapter sheds light on how governing through community involved the notion of individual responsibility (see Rose, 1996b), and how this became the principal mechanism through which welfarist notions of social responsibility were aligned with emerging discourses of self-regulation; this led to a problematisation of these welfarist notions. This is an important contribution since governing through community is usually associated with advanced liberal rationalities of governing (see Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999).

The problematizing of welfarist rationalities highlights tensions between socialised and individualised notions of risk/responsibility; the latter were popularised from the late 1970s when the Conservative party entered parliament and were seen to ‘roll back’ the state (see Peck & Tickell, 2002; Pugh, 1999; Tickell & Peck, 2003). A developing union between physical education and sport became evident in core state policies during the 1980s and 1990s. Subsequently, in the early 1990s, National Curriculum physical education was reconstructed as a technology to enhance the social good by developing self-regulated, responsibilised citizens. This individualistic phenomenon was similar to previous shifts in sport/health policy that occurred from the end of the 1980s. These were shown to relate to an intersection between welfarism (with its focus on the moral individual) and advanced liberalism (wherein the responsibilised, entrepreneurial individual was prioritised). Hence, “The relation between the responsible individual and their self-governing community comes to substitute for that between social citizen and their common society” (Rose 1996a, p. 56). It should be noted at this point that other governmentality scholars allude to such shifts and cross-fertilisation during governance processes (see Brown, 2015; Higgins & Larner, 2017). With the intensification of elitism rationalities towards the latter half of this epoch, it became apparent that ‘sport for all’ discourses from the 1970s and 1980s had been usurped
by advanced liberal forms of governing that validated the entrepreneurial individual who optimised their corporeal capacities. This draws attention to how the entrepreneurial self entered into “a kind of alliance between personal objectives and ambitions and institutionally or socially prized goals or activities” (Rose, 1989, p. 10). As a result, the social variable of class was effectively displaced by this key emphasis on individualism and personal responsibility (research question 2). Interestingly, the emerging focus on elitism appears to be a threat to the ‘moral contract’ described earlier, whilst also supporting and developing this in certain (neoliberal) ways through its regulatory governance networks that are underpinned by a neoclassical economic matrix.

The next chapter examines the period 1946 to 1969 in physical education in England, considering the rationalities and technologies of governing that emerge. By continuing to employ a genealogical approach and reflecting on the past, an endeavour is made to formulate a ‘history of the present’ (Foucault, 1977). Of particular significance in Chapter 6 is how the competitive capacities of individuals are fostered through more social ways that affect the nation, as well as how the body is constructed in this epoch of competition, and how competition per se comes to be accepted as ‘traditional’ physical education in state schools.
Chapter 6: Governing physical education through the rationality of competition: constructing character and national identity in social ways (1946–1969)

Introduction

It has been established in Chapters 4 and 5 that the rationality of competition has underpinned physical education pedagogy and national sport policy across the last two epochs, both implicitly and explicitly. Indeed, in the two previous chapters, competition was revealed as one of several core rationalities that arose through the technologies of physical education and sport. In Chapter 4, the enduring nature of competition within physical education became apparent. As such, competition was established as a central component of third way neoliberalism, and the latter was shown to exist alongside healthism, complementing it in terms of its respective governance role in contemporary physical education and sport. In Chapter 5, it was revealed how the rationality of welfarism became a form of governance (see Rose, 1999) in sport/recreation, particularly for the working classes. Discourses within the various selected documents demonstrated how moral regulation was facilitated through the body, particularly when it was engaged in competitive team sports. Similarly, through the increasing emphasis on competitive sport and games in the physical education curriculum content during this epoch, it was found that students’ sporting attitudes and moral values were constructed through the teaching of certain techniques, exercises and activities (see Kirk, 1992, 1998), as well as through various rules and core principles such as fair play and ‘sportsmanship’ (see Department of Education and Science, 1972).

Building on from these two preceding chapters, this chapter focuses on the earlier period of 1946 to 1969 in physical education in England, considering how the rationality of competition and associated technologies of governing emerged. In so doing, it offers an insight into the persistence of competition across time, seeking to illuminate ways in which competition was utilised to support the construction of an
individual’s character as well as England’s national identity following the Second World War (1939-1945). In this manner, the rationality of competition is deployed in a somewhat different way than in the two aforementioned epochs. There is a central focus, in particular, on how the competitive capacities of individuals were fostered in socialised ways, which provides an interesting contrast to the dominant rationalities of individualism that developed through self-regulation and personal responsibility during the two preceding epochs. The use of physical education and sport as governance technologies in Chapters 4 and 5 intimately relate to this chapter, in that competition is its core focus. Nevertheless, on further analysis of the emergence and continuance of competition from the post-war epoch through to the present day, different governing priorities for physical education and sport become apparent. This affirms how important it is, within the adopted genealogical approach, to trace the descent of a pedagogical practice such as competition as opposed to revealing an implicit essence that is visible across time.

As such, this chapter reveals the ways in which the rationality of competition, achieved through social means, came to be accepted as ‘traditional’ physical education in state schools. In so doing, the core problematisation of this epoch is illuminated: how might competition help construct and regulate the character of individual citizens, and how might it simultaneously serve to strengthen national identity after the ravages of war and economic depression? In the two previous chapters, sport/recreation and physical education were seen to be regulatory solutions to social problems such as juvenile crime and obesity, and also technologies for nurturing the responsibilised and entrepreneurial individual (see Dean, 2010, Rose, 1999). However, in this epoch it appears that physical education and sport are being used as technologies by ruling authorities to help build a sense of unified national identity and commonality amongst citizens in England. In terms of this study’s specific research questions, the chapter explores how the rationality

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12 Following the Second World War, competitive capacities of individuals began to be fostered in socialised ways within physical education. This involved greater attention being paid to social values such as collaboration, loyalty, and playing for the sake of the team through the endorsement and introduction of competitive team games.
of competition came to be taken up in different ways from the two previous epochs in this chapter. Moreover, how this rationality transformed itself across the twenty-three year parameter of this chapter will be contemplated, with an examination of key shifts and the intertwining of competition with different governing rationalities, such as collaboration, whereby school children are guided to become more socially connected with their peers in order to develop shared values and norms. This process involves an investigation of character-building and national identity-building rationalities that arise within the technologies of physical education and sport/recreation. Such an assemblage of rationalities and technologies led to particular forms of governing physical education, with a shift from pre-war drill activities performed en masse to “a looser form of corporeal power” (Kirk, 1994, p. 170) via more social means in competitive team games (research question 1). Notably, the rationality of competition becomes far more prevalent than social distinctions such as gender and class (research question 2) in post-war physical education, which many scholars consider to be dominant (see Azzarito & Solmon, 2005; Evans, 1986, 1988, 1990a; Fletcher, 1984; Kirk, 1990, 1992, 2002a; Scraton, 1986, 1992, 2018). Prior to examining these matters in greater detail, it is important to reflect on some of the core socio-political events of this epoch, in an endeavour to help contextualise the ensuing examination of the physical education and sports documents.

An insight into the socio-political context during this selected epoch: post-war reconstruction and dynamic change

This epoch is particularly significant, since it follows two major World Wars, with the latter of these ending in 1945, merely one year before this study’s selected historical period. Indeed, following the surrender of Germany and Japan in 1945, a significant and dynamic period of British history ensued for several years, with a legislative drive for reconstruction in which nationalisation became Government policy and the ‘welfare state’ was born (Havighurst, 1985). According to Lowe (1994, p. 357), the history of the welfare state from 1948 to the mid-1970s was a “classic phase” which was “dominated by memories of mass unemployment and
poverty in the 1930s”. As such, the widespread assumption was that Government intervention in social and economic policy was of individual and national interest. With fascism defeated in the Second World War, there was a rise of left wing politics in many of the countries that had been affected by the conflict. This has been described by some as the public’s wish “to make permanent in peacetime the social and economic equality which had been achieved under the compulsions of war” (Seaman, 1966, p. 416). Perhaps reflecting this shift in public opinion, the Labour Party came to power for the first time in British history in 1945, with Clement Attlee serving as Prime Minister for the next six years. Britain had lost much of its economic power during its quest to win the Second World War from 1939 to 1945, but with American economic aid in the form of the Marshall plan, Attlee’s Government sought to “push forward onto a new path of policy and create an economic environment based on a welfare state and government direction of the economy” (Schenk, 1994, p. 301). They therefore offered an improved economic and social order through their commitment to conscious planning and public control. In line with this, they implemented nationalisation policies to gain control over important spheres of power (see Appendix A). Even more significantly for this study’s focus on social distinctions such as class and gender, post-war redistributive taxation policies spearheaded social reform with a reduction of wealth inequalities and a subsequent rise in living standards for working-class people. A number of health-based Acts ensued (see Appendix A), including the 1946 National Health Service (NHS) Act which provided free medical care across the country. Schools continued to be an integral part of this growing “network of governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73) in the area of public health, offering medical inspection for schoolchildren and the treatment of minor ailments, dental and visual conditions (see Harris, 2004).

Despite many successes during their period in office, Labour was replaced by Winston Churchill’s Conservative Party when they returned to power in 1951.

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13 These types of public health interventions in the school context had been in place since the Education Act of 1907.
Interestingly, during the transfer of economic policy-making from the Labour party to the Conservatives nothing was undertaken to alter the basic structure of the welfare state and many of Labour’s nationalisation measures were also retained (see Havighurst, 1985; Schenk, 1994; Webb, 1969). The Conservatives’ return to power heralded thirteen successive years of right wing rule. Over time, the Conservatives began to transform the nature of the ‘welfare’ state into an ‘opportunity’ state, utilising Government policy to recompense enterprise (see Lowe, 1994). This shift appears to connect with issues raised in Chapter 5, wherein the development of entrepreneurialism was seen to evolve towards the latter part of the epoch from the late 1980s onwards. Led by Harold Wilson, the Labour party returned to office in 1964 and in terms of production their doctrine favoured state control; indeed, Wilson believed in micro-economic intervention to improve industrial competitiveness and modernise the British economy. He therefore pursued a redefinition of socialism, with ambitions for competitiveness and growth (see Walker, 1987). These political views allegedly stemmed from Wilson’s wartime and ministerial experience in the collectivised 1940s. Interestingly, they also align with the focus of this chapter, highlighting how the rationality of competition emerged. Moreover, the way in which competition is shown in this chapter to help construct national identity could perhaps have intensified after the Second World War due to the mainstream British decolonisation from the 1940s to the 1960s (see McIntyre, 2014), a protracted process that included Asia, the Middle East, and the rather swift eradication of empire in Africa during the latter years in particular. This gradual dismantling of the British Empire, with its concomitant decline of power, could have led to the subsequent national regeneration strategy that incorporated the need for Britain to be more successful in international competitive sport. This point will be returned to later in this chapter when the selected documents are explored in more depth.

14 For example, Ghana became a republic in 1960, Nigeria gained independence in that same year, and from 1961 to 1963 Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Somaliland, Uganda and Kenya followed suit. These events led to the closure of the central African Colonial Office in 1966.
Reshaping schooling: significant educational changes during the selected epoch and the emergence of competition

It is important to connect some of the socio-political insights from the above overview with key educational developments during this period, since physical education pedagogy has inevitably been impacted by these. The momentum of reform during the Second World War led to the Butler Education Act of 1944, which made all schooling free in England and Wales, and established the need to provide secondary education for all at the beginning of this selected epoch. The Act also introduced a tripartite system of secondary education, comprising secondary modern schools, secondary technical schools and grammar schools respectively; thus, students were, in principle, directed to a school which most suited their skills and academic ability. Notwithstanding this, inequalities prevailed as the availability of grammar schools was underpinned by gender and class disparities; these matters will be further discussed below, in tandem with the increasing significance of competition. In addition, the school leaving age was raised to fifteen and subsequently sixteen at a later date, but it took nearly 30 years for this to be fully followed through and implemented (see McCulloch, Cowan, & Woodin, 2012). This was, however, considered to be an important factor in terms of England’s need to improve its “international competitiveness” (McCulloch et al., 2012, p. 516). Furthermore, state education was organised into the three progressive stages of primary, secondary and further education. In effect, these developments “destroyed the remnants of the English tradition that democratic education meant only elementary education” (Havighurst, 1985, p. 421). Indeed, with the expansion of mass secondary schooling, the programme of physical education developed and its content was duly reconstructed to become available for all.

What is more, the 1944 Education Act affirmed the need for education to foster the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of each community member, in accordance with its principle that education involved the whole person. Whilst a 1944 ‘holistic’ approach to education would differ tremendously from contemporary notions of holism, the fundamental aim of the 1944 Education Act
was to give every student an equal chance to fully develop their talents and abilities within a free state education system that was more child-centred. With decreasing state curriculum control there was much less interest in developing national educational pedagogy, and scant attention was paid to the detail of a primary curriculum that would satisfy this (Dale, 1989). Indeed, some have described the period from 1945 to the late 1960s as being characterised by “what was in European terms a remarkable degree of curriculum freedom... [yet it was] heavily constrained by two forces: history and the backwash of selection at eleven” (Alexander, 2000, p. 139). As a result, whilst official ideologies of primary education emphasised curricular freedom, progressivism and child-centred practice, there was always the need to prepare students for the selective examinations that lay ahead in the 3Rs (reading, writing, arithmetic). With the tradition of the 11-plus examination administered to students in England and Northern Ireland during their last year of primary education, it might be ventured that as well as the quest for more international trade competition mentioned earlier, competition was also prevalent in the educational context. In addition, this might be contemplated alongside the changes in mass secondary physical education, where competitive team games, which had intrinsic upper class, male origins, were embedded into its pedagogical content and soon became ‘traditional’ in the post-war era (see Chapter 2). This swift adoption of competitive activities with their historical classed and gendered derivations illuminates the way in which broader educational class concerns seem to have filtered down into school subjects per se. Notably, the types of tensions between progressivism and competition highlighted here also arise in this chapter’s selected documents, with disparities surfacing between the prevailing physical education syllabuses and contemporary sports policy.

15 The 11-plus examination essentially governed admission to grammar schools and other secondary schools which used academic selection, and it was in use from 1944 until 1976 when it was phased out in the majority of local education authorities. Notwithstanding this, whilst in full operation, grammar school education was disproportionately available across regions, and boys were better provided for than girls (Jones, 2016).
The emerging significance of competition in physical education and sport: constructing character in socialised ways through team games

As explained in previous chapters, physical education and sport have been used interchangeably and simultaneously as governance technologies (Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999) in a variety of ways by ruling authorities. The emergence of competition that was formerly alluded to in this chapter, within society and education in England, will now be focused on more explicitly in the selected sports and physical education documents. In particular, how the rationality of competition became increasingly significant and was used to construct character in students through the technologies of physical education and sport will be a core focus. Interestingly, Rose (1999, p. 105) discusses character formation, and comments that human conduct problems have been historically articulated as “expressions of moral character”, whereby control is exercised over the self. More specifically, sport has been understood by many scholars to result in positive character building experiences (Bredemeier & Shields 2006; Coakley 2006; Côté, 2002; Shogan, 1999). Côté (2002), for example, suggests that sport is a medium for the development of social skills such as cooperation, assertion, responsibility, empathy, and self-control. Youth involved in sport are also often perceived as demonstrating discipline and commitment (Scanlan, Carpenter, Schmidt, Simons, & Keeler, 1993; Shogan, 1999), and some preliminary evidence alludes to how these traits infiltrate other domains of life such as school and community (Carpenter, 2001; Marsh, 1993). Individual character traits that are often considered to be achievable though participation in team competitive sports and games include such positively regarded qualities as loyalty, honesty, compassion, humility, respect and responsibility (see Lambert, 2013). Rudd (2005) further divides character development, referring to moral and social attributes that are gained through participation in competitive sport. The former, moral attributes, focus on fairness, honesty and respect; indeed, it is suggested that “individuals show moral character when they act in a way that respects the psychological and physical safety of others” in sport (Bolter & Weiss, 2016, p. 173). The latter, social attributes emphasise desired end goals such as team building,
tenacity, mental toughness, perseverance and commitment. This highlights the claimed interrelationships between character, ethical behaviour and ‘sportsmanship’. Indeed, some scholars suggest that character development and sport discourses are grounded in ‘regimes of truth’, which are regulatory corporeal practices (see Kirk, 1994, 1998; Österlind & Wright, 2014). However, the discussion above also suggests that social attributes focus directly on achievement, which appears to support capitalism and its inherent focus on competition and winning at all costs. Character-building claims such as those outlined here will be explored later in the chapter where the selected documents are examined in greater detail.

The shift from drill to competitive team games

In Chapter 2 it was affirmed that the development of school-based competitive sports and games in physical education reflected society’s class divisions in England, since the ‘games ethic’ was endorsed by the private school system but remained inaccessible to the working classes (Phillips & Roper, 2006). However, after the Second World War, competitive sports and games began to become more widespread, replacing drill with its military origins and Swedish Ling gymnastics. This shift is an important one to acknowledge in this chapter, as it involved post-war changes in rationalities, technologies and forms of subjection (see Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999; Rose & Miller, 1992). Prior to the Second World War, several key discourses in physical education evolved. These have already been alluded to in Chapter 2, and will be further examined in Chapter 7. In the interim, it should be noted that they primarily involved the ‘civilising’ and regulation of the working classes through the technologies of drill, Swedish Ling gymnastics, and some organised team games such as cricket, hockey and football that were formally introduced into the curriculum in 1906 (see Kirk, 1990, 2001, 2010; Mangan & Hickey, 1999). Interestingly, although disciplinary power is evident here, this is not viewed as the defining discourse for physical education from the early twentieth century until the Second World War. Instead, a number of scholars consider the medico-health discourse to be so (see Kirk, 1990; McIntosh, 1968; Smith, 1974). Legislative changes from the beginning of the twentieth century concerning the
health and welfare of the nation’s children, and concurrent medico-health focused regimes of practice in physical education, appear to affirm this (see Welshman, 1988). Notwithstanding this, Kirk (1990, 1992) suggests that the working classes were primarily introduced to competition through team games and sports to assimilate them more readily into the bourgeois society that was struggling to initially rebuild itself. Furthermore, the playing of games has also been viewed as a means of promoting heteronormativity and influencing social cohesion; it became a technology through which “homosexual desire” could be regulated, and it helped in the process of “producing new desire to be part of a team and by extension part of the collective such as a social class or ethnic group or a nation” (Kirk, 2001, p. 477). This notion of constructing national identity is an important one that warrants further consideration. Prior to this, the manner in which competitive team sports/games have been used as technologies to construct an individual’s character in social ways will be examined through the nominated sports and physical education forms of evidence.

In 1948, the first post-war Olympic Games took place in London, marking a return to normality on an international level, despite the fact that Germany and Russia did not compete. Moreover, it should be noted at this point that the hitherto mentioned Butler Education Act of 1944 also indirectly nurtured the development of sport in England, as Section 53 of this Act directed all local education authorities to provide facilities for physical education and games. It was against this backdrop that the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR) began to establish seven National Recreational Centres (later called National Sports Centres) from 1946 to 1972. In addition, with the increased availability of television, sports programmes and events were watched by a greater amount of people. Indeed, televised extravaganzas of the Olympic Games during the 1960s helped to raise the profile of sport and simultaneously support the debate about how sport could be structured in England (see Coghlan & Webb, 1990). Of key concern was the role that Government should play in any new infrastructure for sport, thus, during the 1950s Government aligned itself more closely with the CCPR to help promote its...
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embryonic interest in youth sport policy. Establishing a committee of inquiry in 1957 under the chairmanship of Sir John Wolfenden, the CCPR produced a seminal document three years later, which was entitled *Sport and the community* (CCPR, 1960). Referred to as a “watershed in the development of sport policy” (Houlihan, 1991, p. 87), the report succeeded in “raising the profile of sport with government but also, and more importantly, in shaping the context within which public involvement in sport was to be considered for the next generation” (Houlihan & White, 2002, p. 18). Indeed, the results that arose from the fifty-seven recommendations in the final report altered the face of British sport over the next ten years (Coghlan & Webb, 1990). Overall, the Wolfenden committee’s remit was to examine the factors affecting the development of games, sport and outdoor activities in the UK and to make recommendations to the CCPR as to any practical measures which should be taken by statutory or voluntary bodies in order that these activities may play their full part in promoting the general welfare of the community (CCPR, 1960, p. 1).

Links with Chapter 5 (1970-1998), which focused on governance through community and the rationality of welfarism, are immediately perceptible here. This CCPR statement also implicitly connects with Rose’s (1999, p. 172) discussion of community from the 1960s to the 1970s, since sport appears to have become one technology within “a network of professional institutions and services for social citizens that was spread across the territory of their everyday lives”. However, what is more pertinent for this particular chapter section is the way in which the report’s introduction advocates the need for collective, competitive activities as opposed to the drill-oriented practices that dominated in the pre-war context.

**Developing specific character attributes through competitive team games**

Notably, competitive team games are seen to both regulate the emotions and to develop the character trait of loyalty in a young person in the aforementioned CCPR report:

For young people especially, there is a loyalty which grows from a *shared competitive enterprise*; and if the loyalty is a narrow one which springs from contest against another group, at least it can be argued that *the emotions of*
the young find an appropriate focus in such competition [emphasis added]” (CCPR, 1960, pp. 4-5).

This connects back to the way in which the committee perceives playing sport to be both a social and individual phenomenon, due to its recognised “community aspect” (p. 3). In addition, Lambert’s (2013) previously mentioned perspective about how the playing of team sports can support the development of particular character attributes such as loyalty becomes pertinent here. The notion of the individual developing qualities that are valuable for both them and the society in which they live is also reinforced a little later in the report when the significance of games, particularly competitive types, are debated. Herein, a wide range of character attributes are highlighted as being potentially achievable through the playing of competitive sports: “Courage, endurance, self-discipline, determination, self-reliance, are all qualities which the sportsman, in the broadest sense of the term, has at least the opportunity of developing in the pursuit of his sport” (CCPR, 1960, p. 5). Interestingly, reference is made at this point to the character-building team game traditions of (private) schools in the nineteenth century, and how they were considered to be a vehicle for helping to develop “unselfish, co-operative and self-sacrificing” behaviours; although the committee does not seek to legitimate such claims, it does comment that “the playing of games... does at least provide the opportunity for learning this kind of lesson” (p. 5). In line with this, it could be argued that as “political rationalities have a characteristically moral form” in that they “elaborate upon the fitting powers and duties for authorities” (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 178), the rationality of competition was embraced as having the potential to develop a person’s moral character. Whilst the uptake and embodiment of certain character attributes are recognised as being dependent on the individual’s character and the “spirit of the instruction” (CCPR, 1960, p. 5), it is made clear that a sports player’s personality could be enriched by such experiences. Furthermore, when discussing the teaching of games in schools a little later in the report, it becomes evident that character construction is deemed feasible if these physical activities are framed in certain ways: “Stress may be placed on playing to the spirit rather than to the letter of the law; effort, courage, loyalty and unselfishness may be praised as well
as skilful performance” (p. 44). As such, character formation and regulation might be fostered, since “Social training in courtesy to visitors on and off the field can be inculcated [emphasis added]” (p. 44). Indeed, the report affirms the need for a “proper attitude to games” that should be nurtured by teachers and coaches early on in the child’s schooling process, since this positive disposition could affect their character more generally:

We are not concerned here to make exaggerated claims about the lasting effect of these games on the characters of those who play them. Nor are we arguing that these aspects of games-playing are not developed outside of school. It does seem to us, however, that these are right and commendable attitudes to games and that they are most likely to be preserved when games are started during school life and linked with it [emphasis added] (pp. 44-45).

These examples from the Wolfenden Report highlight the emergence of a ‘games ethic’ of which Mangan (1983, p. 314) speaks, that essentially comprises “the subscription to the belief that important expressive and instrumental qualities can be promoted through team games (in particular loyalty, self-control, perseverance, fairness and courage, both moral and physical)”. This games ethic was purportedly transformed in the post-war period from an elite to a mass conception (see Kirk, 1992; Mangan, 1983), duly imbued with authority and currency, and “appeared as the ideal form of physical education for the new mass secondary schools” (Kirk, 1992, p. 114). The Wolfenden Report examples above also elucidate how the interrelationship between the playing of competitive team sports and the construction/regulation of character is promoted through certain prevalent discourses. Indeed, these discourses appear to embody some of the fundamental moral and social character attributes that were outlined earlier in this chapter section (see also Lambert, 2013; Rudd, 2005). Similar discourses can be found in other selected documents from this epoch and these will be discussed forthwith. However, another report focusing on youth service requires exploration before this occurs, due to it being “a significant element of the administrative and policy environment that... helped to shape sports development” (Houlihan & White, 2002,
At first sight, character-oriented discourses are less apparent in the Albermarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960), but there are traces to be found on closer investigation. Notwithstanding these, and perhaps more importantly, this report offered an influential rationale and framework for youth work in England and Wales; indeed, some of its key recommendations and priorities eventually led to substantially increased funding. In terms of this chapter’s specific historical background, the Albermarle Report contemplates Government plans for terminating its two-year compulsory national service for young men aged 18-20 years. National service ended gradually from 1960, with the last civilians leaving the armed forces in May 1963. A number of attitudes towards national service are duly discussed in the Albermarle Report, with one of these explained as follows: “national service was of great benefit to young men in developing not only physical abilities, but also self-reliance, and the capacity to work in a group and to accept discipline for a common purpose” (p. 13). Such alleged benefits of national service resonate with a number of the intrinsic character-building aims for physical education and sport during this era, some of which will subsequently be explored in greater depth through the various documents under analysis. In the meantime, it might be ventured that when national service was being phased out, other technologies such as sports and physical education that could regulate youth conduct began to evolve. The Albermarle Report appears to allude to this matter when it comments that national service provided young men with “many vigorous and some fascinating pursuits under discipline, in parts of Britain and the world they otherwise might never have visited [emphasis added]” (p. 55). This is similar to Foucault’s (1977a, p. 139) analysis of military regimes of practice, which he views as involving “a certain mode of detailed political investment of the body, a ‘new micro-physics’ of power”. The Albermarle Report concludes that “the Youth Service ought to try and replace some at least of these lost opportunities” (p. 55). This exposes the “network of governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73) that existed at this time, with the Youth Service
effectively becoming an agent that guided young people in their regulatory regimes, in order to avert certain undesired outcomes or events. As such, antisocial behaviours such as vandalism or alcohol consumption might be prevented, and youth might be steered instead to develop a commitment to the common good, helping to stabilise civil society.

In relation to sports/physical education more specifically, the Albermarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960) contains a small section on the value of ‘Physical Recreation’ for young people, recommending the need to improve provision for this because “sports and physical activities generally are a major leisure-time interest in the lives of the adolescent boy and girl” (p. 57). It also contends that work and current leisure activities “fail to satisfy the increased physical energies of many young people” and goes on to endorse “organised team games” as regulatory mediums, together with a broader range of activities such as badminton, camping, skating, skiing and swimming (p. 57). Whilst character-building references are visible throughout the report, these are not always explicitly associated with engagement in physical activity, but it is proposed that “physical endurance is a means to personal development” (p. 62). A little later in the report, this is elaborated on in more holistic terms, with recreation referred to as having the capacity to responsibilise a young person since it is “as educative to the adolescent as play is to the infant, and as important in promoting the physical, intellectual and moral development necessary to turn the teenager into the responsible adult citizen” (p. 103). It is here that governance techniques discussed in this study’s preceding chapter might be readily observed, with the comportment of young people being regulated through the technology of physical recreation. This points to the presence of governmentality in this post-war epoch with its various “networks of force” (Rose, 1999, p. 53) such as sports/physical education. In so doing, it also seems to signal the emergence of the “new moral contract” (Rose, 1999, p. 186) that was observed between ruling authorities and their citizens in Chapter 5.
The emergence of physical education as a technology for character formation and regulation

Prior to the two reports discussed thus far there was a post-war syllabus change in physical education from the *Syllabus of physical training for schools* (Board of Education, 1933) to a two-part publication entitled *Moving and growing* (Ministry of Education, 1952) and *Planning the programme* (Ministry of Education, 1953). Interestingly, this is the only change of syllabus throughout this entire twenty-three year epoch, and it marked the development of what became known as ‘movement education’. With this, there was a shift in physical education from pre-war teaching methods and programmes that involved more didactic physical training activities. Accordingly, the 1952 syllabus points out that unlike drill, which “was inherited from military manoeuvre... physical education has emerged from the observation and study of the needs of growing children” (Ministry of Education, 1952, p. 85). Hence, child-centred pedagogy emerged, wherein “value was placed on children being given more responsibility for their own rate and pattern of work, with teachers being sensitive to individual needs and differences” (Donovan, Jones, & Hardman, 2006, p. 19). This illuminates quite a marked shift from disciplinary power to governmentality in the educational context, suggesting that subjects (in this case, young children) were being guided to become self-activating by monitoring their own academic progress, and engaging in self-assessment and goal setting. These types of pedagogic processes all help to contribute to children’s internal self-governance and are reminiscent of Rose's (1999, p. 106) contention that “the inculcation of virtuous habits, especially in childhood – patterns of conduct and self-control” are essential to the functioning of society. Similarly, when teachers foster curiosity and explain the rationales behind rules, as opposed to resorting to external coercion, future self-governing citizens might be shaped through their “regulated freedom” (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 174). Power in this form is, therefore, fundamentally relational, multiplicitous, and capillary-like (see Foucault, 1978). In effect, the 1952-1953 syllabus also heralded a transformative phase in physical education with its emphasis on a more ‘natural’ form of movement experience that promoted the affective benefits of physical education for young children,
particularly through dance and educational gymnastics (see Chedzoy, 2012; Vertinsky, 2016). As a consequence, the publication has been said to support women physical educators, ratifying their beliefs that aesthetic experiences were critical to the newly named ‘movement education’ (see Fletcher, 1984; Kirk, 1992). This served to widen the divide between the pedagogical concerns of male and female physical educators of the time, since previously accepted physical (physiological, fitness) and social (competitive, teamwork) benefits of physical education were called into question (Kirk, 1992; see also Chapter 2). Moreover, it should be noted here that the publication of this more holistic, movement-focused syllabus starkly contrasted with the post-war male physical educators’ appropriation and advocacy of competitive games in physical education. Indeed, the latter development has been described as “an important means of enhancing their status” since they largely comprised male physical educators from the lower end of the social class spectrum who were joining a predominantly middle-class, female profession (Kirk, 1992, p. 84).

On closer investigation of the 1952-1953 physical education syllabus, which was written for children aged 5 to 11 years, the notion of this subject having the capacity to develop a student’s character is rarely apparent; indeed, it is seldom mentioned in relation to competitive sports and games per se. Rather, it is discussed in more generic ways through, for example, reflections on the sporadic and short-lived competitive nature of girls and boys:

Ten-year-olds are competitive, but their contests are brief affairs, quickly forgotten. They enjoy winning race or a game; they may even, unless other interests intervene, take pride in collecting points; but the playing, the climbing, or the leaping matters much more than the winning (Ministry of Education, 1952 p. 42).

When games are specifically discussed, they are underpinned by the pedagogy of play: “The competitive element adds zest, and stimulates endeavour in a manner which is exhilarating and helpful, so long as the idea of ‘play’ is not forgotten” (Ministry of Education, 1952, p. 92). Moreover, there is a warning that children’s
play should not be “too heavily influenced by the type and manner of adult games” (p. 90). In accordance with this, there appears to be a stronger emphasis on the collaborative as opposed to the competitive nature of games. It is also acknowledged that “real team work is late in developing [in children] because it is a complex matter” (p. 92). Aside from the pedagogical preferences mentioned previously between male and female physical educators (and the latter having the most influence on this syllabus\textsuperscript{16}) (see Fletcher, 1984; Kirk, 1992; Scraton, 1992), it might be ventured once more that this emerging notion of children being steered to become more collaborative and have greater responsibility for their own rate and pattern of work is indicative of governmentality emerging in the educational setting. This has been alluded to elsewhere, with individuals being described as developing a set of shared values and norms in the school context; this “provides mutual benefit for the individual and the collective” (Rose, 1999, p. 145) without encroaching on an individual’s ‘freedom’. What needs to be explored further, therefore, is how this might link to and perhaps begin to mould the collaborative nature of games. Furthermore, it is important to consider how such curriculum priorities might intersect with and potentially influence - or even be influenced by - contemporary sports/recreation policy. For the moment, it would appear that there is some disparity between physical education curriculum content with its more collaborative approaches, and sports/recreation policy with its burgeoning interest in competition.

In terms of character attributes that might be learned through the playing of games, minimal references are made overall in the syllabus. Whilst there are a few general comments such as those regarding a child’s need to have “flexibility of thought and action – an ability to meet with and enjoy the unexpected” in games (p. 92), there are no tangible allusions to the value of games per se and their capacity to help

\textsuperscript{16} The lead author of one of the two parts of the physical education syllabus entitled \textit{Moving and growing} and \textit{Planning the programme} may have been Eileen Alexander, the newly appointed Principal (in 1951) of Bedford Physical Training College for Women (see Vertinsky, 2016). This institution became Bedford College of Physical Education during her leadership. Alexander’s work was firmly underpinned by ‘the female tradition’, as Fletcher (1984) terms it.
construct and regulate children’s characters. In the second part of the syllabus, *Planning the programme* (Ministry of Education, 1953), games are an integral part of the syllabus content, alongside physical training, dance and swimming. Nevertheless, it is made clear that competitive games are not favoured by the Ministry of Education in the primary school context, as they comment that in the junior stage (8-11 years) “Too often the games in an urban school are dominated by the desire to produce a school team in some national game... [where] a few exceptional children may flourish” (p. 17). Despite this, “national games” are included in the syllabus for upper primary children, and there are clear gender divides for these. The two outstanding national games for boys are football and cricket, and it is confirmed that “it is only natural that quite young boys should want to play them” (p. 18). For girls, the national game is confirmed as netball, due to the availability of facilities and the influences of the secondary school programmes where this game is one of the principal winter activities. Hockey and tennis are also recommended for girls, as well as some other batting games such as rounders and stoolball17, although it is recognised that these activities require specialist resources and facilities so they may not be viable. While these types of competitive games are deemed appropriate for upper primary school children, there is no indication of the influence they might have on their character. Admittedly, there is a short discussion about netball being highly regulatory in terms of the restrictions it places on running, but what appears to be more significant than this is the advice given vis-à-vis the need to safeguard “the genuine play element” in these traditional, competitive team games and ensure that “every child gets his [sic] fair share of the play” (pp. 18-19).

**Regulatory effects of physical activity on a person’s character**

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17 Stoolball is a competitive bat and ball game that is mainly played in the UK counties of Sussex, Kent and Surrey. It has its origins from at least the 15th century. Like cricket it has eleven players-a-side who play in similar positions. The wickets are a square board of wood on top of a wooden post or stake and the batter defends these with a bat shaped rather like an elongated table tennis bat. Each team has one innings in which their players bat and attempt to score runs (points) while the opposing team bowls aiming to get the batter ‘out’ and limit the number of runs scored.
The above discussion of the 1952-1953 physical education syllabus illuminates the lack of emphasis on competitive games as a technology to help construct and regulate character, and in so doing provides an interesting contrast to the two reports previously reviewed (the Albermarle Report, the Wolfenden Report), where competitive sport and its character-building promise had risen to the fore less than a decade later in 1960. During exploration of this, and particularly through various sports policies, the regulation of character has also intermittently arisen. In effect, the contention that engagement in competitive team sports has a positive regulatory effect on character formation has been promulgated by police chiefs, members of the armed forces, politicians and many other members of ‘the establishment’ (see Horne et al., 2013). In this manner, an assumed truth about the potential for physical education and sport to regulate a person’s character seems to have led to a broader usage of these technologies by a “complex assemblage of diverse forces”; as a consequence, “It is through [such] technologies that political rationalities and the programmes of government that articulate them become capable of deployment” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 63). For some, playing sports is purported to reduce felonious tendencies, thereby helping young people to regulate themselves. This links to previous chapters in this thesis, where self-regulation emerges as a key rationality. In this particular chapter, a report entitled Planning for sport (Sports Council, 1968) gives an insight into the government’s remit to improve and extend facilities for children, young people, and for the community at large. Indeed, the “need for challenging and satisfying leisure pursuits” (p. 13) is recognised herein, due to changes in the physical and mental demands of work, which have led to an increase in leisure time. Hence, the report concludes that “Provision for sport and physical recreation is... a vital part of community life” (p. 14). Focusing on youth and their regulation more specifically, the previously cited Wolfenden Report (CCPR, 1960, p. 4) comments that “It is a widely held assumption that a considerable proportion of delinquency among young people stems from a lack of desire for suitable physical activity”. It then goes on to acknowledge the origins of criminal behaviour as complex, but still asserts that “it is a reasonable assumption that if more young people had opportunities for playing games fewer of them would
develop criminal habits” (p. 4). This also appears to be endorsed at a later point in the same report when an “ethical standard” of behaviour is discussed and the notion of “sportsmanship [sic]” is brought as a solution into the core of the argument for better behaved citizens (p. 6). Kirk (1992, p. 50) confirms that this type of regulatory discourse was commonplace during the post-war epoch, with competitive games and sport seen as technologies to help redirect “potentially aggressive impulses that could otherwise lead to delinquent behaviour”.

The Crowther Report (Ministry of Education, 1959) notes that the raising of the school age from 14 to 15 in 1947 also resulted in reduced delinquency records for 13 year-old boys (p. 42). This alludes to the regulatory technology of the schooling process more generally, as well as gendered statistical differences with comportment. However, the social variable of class is also acknowledged, with delinquency deemed to be “at its worst in specific neighbourhoods which are marked by a high concentration of almost every social problem” (p. 38). The aforementioned Albermarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960) is a key form of evidence in relation to the regulation of character in youth. Notably, the establishment of the Albermarle Committee in 1958 to review the Youth Service came at a time of increasing concern with the so-called “problems of youth” (p. 41). The policy context for the Youth Service illuminates the twofold function of “social and physical training”; this was only possible to achieve through youth organisations and schools (p. 8), suggesting how the body is being utilised as an apparatus through which social comportment might be shaped (see Foucault, 1977a). Moreover, it reveals how two agents of governance, youth organisations and schools, form “networks of governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73) and unite in this corporeal endeavour. Interestingly, the Albermarle Report also discusses normalisation that occurs during the governance process through the Youth Service when it reflects on the Board of Education’s 1940’s “social and physical training” guidance mentioned previously. Indeed, the report confirms the relevance of this, emphasising that “The common task was to bring young people into a normal relationship with their fellows and to develop bodily fitness [emphasis added]” (p.
8). Rose (1999, p. 133) refers to this normalisation process as the “Benign education of the normal citizen”, which helped to legitimate “a complex social bureaucracy of pedagogy and care”. It should be mentioned here that there is no suggestion of educating the body in a holistic sense as physical education is purported to do, instead, reference is only made to developing physiological fitness; such corporeal discipline is perceived as a means through which appropriate social behaviour in youth might be engendered. Houlihan and White (2002, p. 17) confirm that the Albermarle Committee viewed sport in this way, arguing that it served “as a vehicle for moral development and social engineering: development through sport rather than development of sport [emphasis in original]”.

Following its consultation process, the Albermarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960) determined that from 1946-1956 there were regular increases in the number of young people who were involved in delinquent behaviour (p. 15), resulting in a “new climate of crime and delinquency” (p. 17). An outline of statistics and evidence to substantiate this claim is duly provided, with figures focusing on young people and their alcohol, violence, and sexual offences, as well as disorderly conduct. Moreover, various influential factors for such antisocial behaviours are discussed, including socioeconomic status, gender, and the “growth of a sense of violence in a century infamous for violence of every kind” (p. 17), although it is simultaneously acknowledged that the situation is complex and somewhat nebulous. Notwithstanding this, there is condemnation of the “moral withdrawal” in society and it is maintained that the Youth Service can help to transform this into more positive social behaviour: “the Youth Service can do much to make the appeal of the good society stronger than the dynamic of wickedness” (p. 19). This is deemed possible by helping young people to acquire personal skills, and by engaging them in service to the community, as well as new and adventurous opportunities. In respect of the latter, it is argued that if young people do not find “the colourful and unexpected constructively” through schemes such as Scouting, Guiding, outdoor activities and similar physical outlets, they can instead resort to “violence, destructiveness or deliberate breaches of accepted public behaviour” (p. 62). The
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The Albermarle Committee (Ministry of Education, 1960, p. 57) recommends at several points during their report that “There are powerful reasons why provision for physical recreation should be improved”. Aside from those reasons outlined earlier in this chapter section (which included physical pursuits being considered a major leisure-time interest for youth, and a reduction in manual labour occurring during this particular era), they also maintain that physical recreation can cut across socioeconomic barriers. However, this latter point has been contested by Kirk (1992, p. 113), who argues that during this post-war era a “bourgeois game ethic” was merely reconstructed to have contemporary pertinence and authority. Indeed, the values that underpinned the games playing at this time formed a certain “ethical standard” that participants should conform to, which “reveals the extent of the saturation of bourgeois hegemony” (Kirk, 1992, p. 113). In terms of physical education per se, the Albermarle Report notes that whilst it is “more challenging and
more comprehensive than it used to be” (p. 57), involvement in physical activity ceases when young people leave school at 15 years of age. This is also confirmed as an issue in the Wolfenden Report (CCPR, 1960, p. 28), wherein the Committee laments the fact that school leavers do not continue to play the games they participated in at school. The belief is that “they resist, and resent, any suggestion that in their new-found freedom they should be ‘done good to’ by anything like an obligatory participation in games”, which leads to the Committee's proposal that post-school provision of games and sports should be viewed as something that needs to be “urgently done” (p. 28). Whilst this alleged working-class youth antipathy might be seen as a clash of class ideologies, perhaps more importantly for this chapter, the Wolfenden Committee’s games/sport recommendations allude to the way in which these physical activities are perceived of and utilised as governance technologies that have the potential to help construct and regulate ‘good’ citizens beyond the school boundaries. Clearly, participating in corporeal practices such as games/sport, with their inherent rules and behavioural codes, facilitates the task of shaping children on a social and moral level. In this manner, sport policy is being discursively constructed to ‘solve’ perceived social ‘problems’, a phenomenon that has been affirmed by scholars who use Foucauldian approaches in the sport context (see Green, 2007; Österlind & Wright, 2014; Svender, Larsson, & Redelius, 2012).

Once young people leave the confines of school, both the Albermarle Report and the Wolfenden Report illuminate the need for their continued regulation; this is made possible through what Rose (1999, p. 5) refers to as “multiple circuits of power, connecting a diversity of authorities and forces, within a whole variety of complex assemblages”. Within this particular context, the ‘assemblage’ essentially constitutes the education (Albermarle Report) and Youth Service sectors. However, the sports lobby and the CCPR, as well as the authority behind the latter, also form an integral part of this governance network. As already discussed, the Albermarle Report explicitly advocates alliances between education and Youth Service sectors in order to reduce the potential gap in provision for young people’s physical needs.
beyond the age of 15 years (p. 57). Taking into consideration that this same report highlighted an upward surge in offences for 14-20 year olds (see pp. 16-17), it is understandable why an intervention focus is aimed towards this specific age group. Notably, one of the key intervention recommendations in the report is for the “practical encouragement” of youth-focused physical recreation:

by recognising the contribution which can be made both by established sports clubs and by informally organised specialist groups... We hope that governing bodies of sport and clubs themselves will encourage the formation of junior sections for young people aged 14-20, whatever their abilities (pp. 58-59).

As well as illuminating the web of sport and club partnerships that criss-cross and support one another in their governing endeavour, the social variable of age should be duly noted here. Indeed, it should be recognised that constructing/regulating young people's characters through corporeal regimes (research question 2) is a persistent discourse in these particular forms of evidence.

**Tensions between competition and collaboration in the increasing responsibilisation of school children**

During the above exploration of the selected documents, participation in physical education and sport has been shown to be a way in which some consider an individual’s character might be regulated. Notwithstanding this, some of the tensions have been exposed between the rationality of competition in sports policies of this era and the more play-based and child-centred pedagogies that dominate the sole physical education syllabus of this epoch. The latter have been shown to indicate the emergence of governmentality in the school context. This interplay of rationalities also becomes evident in other reports that were authored during the 1950s and 1960s. For example, the Crowther Report (Ministry of Education, 1959) was written just one year before the surge of interest in competitive sports and games at policy level. This document recommended the raising of the school leaving age to 16 and compulsory part-time education in county colleges up to 18. Although both these measures were provided for in the Education
Act of 1944, neither had been brought into operation 15 years later. In the Crowther Report there is recognition of young school leavers being “at a highly impressionable age, with their characters still being formed and, except in rare instances, with their minds still capable of considerable development” (p. 3). In accordance with this, the report subsequently affirms the importance of developing a child’s character within the school context: “The proper concern in the school years should be the development of the pupil’s brain and character” (p. 263). Moreover, there are implicit suggestions herein that some of the technologies for helping to develop character in young people might include games/physical education. Indeed, it is proposed that when a student enters 6th form (years 12 and 13), a portion of their time involved in non-specialist subjects should be devoted to what the report terms “organised games and physical education” (p. 257).

The Plowden Report (Department of Education and Science [DES], 1967) is somewhat more precise about the effect that games have on a student’s character, commenting that “We hope that the approach to games training will emphasise the essential nature of the game and the true spirit of play. The establishment of sound attitudes is important from the start” (p. 258). This indicates that both girls and boys should be given a firm foundation in social skills through games, which will lead to the betterment of their comprehension of fair play. The Plowden Report derived from the first comprehensive review of primary education for more than thirty years, and it is maintained that progressivism was finally “endorsed and legitimised” through its contents and recommendations (Alexander, 2000, p. 139). In effect, the Plowden Committee’s proposals “represented the zenith of the beneficial influence of ‘child-centred’ education both in terms of official orthodoxy and professional practice” (Richards, 1999, p. 7). It epitomised a period of creativity and optimism in education, and was firmly based in Piagetian theory\(^\text{18}\) (Halsey & Sylva, 1987). In

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\(^{18}\) Jean Piaget (1896-1980) was a Swiss psychologist known for his work on child development. He is considered to be a constructivist, believing that young children actively construct their own knowledge and meaning from their experiences. Indeed, children are understood to have self-generated interests and beliefs that motivate them to continually advance their learning in response to environmental influences (see Piaget, 1923/2002; Pound, 2011; Pritchard, 2009).
accordance with all of this, children were to become agents of their own learning, with activity and direct experiences promoted as the most effective means for them to acquire knowledge. Interestingly, when discussing the notion of competition per se, the report explains that in the upper primary school years, children learn “how to play and live in cooperation and competition” in their peer groups (p. 259), illuminating the relationship that these two are viewed as sharing. In addition, although “Competition clearly has a place” in physical education, there is a warning that “it can be overdone and we think it sometimes is, in the form of inter-school leagues and championships” (p. 259). Likewise, the Albermarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960, pp. 61-62) promotes sport and team games for young people to help regulate them, but it concurrently warns against competition because “it can discourage the keen but ineffective performer”. It would seem from this that competition is therefore viewed as somewhat Janus-headed, which highlights the connections and conflicts that exist between the rationality of competition and other emerging discourses during this epoch such as child-centred pedagogy. Such progressivist discourses, as mentioned earlier, appear to herald a departure from disciplinary power and a shift towards governmentality within the school context, just as the former power modality begins to emerge in the sports policy arena. These kinds of interconnections and intersections between power forms are noteworthy, since they help to shed light on the disentanglement of curriculum and sports policy during this epoch.

Eight years prior to the Plowden Report, there is evidence of such child-centred discourses, in the report entitled Primary education. Suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others concerned with the work of primary schools (DES, 1959). Indeed, this report wholeheartedly supports the 1952-1953 child-centred physical education syllabus discourses when it comments that “The kind of physical education provided, while it depends partly upon the facilities available, rests in the main upon the teachers’ discernment of the children’s needs” (p. 133). A little later in the report, pre-war physical education teaching methods are recalled and contrasted with contemporary ones that place the child at the centre of the learning
process. However, it is acknowledged that traces of the former still remain in 1950s pedagogy:

In teaching there are times when the teacher directly sets the pace; in the past, when most movements were performed to command and in unison, the pace was set by the teacher nearly all the time; but exploration, invention and creation all take time... otherwise they [children] cannot try out new ways of doing things, or work out an idea. For example, many teachers allow children time to climb freely, with astonishing results, but when it comes, for example to leaping or playing with balls, they are too eager to show how ‘it’ should be done (p. 134).

In terms of competition, it is explained that “Children get great pleasure from beating their own previous achievements and the teacher’s task is to establish the climate of opinion and expectation in which everybody does his [sic] best” (p. 60). This alludes to the government of freedom discussed earlier in the physical education syllabus, whereby child-centred pedagogy emerged and children were steered to self-govern through the monitoring of their own scholastic achievements and the setting of personal goals. In effect, this ushers in technologies of responsibilisation whereby citizens are shaped and steered according to public objectives for good order of the social body (see Rose, 1999). The importance of developing a child’s character within the school context in order that they can develop into self-regulated citizens has been identified as a critical aspect of several previous reports, with the Crowther Report (Ministry of Education, 1959), in particular, viewing the school as a major socialisation technology.

Interestingly, the Plowden Report goes on to advocate that in the primary school context young children are only just learning how to cooperate, thus competitions in which praise or blame is meted out according to superiority over others are inappropriate. To overemphasise competition is to run the risk both of disheartening the unsuccessful and of making the winners unpleasantly cocksure or anxious about maintaining their position (p. 60).

At first sight, examples such as this merely appear to validate the core focus of the report to be child-centred in nature, and in so doing competition seems to have been demoted. However, on closer examination this negative framing of competition highlights the potential adverse effects that engagement in competition can have on
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character formation. Ironically, this exposes the report’s underlying contention that character can be shaped through competition, even if the attributes it allegedly promotes are deemed undesirable. Similarly, when discussing physical education per se, the *Primary education* (DES, 1959) report circumnavigates the issue of competition, focusing on the importance of fostering exploration and creativity during the learning process. Clearly, this is congruent with physical education discourses that underpin the only syllabus change that took place in this selected epoch. Taking these examples into account, it might be proposed that education, and more specifically physical education, are a means of responsibilising children’s learning and concomitantly reducing direct supervision and control. Rose (1999, p. 191) appears to confirm the importance of this schooling process, when he talks of it involving “practices and techniques of citizen formation”. However, for the purposes of this particular chapter section, it is the regulation of character that subsequently merits further discussion, as this has begun to evolve as something of significance in the current documents during the analysis process.

The above chapter section has considered the ways in which physical education and sport have been utilised as technologies to help construct and regulate young people’s character. During this process, collaboration has been shown to be of importance, together with the increasing responsibilisation of children through the school curriculum. This has confirmed how the school is “a very important locus for the elaboration of the norms of freedom” (Rose, 1999, p. 76), with discourses in physical education curriculum documents clearly steering students to assume social responsibility and begin to self-govern from an early age. Interestingly, alongside these curriculum developments, an upsurge in competition discourses within sport policies has been illuminated during this epoch, following the post-war shift from drill to competitive team games. The ensuing intensification of ruling authorities’ interest in youth sport now needs to be examined in more depth, since this is indicative of the way in which competition begins to assume greater significance than collaboration.
**Competitive team games and the construction of national identity**

It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that physical education and sport are conceived as technologies by ruling authorities, helping to build a sense of unified national identity and commonality amongst citizens in England. Kirk (1992) comments that the reconstruction of ‘orthodox’ physical education after the war to include more competitive team games and move away from drill paralleled the cultural renewal that was taking place in post-war Britain. Team games, once the reserve of the private schools only, were now available to all and national identity through these games could begin to be nurtured. Indeed, physical education might be used as a core technology to foster social cohesion, which could potentially support the nation in competing within international markets. Furthermore, physical education could become a breeding ground for future international sports stars:

> In this respect, physical education in schools came to be viewed as an important site for the production of national pride and identity, as the beginning point in the creation of champion sports performers, and at the same time a means of imbuing nationalism in all children, stars or otherwise (Kirk, 1992, p. 50).

This emergence of elitism in sport is an important one to note when taking the previous chapters of this study into consideration. In particular, it was argued in Chapter 5 that elitism began to overshadow the former community sport focus towards the end of the 1980s. This increasing attention that was being paid to high performance sport, prolonged medal-winning performances at the highest level, and related elitist discourses was aligned with the responsibilised and entrepreneurial individual gaining greater importance during the final decade of the selected epoch. Adopting a genealogical approach in this study helps to illuminate how elitist discourses such as this could also be connected, earlier on in the twentieth century (in this chapter), to the construction of national identity. In general, this emphasises the way in which discourses emerge, shift and converge across and between the four selected epochs in this study. More particularly,
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however, it also reveals how elite sporting success can become a valuable technology for constructing and steering authorities’ non-sporting objectives and corporeal governance.

Competitive team sports: exploring the interplay between social cohesion and national identity
In respect of the construction of national identity and the assumed social cohesion that is possible through competitive team sports, there is one key policy in which this phenomenon might be readily observed. Indeed, in the previously cited Wolfenden Report (CCPR, 1960), national identity is viewed as arising from “the traditional British love of sport... it [the attitude] is one in which we can legitimately take some pride” (p. 6). This is reiterated at a later point in the report when it is claimed that “ideals of sportsmanship [sic] occupy... our national habits of thought and behaviour” (p. 23). Interestingly, this “sportsmanship” that is alleged to be a British trait is associated with a better quality of communal life; thus, it might be surmised that the individual sports player is regulated via social means through competitive team games to conform “to decent living together in society” (p. 6). Certainly, there is a perception that “a loyalty... grows from a shared competitive enterprise” (pp. 5-6). Earlier in this chapter, this same statement was used to highlight a connection between sport and character building in its players, but it could also indicate the way in which social cohesiveness (alias “loyalty” to the team) is purported to be cultivated through competitive games. A further example of this social unification discourse can be found when the Wolfenden Report discusses the elite sportsperson, known as the “outstanding boy or girl, of really high-level performance”; these young sports stars “present to the ordinary performer a standard of achievement that is beneficial of all [emphasis added]” (pp. 7-8). The aforementioned Planning for sport report (Sports Council, 1968) outlines further reasons why women and men are attracted to sport and physical recreation, citing “physical challenge” and a “sense of achievement”, to name but a few (p. 14). Above all, however, sport and physical recreation are considered to be “essentially social
activities”, since “it is the friendship and companionship found in them [sport and physical recreation] which is their main attraction for many people” (p. 14). Hence, “Provision for sport and physical recreation is... [deemed to be] a vital part of community life” (p. 14). To all intents and purposes, these examples connect the individual with the team, and in turn the team with the community/society. As such, it is proposed that through the technologies of games and sport “a measure of commitment to a set of shared values, norms and meanings, and a shared history and identity” (Rose, 1999, p. 172) is believed to be possible. This facilitates the governance of autonomous individuals in the competitive team context where they experience a type of regulated freedom that was illuminated in former chapters of this study. Indeed, Rose (1999, p. 172) comments that “it is through the political objectification and instrumentalisation of this community and its ‘culture’ [in this instance, the competitive team context] that government is to be re-invented [emphasis in original]”.

**Ruling authorities’ growing interest in elitism and sporting success in international competitions**

The examples illustrated above highlight each of the respective reports’ concerns with the social development of young people through competitive sports and games, which is underpinned by discourse about the need for a cohesive community and, concomitantly, a unified nation. Interestingly, on reading a number of the selected documents from this epoch in more depth, such discourses become dominated by a somewhat narrower concern for the production of the next generation of elite athletes. However, the emphasis on elite athletes remains intimately linked to this chapter section’s broader focus on the construction of national identity through social means and is therefore pertinent. Indeed, elitist discourses are both important to understand and to trace across time for reasons outlined earlier in this chapter section. Taking this into account, it should be noted at this point that during the 1950s higher levels of government involvement by sports advocates were demanded to improve British elite sport. Indeed, Houlihan (1991, p. 27) comments that during the 1950s and early 1960s there was “a growing interest in the pursuit
of excellence [which was] partly due to Britain’s early decline in international competition, and partly due to the early sporting successes for the systematic planning of East Germany and the Soviet Union”. This is corroborated by other scholars, who argue that “English sporting administrators felt threatened by the growing power of both America and the communist countries in international sport” (Whannel, 1983, p. 90) at this time. This post-war phenomenon followed a period from the nineteenth century and into the first half of the twentieth century when the development of sport and Government’s role in relation to this was both disjointed and informal (see Coghlan & Webb, 1990; Houlihan, 1991, 1997). However, as explained earlier in this chapter, there was a change of government from Conservative to Labour in 1964. This led to shifts in sports policy and resulted in the formation of a Sports Council in 1965 to serve Government vis-à-vis matters concerning the development of amateur sport and physical recreation. This did not so much reflect a particular Government interest in sport and recreation; rather, it was connected to the Labour party’s motivation to expand the parameters of the welfare state from education, health and housing to community services such as sport. Of course, this is something that has already been explored in depth throughout the course of Chapter 5. However, it should be noted that Government involvement was also due to the successful application of pressure by the sport lobby in which the CCPR was a primary organisation (see Houlihan & White, 2002).

It was between 1964 and 1971 that the Council of Europe formally adopted the term and the policy ‘sport for all’. In accordance with this, and the ‘declaration of principle’, it was affirmed that all institutions had a responsibility for helping all citizens to understand the meaning of sport and to engage in it throughout their lives (McIntosh & Charlton, 1985). At the time, the Government in England supported this proposal and accepted ‘sport for all’ as one of several aims for its own sport policy, although tensions between this and elitism were highlighted in the preceding chapter and will warrant further exploration here. According to Green and Houlihan (2005, pp. 51-52) Government intervention was stimulated and shaped by three factors, the third of which comprised “the realisation that state-funded sport could
help to improve Britain’s international sporting achievements”. This highlights how construction of national identity might be possible through elite competition in a growing age of international competition. Indeed, “success in international sport could compensate for declining influence in the world economic, political and military spheres” (Kirk, 1992, p. 100). This seems to fit with previously mentioned relations in this chapter between the new international competitiveness (trade), and the need to be competitive in education, which essentially complements the simultaneous rise of competition in physical education and sport contexts. In this manner, “school and community physical education and recreation” became an integral part of “the State’s sphere of influence and the service of ‘the national interest’” (Kirk, 1992, p. 99). Indeed, on closer examination of the Wolfenden Report (1960), one of its main recommendations was that a Sports Development Council (SDC) should be launched and supported by a Government grant that would be dispersed amongst governing bodies of sport and additional organisations such as the CCPR and the British Olympic Association (pp. 57-59). This structural change enabled a broader focus on adult sport and recreation as well as international elements of sport. When sport in other countries is discussed in the report it is here that England’s international standing might be better understood. In particular, the report acknowledges that many countries have more coordinated and collaborative approaches between their respective sports bodies than England. It is also recognised that in some of these countries “national prestige is directly related to the degree of success achieved in national and international sporting events” (p. 23). Whilst there is no specific reference to the Wolfenden Committee’s support for such nationalistic fervour, it should be remembered that the CCPR set up the Wolfenden Committee in 1957 and prior to that it was largely responsible for post-war reconstruction. Accordingly, during the late 1940s and 1950s its most significant achievement was the establishment of seven National Recreational Centres, with their primary responsibility being “to raise standards at the highest levels to boost British chances in international competition” (Whannel, 1983, p. 90). It might therefore come as no surprise to learn that the Wolfenden Committee recommended overseas visits by voluntary and statutory bodies in England to learn
about the planning, infrastructure and usage of sports facilities elsewhere (p. 23). This internationally-focused objective highlights the Committee’s priority to improve the status of competitive sport in England, and thereby raise its international profile. It also illustrates how policymakers such as the Wolfenden Committee worked together to advance the emergence of elite competitive sport through “governmental networks” (Rose & Miller, 2008, p. 70).

**Competitive sports and games: the emergence of ‘traditional’ physical education**

Perhaps one of the main differences between other international sport systems and the England’s sporting infrastructure during this post-war period is that in the latter there are strong connections between sport and the education system. This is confirmed as valuable by the Wolfenden Committee: “it is important to remember that the British system – especially the system of linking sport closely with school and education – has considerable merits” (CCPR, 1960, p. 44). Indeed, the report outlines the way in which games are included in the physical education programme for all children via “inter-house teams, inter-form teams or teams from other intra-school subdivisions” (p. 44). As such, “very many children (in some schools all) play games regularly and the healthy tolerance of moderate standards of performance which is part of our games-playing tradition is nourished” (p. 44). This statement reinforces how competitive sports and games were embedded within physical education from an early age at school level across this epoch, and how they came to be perceived as “traditional” elements of the curriculum. It also affirms the work of other scholars (see Kirk, 1992, p. 84) who recognise how competitive team sports became “traditional physical education for everyone” during this post-war era. Indeed, these physical activities developed into the preferred form of physical education for the new mass secondary schools, designed as they were to help construct group solidarity and, more generally, national identity. Houlihan and White (2002, p. 15) verify the “importance of an early introduction to competitive games if sport was to fulfil the role of restoring Britain’s flagging international prestige”. In terms of elitism per se, emphasis on the need for high levels of
performance and skills in the competitive school games context signifies how these are considered transferable to the adult international sport context (see CCPR, 1960, pp. 44-45). However, critical to this school-adult athlete development process are high quality sports coaches/teachers/leaders who can hone students’ competitive performances across several years. A network of sport specialists is therefore recommended by the Wolfenden Committee, involving “Experienced leaders, with the natural authority that comes from them being seen as masters of their craft” (p. 51). What is more, a melange of “physical education specialists, outstanding practical exponents of the sport and those concerned with the general processes of education” (pp. 46-47) is advocated.

The importance of elite athletes being involved in the recommended set-up of a national coaching scheme is reiterated at a later point in the report too: “coaches should be individuals who have experienced top-class competition” (p. 47). Interestingly, it is indicated that these same coaches should also have some form of academic or professional training in physical education, although exceptions to this rule are permitted (p. 47). In this particular instance then, elitist sport development within physical education is apparent, but there appears to be a higher priority placed on the former. It should be remembered here that the phenomenon of elite sportspeople being employed by ruling authorities was discussed in Chapter 5; however, in that particular context they were used as potential motivating and regulatory mechanisms for the general population’s physical activity levels. Although elite sportspeople are operating differently in their roles as governance agents across these two epochs, their ‘expertise’ is clearly deployed in the service of ruling authorities’ diverse strategies of control. Nonetheless, these ‘experts’ simultaneously have the capacity to influence the aspirations of individuals and populations at what Rose (1999, p. 92) calls a “molecular” level, in which “a norm implanted ‘from above’… can be ‘repossessed’ as a demand that citizens, consumers, survivors make of authorities in the name of their rights, their autonomy, their freedom”. This illuminates the capillary-like, dispersed and pervasive nature of
power (Foucault, 1977a) with elite sportspeople’s engagement during these time periods.

**Competitive team sports as national identity symbols and residues of colonial power**

When discussing the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games, the construction of national identity through competitive sport again becomes apparent in the Wolfenden Report (CCPR, 1960). Indeed, the Committee declare that “The country has cause for pride in the quality of our representation and in the efficiency of the arrangements for equipping, transporting and managing our national teams” (p. 58). Nevertheless, there is a comparison made between the financial limitations of the British Olympic Association and other countries where sport is generously subsidised by the state; this is reminiscent of the point made above that England seemed to be positioning itself in relation to other nations via the technology of sport and international competition through policy documents such as the Wolfenden Report. When international sport is discussed a little later in the report, the fostering of national identity through sport arises once more when it is maintained that “International sport offers healthy channels along which emotions of group loyalty can be directed [emphasis added]” (pp. 72-73). International sport is thereby conceived of as “a force for good... it affects our outlook on other nations and races [emphasis added]” (pp. 72-73). The use of the collective pronoun “our” is noteworthy here, since it implies homogenous views are able to be cultivated towards non-British people through participation in international sport. In this manner, international sport seems to take on an instrumental role that seeks to simultaneously unify the general population and construct national identity. This phenomenon can be observed again in the following declaration: “Naturally the public is pleased by national success; the public has normally expected it, since so many sports and games originated in this country and were later adopted abroad” (p. 73). What is particularly interesting here is the implicit reference to the British Empire as the originator of sports/games; this is a reminder of the nation’s former ‘glory’ as a coloniser of many different countries. In the report *Raising the game*
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(DNH, 1995, p. 2) that was analysed in Chapter 5 (1970-1998), John Major (the then Prime Minister) validated the central status of sport and games for the nation in a very similar way, declaring that “Sport is a central part of Britain’s National Heritage. We invented the majority of the world's great sports. And most of those we did not invent, we codified and helped to popularise throughout the world”. The Wolfenden statement also reminds the reader of the ways in which British competitive games were introduced to the colonies, which other scholars such as Perkin (1989, p. 148) confirm: “wherever they [the British] went throughout the world, they took their games and social attitudes with them. Team games like cricket and rugby were ideal for keeping fit and holding the white community together in distant climes”. Evidently, competitive team games and sport have national symbolic significance within these various discourses highlighted, for they are seen to be intimately tied with England’s historical power, whilst helping to support and extend this through their assumed nation-building potential.

One of the most explicit references in relation to how competitive sports can help construct, and indeed enhance, England’s national identity is made when the Wolfenden Committee remark:

> It is clearly true that national prestige is to some degree involved in international [sports] contexts. If it were not, they would lose a good deal of their point; and it is a perfectly proper form of patriotism to want to win them (p. 73).

Notwithstanding this, the Committee comments that there is a need for moderation in regard to how England’s reputation might be adversely affected by a loss in the international sporting context: “It is not the end of the world if British teams are defeated, still less is it a symptom or proof of national decadence” (p. 73). In this sense, it would appear that there is an implicit allusion to the concept of “fair play” that the Plowden Report (DES, 1967) advocated earlier in this chapter. Indeed, a little later in the Wolfenden Report fair play becomes much more discernible when discussing international competitive sports and possible defeat: “we do believe that on grounds of prestige alone it is better to lose gracefully and good-humouredly than to win by sharp practice or unsportsmanlike [sic] conduct” (p. 74). Interestingly, a
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link between England’s prestige in the international sports arena and an athlete’s sense of discipline is made when the notion of fair play is further elaborated upon, with the committee emphasising the need for “Qualities of character, in addition to the highest technical skill” (p. 74). Indeed, athletes are described as having a responsibility towards their team and their nation. Discipline and self-discipline are deemed to be critical to this role, since they have an effect on “a country’s prestige and... the health of international sport more generally” (p. 74). This is akin to Rose and Miller’s (2008, p. 203) contention that there is a “disciplinary logic” to self-regulation, with “forms of self-mastery... and self-control” viewed as “necessary to govern a nation now made up of free and ‘civilised’ citizens”. This can be related to some of the key sport discourses discussed in Chapter 4, thereby offering an insight into the emergence of disciplinary power through the technology of sport. In the Wolfenden Report, sport is used as a technology for constructing/regulating character, and creating champion sports performers in an endeavour to help create and unify a post-war nation. Conversely, in contemporary times (Chapter 4), discipline was shown to complement healthism as a way of governing in physical education, helping to foster the self-regulated individual.

Tensions between elite sport and ‘sport for all’

When discussing various issues in the world of elite sport, the Wolfenden Committee reflected on the rising standards at international competition level, and the pressures that athletes were placed under to engage in intensive training. This led the Committee to conclude that elite performers required some form of subsidy for their equipment and travel expenses, but that this should be closely scrutinised. A review of the purposes and interests of sport, as well as “considerations of national prestige” were regarded as critical to this examination process (CCPR, 1960, p. 76). Interestingly, there is some contradiction evident during this contemplation of national standing, as subsequently, there are positive comments made about international sport/games events “in which no national prestige is involved”, with “Teams from schools, youth clubs, universities, factories and offices” venturing abroad (p. 76). This endorsement of sport/games opportunities for the ‘everyday’
sports participant illuminates some of the tensions already mentioned in this chapter and the preceding chapter vis-à-vis the ‘sport for all’ campaign. Herein, it was observed that the ‘sport for all’ campaign was primarily directed towards specific social groups such as working-class males, and consequently neither as universal nor as inclusive as it professed to be. Furthermore, although the campaign purported social inclusion and social regeneration properties, the analysis of selected documents reveals that these were increasingly superseded by its use as a technology for talent identification and elite athlete development during the latter half of the selected epoch (1970-1998). This conforms to other scholars’ claims that “Over the last 40 years at least there has been an increasing awareness among governments of the value of elite sporting success” (Green & Houlihan, 2005, p. 1). Clearly, references to elitism across the different epochs in this study are important to recognise, for they help to demonstrate how history can be used as a means of critical engagement with the present. Indeed, a prevalent contemporary discourse such as elitism might be conceived of as a provocation from which to question the past in new ways. In terms of this specific study, it has been shown that elitism is an integral part of the rise of competition as a rationality within sports policy, and it has been used as a tool to enhance Britain’s national identity and declining international reputation. This therefore seems to be a discourse that slightly differs from, but intersects with, the elitism discourse in the previous chapter of this study, where elitism was aligned with the emergence of the responsibilised and entrepreneurial individual from the late 1980s onwards.

In this final chapter section, it is demonstrated that there was an increasing interest in the pursuit of excellence in sport from the 1960s onwards following the publication of the Wolfenden Report (CCPR, 1960). This particular form of evidence has therefore surfaced as a pivotal document through which to reveal how the technology of competitive team sport has been used to help construct national identity via social means after the economic depression and the Second World War. In so doing, it has become apparent that elitism discourses have been reworked within sport policy, effectively shifting and transforming in relation to socio-
political needs. Indeed, the Wolfenden Report heralded a burgeoning interest in youth sport by ruling authorities, which has helped to illuminate how competition became more significant than collaboration towards the latter half of this era in the realm of sport policy. Interestingly, curriculum changes in physical education did not follow suit, since the focus here was on child-centred pedagogy, with the individual being responsibilised to self-govern. Evidently, this surfaced as a dominant discourse in the physical education curriculum documents from this epoch, despite policymakers' widespread recommendations for a more ‘traditional’ approach involving competitive sports and games (see CCPR, 1960).

**Conclusion**

Throughout this chapter, competition has been shown to be “an historical objective of governmental art and not a natural given that must be respected” (Foucault, 2008, p. 120). Notwithstanding this, whilst its persistence has been revealed once again in this post-war period, the rationality of competition is used in a rather different way than in the two previous epochs. Notably, two key aspects develop in relation to the increasing significance of competitive sports and games during this time: the construction of character, and the construction of national identity in social ways. In the course of exploring the former, it was argued that competition emerged as a means to both construct and regulate character particularly in young, working-class males. These types of character-focused discourses in the selected documents revealed an assemblage of rationalities, including responsibilisation, progressivism, and collaboration, which have led to particular forms of governing becoming evident in the technologies of physical education and sport (research question 1). Some of these forms of governing have been revealed through the assumptions that were made within the physical education and sport documents about the ways in which bourgeois-derived competitive sports and games can positively influence a player’s character formation and self-regulation; specific attributes such as loyalty, self-discipline and self-reliance were singled out as desirable and achievable. Moreover, physical education is shown to be a means of responsibilising children’s learning
behaviours, thereby concurrently reducing direct regulation and control. An increasing interest in youth sport by ruling authorities for character-oriented reasons has also helped to illuminate a significant shift from drill to competitive team games in the physical education and sport context. These activities quickly came to be accepted as ‘traditional’ physical education in state schools (Kirk, 1992), highlighting a pedagogical transformation that has been confirmed elsewhere:

The period from the early 1930s to the late 1960s was one of redefinition of PE [physical education] and also marked the transition of school physical activity from a form of drill and physical training to a recognised subject within the school curriculum (Houlihan & White, 2002, p. 15).

However, in this chapter, tensions between school and policy contexts are perceptible, with collaboration ascending in the former and children being responsibilised through the technology of physical education. This latter phenomenon signals a change from disciplinary power to governmentality in the post-war educational context, indicating that children were being guided to self-govern from an early age. As such, it seems to complement dominant rationalities of individualism that developed through self-regulation and personal responsibility during the two preceding epochs discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Hence, although competition has become increasingly significant in sports policy across this epoch, and other scholars (see Kirk, 1992) have claimed that there is a recurrent post-war rise in competitive sports and games in physical education, this has not been ratified. Rather, the sole physical education syllabus change during this 23-year epoch exposed ongoing tensions between competition and collaboration in the school and policy context, along with the emergence of self-regulation discourses. Furthermore, Kirk’s (1992, p. 96) gender- and class-based contentions that the promotion of competitive games and sports was “a means of enhancing the status of male physical educators” and championing a bourgeois tradition are not evident from physical education documents of this era. This chapter instead highlights that gender and class concerns in post-war physical education are not as prevalent as other scholars have argued. In effect, by using a different theoretical lens, other concerns and issues that are equally important for educational scholars
to take into account have been laid bare, particularly vis-à-vis the intertwining of collaboration discourses with competition discourses. Furthermore, this chapter concurrently exposes traces of self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses much earlier than some believe to be the case, effectively building on governmentality theory since this does not contemplate governance of the body in the educational and broader societal context (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999). Thus, competition is not as dominant as it initially appears to be across this entire epoch, particularly when it comes to the physical education milieu. Instead, it grows in significance, notably from 1960 onwards, but it develops alongside prevailing collaboration and self-governing discourses in the educational sector.

The second form of governance that arises in this chapter involves the construction of a post-war national identity through the potentially unifying technology of competitive sport. Following an in-depth analysis of one particular report (the Wolfenden Report, CCPR, 1960) the possibility of cultivating a cohesive community and a unified nation through sport became apparent. Indeed, it was shown that by working in collaboration with the Wolfenden Committee, ruling authorities sought to build a sense of national identity and commonality amongst citizens in England. This effectively illustrates how policymakers formed a network of governance to aid and advance the emergence of competitive, elite sport. In accordance with this, England was seen to be jostling for a position within the international competitive sports arena, drawing on competitive team games and sport with their national symbolic significance as technologies to bolster the nation-building process. Notwithstanding this, in the educational context, there was no evidence of national identity being fostered through curriculum content. Analysis of the physical education documents merely served to reinforce the relationships and tensions that existed between the rationality of competition and more dominant collaborative, child-centred discourses during this time. This again shows discursive incongruences and tensions between the school and sports policy context.
The ensuing, and final, analysis chapter examines the emergence of rationalities and technologies of governing in physical education in England from 1902 to 1945. Analysing this war-dominated epoch through a genealogical lens helps to formulate a 'history of the present' (Foucault, 1977). It is subsequently argued that differentiation came to be one of the main governing priorities for physical education, enabling ruling authorities to manage and regulate the problem of working-class poverty and its associated concerns such as child health and personal morality/character development. As a corporeal technology, physical education was also constructed to help achieve national efficiency aims.
Chapter 7: How the working classes contributed to national efficiency through the technology of physical training (physical education) (1902–1945)

Introduction

In the three previous analysis chapters, a number of governmental rationalities such as healthism (Chapter 4), self-regulation (Chapter 5), and competition (Chapter 6) have been established as significant within the selected physical education and sport documents. The rationality of competition, in particular, was shown to underpin physical education pedagogy and national sport policy across all three epochs that were examined. However, additional rationalities such as collaboration and progressivism have arisen and have intersected with competition during this time, sometimes contrasting and at other times complementing it in terms of its respective governance role in physical education and sport. Interestingly, whilst there are allusions to social distinctions such as gender and class across the sixty years that have been analysed, these have not proven to be central beyond the regulation of young working-class men through physical education and sport. This regulation emerged somewhat strongly following the Second World War, but in general, gender and class variables have been displaced – or merely proven to be less significant - than the dominant discourses of self-regulation and personal responsibility. Notwithstanding this, class does feature more strongly during the period 1902 to 1945, which is the focus of this chapter, and gender follows suit on occasions. However, gender does not comprise a significant discursive focus during the epoch, perhaps because the prevailing discourse of national efficiency was based on a rationality of class-based differentiation. In particular, the physical education syllabuses are predominantly designed for working-class children in state schools, and the working-class female is regularly expected to conform to the working-class male prototype that is presented in the earlier syllabuses especially. This ‘natural order of things’ during this historical epoch appears to be underpinned by the implicit belief that the working classes needed a different form of physical training
from the ruling classes, and that variances between females and males were biologically determined and thereby immutable (see Chapter 2). Hence, the primary emphasis in this chapter is the rationality of differentiation and how it came to be one of the main governing priorities for physical education and sport. In essence, differentiation involves the ways in which students were educated according to their respective social distinctions, especially class and gender; this permitted diagnosis and steering of their conduct in associated ways, enabling better management of the differentiated population. Thus, competition appears to have been less important in this epoch, but as will be subsequently shown, its presence can still be traced at various points in this first half of the twentieth century.

More specifically, this chapter reveals the ways in which the rationality of differentiation filtered into physical education in state schools and sport/health policies more generally. Kirk (1994, p. 479) maintains that the school “operated as a differentiating space [during the early twentieth century period]. In the classroom, differentiation was evident in the spatial distribution of pupils, allowing close supervision by the teacher”. These kinds of differentiation mechanisms enabled a student’s body to be constructed and regulated in the physical education context too. Differentiation techniques in the school context serve to highlight the core problematisation in this chapter: how might it be possible to manage and regulate the problem of working-class poverty and its associated concerns such as child health and personal morality/character development through the technology of physical education; and how might this corporeal technology be constructed to help achieve national efficiency aims? Notably, this implicitly connects with Chapter 6’s partial emphasis on the deployment of competitive team games and sport as technologies to fortify the nation-building process after the Second World War. The national efficiency movement is discussed in more depth at a later point in this chapter, but for now it should be mentioned that in parallel with this, physical education was gradually developed into a central supporting technology over several decades in elementary state schools where working-class children were educated. In regard to the specific research questions underpinning this thesis, an
Chapter 7: How the working classes contributed to national efficiency through the technology of physical training (physical education) (1902–1945)

The socio-political context during this selected epoch

At the beginning of the twentieth century, approximately thirty percent of people in England were living in a state of chronic poverty (Havighurst, 1985). However, there was a developing understanding during this time of the social problems that accompanied poverty. Certainly, the relationships between standards of health and housing were beginning to be recognised, with some advocates for social change arguing that the height, weight and nutrition of children directly reflected their housing contexts (Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) [RCPTS], 1903). In accordance with this, it has been suggested that “between 1900 and World War I prevailing rates of infant mortality in England became defined by contemporaries as one of the major social problems of the time” (Dyhouse, 1978, p. 248). What was clearly irrefutable was the correlation between high infant mortality rates and high-density urban living. More generally speaking, overcrowding was tied to insanitary housing conditions and concomitant increases in disease, violence and abuse (Jones, 1994). Overcrowding was also claimed to be connected with immoral behaviours such as drunkenness, sexual immorality and crime (Finlayson, 1994). Indeed, some commentators and social reformers in the
early twentieth century “feared that the huddled urban masses posed a threat to the moral fibre of society and to social and political stability” (Jones, 1994, p. 8). This link between working-class misfortunes and morality is important to examine further in the forms of evidence, for it appears to align particularly well with the emergence of the ‘moral individual’ in Chapter 5, where regulation of young working-class males features strongly.

Three years before this chapter’s epoch began, the Boer War took place from 1899 to 1902, which influenced a number of subsequent health and education policies. The military setbacks that England had suffered during this war illuminated military and Government inefficiency, as well as the high number of recruits who were physically unfit. In 1901, nearly eighty percent of the population of England and Wales lived in towns, which were viewed as unhealthy environments where poverty and occupants’ physical deterioration were common (Hennock, 1994). These urban problems had already been documented in the latter half of the 19th century, but “Britain’s newly perceived international position meant that they were seen in a new and more urgent context” (Finlayson, 1994, p. 117). In tandem with these types of demographic and social issues, the perceived lack of working-class restraint in terms of reproduction, and the concurrent declining birth rate in professional and middle class families, became of urgent national interest: “Thus on the (fallacious) assumption that the working classes were made up of people of weak physique and low intelligence, it logically followed that Britain was breeding a race of degenerates” (Searle, 1971, p. 61). Factors such as these, as well as economic competition with Germany and the United States, led to a Government response in 1904 with the appointment of The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration whose primary remit was to find ways to improve the fitness of the nation (Daunton, 2007). The Committee’s overall conclusions were that the health of large sectors of the urban population was being adversely affected by poverty, ignorance and neglect (Harris, 2004). A series of public health and other social

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19 This was an integral part of the eugenics movement that was prevalent from 1880-1945. In England, eugenics was essentially class-focused (Mazumdar, 1991), comprising “a movement for social betterment clothed in the mantle of modern science” (Wikler, 1999, p. 183).
policies ensued with the change of Government from Conservative to Liberal in 1906; these effectively contributed to the growth of state welfare provision whilst simultaneously seeking to promote national productivity. Hence, a successive range of major legislative reforms heralded a new era in British social policy (see Appendix A). Social reform might also be deemed a technology through which the country’s economic and military competitiveness could be enhanced, while simultaneously supporting women and men since they symbolised “the basic raw material out of which national greatness was constructed” (Searle, 1971, p. 60). Thus, investing in human capital through education and health could help to not only enhance vital skills in the labour market but also increase capitalist efficiency and, in turn, Britain’s imperial power. This national efficiency discourse appears to align with the preceding chapter’s focus on the construction of national identity after the Second World War through the promotion and governance of competitive sport. In accordance with this, ruling authorities sought to build a sense of national identity and commonality amongst citizens in England.

**Differentiation in the educational context: significant educational changes during the selected epoch**

Prior to 1870 there was no national compulsory state education for all children, and elementary education was reliant upon voluntary agencies; primarily the churches, with some funding from central government (van Dalen & Bennett, 1971). When elementary (primary) schools for working-class children aged 5-12 were established via the 1870 Education Act, this change in educational policy principally arose from the desire to develop a literate and numerate workforce (see White, 2008). After the turn of the century, one of the key Acts implemented was the Education Act 1902; also known as the Balfour Act. This was brought to Parliament by a Conservative government and supported by the Church of England. It ended the

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20 Arthur Balfour was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He entered the House of Commons in 1874 as the Conservative MP for Hertford. Balfour replaced his uncle as Prime Minister in 1902. During his 3-year premiership (1902-1905), the 1902 Education Act and the ending of the Boer War (1899-1902) were two significant events that took place.
divide between voluntary schools, which were largely administered by the Church of England, and schools provided and run by elected school boards. In effect, it abolished school boards who had introduced more progressive approaches to education (see Robinson, 2002; Simon, 1977). The state thereby took on full responsibility for the schooling of the working classes when school boards passed their duties to Local Education Authorities (LEAs).

The First World War (1914-1918) heightened many of the acute educational problems that already existed in England, but it also created the conditions for reforms that were designed to improve society (see Lawrence, 1994; Selleck, 1972). Following First World War shortages of teachers and school buildings, attention was once more drawn towards the state of elementary education for the working classes, and the 1918 Education Act (also known as the Fisher Act) ensued. The Act raised the school leaving age to fourteen and sought to expand tertiary education, and provide ancillary services such as medical inspections, nursery schools, and centres for pupils with special needs (Harris, 2004). Fisher himself argued that “the brains and character are qualities which cannot be bound by any social distinction or limitations” (Lowndes, 1969, p. 89), suggesting that a student’s social class should never define them or prove to be a deterrent for their academic success. Ironically, however, there was a clear dividing line between the social classes at this time in terms of where they were educated, since “the children of the masses went to free day schools until the age of 14; [whereas] the children of the privileged went to expensive boarding schools until 13” (Taylor, 1965, p. 171). New hopes for improving state education were raised by the Hadow Report (Board of Education, 1926), which advocated secondary education for all and paved the way for the school-leaving age to be raised to fifteen.

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21 Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher was an English historian, educator, and Liberal politician. He was President of the Board of Education in David Lloyd George’s 1916-1922 coalition government. In this post he was instrumental in the formulation of the 1918 Education Act (see Judge, 2006).

22 Sir Henry Hadow was educated at Malvern School and Worcester College Oxford. He was an educationist, with his most senior position being Vice Chancellor of the University of Sheffield from 1919 to 1930. He chaired the Consultative Committee for six reports between 1923 and 1933.
The above discussion has given an insight into the socio-political context and some of the key educational changes that occurred between 1902 and 1945 in England. In so doing, it lays the foundation for the ensuing analysis of the forms of evidence, illuminating the persistence of class inequalities in particular across this chapter’s time period. Since differentiation is the chapter’s primary focus, it is now important to consider the extent to which these types of issues become apparent in the selected documents, the particular knowledges and power relations underpinning them, how these construct the body in physical education, and whether certain knowledges have been neglected, marginalised or perhaps even actively deprioritised. In this manner, it will be possible to investigate theoretical conjectures such as that of Evans and Davies (2006, p. 796), wherein class and gender are seen as an intrinsic part of the physical education process: “Selections of which knowledge is worthwhile [in physical education] reflect class and other interests, such as gender and race, mediated by relations of power, authority and control”. This will help to form a clearer understanding of both historical and contemporary physical education, with their respective complexities and contingencies.

**The national efficiency movement and the working classes: measuring, testing and recording physical deterioration**

One of the discourses that rises to the fore during the course of this epoch is that of national efficiency. This heterogeneous political rationality “served as a convenient label under which a complex of beliefs, assumptions and demands could be grouped” (Searle, 1971, p. 54). In effect, it sought to raise efficiency levels in all areas of national life, with a particular focus on the working-class population, in an endeavour to retrieve Britain’s former ‘greatness’. The central theme of this national efficiency concern was the supposed link between poverty, social breakdown, economic failure and national decline, and its emergence followed the 1899-1902 Boer War between Great Britain and the two Boer (Afrikaner) republics, where Britain’s military competence and the fitness levels of army recruits were questioned by Government, the War Office and the general public (see McIntosh et
al., 1981; Trippell, 1903). This illuminates the intimate connection between military, class and fitness/health discourses, something which will now be explored further through the selected documents. In effect, the interweaving of these key discourses influenced the development of the national efficiency movement and its significance for the future of Great Britain, since

many people were naturally anxious to re-structure the ‘national life’ and overhaul the machinery of government, to fit Britain more adequately for the Great Power rivalries of the twentieth century23. ‘National Efficiency’ was their diagnosis of what had gone wrong with Britain (Searle, 1971, p. 2).

National efficiency subsequently influenced social reform through a number of policies, which to all intents and purposes became technologies for enhancing the country's economic and military competitiveness. Notably, one of the key objectives of the national efficiency campaign was to raise “the poor and the ignorant... from their impoverishment through government programmes to a position where they could enhance national efficiency” (Funnell, 2004, p. 730). The Report of the inter-departmental committee on physical deterioration (Inter-departmental committee on physical deterioration [IDCPD], 1904a) is one of the first policies to be reviewed in relation to this discourse. However, it comprises one of three early twentieth century Royal Commission reports that were instrumental in terms of directing Government’s attention to the health issues in working-class children and adolescents at school. The RCPTS (1903) initially gave an insight into the poor physical condition of many children in Scotland, highlighting their physical defects, and also the need for medical inspections and the provision of free school meals. The subsequent IDCPD report (1904a) was undertaken to primarily study the physical condition of young males wanting to enrol in the army and it sought to ascertain why so many of them were rejected due to physical causes. Some of this Committee’s recommendations also supported the need for medical inspections and food supplies for school children. The third report, by the Inter-departmental committee on medical inspection and feeding of children attending public elementary schools (1905) validated the two previous reports’ findings and recommendations. As a result of these reports two Acts of Parliament were passed: The Education (Provision

23 Germany and the United States emerged as key competitors at this time (see Funnell, 2004).
of Meals) Act (1906), and Education (Administrative Provisions) Act (1907). In the latter, local education authorities had a duty to provide medical inspection for all children in elementary schools and to make arrangements for treatment of their physical condition. In this manner, the school medical service was firmly established, officially being launched on the 1st January 1908. Physical training concomitantly became a prominent feature of education policy during this period.

The IDCPD (1904a) report has been recognised as a seminal one, in that it “paved the way for the development of a new kind of public health service... [it] lay the foundations for a wide-ranging campaign of health service reform” (Harris, 1995, p. 24). More specifically, the report focuses on the alleged poor health of the body, particularly the working-class person’s body, so it is extremely relevant for this chapter and will therefore be used as a basis from which to analyse how physical education (or physical training as it was then called) was constructed. One of the initial central aspects that arises within this report is the proposal for a system of national anthropometric testing for physical deterioration in the working classes across England, Scotland and Ireland. During this testing process, it is explained that there is a need for “expert direction” and “collaboration with all the Departments of State concerned” (p. 7). Once the “facts” have been collected and tabulated, “Government and the nation at large... [will be furnished] with periodical data for an accurate and comparative estimate of the health and physique of the people [emphasis in original]” (p. 7). This bodily measurement process is discussed in parallel with an anatomist’s work, Professor Cunningham, who claims that “inferior bodily characters which are the result of poverty (and not vice, such as syphilis and alcoholism), and which are therefore acquired during the lifetime of the individual, are not transmissible from one generation to another” (p. 8)24. This leads Cunningham to conclude that by improving living conditions for the working classes, national physique mean standards could be realised within one or two generations. Rose’s (1993) work on expertise is particularly relevant here, since it

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24 Interestingly, Cunningham’s proposals contravene the prevailing eugenics of this era, in which it was commonly believed that undesirable social traits were inherited in the working classes and that they should therefore be discouraged from reproducing.
helps to explain how a variety of professionals such as Cunningham can be invested with authority to act as experts and thereby articulated into the prevailing network of governance. This indicates how “the state of welfare” arises as a new exercise of rule during this early twentieth century period, with experts helping to “tame and govern the undesirable consequences of industrial life, wage labour and urban existence. Expert authority, bound into complex devices of rule, is to re-establish solidarity in a social form” (Rose, 1993, p. 285).

Furthermore, the notion of measuring the body to ascertain its health is an interesting one from a governance perspective, since it indicates the presence of biopower (see Chapter 2). With the enhancement of the lives of the population as its professed aim, biopower involves gleaning knowledge from administrative acts such as the measuring of physical deterioration, and subsequently applying a related norm to the population sectors that require governance (see Dean, 2010; Foucault, 1978; Hacking, 1983). In the “surveyors or measurers” section of the IDCPD report (1904a, p. 9) it is suggested that “surprise visits” should be made to different elementary schools to gather relevant data about the children there. This should include general contextual information about their parentage and living conditions, as well as their height, chest girth, weight, head-length-breadth-height, breadth of shoulders and hips, vision, and degree of pigmentation. Having gained approval from the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons for such national tests to take place at two different ages (to enable comparison and progression to be charted), the IDCPD report affirms the need to begin the process as early as possible in order to gain “authoritative information”, and also use the data gathered as a means to compare working-class children’s health and physique with “various classes of the population” (pp. 10-11). This highlights how the anthropometric testing was differentiated according to class – but not gender – enabling the purported unhealthy working-class children to be evaluated against their more socially privileged counterparts in the future. This kind of number gathering and the related development of ‘norms’ by ruling authorities is often referred to as a governance mechanism (see Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999). In effect, the norm “creates
differences and inequalities in so far as it enables each to be individualised and hierarchically ordered in relation to it” (Dean, 2010, p. 141). The norm therefore becomes a form of regulation and stabilisation, divorced from philosophical or religious values. It “serves as the matrix that transforms the negative restraints of the juridical into the more positive controls of normalisation and helps to produce the generalisation of discipline” (Ewald, 1990, p. 141). In this manner, governance at a distance in the elementary school context is facilitated through the classification and distribution of corporeal data.

Medical inspections and the register of sickness

As well as anthropometric testing, it has already been mentioned that medical inspections were set up in 1907 within the elementary school system as part of a series of social reforms during the early phases of this epoch. This was an important step forward in the history of public health provision, dissolving boundaries between preventive and curative medicine (Lewis, 1986), focusing on the health of the individual rather than improvement of the environment and control of infectious diseases (Frazer, 1950), and it was also an opportunity to develop Government’s statistical services (Szreter, 1991). Furthermore, “the establishment of the school medical service marked a radical redefinition of the role of education authorities and an important stage in the development of state welfare provision” (Harris, 1995, p. 4). From a governance perspective, and in similar ways to the testing procedures explained above, the compulsory medical inspection of working-class elementary school children could be seen as a means of individualisation and differentiation (see Foucault, 1977a), and it is again indicative of normalisation, regulation, and national efficiency practices in operation. Indeed, measuring and documenting processes of working-class children’s health were deemed central to the national efficiency cause, since it was widely believed that “the careful examination and measurement of children’s bodies would lead to more efficient and productive generations of adults, workers, and citizens” (Kirk, 1998, p. 51). The medical inspector’s role was to verify the student’s previous illnesses, assess their general condition and circumstances, examine their nose, ear, throat, eyes and teeth
and their mental capacity (Harris, 1995). More specifically, the IDCPD report (1904a, p. 64) comments that “medical inspection might be utilised to note and check degenerative tendencies” in children who attended “poorer schools”, and thereby serve as a diagnostic health instrument. This illuminates, as hitherto explained, how the working classes were seen as inferior beings, lowering the national efficiency of the country (see Bland, 1982; Jones, 1994).

**Physical training and its contribution to national efficiency**

In the IDCPD report (1904a, p. 64) discussed above it is clearly stated that “a medical inspection [is] the necessary accompaniment to any system of general physical training in schools”, which confirms the interplay between the two. Twenty-nine years after this report was published the Board of Education’s *Syllabus of physical training in schools* (Board of Education, 1933, p. 6) reiterated and extended this to include physical exercise, commenting as follows: “But suitable nourishment, effective medical inspection and treatment, and hygienic surroundings, however excellent, will not of themselves build up a sound physique. Physical exercise is also required”. This aligned with the widespread belief at this time that “Discipline and physical fitness lie at the very root of national efficiency” (Searle, 1971, pp. 65-66).

Two years before the IDCPD report was issued, the Board of Education (1902) published *The model course of physical training for use in the upper departments of public elementary schools*. This document is critical to this epoch, since it arose at the beginning of the 43-year epoch under analysis, and was the first official Board of Education syllabus in physical education (then called physical training) for state elementary schools. It was also dominated by military drill and as such somewhat contrasted with the syllabuses that followed it in 1904, 1909, 1919, and 1933, where pedagogical content shifted towards the Swedish system and medical-physical education relationships. These latter changes were fortified with the 1908 appointment of the national Chief Medical Officer, Doctor (later Sir George) Newman at the Board of Education who had responsibility for school physical education and oversaw the development of three syllabus (1909, 1919, 1933). Taking this into
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account, it is possible to compare and contrast this Model course with the four ensuing physical education syllabuses that were implemented across several decades and two World Wars, in order to ascertain whether the national efficiency discourse persisted, progressed, or perhaps disappeared. It should be noted here that the development of the 1902 Model course of physical training followed the Code for 1901 in which the term ‘Physical Training’ (instead of ‘Physical Exercises’) was recommended by the Committee of Council of Education (Penn, 1999). The Model course was developed in consultation with the War Office and it drew heavily from military drill; indeed, the appointment of army instructors to teach it was encouraged. Colonel Malcolm Fox, former Inspector of Army Gymnasia, was appointed Inspector of Physical Training in the Board of Education and he introduced a system of drill with the help of peripatetic non-commissioned army officers (McIntosh, 1968).

The Model course (Board of Education, 1902) is written in two parts, with the first part consisting “mainly of the elementary notions of drill” and the second part comprising “exercises” that should be taught for half of the time dedicated to physical training once Part 1 drill has been mastered (p. A2). However, it is the rationale for the Model course that is of immediate interest, for here it can be seen that “The object of this training is not display, but the setting up of the scholars by the development of their muscles and activity, the quickening of their intelligence, and the formation of the habit of prompt obedience” (p. A1). It appears that whilst muscular development and efficiency is sought, this is to be developed alongside obedience. This suggests that physical training/drill, has two interconnected discourses underpinning it: corporeal efficiency and discipline. These seem to primarily emanate from military origins and be reinforced in the Model course through the persistent usage of military terminology such as drill, attention, order, squad, rank, file, march, erect posture, standing at ease, dummy rifles, and commands such as ‘ready’, ‘change’, ‘halt’, ‘right’, ‘left’, ‘front’, and ‘about turn’. It is clear that bodily discipline is required when the student is expected to “stand perfectly still when waiting for the next word of command” from the teacher (p. 1).
This is reminiscent of Foucault’s (1977a, p. 177) exploration of how surveillance (by the teacher in the Model course), is “the ‘physics’ of power, the hold over the body, [which] operate[s] according to the laws of optics and mechanics... It is a power that seems all the less ‘corporal’ in that it is more subtly ‘physical’”. However, once students are more advanced in their movements, the Model course (Board of Education, 1902, p. 1) endorses the need for students to self-correct in physical training/drill rather than be moved into position by the teacher: “the scholar should be... taught to correct himself when admonished”. The use of the word “admonished” is noteworthy here, since it implies that the teacher reprimands a student as opposed to guiding them to perform movements correctly as progressives in education advocate (see Chapter 6, 1946-1969). This kind of “non-conforming” that is “punishable” is verified as being an integral part of disciplinary power, which replicates “a small scale model of the court” (Foucault, 1977a, pp. 178-179). Notwithstanding this, if a student is self-correcting it suggests that once bodily discipline has been learned they are expected to self-regulate, modifying their own actions to optimise movement efficiency. This illuminates how disciplinary power has surveillance techniques that are “integrated into the teaching relationship” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 175).

In Part 2 of the 1902 Model course, it is emphasised that the teacher’s aim is “the development and consequent strengthening of the whole of the body, and not of one particular part [emphasis in original]” (Board of Education, 1902, p. 27). This implies that physical conditioning of the entire body through the scheduled drill exercises is the primary goal; evidently, this is believed to lead to greater movement efficiency and economy of effort. This is reiterated at the end of Part 2, where the importance of physical training is affirmed more generally, and the need to devote time to “useful exercises” is accentuated: “every exercise should have its peculiar purpose and value in a complete system framed to develop duly all parts of the body” (p. 76). For the working classes, a life of manual labour or on the battlefields were common at this time, and both of these physically demanding roles demand a relatively high level of fitness and health. The Board of Education (1927, p. 91)
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verifies this when it comments that “sound physique in the schools means good health among the workers of both sexes and is the best means of enabling them worthy to confront and overcome the physical stress of adolescence at the commencement of industrial life”. Preliminary guidelines for the plethora of exercises that follow in Part 2 of the 1902 Model course insist that “It is most important that the position laid down for each exercise should be rigidly and precisely adhered to [emphasis in original]” (p. 27). This level of prescription and constraint is elaborated on by Foucault (1977a, p. 137), who explains that the body is exercised upon in subtle coercive ways, with

holds upon it at the level of the mechanism itself – movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity: an infinitesimal power over the active body... These methods, which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility, might be called 'disciplines'.

The movements that make up Part 2 of the Model course consist of a series of such meticulous methods, with deep breathing exercises, leg exercises (marching, hopping, jumping), free gymnastics (knees: bending and stretching, arms: bending and stretching, pressing from the ground, arms swinging), exercises with staves25, and dumbbell exercises. Each exercise has detailed instructions and expectations to which teachers and students alike must adhere. It is also made clear at the end of the Model course that drill is designed to be “an open-air exercise” (p. 73), which points to the health-related aims of this regime.

Interestingly, whilst competitive team games have tended to dominate across all three epochs discussed in the thesis thus far, the Model course emphasises that

Games, however valuable in themselves, do not properly fill the place of organised physical exercises even in country schools. Organised games, such as cricket and football, can generally be played only by a minority of children, and almost certainly exclude or fail to reach those most in need of development (Board of Education, 1902, p. 75).

25 Staves were dummy weapons that were shaped rather like a paddle for a canoe, comprising a long stick with rounded, oval-shaped ends.
This points to an interruption in the competitive team games/sports discourses that have been shown to have emerged in state schools from 1946 to the present day, revealing the complexity and contingency surrounding physical education pedagogy over time. This is an important marginalised ‘truth’ that has emerged. It is marginalised as it contravenes dominant contemporary discourses that construct competitive sports and games as ‘traditional’ physical education (see Chapter 4). Indeed, by working through the epochs in reverse chronological order it would appear that competition/sport discourses were less important in the state school physical education context during the early twentieth century than national efficiency. It should be remembered, however, that state elementary schools were designed for working-class children only at this time, so perhaps these class-oriented pedagogical differences are to be expected. Indeed, drill was viewed as the ideal technology through which working-class children could be more quickly and effectively trained, both in body and mind:

Country children profit by regular bodily training quite as much as town children. They are fully as liable to stoop, to be round-shouldered, and to be slovenly in gait and carriage, while they are specially apt to lack mental and bodily alertness (Board of Education, 1902, pp. 75-76).

Through this discipline-based training in the physical education context, working-class subjects could thereby be developed from “moving, confused, useless multitudes of bodies and forces into a multiplicity of individual elements”. In this manner, discipline shapes individuals, who are regarded as being concomitantly “objects and as instruments of its exercise” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 170). It is thus perceived as a power modality that is humble in comparison with sovereignty, operating through minor procedures such as the positioning of particular body parts in the ‘observatory’ of the hierarchised physical education classroom. However, the examples above are also reminiscent of Foucault’s (1978) concept of biopower that was discussed in Chapter 2 of this study. Herein it was explained how Foucault’s biopower is an integral part of discipline as a power form, focusing on two interconnected, complementary ‘poles’ within the body-knowledge construct. Discipline is referred to as the first level of biopower, in which the individual body
is worked on in terms of its capacities, behaviours and movements. Dean (2010, p. 119) talks of biopower, which he terms bio-politics, as a power modality that works at the level of the population, the species and the race: “From this perspective, bio-politics is concerned with the family, with housing, living and working conditions, with what we call ‘lifestyle’, with public health issues... and the standards of living”. Echoes are immediately apparent here with the rationality of national efficiency, which confirms how forms of liberal governing during this epoch seek to define the nature and scope of freedoms in a population through the human sciences. In this manner, categories of persons are ‘invented’ (working-class children in this specific case), and the knowledge that is manufactured through administrative technologies (for example, from the measuring of physical deterioration) is applied to the population sectors that need to be managed (see Hacking, 1983).

**Criticisms of the *Model course* (1902) and discursive shifts in ensuing syllabuses**

Despite its grand aims to increase national efficiency by training the working classes in a discipline-based system, the 1902 *Model course* was met with a great deal of protest when it was published: “There was national outcry against the heavy military emphasis and lack of perceived educational purpose, but this was not an objection per se to the statutory introduction of physical activity” (Mangan & Galligan, 2011, p. 593). For many elementary schools the *Model course* was considered to be a regressive step in terms of its pedagogical content and associated practice. One Member of Parliament, Doctor Macnamara, even claimed that the Model course “was part of a systematised endeavour to take advantage of the current cry for physical training by making the elementary schools and the Board of Education a sort of antechamber to the War Office” (McIntosh, 1968, p. 150). The Ling Physical Education Association also petitioned against the *Model course*, collecting 1408 signatures of key professionals and academics (Gray, 1913). In addition, female physical education specialists viewed the *Model course* as a rejection of their Swedish system which was being taught in the women’s colleges of physical education (see Chapter 2), and they were particularly concerned about
army instructors of a lower educational level and social class leading state education developments (see McIntosh et al., 1981). Women physical educationalists therefore repositioned themselves in order to support the policy of physical education in the elementary schools. In contrast,

Men appeared... on the periphery of the sphere of influence the women created, a sphere extending well beyond the confines of the specialist women’s colleges, and surviving, essentially intact, into the years beyond the Second World War. While it lasted, this was virtually a world in which all sources of power and standards of excellence pertained to women (Fletcher, 1984, p. 5).

The various protests eventually led to a review of the *Model course* by a Board of Education inter-departmental committee, who confirmed it to be unsatisfactory and drew up their own *Syllabus of physical exercises for use in public elementary schools* (Board of Education, 1904b) two years later.

Thus, it was mainly due to the work of Madame Österberg and other female physical education pioneers of the time that the Swedish system began to overthrow military-orientated programmes such as the 1902 *Model course*; indeed, the ensuing 1904, 1909 and 1919 syllabuses were essentially based on this method. In effect, it evolved into “physical education-as-gymnastics” (see Kirk, 2010, p. 5). At first sight, a discursive shift in the 1904 syllabus is evident, with its emphasis being on the performance of exercises for their physical and educational effects rather than merely for obedience purposes:

1. The primary object of any course of physical exercises in school is to maintain, and, if possible, improve the health and physique of the children. This may be described as its physical effect.
2. But the exercises which conduce to this result may, if rightly conducted, have an effect scarcely less important in developing in the scholars qualities of alertness, decision, concentration and perfect control of mind over body. This may be styled the educational effect (Board of Education, 1904b, p. 9).

Nonetheless, it would seem that although discipline is not explicitly mentioned as an aim in the 1904 syllabus, it is a desired end product of the “educational effects” of exercising, leading to a student’s improved “control” of their mind and body. Moreover, this type of corporeal regulation extends beyond the individual’s needs
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to become a national need, which might be deduced from the preface's plea in the 1904 syllabus for consistency of teaching methods and content:

it would probably cause but little trouble in most cases to conform in all respects to the directions of the syllabus... the advantage to the country as a whole, which would result from uniformity as to directions and commands in the use of what are practically identical exercises, would doubtless be very considerable [emphasis added] (Board of Education, 1904b, p. 5).

It might therefore be proposed that the highly regulative, restrictive and oppressive forms of movement such as physical training (1902 drill and the subsequent Swedish system) became the core business of physical education at this time, satisfying broader national efficiency goals. Indeed, they constitute examples of disciplinary technologies at work in the body, which Foucault (1977a, p. 138) appears to confirm in his discussion of docile bodies: “disciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 138).

In The syllabus of physical exercises for public elementary schools (Board of Education, 1909), there is a perceptible shift in such disciplinary discourses when enjoyment is included in the prefatory memorandum: “The Board desire that all lessons in physical exercises in Public Elementary Schools should be thoroughly enjoyed by the children. Indeed, freedom of movement and a certain degree of exhilaration are essentials of all true physical education [emphasis in original]” (p. vii). This same emphasis on enjoyment in physical training can also be seen in the subsequent 1919 syllabus (Board of Education, 1922, p. 26): “The successful physical training lesson is one which produces good physical results and is at the same time thoroughly enjoyed by the children. In order to secure this the interest of the children must be aroused”. In accordance with this discursive shift towards gaining pleasure from participating in physical education, there are certain modifications to the usual Swedish combinations in the 1909 syllabus, and games and dancing steps have been introduced into the majority of the lessons. Similarly, the 1919 syllabus broadens to include general activity exercises (marching, running, jumping), games, swimming, and dance (folk, country, other nations). However, it
might be argued that the inclusion of this particular genre of dance was intended to give students an insight into traditional national and international customs, helping to instil a love and respect for British heritage. Certainly, some scholars maintain that dance was used by educators at this time “as a means... of promoting imperial idealism” (Ndee, 2010, p. 886). If accepted, this would therefore complement the national efficiency aims that have been confirmed as central to this epoch. Notwithstanding this, these more progressive discourses seem to also correspond with the child-centred pedagogy that emerged in Chapter 6, offering an insight into where and how these have arisen at other points in the development of earlier physical education syllabuses. Indeed, the 1909 Board of Education explain that their desire is “to secure... the well-balanced cultivation of the physical powers of each individual child” as opposed to “a mere mechanical reproduction of certain movements” (p. vii). Here, the individual student seems to be recognised, with teachers being expected to cater for the age, intelligence and physical requirements of each member of their class. However, this is followed by a reminder of the teacher's role in physical training, to teach the “Tables26 with discipline and precision... [and] watch in particular the effects of the exercises upon his pupils, submitting a child when necessary to medical examination by the school Medical Officer” (p. viii).

This suggests that traces of discipline are still evident in this syllabus, but they seem to be interwoven with the beginnings of progressivism in physical education pedagogy. Clearly, the teacher is an integral part of the network of governance that underpins national efficiency discourses, since their role is to observe and take necessary action in relation to any physical imperfections in their students. Foucault (1977a, pp. 170-171) confirms observation to be a critical element of disciplinary power; indeed,

26 There are 72 tabulated progressive exercises in the 1909 syllabus, with specific commands provided for each exercise. These comprise introductory and breathing exercises, trunk bending backward and forward, arm bending and stretching, balance exercises, shoulder-blade exercises, [abdominal exercises], trunk turning and bending sideways, marching-running-jumping-games etc., and breathing exercises.
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The exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible.

The teacher therefore engages in disciplinary surveillance, correcting the slightest departures from the required movement tasks. Nonetheless, in the 1919 syllabus there are tensions between such discipline and progressivist discourses, with the need for “control” and enjoyment simultaneously accentuated:

Exercises, if rightly conducted, also have the effect, not less important, of developing in the children a cheerful and joyous spirit, together with the qualities of alertness, decision, concentration and perfect control of brain over body. This is, in short, a discipline, and may be termed the educational effect [emphasis in original] (Board of Education, 1922, p. 7).

A little later in this syllabus there are incongruences of a similar kind in the teaching methods section. Whilst the teacher’s manner “should be cheerful and encouraging” (p. 26), teacher commands need to be aligned with management of the children on a behaviour level: “Exercises are carried out in obedience to distinctive words of command. This is an essential feature in the development of control [emphasis added]” (p. 27). Thus, “obedience” and “control” are clearly highlighted as core aims within the teaching-learning process.

If a closer examination of the 1909 syllabus is undertaken, although child-centred discourses are evident in the initial introduction to the syllabus content, there are striking similarities between the physical training exercises in the two previous syllabuses and the 1909 tabulated exercises. Hence, there seems to be a disconnection here between what the 1909 syllabus professes to be doing and how the actual content has been developed. This can be seen when comparing a random sample of exercises from the 1902, 1904 and the 1909 syllabuses (see Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 below). Figures 1 and 2 show an exercise for bending the head and trunk backward, with arms bent and hands holding the waist area. The only differences between the 1904 and the 1909 syllabus visuals are the depiction of an adult male in the former and a young female in the latter, along with their respective gender-differentiated clothing.
Figure 1 (left): Head/Trunk backward bend (Board of Education, 1904b, p. 100)

Figure 2 (right): Head/Trunk bending backward (Board of Education, 1909, p. 12)

In Figures 3 and 4 below, similarities can also be observed between the knee bending (plié) exercises in the 1902 and the 1909 syllabuses. In the former, the full exercise is shown from a standing position with heels raised (relevé) and the hands placed at waist level throughout. The 1909 syllabus shows the same leg and feet movement but with arms outstretched to shoulder height. Both syllabus exercises are performed by males and there are only minor differences in their clothing.
Figure 3 (left): Heel raising and knee bending (Board of Education, 1909, p. 95)

Figure 4 (right): Heel raising and knee bending (Board of Education, 1909, p. 95)

In the introduction of the 1909 syllabus a mixture of discipline-progressivism discourses also become evident. Indeed, the Board of Education recognised that “The natural free movements of the very young child supply all that is required at the beginning of life in the way of physical exercise” (Board of Education, 1909, p. 1). However, they then go on to explain that in the school context, there is a need for movement to be “restricted for purposes of organisation and discipline” (p. 1). This restriction of movement should, nonetheless, be varied so that “free movement, which should chiefly take the form of play” (p. 1) is regularly experienced by all students. Over time, the teacher is advised to gradually introduce a few simple
exercises of physical training, which should still be underpinned by play, but it is recommended that this play is teacher-directed (p. 2). This illuminates how the teacher is still perceived to be the greater authority and in control of the learning processes in physical education. Eventually, “The exercises should then be gradually increased until they take the form of regular lessons on the lines indicated hereafter” (p. 2). It would thus appear that the syllabus acts as a regulatory technology in the schooling process, progressively constructing students’ bodies through its educational practices such as the seventy-two tabulated exercises that are provided in the 1909 syllabus. Indeed, it is recommended that “Full opportunity must be given for thoroughly mastering every movement… every lesson should include exercises from each of the… groups” (pp. 72-73). Notwithstanding this, the appendices of the 1909 syllabus contain different types of activities from the previous Swedish system exercises. Appendix A focuses on supplementary physical exercises, with guidelines for abdominal exercises, skipping exercises, dancing steps and games. Advice for these is somewhat limited nonetheless, with only eleven pages of information offered in total and it is made clear that the content should be teacher-led and that their inclusion is for health reasons. For example, in the skipping exercises section (p. 152) there are six activities listed and even the holding of the rope should be regulated so as to maximise health-respiratory benefits: “Children should not be allowed to turn the rope forwards, or to bend the elbows and so keep the arms close to the body, because such methods tend to constrict and narrow the chest”. Similarly, in the dancing steps section, dances should be carefully selected and regulated by the teacher. On the one hand dances “should not be unduly formal or restrained”, but on the other hand, “clumsy inelegant actions, or… [dances] which lend themselves readily to boisterous and uncontrolled movements, should be avoided” (p. 153). These latter examples show a slight loosening of the disciplinary practices in physical education with teacher choice being permitted, but it is clear that students, even when engaging in alternative activities to the Swedish system, need to remain controlled in both their movements and related behaviours.
It should be mentioned here that some gender discourses become apparent in the skipping references alluded to above, with the 1904 syllabus encouraging it for girls (Board of Education, 1904, p. 10), and the 1909 syllabus following suit by reinforcing this through the written word and also visually with a photo of a girl holding a skipping rope (Board of Education, 1909, p. 152). However, such gender specificity subsequently disappears, as the 1919 syllabus merely states that “Skipping will be found particularly valuable when only a limited amount of time can be spent in vigorous movement” (Board of Education, 1922, p. 83). The prefix to this same sentence in the syllabus ten years earlier was “For girls”. With the removal of this in the 1919 syllabus, the suggestion that girls should not engage in vigorous movement is disbanded in one fell swoop. This is important to note as it was one of the main biological discourses of the time, with girls in the private schooling system being excluded from engagement in certain physical activities due to their assumed fragility that stemmed from their reproductive role (see Chapter 2). This minor shift implies that exercise is being recognised as beneficial for girls as well as boys. This is apparent within and beyond the 1919 syllabus and is also something that has been documented by other physical education scholars in the private school physical education context and more generally (see Hargreaves, 1985, 1994; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981). Interestingly, when dance is initially presented as an activity in the 1909 syllabus, it too highlights some gender differences: “The value of introducing dancing steps into any scheme of physical training as an additional exercise especially for girls, or even in some cases for boys, is becoming widely recognised [emphasis added]” (Board of Education, 1909, p. 152). This not only affirms that dance is a predominantly female-oriented activity, it also highlights how dance is suitable for boys on certain occasions, although there is no clarification as to when such an occasion might be. Instead, the 1909 syllabus provides three pictures of females performing a “crosswise” and the “toe and heel step” (pp. 154-155), which tacitly endorse the value of dance for girls only. As if to confirm this further, dance is described as having the capacity to promote “a graceful carriage with free, easy movements, and is far more suited to girls than many of the exercises and games borrowed from boys [emphasis added]” (p. 152). This alludes to the way
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in which activities in the syllabuses were originally designed for boys, and how girls therefore appear to have a subordinate position with respect to curriculum design. Interestingly, Kirk (2000, p. 56) comments that the 1909 syllabus constructed children as “androgynous”, and that this was likely due to contemporary biological discourses. However, he goes on to affirm that although the “schooled body” of the early twentieth century Board of Education texts was androgynous, it was also “embedded in militarism and a particular, associated form of masculinity” (Kirk, 2000, p. 57). Perhaps the relative lack of interest in gender and minor associated changes across the syllabuses also implicitly validates how class-based distinctions are far more critical to the discourse of national efficiency than gender. This seems to be affirmed in the discussion of suitable physical education dress for girls and boys too, since only minor differences between the sexes and the syllabuses are discernible.

As briefly explained above, The syllabus of physical training for schools, 1919 (Board of Education, 1922) contains a blend of progressivist and disciplinary discourses in various sections. More specifically, the prefatory memorandum, written by Doctor George Newman, explains that a period of consultation with teachers was undertaken to create the new post-World War I syllabus. Herein, he explains that “the formal nature of the lessons has been reduced to a minimum and every effort has been made to render them enjoyable and recreative” (p. 4). Furthermore, he emphasises that at least half of each physical education lesson should involve “active free movements, including games and dancing” and that although “Tables of Exercises” are still an integral part of the syllabus content, these have been “remodelled in such a way as to place increased responsibility upon the class teacher and to allow scope for personal initiative, freedom and enterprise” (p. 4). Indeed, on closer inspection of the 1919 syllabus there is greater teacher freedom than in previous syllabuses, with the teacher being advised to “not only select the exercises from certain groups and arrange them in a definite order, but [they] should modify the lesson so as to make it suitable for the special needs of his class with regard to age, sex, physique, weather conditions, etc.” (p. 26). More vigorous activities are
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suggested for younger children to complement their growth periods, and during adolescence, recommendations for activities that require a higher level of muscular control are advocated (p. 26). Whilst the recreative element of each physical education lesson is deemed important (p. 26), the reality is that students’ movements remain restricted and regulated in many of the activities offered. This is particularly evident in Chapter III (pp. 34–64), where there is a plethora of “simple exercises and positions” provided, which resemble the physical training exercises in all three of the previous syllabuses (1902, 1904, 1909) (see Figures 5 and 6 below).

**Figure 5 (left):** Balance exercises (Board of Education, 1922, p. 49)

**Figure 6 (right):** Trunk bending forward (Board of Education, 1922, p. 44)

In addition, the 1919 syllabus contains a whole section devoted to “games for undisciplined children” (pp. 96–97), where it can be seen that the teacher’s role is to give “clear explanations followed by forceful commands”, and the need to demarcate space between these children as they engage in physical activities is
emphasised (p. 97). As clarified previously, such spatial boundaries between children in the school context are considered to be an inherent part of the disciplinary methods in operation there (see Foucault, 1977a; Kirk, 2001). In the dance content of the 1919 syllabus (Appendix C, pp. 220-224) there are merely references to specific dances and steps to be learned. Hence, there is no evidence of creative processes forming a part of the whole, and clearly, a teacher-directed approach is employed throughout. In swimming (Appendix D, pp. 225-226), teacher-led pedagogical approaches can also be seen, with emphasis placed on land drill and water exercises, as well as learning the basic swimming strokes and maximising the efficiency of the body’s movement through the water:

Correct application and economy of effort is more important than speed. To gain this result, careful attention must be given to every detail of the movements, so that each movement may produce the largest propulsive effect and (as far as possible) all retarding influences may be eliminated (p. 225).

This type of swimming advice connects well with previous national efficiency-discipline discourses, particularly as it is made clear that the meticulous detail of each movement is required, and how any adverse effects on movement proficiency must be eradicated as soon as possible.

The examples given above serve to highlight how there is some tension between the more progressivist perspectives adopted in the syllabuses’ general principles and guidelines, and the respective physical activities that follow these. This is an interesting discovery and one that has not yet been exposed by physical education theorists. Whilst these tensions are primarily due to the Swedish system exercises that dominated the syllabuses’ content in 1904, 1909 and 1919, even when additional physical activities such as dance and swimming were introduced, these remained teacher-directed and regulatory in nature. Moreover, some interesting gender discourses have emerged in relation to certain traditionally ‘feminine’ activities such as skipping and dance. These have shown written guidelines that progressively lessen the previously demarcated gender differences in earlier syllabuses. Such negligible variances between the syllabuses appear to illuminate
how class discourses, rather than gender discourses, are much more significant to the national efficiency rationality. The analysis of the selected documents and the more student-centred 1933 syllabus, reveals that national efficiency, disciplinary and progressivist discourses emerge to varying degrees, but a broadening of the aims of physical education also becomes perceptible, with health, intellect, moral and character training taking on greater significance. Since these discourses all surface at various points in the three previous chapters of this study, it is important to investigate these further to see how and when they occur, and whether they intersect with discourses that have already been illuminated.

**The broadening of physical education aims: health, intellect, moral and character training**

It should be noted at this point that the broader aims being analysed here are conspicuous in their absence in the 1902 syllabus. As already discussed, this syllabus was based on military drill and the importance of physically training students to be more efficient in their movements was the primary objective; this included a central focus on posture in order to avoid having students who were “liable to stoop, to be round-shouldered, and to be slovenly in gait and carriage” (p. 75). In contrast, the *Handbook of suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others concerned in the work of public elementary schools* (Board of Education, 1904a) devotes an entire section to physical training, emphasising that it can be used as an instrument to develop each student not only physically but morally and intellectually too (p. 412). Moreover, “the formation of character” through physical training is identified as central, which explicitly connects with the character construction discourses in Chapter 6 (1946-1968) of this study. As with the 1904 syllabus, the “physical health and condition of the child” (p. 412) is also deemed important; this again links to the previously discussed IDCPD (1904a) report, where the importance of the national efficiency cause in elevating the health of the working classes was highlighted. Similar physical education aims and discourses can be observed in the 1909 syllabus, which followed the successive social reforms mentioned earlier in this chapter. This is why the prefatory memorandum refers to
“the statutory recognition of the interest of the State in securing the physical well-being of the children in Public Elementary Schools” (p. v). Indeed, the 1909 syllabus emphasises the intimate relationship between health and education throughout, commenting that “It is now generally recognised that the physical health of the children lies at the root of education properly conceived” (p. v). Furthermore, links between the physical training of the body and the student's intellectual and character development are explicitly identified: “The object of every education system worthy of that name will be the concurrent development of a sound character, an active intelligence, and a healthy physique” (p. v). A little later, in the introduction of this syllabus, this is reaffirmed, when it is declared that "Physical Exercise is necessary to the development not only of the body but also of the brain and the character” (p. 1). In this manner, the effects of physical training were considered by the 1909 Board of Education to be twofold: physical and educational. The former involved: “The physical effect – (a) on the general nutrition. (b) corrective. (c) developmental”, whereas the latter constituted “the formation of the character and the development of the higher mental and moral qualities” (pp. 2-3).

These physical-educational effects were highlighted earlier in this chapter when reviewing the 1904 syllabus (see Board of Education, 1904b, p. 9). They are also repeated in the 1919 syllabus (p. 7), and appear in the 1933 syllabus. Although, in the latter they have been explained in a more general way than in the three previous documents: “These two elements [physical effect, educational effect] are obviously blended in varying degree in every suitable lesson and, according to circumstances, now the one aspect, now the other, is to be regarded as the more important” (p. 10). In the 1933 syllabus, when the selection and classification of the exercises are focused on, there is more explicit reference to how they promote “the healthy and natural physical development of the child and for the contribution they make towards the development of mind and character” (p. 32). Interestingly, the 1919 syllabus even suggests there is a link between the “efficiency” of education and its holistic aims, and it also draws attention to the interrelationships between the physical/intellectual/moral aspects and character development of a student:
It is now recognised that an efficient system of education should encourage the concurrent development of a healthy physique, keen intelligence and sound character. These qualities are in a high degree mutually interdependent, and it is beyond argument that without healthy conditions of body the development of the mental and moral faculties is seriously retarded and in some cases prevented. In a word, healthy physical growth is essential to intellectual growth [emphasis added] (Board of Education, 1922, p. 3).

Hence, there are strong connections visible between four of the five syllabuses in terms of holistic aims, with only the 1902 drill-based syllabus being markedly different. In a physical education-focused report that was written shortly after the final (1933) syllabus of this epoch, these holistic aims are acknowledged in very similar ways. The importance of optimising the body’s “development and functioning” through physical education also rises to the fore herein, suggesting how the broadening of this subject’s aims can help to further strengthen the national efficiency cause:

The aim of physical education is to obtain and maintain the best possible development and functioning of the body, and thereby to aid the development of mental capacity and of character. The mind and body are so essentially one that the divorce between them in what is commonly called education appears as unscientific as it is pronounced. However brilliant the intellect, a neglected body hinders the attainment of the highest capacity possible to an individual; and, conversely, the maintenance of the best possible functioning of the body must react as a beneficial mental stimulus [emphasis added] (British Medical Association [BMA], 1936, p. 1).

The emergence of medico-health discourses

Whilst looking across the five physical education syllabuses of this epoch to review the holistic aims (health, intellect, moral and character training), it was noted that health discourses have never wavered since 1904; rather, they seem to have intensified across time. In the one pre-1904 disciplinary-focused syllabus, health discourses do not arise explicitly but they underpin the emphasis on efficient body movement and correct posture throughout. For instance, it is made clear that

The work should be arranged as to be always changing, in order that the groups of muscles that are used in one exercise may be rested in the next, and
that no muscles in the body may be either neglected or unduly tired (Board of Education, 1902, p. 27).

In addition, it is recommended that drill should be conducted outside as “an open-air exercise” (p. 73), to improve the health of urban children in particular, and it is maintained that “For many weakly children regular physical training is highly desirable” to strengthen their general health condition (p. 74). Clearly, health implications are perceptible here, but they become even more visible in the four physical education syllabuses that follow, since these involve a broad range of medico-health and postural guidelines and assessments. With its shift from military drill to the Swedish system, the 1904 syllabus’ emphasis is on correctness and efficiency of performance, but each exercise is designed to improve breathing and circulation. These respiro-circulatory effects are termed “nutritive” exercises in that they lead to improved nutrition (p. 9). Some examples of nutritive exercises include gross motor skills such as running, skipping and leaping: “It is through such movements... that the structure of the body is built up during the growing period” (p. 10). Interestingly, whilst it is advised that all children should regularly engage in running games, skipping is particularly “encouraged” for the girls only (p. 10). This alludes to some clear gender differences in physical activity that were highlighted earlier in this chapter, and also in Chapter 2. It might even be ventured that skipping is singled out here in order to safeguard boys from engaging in traditionally ‘feminine’ exercises. Alternatively, skipping might be specifically recommended by the Board of Education as a technology through which female-appropriate physical behaviours that require control in terms of space and time could be reinforced (see Chapter 2). The inclusion of skipping also confirms the health benefits of whole-bodied, aerobic activities. More specifically, the importance of nasal breathing is emphasised in physical education lessons, since this is alleged to have the dual function of improving a child’s attention and diminishing the risk of contracting infectious diseases (pp. 10-11). Breathing exercises also develop the chest capacity, aiding the “healthy functioning of the lungs” (p. 10), and the nervous system is believed to be enhanced through “control exercises” such as balancing or dancing (p. 12).
Medico-health discourses appear to increase in the physical education syllabuses and other documents as the epoch unfolds, which could be due to the implementation of the 1908 Children Act\textsuperscript{27}, as well as the establishment of the school medical service in the Board of Education during the same year. Moreover, as previously mentioned, Doctor Newman was appointed as Chief Medical Officer in 1908, supervising the subsequent publication of three physical education syllabuses. In effect, factors such as these seem to have contributed to a progressively intensive relationship between physical education and health/medicine during this selected epoch. Notably, in terms of this chapter’s focus, reference is made, in both the 1909 and 1919 syllabuses, to how “Increased activity will, within limits, produce increased efficiency” (Board of Education, 1909, p. 6; Board of Education 1922, p. 11). Likewise, the Report of the physical education committee (BMA, 1936, p. 2) maintains that “Physical exercises… which involve the use of large muscles of the body, improve the general circulation, and help the respiratory, digestive, excretory, and nervous systems to discharge their functions with greater efficiency”. It might therefore be ventured that medico-health discourses have become intertwined with national efficiency ones here. However, in the 1933 syllabus there is a discontinuity of the in-depth physiological explanations of physical exercise. In place of these, “Good posture” is featured strongly as an element of physical training, with seven pages of explanation in relation to how “Correct posture is necessary for good health and for complete physical development. It makes the body more useful, skillful and beautiful” (Board of Education, 1933, p. 12). This section seems to expand on 1902 syllabus posture concerns by including more detailed explanations of its importance and how teachers should observe and correct it, rather than merely offering visual aids and related exercises (see Board of Education, 1902, pp. 6-9). In effect, exercises undertaken in physical education became the yardstick for good posture, especially during the 1930s, helping students to achieve the “greatest efficiency... with the

\textsuperscript{27} The 1908 Children Act contains a large number of health-related guidelines for children and young people. These include infant life protection, the prevention of cruelty to children and young persons, legislation on juvenile smoking, and the certification and inspection of schools.
minimum expenditure of effort; with bad posture the machine is working with maximum friction and expenditure of energy” (Board of Education, 1904a, p. 414). As suggested previously, such explicit references to machine terminology are evidence of national efficiency discourses in physical education, since it is through this school-based technology that working-class children might be primed and conditioned to become a core part of the future labour market.

Correcting and normalising the body through physical training
The posture guidelines outlined above, and other corrective procedures that have been previously illuminated, suggest that through the physical training of the working classes the national efficiency cause might be better accomplished. However, from a governance perspective, they also highlight how the body is used as a medium through which correction and normalisation of the students is made possible. Foucault (1977a) provides a breakdown of the normalisation process, concluding that it “differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes”. The correcting methods that occur in physical education could be added to the end of this four-step process and viewed as a means to support the student in their realisation of the class physical development ‘norms’. Such discourses are perceptible in all five of the physical education syllabuses that were published across this epoch, and they are often accompanied by discipline discourses that were mentioned earlier in this chapter. Certainly, in the Handbook of suggestions (Board of Education, 1904a, p. 413) body correction/normalising processes within physical training are immediately perceptible: “The physical effect includes... the prevention and correction of faulty movement and attitude of the body, and on the development of the neuro-muscular system [emphasis added]”. The 1933 syllabus is more explicit about the corrective effects of its recommended exercises, claiming that they “can be used to counteract and remedy various physical defects of weakly children” (Board of Education, 1933, p. 10). Indeed, it is the teacher’s role, as the governance agent, to detect “Obvious deformities or marked departures from the normal... The aim should be above all to prevent defects” (p. 13). In the final section of the 1902 syllabus (Board of Education, p. 76) it is also made clear that the
exercises are designed to be “useful”, benefiting children who “spend many hours with little change of position, and not always at well made desks, or in the purest air”. This could be said to implicitly allude to the corrective function of the physical training exercises. In the 1904 syllabus, during the discussion of the physical and educational effects of the syllabus content, it is made clear that one group of the physical effect-oriented exercises “has for its principal effect the correction as far as possible of certain bodily defects, many of which, unless care is taken, are apt to be intensified by the artificial conditions of school life [emphasis added]” (Board of Education, 1904b, p. 11). The syllabus refers to these as “corrective exercises” and explains that they include such movements as heel raising to help alleviate flat feet, and backward bending of the head and trunk to counteract slouching at desks (p. 11).

More generally, the Board of Education affirms how vital physical training exercises are for the body’s proficient functioning, and how they are “indispensable... for the correction of the defects or evil habits induced by an unhealthy environment [emphasis added]”. Interestingly, there is a link made here between the physical (“defects”) and the moral (“evil habits”) aims of the exercises, which seem to have been devised to help counter the socially deprived context of the working-class child. As with the 1904 syllabus, “corrective exercises” have been included as part of the “physical effect” content section, and it is explained in both the 1909 and 1919 syllabuses that the term corrective effect is used “to denote the remedy or adjustment of any obviously defective or incorrect attitude or action of the body, or any of its parts” (Board of Education, 1909, p. 3; Board of Education, 1922, p. 8). Within this section, breathing exercises are also considered to be remedial in nature, since they seek to “promote the healthy activity of the lungs, as well as to increase the mobility of the chest” (Board of Education, 1909, p. 4; Board of Education, 1922, p. 8). Furthermore, the breathing exercises clearly have a concurrent disciplinary function, as they are believed to assist with the “quieting and controlling [of] a class” (Board of Education, 1909, p. 4; Board of Education, 1922, p. 9).
Moral and character training through games and sport

It has already been explored in Chapter 2 how competitive sports and games were designed by the bourgeoisie as a means of “civilising the bodies of the children of the working classes” (see Kirk, 1998, p. 89). Kane (1976, pp. 27-28) confirms this, commenting that “The introduction of games was the introduction of a new objective for the curriculum: to provide for moral and social education”. In accordance with this, it was concluded in Chapter 6 that there was an increasing focus on competitive sports and games in the physical education curriculum content during the post-Second World War epoch (1946-1969), with students’ sporting attitudes and moral values constructed through the teaching of certain techniques, principles and values. Chapter 5 also exposed how the need to become a self-regulated ‘moral individual’ began to infiltrate sports policies during the 1970s to the 1990s; these were used as technologies for governing the working classes in particular. In terms of moral and character training in this chapter, there is a great deal of evidence in the selected documents that shows how these two holistic physical education aims began to increase in significance. However, it is proposed that the core rationality underpinning the need to train a student on a moral and character level during this epoch was that of national efficiency. Notably, there is a shift towards the acceptance of games and sport as technologies to develop children’s moral skills and character in the three later syllabuses (1909, 1919, 1933) and other relevant documents across this epoch. For example, in the 1909 syllabus, when the “educational effect” of physical education is elaborated upon, the beginnings of moral and character development through engagement in the curriculum content can be observed:

The constant call for self-control and self-restraint, for cooperation and harmonious working with others, needed for performing physical exercises and for playing organised games, helps to foster unselfishness and promotes a public spirit which is valuable in after life (Board of Education, 1909, p. 5).

This is akin to many of the social, moral and character qualities that were promoted and endorsed through games and sport in the private schools of this era. Indeed, as mentioned in Chapter 2, governance of the body was perceived to be possible through such technologies as rugby, lacrosse and cricket due to their capacity to...
build character and foster leadership qualities (see Dixon et al., 1973; Mangan, 1981). This quotation from the 1909 syllabus also highlights how physical education is being used as a technology to promote the social good (“public spirit”) beyond the school parameters.

There is a noteworthy connection here with personal morality discourses that were explored throughout Chapter 5; these drew upon Miller and Rose’s (2008) work that confirmed how national growth was cultivated by ruling authorities through social responsibility. In accordance with this, Rose (1989, p. 63) confirms how the first twenty years of the twentieth century involved “the state”, extending its “scope” to include “the government of the ‘social economy’”, which involved the need “to embrace positive promotion of the social good through acting upon the conducts and habits of each member of the population”. Hence, through the governance of habits and behavioural conduct in childhood, society might benefit when these same students enter the labour force. This explicitly links to the aims of the national efficiency movement that have been outlined previously, reinforcing that physical education might be used to help strengthen “the moral fibre of the population”, thereby arresting “an effeteness and slackness of character that portended national ruin” (Searle, 1971, p. 99). Later in the “Games” section of the 1909 syllabus the value of this activity is described in greater detail and a blend of progressivist and disciplinary discourses can be seen. Initially, the “recreative” side of games is elucidated, in that these activities help to nurture in children “a love for healthy and wholesome play”, and make their lives “brighter” and “more joyful” (Board of Education, 1909, p. 155). However, this is followed by the importance of games in relation to their “educational effect on the mind and character”, and social skills such as “cooperation”, as well as “the need to sacrifice when necessary personal desires and wishes for the common good” (p. 155). Moreover, games encourage “the habit of obedience”, which clearly indicates their regulatory capacity amidst the more holistic aims that are deemed to underpin them. These examples reveal how the betterment of society (national efficiency discourse) might be made possible
Chapter 7: How the working classes contributed to national efficiency through the technology of physical training (physical education) (1902–1945)

through the moulding and regulation of the body in the games context, where approved social sanctions prevailed.

In the 1919 syllabus (Board of Education, 1922, p. 3) it is argued that “without healthy conditions of body the development of the mental and moral faculties is seriously retarded and in some cases prevented”. This illuminates the presumed integration of the body and mind/character, which is something that persists throughout the syllabus content. However, it is in the “Suggestions in regard to competitive team games and sports” section of this syllabus that the interrelationship between physical and moral training is overtly reinforced:

The physical and moral training which may be gained through properly organised games is invaluable, and the natural desire of the child to compete with his fellows should be fully utilised as part of such training. The teacher should bear in mind that the educational value of competition lies in cultivating the right spirit, in teaching the children in all circumstances to “play up, play the game, and play for the side” [emphasis added] (Board of Education, 1922, p. 216).

This statement proposes that competitive team games are morally educative, and simultaneously suggests that social skills (“play for the side”) are an essential part of engagement in these types of activities. In addition, it exposes the professed naturalness of competition. This is a consistent theme that runs through all three of the analysis chapters, and an assumption that has already been contested throughout Chapter 6 and instead shown to be “an historical objective of governmental art and not a natural given that must be respected” (Foucault, 2008, p. 120). The belief that competition is “natural” is restated in the 1933 syllabus (Board of Education, 1933, p. 30): “Competition is an incentive to effort, and to compete, particularly in physical activity, is natural to most children”. Inter-team competition is also perceived to be an opportunity to develop students’ “cooperative practice and team loyalty” (p. 30). Nevertheless, cautionary advice is given here too in relation to the amount of competition that young children should experience, as well as the dangers of early specialisation (p. 37). Games and sport are, despite this, intimately connected to the development of character and moral/social skills in children: “The value of Organised Games, as an adjunct to physical training in
promoting health, moulding the character and developing team spirit is generally recognised” (p. 37). Similarly, *The Report of the physical education committee* (BMA, 1936, p. 5) recognises the value of field games “for the development of character and courage, of self-discipline and endurance”. Thus, games, and physical education more generally, became a school-based technology for the shaping of character *en masse* with the aim that the corporeal and moral habits of industriousness and obedience would be inculcated into the members of the labouring classes, to fit them to become good servants – good tradesmen – good fathers – good mothers, and respectable citizens [emphasis in original] (Rose, 1999, p. 104).

This section of the chapter has focused on the way in which holistic aims (health, intellect, moral, character) in physical education have sought to enhance national efficiency, through the governing of working-class children. This occurred through early drill/Swedish system-oriented activities and subsequently more team-based activities such as games. At different points across the epoch, these activities have proven to be powerful technologies for the construction of the body on a number of levels, regulating and steering the student via the techniques and codified practices in which they engage. It should be noted that this is a different usage of holistic aims from those that emerged in Chapter 6; holistic aims therein developed as an integral part of the post Second World War progressivist movement that sought to responsibilise children through the technology of physical education. Notably, during the process of exploring the broadening of the aims of physical education there were only a few moments when gender came to the fore, since it is clear that the syllabuses’ content was primarily designed for both sexes. Notwithstanding this, and as hitherto mentioned, skipping and dance were particularly recommended for girls in earlier syllabuses, implying that these were appropriately ‘feminine’ activities for them to pursue and perhaps something that boys should either refrain from undertaking or limit their participation levels in order to preserve heterosexual norms. The nominal gender references in the documents might also indicate a failure to recognise gender differences since the default student model during this epoch was male. Alternatively, it could confirm the absence of interest in
girls (compared to boys) in respect of curriculum design and delivery. Either or both
of these conjectures are in keeping with the historical context of gender that has
been expanded upon in this chapter and in Chapter 2. Notwithstanding this, when
the visuals in the syllabuses are reviewed, few gender differences arise across the
majority of the syllabuses from 1904 onwards since both girls and boys are used to
model the exercises. As this study concentrates on social variables, the lack of
attention being paid to gender in the documents has proven to be both a surprising
and significant finding, since much of the existing literature emphasises how
class/gender differences and associated inequalities dominate physical education
(see Chapter 2). By using a different theoretical lens in this study, an alternative
perspective has therefore been offered, which shows a discursive retreat vis-à-vis
gender during this period. Hence, whilst differentiation in terms of social class has
been illuminated throughout with separate physical education syllabuses and
regimes for elementary working-class children, there is a notable silence on gender.

Conclusion

During the course of this final analysis chapter it has been possible to look across
the three previous analytical chapters and find continuities and discontinuities that
have occurred in terms of key rationalities and discourses that have arisen in the
physical education, sport, and health context. In this manner, and in accordance with
the genealogical approach that is employed, the emergence of established
institutions and practices in the physical education milieu have been shown to be
contingent and intimately related to power, especially the modalities of discipline
and governmentality. Discipline is also linked to biopower, particularly through
population norms that arose, involving regulatory and corrective mechanisms
through physical training practices and exercises. In regard to the study’s research
questions, by exploring the selected physical education/health documents it has
been possible to conduct an analysis of the techniques and tactics that have operated
within the complex forms of power exercised over individuals and populations.
Certainly, disciplinary power has been shown to underpin many of the curriculum
activities, but at times this has been accompanied by governmentality, which has been rather surprising to note since this power form is usually associated with advanced liberal forms of governing that are said to emerge much later in the twentieth century (see Rose, 1999). Thus, this chapter builds on existing governmentality theory (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999) through its focus on governance of the body in the educational and broader societal context. In terms of physical education per se, many scholars consider that the pre-war era (particularly before the World War I) was a regulatory and discipline-based time (see Kirk, 1992, 1998, 2001; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981; Ndee, 2010). However, my research has challenged this at varying intervals by exposing a number of sporadic progressivist elements within the syllabuses and related documents, as well as self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses. More specifically, tension has been shown to exist between some of the progressivist perspectives in the syllabuses’ general principles and guidelines, and the actual content that ensues. This finding is evidence of an original contribution to knowledge, since it has not yet been revealed by leading physical education scholars. It also suggests that a regimen of bodily discipline and self-development were principal responses to physical degeneration in the working classes rather than the more sport-discipline competitive discourses that pervaded the three previous chapters in this study. Indeed, competition was only introduced via the technologies of games and sport in later syllabuses during this epoch, where it was embedded alongside a range of other activities such as postural exercises, dance and swimming. Clearly this is a discontinuity between the four analysis chapters, although there are some similarities that persist. For example, competition is considered to be ‘natural’ in this epoch, which is an enduring theme across each chapter. Furthermore, games and sport were centrally preoccupied in this epoch with the development of character and moral/social skills in children, which shows some continuity in respect of their core instrumental purpose (see Chapter 6 in particular).

Notably, the rationalities of differentiation and national efficiency dominate throughout this chapter. A number of physical education scholars have referred to
the differentiated practices between the state and private school systems within physical education during this historical period (see Kirk, 1998, 2001; Mangan, 1981; Mangan & Galligan, 2011; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981), yet they have not viewed these in relation to the overriding rationality of national efficiency. By drawing on the core elements of this rationality and applying this to the selected documents it has therefore been possible to engender new knowledge, weaving together the discourses that have arisen, retreated and intersected with one another over the last forty-three years. Indeed, as has been recognised in the three previous chapters, physical education has been viewed by ruling authorities as a productive and cost-effective means to enable the production of healthy, strong children and future workers. The way in which working-class bodies were constructed through such school activities as drill and the Swedish system have therefore been shown to be codified regimes that lead to a ‘correct’, norm-based physique. However, as the syllabuses adopted a more holistic approach to physical education across various decades, the body was able to be utilised as a technology in more successful ways to support the national efficiency cause. Indeed, rather than merely being disciplined through drill (physical/discipline aim), it became possible to educate the working classes on a broader level in respect of their intellect, moral and character formation, as well as their health goals. In this manner, physical education shed its “Cinderella status” and “become an essential and organic element in general education” (Board of Education, 1937, p. 850). Along with medical inspections, and the national fitness campaigns of the 1930s, it thereby served as a core technology to better the working-class population’s health, fitness, and general condition. As a result, the interrelated physical activities that were taught and learned in physical education at this time were underpinned by a complex matrix of discursive practices that had as their special responsibility the construction and reconstruction of working-class bodies. At this point, it should be noted that these class-oriented findings have emerged in each of the physical education syllabuses and associated documents, particularly in those from the earlier part of the twentieth century. Hence, “the language of national efficiency served to articulate general political ideals concerning the ends to which government should be addressed” (Miller &
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Rose, 2008, p. 62), providing the possibility of creating a number of related programmes within the technology of physical education.

The paucity of gender references across all the documents in this selected epoch is a significant finding, since a great deal of literature emphasises how class and gender differences and inequalities have dominated physical education across the twentieth and twenty-first century (see Chapter 2). Admittedly, the way in which all the syllabuses were designed for both boys and girls is noteworthy; indeed, there were few stipulated gender-based variations evident in the physical activities, apart from skipping and dance in the earlier syllabuses (see Board of Education, 1904, p. 10; Board of Education, 1909, pp. 152-155). This could imply that the male student was the default, and the female student was duly expected to conform to this ‘neutral’ model. It also illuminates the presence of compelling heterosexual norms underpinning some of the preliminary syllabuses, with girls being encouraged to pursue appropriate ‘feminine’ activities and boys being expected to abstain from them altogether (or at the very least, limit their participation in them). Interestingly, these types of gender differentiations were withdrawn in later versions of the syllabus, suggesting that class-based differences were far more relevant to the rationality of national efficiency than gender. Notwithstanding this, the overall negligible gender-based findings in this chapter, confirm that the genealogical approach has the capacity to expose unexpected results from the smallest and most insignificant details within the selected documents. This corresponds with Foucault’s (1988b, p. 373) premise that “details and accidents... petty malice... the minute derivations – or conversely, the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations” across time can arise during the genealogical process.

In the final chapter of this study there will be a review of the empirical and theoretical points that have been formulated during the course of all four analysis chapters, and some tentative conclusions regarding the governing of physical education in England will be provided. In addition, a number of key
recommendations for future genealogical studies of physical education will be proposed.
Chapter 8: Conclusion: troubling consensus and denaturalising forms of corporeal governance in physical education in England

Introduction

In this chapter, key arguments that have been presented throughout this genealogical study are drawn together, giving insights into how the body has been constructed and governed during physical education in England across a 114-year period. In so doing, this genealogical study’s substantive and theoretical contributions to both physical education literature and governmentality theories will be illuminated. Together with this, the genealogical approach that was employed to analyse this problem of governance will be discussed, particularly via-à-vis its capacity to illuminate differing forms of corporeal power structures and struggles in physical education. Finally, some implications for future research in relation to the core findings of this thesis will be provided, for physical education per se, and governmentality studies more generally.

During the course of this thesis a genealogical analysis of the different ways in which the body, in the physical education context, has been deemed a governable problem has been undertaken. This has been developed across four specific historical epochs, which have been explored in reverse chronological order, beginning with the current day: 1999-2016 (Chapter 4), 1970-1998 (Chapter 5), 1946-1969 (Chapter 6), 1902-1945 (Chapter 7). As explained in Chapter 1, this epoch-focused structure complies with the “history of the present” that Foucault (1977, p. 31) proposes, casting aside traditional linear historical progression, and thereby permitting governance problems in physical education to be explored at specific sites and specific points in time. In using this Foucauldian analytical approach there is a particular emphasis on making sense of the ways in which bodies have been historically constituted and governed in physical education in England, and how this might continue to influence contemporary physical education pedagogy. Based on
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This approach, three research questions were formulated and investigated throughout:

- Through what forms of governing have bodies been governed historically in physical education in England?
- What have been the effects of these different forms of governing on the construction of bodies?
- How do different forms of governing intersect with one another in the historical governance of physical education in England, and with what implications for the construction of bodies?

The ‘problem’ of physical education

Through exploration of the construction of the body in each of the four analytical chapters, this thesis has contributed to a sociological understanding of the ‘problem’ of physical education and how it has been used as a technology for the enhancement of public health, moral conduct (character formation) and social cohesion (national identity), as well as the country’s advancement (national efficiency). Some core understandings of physical education have been able to be challenged, and social variables such as class and age have become more significant during particular epochs. Often, these have intersected with more dominant discourses such as self-regulation and personal responsibility, and at other times they appear to have disappeared completely. Hence, various forms of governing have been shown to “overlap, lean on each other, challenge each other, and struggle with each other” (Foucault, 2008, p. 313). However, these discoveries have only become apparent by using a different, genealogical lens; this has exposed alternative concerns and issues that are equally important for educational scholars to take into consideration.

Interestingly, a minority of physical education scholars have conducted physical education research using a genealogical approach, and none have underpinned an analysis of physical education pedagogy with Foucault’s (2007) power triangle in its entirety (see Chapter 2). Admittedly, there has been a profusion of contemporary governmentality research in which physical education-health discourses have
dominated (see Chapter 2). Building upon this work, my study has examined physical education as a singular entity, releasing it from its seemingly integral relationship with health. Overall, this has enabled me to expand on existing research, by drawing attention to “the contingency, singularity, interconnections, and potentialities of the diverse trajectories of those elements which compose present social arrangements and experience” in the governance of physical education per se (Dean, 1994, p. 21). Nonetheless, the knowledges gleaned from the selected forms of evidence are still presented as perspectives only. As such, it is recognised that there is no ‘true’ knowledge, there are merely episodes in the history of physical education when certain knowledges and discourses have arisen, lain dormant, or retreated during the ongoing power struggles across the four designated epochs.

The benefits of employing a genealogical approach

The writing of this thesis has involved the practical application of a genealogical approach to the history of physical education in England. It differs from the traditional chronological approach that some physical education historians utilise (see Mangan, 1981; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981) to uncover ‘truths’ about the past. This is because, as hitherto explained, it has commenced with contemporary physical education and culminated with the past. As such, it is possible to show how different ‘truths’ are constructed and not discovered, which facilitates a clearer awareness of the multiple, convolute power relations between individuals, institutions and ruling authorities. Hence, certain epochs that demonstrate distinct shifts in body governance became the principal focus. Governable problems in physical education at specific sites and specific points in time were therefore embraced and scrutinised, and in so doing, a hierarchical and unitary order of power was rejected (see Foucault, 1980b). The forms of evidence permitted a diagnostic methodology to develop, whereby the genealogy of government sought “to establish the singularity of particular strategies within a field of relations of truth, power and subjectivity by means of a work on the symptoms”
(Rose, 1999, p. 57). These symptoms were differentiated by isolating, grouping and categorising them to create a “symptomatology” (Rose, 1999, p. 57). Physical education, as a governable problem, was therefore able to be reconstructed as a sequence of multifaceted, unpredictable events that show both continuous and discontinuous relationships with the present. Thus, it was never assumed that there was a general principle or centre holding the data together, which nurtured the construction of new ‘truths’ in respect of the study’s three central research questions outlined above. This ‘history of the present’ (Foucault, 1977b) was consequently able to retain its focus on emergent rationalities and discursive practices in its contemplation of physical education as a governable object. Detailed examination of the links between contemporary and historical physical education pedagogy and relations of power and knowledge thereby surfaced.

During the process of constructing this history of the present, the forms of evidence constituted historical physical education curriculum documents and related state policies and Acts. Foucault (1977b, pp. 107-108) confirms the need for genealogy to operate “on [such] a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times” in order to facilitate an investigation of singular events at the micro-levels of society. Indeed, the mundane documents in this study offered abundant access to physical education rationalities and discourses that constructed the body and rendered it knowable and governable (research questions 1, 2 and 3). As such, they assisted in the process of uncovering assumed truths and discourses about corporeal governance and showed how these have shifted over the last century or so through an assemblage of continuous and discontinuous physical education practices. Furthermore, they helped to reveal consequences of these governance shifts for individuals and social groups in terms of social variables such as class and age, as and when these emerged as being significant.
Key findings

Above all, the genealogy of governance applied in this study helps to illuminate how physical education is a contingent and complex historical product that has developed from various assemblages of governmental practices. Hence, attention has been focused on the multifaceted conditions, rationalities and discursive practices through which physical education has been linked to various societal ‘problems’ such as national efficiency, welfarism, national identity, and public health issues such as obesity. Physical education should consequently be understood as a technology through which matrices of power operate via rationalities and discourses that engender, contradict and pursue one another. Taking this into account, six key findings have arisen from this thesis. These provide the essential empirical evidence for this final chapter, whilst simultaneously affirming the value of a genealogy of governance approach. These findings will subsequently be outlined below through the guiding framework of the study’s three research questions.

Research Question 1: Through what forms of governing have bodies been governed historically in physical education in England?

It is argued in this thesis that current ways of governing physical education can be traced back to various points during the twentieth century when a number of ‘problems’ were identified by ruling authorities, and efforts were subsequently made to diagnose solutions. However, continuities and discontinuities between these forms of governing have emerged across time; these will now be discussed in more detail below in relation to each specific finding for research question 1.

- **Finding 1: Healthism** is identified as a form of governing that underpins contemporary physical education and it links with national efficiency-focused discursive practices of public health that surfaced during the first half of the twentieth century.

Health-related discourses have clearly been far less significant in this study for at least two out of the four epochs under investigation, with their dominance mostly
perceptible during the contemporary period. It was initially found in Chapter 7 that physical education in the early twentieth century was underpinned by a discourse of public health that developed as part of the dominant rationality of national efficiency. This initiative involved the measuring, testing and recording of physical deterioration in the working classes, and was carried out as part of the physical education programme in state elementary schools from 1908 onwards. Number gathering of this type, and the related development of 'norms' by ruling authorities, was endorsed as a governance mechanism that was linked to the presence of biopower; indeed, the norm became a means by which corporeal regulation, stabilisation, and speculation about future health could take place (see Dean, 2010; Foucault 1977a, 1978; Hacking, 1983, Rose, 1999). Whilst these anthropomorphomorphic tests were acknowledged as being a public health initiative that was targeted specifically towards the working classes following anxieties about fitness levels of recruits in the Boer War, they constituted a relatively minor part of the overall national efficiency rationality. Indeed, the emphasis of the latter was the country's need to enhance its economic and military competitiveness. In 1908, when the school medical service was duly established, physical training concomitantly became a prominent feature of education policy during the earlier part of the twentieth century. At first, the working classes were disciplined through drill (physical/discipline aim), but there was a gradual broadening of the aims of physical education to include health, intellect, moral and character training, thereby extending the scope of the national efficiency cause. Clearly, the intertwining of health discourses with the rationality of national efficiency is shown in Chapter 7. Furthermore, it should be noted that there was a marked shift away from the individual to the public, and concomitantly, the social 'good' of these public health matters (see Rose, 1999).

The findings from Chapter 7 align with the contemporary rationality of healthism discussed in Chapter 4, where curriculum documents and related policies were redeveloped to support third way thinking; this endorsed the need for individuals to take personal responsibility for their weight, appearance and general health.
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Whilst Chapter 7 connects this to the necessity of improved national efficiency, the focus of the current epoch (Chapter 4) is on taking personal responsibility for health in order to help counter the alleged obesity epidemic. Indeed, the physical education and sport documents are utilised as core technologies to tackle obesity through their embedded risk discourses, which framed public health issues as personal troubles and lifestyle problems. Hence, both Chapters 4 and 7 share some similarities in terms of body-health governance, even though the rationality that was the key driver for their respective public health initiatives was very different in each, and the documents were written more than four decades apart.

Following the Second World War, other rationalities such as self-regulation (Chapter 5) and competition (Chapter 6) began to overshadow public health discourses. This confirms that although public health concerns have dominated contemporary society due to the so-called ‘obesity epidemic’ (Flegal, 1999), alternative rationalities to healthism were central across the entire second half of the twentieth century. A discontinuity of health-focused discourses is therefore perceptible in this study, and these then re-emerged in a different form during the 1902-1945 epoch (Chapter 7), as an integral component of the pervasive national efficiency rationality. Interestingly, this counters prominent research in the field, which claims that “Since its inception as part of the school curriculum in the English speaking world, school physical education has always been associated with the improvement of ‘health’” (Gard & Wright, 2001, p. 535). Kirk (1992) also argued that physical educationalists focused their attention on medico-scientific research after the Second World War to enhance the status of their subject. Notwithstanding these theoretical viewpoints, the overall findings in Chapter 7 also appear to challenge the viewpoint of governmentality scholars (Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999) who associate personal responsibility with the final two decades of the twentieth century. Since they do not examine governance of the body in the educational and broader societal context as this thesis does, new insights into the nature of governance and its intrinsic complexity become apparent.
Finding 2: Self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses emerged as significant and enduring forms of governing in physical education across all four epochs - these are shown to have intimate links with the body and morality.

As briefly indicated above, self-regulation emerges as one of the dominant forms of governing in physical education. This is particularly evident in Chapters 4 (1999-2016) and 5 (1970-1998), but on closer examination, there are traces of self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses found in each of the four selected epochs. In Chapter 4, it is demonstrated that third way neoliberalism dominates the contemporary epoch, and that its principal concern is to engender self-regulation in individual citizens. Indeed, due to the alleged obesity epidemic, personal responsibility in respect of health becomes central; responsible citizens are subsequently guided to self-monitor, self-regulate, and make the required changes in order to reduce ‘risky’ behaviours that might lead to weight increase. Hence, in steering the individual to become more self-regulating, citizens’ interests in health - along with the health promotion aims of ruling authorities - can be simultaneously fulfilled. Self-regulation is therefore shown to be a discursive practice through which governing might take place, via the shaping of citizens’ conduct in a type of “regulated freedom” that would lead to them becoming more health conscious individuals (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 174). The governmental shift towards the individual and their need to take personal responsibility for their own health is shown to be indicative of the presence of advanced liberalism, a ‘modern’ conception of rule that focuses on ‘the conduct of conduct’ (see Foucault, 2000; Rose, 1999). In this manner, it is demonstrated that the governance of physical education through self-regulation discourses corresponds with governmentality theories about this era, although the sole focus on physical education is distinctive.

In Chapter 5, self-regulation discourses that emerged from the late 1990s/early 2000s (Chapter 4) are traced to a problematisation of welfarist rationalities of governing that occurred in the early 1970s and an ensuing emphasis on governing physical activity, and conduct more broadly, through communities. During the
course of this epoch, ruling authorities claimed that self-regulation was the solution to the dependency ‘problem’ that had been prompted by welfarist rationalities of governing. In accordance with this, the need to self-regulate and thereby become a ‘moral individual’ began to permeate physical education syllabuses and sports policies of the era. The interrelationship that was highlighted between the body, emerging discourses of self-regulation and individual morality has provided a unique contribution to current governmentality literature where schools have already been validated as technologies of governance, but only in more general ways (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999). Indeed, body-based school subjects such as physical education are neither interrogated for their regimes of practice, nor the associated emphasis that these have on self-regulation and personal morality discourses. In contrast, my thesis shows how a healthy body came to symbolise a morally worthy citizen who exercises discipline over their own body, which helps facilitate governance of the nation.

In Chapter 6, it is argued that self-regulation discourses that dominated from 1970 to 2016 (Chapters 4 and 5) reduced in importance as competition became the dominant rationality and physical education and sport were used as technologies to help build a sense of unified national identity and commonality amongst citizens. Since competitive capacities of individuals were shown as being fostered in socialised ways during this time period, this provided an interesting contrast to the prevalent individualistic rationalities that had surfaced through self-regulation and personal responsibility during the two preceding epochs. However, the character-focused discourses in Chapter 6’s selected documents also revealed an assemblage of rationalities and technologies that included responsibilisation, progressivism, and collaboration. Whilst these were less prevalent than competition, they demonstrated how traces of self-governance emerged through physical education, during the expansion of child-centred pedagogy at this time. This indicated a change from disciplinary power to governmentality in the post-war educational context, which complements the ascendant rationalities of individualism that developed through self-regulation and personal responsibility during the two former epochs.
Once again, it also shows how this study contributes new knowledge to physical education-governmentality theory, since self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses were confirmed as emerging much earlier here than some believe to be the case (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999).

Notably, self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses are shown to persist even in the first half of the twentieth century (Chapter 7, 1902-1945), which challenges the perspectives of many physical education scholars who consider that this pre-war era (particularly before World War I) was a regulatory and discipline-based time (see Kirk, 1992, 1998, 2001; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981; Ndee, 2010). Self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses became evident when tensions were discovered at times between some of the syllabuses’ progressivist principles/guidelines and the more discipline-based content that followed. This indicates that a regimen of bodily discipline and self-development were core responses to physical degeneration in the working classes as opposed to the more sport-discipline competitive discourses that dominated the three previous chapters of this thesis.

Finding 3: The rationality of competition is significant in three out of four epochs, becoming more prevalent after the Second World War.

The rationality of competition is shown to implicitly and explicitly underpin physical education pedagogy and national sport policy from 1970 to 2016 (Chapters 4 and 5). Indeed, competition is revealed as one of several dominant rationalities that emerged through the technologies of physical education and sport during these two epochs. In the contemporary epoch (Chapter 4, 1999-2016) it is established that competition was a persistent rationality, comprising a core feature of third way neoliberalism, governing physical education and sport in tandem with heathism. As mentioned earlier, the rationality of welfarism became a form of governance in sport/recreation from 1970 to 1998 (Chapter 5), particularly for the working classes. Interestingly, moral regulation was deemed to be particularly effective with this social group when the body engaged in competitive team sports. In terms of the
physical education curriculum during this epoch, there was an increasing focus on competitive sport and games, with students’ sporting attitudes and moral values being shaped through the teaching of certain techniques, activities, rules, and principles such as fair play and ‘sportsmanship’.

During the earlier post-war period of 1946 to 1969 (Chapter 6), it was established that competition became the central rationality, which highlighted its endurance across the sixty years that were analysed (1946-2016). However, it was deployed in a rather different way than in the two previous epochs, which highlights a discontinuity in respect of its form and function. Thus, competition was utilised to help construct an individual’s character as well as England’s national identity following economic depression and post-war devastation. In terms of the former, the competitive capacities of individuals were fostered in socialised ways at this point, which contrasted with the dominant rationalities of individualism that had arisen through self-regulation and personal responsibility in Chapters 4 and 5. By tracing the descent of competition in this way, the complexity of competition as well as its dynamic state were revealed. Thus, rather than pursuing origins or a progressive or linear development it was possible to “seek the subtle, singular, and sub-individual marks that might intersect in... [a rationality] to form a network that is difficult to unravel” (Foucault, 1977b, p. 145). This facilitated critique of the formation and operation of competition as a rationality within the broader matrix of power, whilst also illuminating how it came to be accepted as ‘traditional’ physical education in state schools. Notwithstanding this gradual evolution, competition shifted across this epoch, and as mentioned earlier in Finding 2, it intersected with different governing rationalities such as responsibilisation and collaboration. This led to a move away from drill-based activities in physical education and a move towards competitive team games with their underpinning social and moral aims. Yet, these games merely comprised a “looser form of corporeal power” (Kirk, 1994, p. 170) and a reinvention of governance in this post-war period.
In regard to how competition was used to help construct national identity, it is important to acknowledge how ruling authorities had a burgeoning interest in elitism and international sporting success from 1946 to 1969 (Chapter 6). Elitism became an integral part of the rise of competition as a rationality within sports policy, and was used as a tool to enhance Britain’s national identity and diminishing international reputation. This emergence of elitism in sport was akin to the findings in Chapter 5, where it began to overshadow the former community sport focus towards the end of the 1980s. Interestingly, the rise of elitism began to be aligned with the promotion of the responsibilised and entrepreneurial individual during the final decade of this epoch. Hence, in this particular context, elite sport stars were used as potential motivating and regulatory tools for the general population’s physical activity levels. This was therefore a discourse that slightly diverged from, but intersected with, the elitism discourse discussed in Chapter 6. As mentioned in Finding 2, curriculum changes in physical education did not complement this rise in elitist practice. An uncoupling of sport policy and physical education curriculum was consequently apparent, which differs greatly from the intense sport-physical education relationships that were observed in Chapters 4 (1999-2016) and 5 (1970-1998). It might therefore be argued that Kirk’s (1992) claimed post-war rise in competitive sports and games in physical education should not be accepted at face value; there were more interlinking and contradictory discourses at work here.

The continuance of competition across three of the four epochs in this thesis was interrupted in the epoch discussed in Chapter 7. Indeed, competition was only introduced via the technologies of games and sport in later syllabuses during this period. In these documents, competitive sports/games were not central either, as they were embedded alongside a range of other activities such as postural exercises, dance and swimming. Clearly this is a discontinuity between the four analysis chapters, although two similarities were still revealed across all four epochs. Firstly, games and sport were consistently used to help develop children’s character and moral/social skills in each epoch, and secondly, the ‘naturalness’ of competition was regularly asserted when it arose as a point of discussion. This latter assumption
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highlights how a rationality such as “competition” is constructed and revered as a “natural given” as opposed to being considered as “an historical objective of governmental art” (Foucault, 2008, p. 120).

- **Finding 4: National efficiency emerges as a core rationality in the first half of the twentieth century and traces of it can also be observed after this time.**

As noted earlier in Finding 1 of this chapter, anxieties surrounding the fitness levels of recruits and British performance in the Boer War (1899-1902) emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century. This blended with concerns about child health and personal morality/character development in the working-class population. A national efficiency rationality developed from this, and physical education began to be utilised as one of several technologies to elevate the country’s economic and military status. Hence, the rationality of national efficiency dominated this 43-year period (Chapter 7). Founded on a rationality of class-based differentiation, working-class students were duly provided with state-run elementary schools, where they could be educated separately from their more wealthy contemporaries in the private schooling system. Several prominent physical education scholars have referred to the differentiated practices between the state and private school systems within physical education during this historical period (see Kirk, 1998, 2001; Mangan, 1981; Mangan & Galligan, 2011; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981), yet they have not viewed these in relation to the overriding rationality of national efficiency. One of the key objectives of the national efficiency campaign was to raise “the poor and the ignorant... from their impoverishment through government programmes to a position where they could enhance national efficiency” (Funnell, 2004, p. 730). In state operated schools, diagnosis and steering of working-class students’ health conditions and their moral conduct facilitated better management of this sector of the population. Joining forces with the Board of Education as a governance agent, the school medical service conducted compulsory medical inspections in physical education (then called physical training) lessons. The working classes were simultaneously trained in a discipline-based system of drill (1902 *Model course*). These events illuminate the intimate connection between
military, class and fitness/health discourses. Gradually, drill evolved to include Swedish system exercises, posture training, games, swimming and dance across four further syllabuses (1904, 1909, 1919, 1933). From a governance perspective, the body was therefore used as a medium through which correction and normalisation of the population might be made possible. Hence, physical training helped to make the body more proficient and useful, concurrently rendering it more obedient (see Foucault, 1977a). As mentioned in Finding 2, there was a discursive shift towards progressivism during this time in respect of physical education pedagogy, with tension arising between the more progressivist perspectives adopted in the syllabuses’ general principles and guidelines, and the corresponding physical activities that ensued. This is a significant finding in this thesis as it has not yet been exposed by leading physical education theorists in the field. Rather, scholars are inclined to emphasise how this era (particularly before the World War I) was a regulatory and discipline-based time in physical education (see Kirk, 1992, 1998, 2001; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981; Ndee, 2010). Thus, it was only by paying such close attention to the discursive practices within and between the syllabuses that this particular finding was unearthed.

During the course of Chapter 7, a broadening of the aims of physical education to become more holistic in nature also became perceptible; health, intellect, moral and character training were thereby focused on in the quest for improved national efficiency. As acknowledged in the previous findings in this chapter, such discourses occur during other epochs. This indicates that there is some continuity with these discourses across all four epochs, but in Chapter 7, these are distinctive in that they intersect with the overriding national efficiency rationality. In this manner, the governance of moral habits, behavioural conduct and the like in childhood, enabled society to potentially benefit when these same students entered the labour force. A regimen of bodily discipline and self-development were therefore key responses to physical degeneration in the working classes as opposed to the more sport-discipline competitive discourses that were seen to prevail in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Furthermore, in Chapter 6, it should be noted that the holistic aims therein were
developed as an integral part of the post-war progressivist movement that sought to responsibilise children through the technology of physical education.

A final discursive continuity that needs mentioning at this point occurred between the rationality of national efficiency discussed in Chapter 7 and the rationality of constructing national identity in Chapter 6. In the latter, there was subsequent investment in human capital through education and health to enhance the workforce, capitalist efficiency and Britain’s declining imperial power. The national efficiency rationality that dominates Chapter 7 appears to align with this endorsement and governance of competitive sport for the sake of the nation’s future and international prestige. However, in Chapter 6 the focus was on building a sense of national identity and commonality amongst citizens in England through competitive sport, whereas in Chapter 7 a class-driven national efficiency rationality became the emphasis. This illustrates a contrast between Chapter 7’s differentiated national goals and Chapter 6’s collective national goals. Once more, this ratifies the inherent complexity of different rationalities that have surfaced across the four selected epochs, showing each to be a “zone of intelligible contestation... [where] different political forces infuse the various elements with distinct meanings, link them with different thematics, and derive different conclusions as to what should be done, by whom and how” (Rose, 1999, p. 28).

**Interim summary: Research Question 1**
The above summary of research question 1 with its four key findings focuses on the forms of governing that bodies have been historically governed by in physical education in England. In so doing, four key forms of governing are identified (healthism, self-regulation/personal responsibility, competition, national efficiency), but a wide range of other less dominant rationalities have also emerged and overlap with these. This reveals how rationalities form alliances and contestations with other forms of governing, and how “a whole variety of authorities govern in different sites, in relation to different objectives” (Rose, O’Malley, &
Valverde, 2006, p. 85). It is important to now consider the findings of this study further, in specific relation to research question 2.

**Research Question 2: What have been the effects of these different forms of governing on the construction of bodies?**

It has been highlighted, particularly in Chapter 2 of this study, how many scholars confirm the class- and gender-constructed nature of physical education in England throughout its history. More specifically, Kirk’s (1992) genealogical analysis of post-World War II physical education argues that competitive sports and games were designed by the bourgeoisie as a means of civilising the bodies of working-class students through their enactment; indeed, they were applied in a range of ways according to a student’s social background. Thus, from the 1950s through to the 1980s, competitive games and sports swiftly became ‘traditional’ physical education (Kirk, 1992, 1998; see also Chapter 2). However, during the course of this thesis, such widespread contentions have been challenged due to the different theoretical lens that was employed. Indeed, through its genealogical approach, forms of governing highlighted above have been shown to seldom intersect with either class or gender. Rather, close examination of the selected documents reveals more significant discourses and the regular reconstitution, retreat, or silencing of social variables such as class and gender. As such, by studying the governing of the body in physical education in this way, it has been possible to explore, extend and challenge certain rationalities and discourses in physical education that have been deemed pervasive by leading scholars in the field who employ different methodologies from my own.

- **Finding 5:** A minority of the different forms of governing through which physical education has been historically governed have intersected with the construction of classed and gendered bodies.

With the exception of Chapter 7, what became of particular interest in the three other analytical chapters was how class and gender, allegedly important objects of
governing in physical education, were effectively displaced by other rationalities. Chapter 4 was the first example of this, where the governmental focus was on the self-regulating individual under third way politics; this appeared to constitute class and gender in new individualised ways. Indeed, healthism emerged, whereby maintaining good health was constructed as a personal and moral obligation, as well as a citizen’s duty as opposed to their right (Galvin, 2002). During this process, class and gender distinctions disappeared from contemporary Government policies and national curriculum documents, and the pursuit of individualism emerged. In effect, this individualised rationality was fostered at the expense of more significant discussions of social inequality.

In Chapter 5, class-based discourses emerge a little more strongly than in the preceding chapter but gender discourses do not follow suit. Interestingly, the rationality of self-regulation endures across these two epochs (Chapters 4, 1999-2016; Chapter 5, 1970-1998), but as the need to self-regulate and thereby become a ‘moral individual’ began to infiltrate sports policies, it became clear that sport/competitive games were being used as welfarist technologies to target and govern young working-class people in socially deprived contexts. The presence of age as a social variable is noteworthy here, and something which can be seen to persist across several decades when (typically) working-class male youth were singled out for sport-based interventions, often in order to manage social unrest. Notwithstanding this, it can only be concluded that Chapter 5 revealed relatively little in terms of the way in which forms of governing affected the construction of classed and gendered bodies, as both social variables proved to be far less significant than other prevailing discourses and rationalities. In Chapter 6, despite its focus on the rationality of competition and the well-known classed and gendered origins of competitive sport and games (see Chapter 2), there were again nominal references to classed and gendered body constructions. Indeed, this chapter highlighted that gender and class concerns in post-war physical education were not as prevalent as other scholars have contended. Thus, by using a genealogical lens, alternative focal points emerged during the course of this epoch. These included the intertwining of
collaboration discourses with competition discourses that was explained in Finding 3, as well as the presence of self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses (Finding 2).

Chapter 7 proved to be an anomaly in respect of the dearth of classed and gendered constructions of the body across previous chapters. Indeed, the national efficiency rationality that prevailed throughout this 43-year epoch was dominated by class references. As explained in Finding 4, students were educated according to their social class at this time. There were therefore “two systems of education [which] catered for different classes and provided education, different in quality and content, for rulers and ruled” (Taylor, 1965, p. 171). State-run elementary schools accommodated working-class students, which permitted diagnosis and steering of their health and conduct by ruling authorities. With regard to gender, it seemed to disappear during this period; only nominal gender references were found in some of the earlier physical education syllabuses. This phenomenon was likely due to national efficiency being founded on a rationality of class-based differentiation.

**Research Question 3: How do different forms of governing intersect with one another in the historical governance of physical education in England, and with what implications for the construction of bodies?**

It has already been illustrated earlier in this thesis how Foucault’s (2007) matrix of power relations not only endures but also evolves across time within his triangular analysis of power (see Chapter 2). As such, “the notion of governmentality implies a certain relationship of government to other forms of power, in particular sovereignty and discipline” (Dean, 2010, p. 29). This interrelationship between Foucault’s power forms is something that is demonstrated in this thesis and it has led to the final finding below.

- **Finding 6:** Regular intersection between governmentality, sovereignty and discipline forms of power have been shown across the four epochs. These alliances have had certain implications for the construction of bodies.
It is shown at regular intervals in this thesis how governmentality, sovereignty and discipline interconnect with one another during the historical governance of physical education. Notably, sovereignty, which some scholars consider to be peripheral or passé nowadays (see Dean, 2007), emerges at various stages during the different epochs. Indeed, Dean (2010, p. 49) maintains that “The activities of governance... remain entangled in the shadow of the hierarchical structures of state and sovereignty” (Dean, 2010, p. 49). Thus, in Chapter 4 it is shown that when there was a shift of governance to personal responsibility and it was unsuccessful in reducing obesity rates, sovereignty provided an important back-up power modality. In this particular case, Government intervention was seen to occur, with the ensuing monitoring of governing agents such as the food industry that were intimately linked to obesity. The presence of sovereignty was also evident in relation to Government’s (then New Labour) perpetuation of, and support for, sport’s capacity to help manage the alleged obesity epidemic. This led to an influx of sport-based policies and sporting discourses within physical education; these elucidated tensions between sport-discipline and the purportedly dominant healthism. Healthism itself involved self-regulation and disciplinary governance, since an individual’s health/weight management ‘problems’ were viewed as solvable through regulatory types of exercise and fitness training. Discipline also arose through sport, performance and competition discourses that developed in terms of significance across this contemporary epoch, yet it complemented healthism as a way of governing in physical education. As such, ruling authorities began to utilise the terms ‘sport’ and ‘physical education’ extensively and synonymously at this time. Hence, it might be ventured that a “multi-layered governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73) underpinned the third way neoliberalism that New Labour explicitly endorsed, with all three power forms emerging.

In terms of implications for the construction of the body, certain governing rationalities became significant (see Finding 5). In Chapter 5, the welfarist form of governance that developed across the first two decades of the epoch gradually transformed at the end of the 1980s and through into the 1990s, interconnecting...
with advanced liberal forms of governing wherein the responsibilised, entrepreneurial individual dominated. There was a subsequent need for citizens to internalise regulation processes and demonstrate their commitment to community through sport, exercise and recreation. In this manner, “The relation between the responsible individual and their self-governing community... [came] to substitute for that between the social citizen and their common society” (Miller & Rose, 2008, pp. 212-213). Thus, governmentality appears to dominate during the epoch discussed in Chapter 5, with individualism arising in alliance with community-based “networks of governance” (Dean, 2007, p. 73); ruling authorities thereby modified their roles to become focused on coordination and health promotion. In Chapter 6, governmentality again comes to the fore, where there is an intertwining of collaboration and competition discourses. It was highlighted there, and also earlier in this chapter, that these exposed traces of self-regulation and personal responsibility at a much earlier time than leading governmentality scholars suggest (see Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999).

Interestingly, governmentality was even shown to surface earlier than this, as it became visible in the epoch encompassed by Chapter 7 too. This is an unexpected finding, since this early twentieth century period is commonly associated with disciplinary power (see Kirk, 1992, 1998, 2001; McIntosh, 1968; McIntosh et al., 1981; Ndee, 2010). In my thesis, both governmentality and discipline emerged within the regimes of practice in the physical education milieu. Disciplinary power is consistently shown to underpin many of the curriculum activities, but governmentality becomes evident in some of the progressivist perspectives in the syllabuses’ precursor principles and guidelines. Certainly, the syllabuses and related documents contain increasing self-regulation and personal responsibility discourses as the years progress. Furthermore, in Chapter 7, the classed body in physical education becomes a key focus. As mentioned previously in Chapter 7, the rationality of national efficiency is founded on class-based differentiation; it is therefore here that implications for the construction of the classed body in physical education become perceptible. Since the majority of these implications have already
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been identified in Finding 4, it will only be mentioned here that the working-class body was differentiated from that of other social classes, and thereby educated in state-run elementary schools. It was medically inspected, measured, corrected and normalised through the technology of physical education, even when its content shifted to a less regulatory form of corporeal power across the early twentieth century. Foucault (1980a, p. 58) argues that

from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century I think it was believed that the investment of the body by power had to be heavy, ponderous, meticulous and constant... And then, starting from the 1960s, it began to be realised that such a cumbersome form of power was no longer as indispensable as had been thought and that industrial societies could content themselves with a looser form of power over the body.

This infers, once again, that physical education does not correspond to core perspectives in governmentality theory, as “looser forms” of corporeal power were shown to arise much earlier in this subject’s history than the 1960s.

Possibilities for future research

This thesis commenced at the end of 2014, following a time when a plethora of sports and health-obesity policies had been implemented in England across the previous decade or so. These policies were shown to have permeated physical education and affected its construction in Chapter 4. Since the PhD process commenced, there have been no further physical education curriculum changes, which means that the analysis of the most recent 2013 programmes of study remains relevant today. Moreover, there have been no significant sport/health/obesity policy changes since the key findings based on contemporary physical education were completed. This again points to the pertinence of this extensive 114-year genealogical study of physical education across its four selected epochs.

In terms of future physical education research, this exploration of body construction and governance in physical education in England shows potential for extension. Indeed, rather than offering a new theory of power, this thesis has sought to analyse
and contest regimes of practice, opening spaces for related questions and further research. Certainly, it has helped to dissipate the universal nature of physical education governance by destabilising and denaturalising its ‘traditions’, such as competition. In so doing, it has shifted the focus away from a predetermined course of history that offers a linear and chronological development of physical education, in an endeavour to gain an understanding of its broader social significance. Thus, this study illuminates the governance continuities and discontinuities that have shaped physical education as a subject in the present. In similar ways, future studies of physical education might focus on the social contexts, political alignments, accidental happenings, agents, forms of knowledge, and regimes of practice; these could help to expose ever-evolving governable issues such as public health and the role of competition and collaboration. In addition, this study highlights the ways in which rationalities and discourses need to be analysed as fluid and multifaceted, and cutting across different educational subjects and disciplines. Future research might also investigate the shaping of strategies of rule in a range of contexts. This would be pertinent, as it has already been shown in this thesis that by examining a singular school subject, power forms that have allegedly arisen at certain times in broader society become contestable. Moreover, the relevance of a “multiple governmentalities framework” (Fletcher, 2017, p. 313) became evident in this thesis. This indicates how more attention needs to be paid to the ways in which governance rationalities interlink and hybridise, for they have the capacity to reveal new knowledge through their “assemblage of networks, authorities, groups, individuals, and institutions... brought to identify their own desires and aspirations with those of others, so that they were or could become allies in governing” (Rose et al., 2006, p. 89). Further research could also focus on the governance of physical education in other countries than England, and comparative work could be duly embarked upon, facilitating deeper understanding of this subject both in its country of origin and international contexts.

Within Chapter 2, the use of Foucault’s triangular forms of power in its entirety was illuminated as a rarity in the domain of physical education research, and only a few
governmentality-focused studies have been undertaken in combined physical education-health research. In future studies, Foucault’s power triad could be applied in a more consistent way to physical education per se, rather than how it has currently been used in physical education-health research. Furthermore, since only class and age proved to be significant social variables in my genealogical study, having an emphasis on alternatives such as race, or disability, would be judicious in future research. Interestingly, the alleged ‘problem’ of youth in society has been illuminated at regular intervals throughout this study. This suggests that age, which often receives much less attention than gender and class in the physical education literature, merits additional investigation. Constructions of the body in relation to social variables and associated regimes of practice might also be explored in the practical context of the physical education class; these could be compared with discourses that underpin theoretical support for teachers via Government-designed curriculum documents, support subject material and the like. In her recent gender-focused work, Scraton (2018, p. 35) emphasises the need for such connections between practice and research in order to better understand the “discourses that impact on what is taught, how it is taught, and gendered expectations about behaviour, appearance and abilities, albeit that these are complex and diverse”. As such, Scraton (2018, p. 36) strongly advocates for “a critical PE feminism that recognises multiple categories and identities whilst locating these within political, social and economic power structures”.

Both of Scraton’s (2018) statements above implicitly affirm the importance of adopting a genealogical approach to the governance of physical education in this thesis. Indeed, this methodological choice engenders ‘new’ ways of knowing the body, helping to clarify “the dividing lines in the confrontations and struggles that functional arrangements or systematic organisations [in physical education] are designed to mask” (Foucault, 2003, p. 7). Hence, the dynamic between power, knowledge and the body facilitates a robust and in-depth understanding of contemporary physical education with its inherent complexities, contradictions and contingencies. It appears, therefore, that a genealogical approach is well placed to
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challenge the assumed stable foundations that underpin present forms of governing in physical education in England, as well as physical education in other national contexts.
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Appendix A: Socio-Political Timeline from 1902 to 2016

1902
- Boer War (1899-1902) ends.
- 1902 Education Act is implemented (also known as the Balfour Act). This is brought to Parliament by a Conservative government and supported by the Church of England. The Act is the chief catalyst for shifting responsibility from the church to the state, abolishing school boards and establishing new local education authorities which creates rate supported grammar schools.

1903
- Formation of Women’s Social and Political Union (the Suffragettes).

1904
- Liberal government lays foundations for later welfare state with pensions, work and sickness insurance and the expansion of secondary education.
- Publication of the Report of Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in the working classes (IDCPD, 1904a).

1906
- Introduction of free school meals (1906).
- Labour Representation Committee renames itself in 1906 as the Labour Party.
- 1906 Liberal electoral triumph, which follows nearly twenty years of Conservative domination. The Liberals remain in power from 1906 to 1914. Many social reform changes take place during their reign.

1907
- Introduction of school medical inspection involves the medical inspection of schoolchildren and the treatment of minor ailments, dental and visual conditions.
- Legislation to make every grant-aided secondary school keep a quarter of their places open for elementary students from state schools.
- Women are allowed to become local and county councillors.

1908
- 1908 Children’s Act is created to protect the poorest children in society from abuse. This primarily involves the prevention of cruelty to children, protection of infant life, provision for juvenile offence, provision of a constitutional basis for reform and industrial schools.
Appendix A: Socio-Political Timeline from 1902 to 2016

- 1908 Old Age Pensions Act passed; comes into effect in 1909.
- The Olympic Games are held in London.

1909
- 1909 Labour Exchanges Act establishes register of vacant jobs.
- Minimum wages set by the Trade Boards Act in ‘sweated industries’.
- Various road improvement and housing and town planning Acts implemented.
- Fiscal policy undergoes a change with progressive and redistributory taxation introduced.

1910
- Liberal minority government elected in two general elections in January-February and in December.
- Death of Edward VII, accession of George V.
- Suffragette campaign intensifies to include arson. Suffragette prisoners mount hunger strikes.

1911
- 1911 National Insurance Act: launch of contributory health insurance for most manual workers and contributory unemployment insurance for workers in ‘precarious’ trades. This lays the foundations for the welfare state.

1913
- 1913 Education Act establishes free medical treatment for poor children.

1914
- Outbreak of First World War (1914-1918). England enters hostilities against Germany.

1915
- Introduction of rent control on working-class housing.

1916
- Conscription introduced for unmarried men aged 18-41 and extended to married men later that same year.
- Battle of the Somme – over 620,000 Allied casualties.

1918
- First World War ends in November with an armistice. The number of England war dead runs to several hundred thousand.
- 1918 Education Act (also known as the Fisher Act) implemented. The Act raises the school leaving age to fourteen and seeks to expand tertiary education, and provide ancillary services such as medical inspections, nursery schools, and centres for pupils with special needs. It is not until after the Second World War that the Act's broader ideas are given further impetus.
Women's voting rights are granted after years of suffragette protests, although they are not on fully equal terms with men until 1928.

1918 Maternity and Child Welfare Act extends maternity and child welfare services.

Following a split in the Liberal party, an agreement is reached between Lloyd George (Liberal) and the Conservatives, which leads to a resounding victory for the new Lloyd George-led coalition party.

1919
- Ministry of Health established, with responsibility granted from the Board of Education for the health of mothers and children, and from the Home Office for infant life protection (under the 1908 Children Act).
- 1919 Sex Disqualification Removal Act opens all professions to women, except the church.
- Lady Astor becomes the first woman to sit as a Member of Parliament in the House of Commons.
- Widespread industrial unrest over wages from 1919 to 1921 under coalition rule.

1920s – 1930s
- Shortage of men in the 1920s after the World War I helps to accelerate the emancipation of middle and upper class young women.

1920
- 1920 Unemployment Insurance Act extends unemployment insurance to all manual workers outside railways, agriculture and government service.

1921
- End of post-war boom. Committee appointed to examine scope for public expenditure cuts.

1922
- Conservatives win majority in November general election.

1923
- Conservatives lose majority but remain in office until new parliament convened in January 1924.
- The Matrimonial Causes Act 1923 puts men and women on an equal footing for the first time, enabling either spouse to petition the court for a divorce on the basis of their spouse’s adultery.

1924
- Conservative government defeated when parliament meets in January. First (minority) Labour government takes office under Ramsay MacDonald. Although the Labour party only remains in power for one year, their electoral win is of symbolic importance, which might be partially explained by class. Their victory ends two
Appendix A: Socio-Political Timeline from 1902 to 2016

centuries of Conservative-Liberal domination of British politics and they are the first party to gain power with the express purpose of representing the voice of the working classes.

- Conservatives win the October general election.

1925
- National Playing Fields Association founded by King George V to protect parks and green spaces.

1926
- The Hadow Report (Board of Education, 1926) advocates secondary education for all and paves the way for the school-leaving age to be raised to fifteen. The school-leaving age is not actually raised until much later when the Education Act of 1944, the culmination of long-term aspirations of Boards of Education in England and Wales, legisitates secondary educational opportunities for all social classes on equal terms.

- General Strike arises from the coal dispute. Lasts for 9 days with more than 4,000 strikers prosecuted and 1,000 imprisoned (Johnson, 1994).

1927
- 1927 Trade Disputes Act makes general strike illegal.

1928
- Payment of contributory pensions to widows and elderly people over 65.

1929
- Voting age for women reduces from 30 to 21.

1929 Physical Training and Recreation Act.

1929
- Wall Street Crash marks the beginning of the Great Depression (1929-1939); the worst economic downturn in the history of the industrialised world. Unemployment begins to rise in England.

- General election gives Labour most seats and they form a minority government.

- 1929 Local Government Act abolishes Poor Law Guardians and transfers their functions to local authorities.

1930
- Renaming of Poor Law as Public Assistance.

1931
- Financial and economic crisis. Unemployment rises above three million.

- Labour government breaks up and a three-party National Government coalition is formed. National Government wins the election with a mainly Conservative majority.

1932
- Gradual recovery from depression.

1936
- Death of King George V. Edward VIII accedes to throne but abdicates after ten months. Accession of George VI.

1937
## Appendix A: Socio-Political Timeline from 1902 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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| 1938 | - Development of the National Fitness Council.  
- Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain meets the leader of Nazi Germany, Adolf Hitler, in Munich. Chamberlain says he averted war with Germany. |
| 1939 | - Germany invades Poland. England declares war on Germany (3 September).  
- Second World War commences (1939-1945).  
- Compulsory military service introduced in June. |
| 1940 | - Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain resigns and a coalition government is formed under Winston Churchill.  
- Fighter pilots repel German air attacks in the Battle of Britain. London and other cities are badly damaged in German bombing raids.  
- 1940s to 1960s: gradual dismantling of the British Empire in Asia, the Middle East and Africa. |
| 1942 | - The Beveridge Report (Beveridge, 1942) is published, which many consider to be the primary catalyst for the construction of the modern welfare state after the Second World War. |
| 1944 | - Allied troops invade France from Britain on D-Day (6th June) and begin to fight their way towards Germany.  
- 1944 Butler Education Act provides universal free schooling in three different types of secondary school - grammar, secondary modern and technical. The Act reshapes educational provision and enables primary education to become a separate ‘culture’. It also affirms the need for education to foster the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of each community member, in accordance with its principle that education involves the whole person.  
- The 11-plus examination is introduced. This governs admission to grammar schools and other secondary schools which use academic selection, and it is in use from 1944 until 1976 when it is phased out in the majority of local education authorities. |
| 1945 | - Second World War ends with Germany surrendering on 8 May. Labour leader Clement Attlee wins a landslide election victory.  
- Labour Party comes to power for the first time in British history in 1945, with Clement Attlee serving as Prime Minister for the next six years. |
1945 Family Allowance Act introduces cash payments to parents.

1946
- 1946 Housing Act establishes the principle that housing is of public concern and so it is placed under the administration of the minister for Health.
- 1946 Coal Industry Nationalisation Act transfers to public ownership, coming into effect in 1947.
- The Cold War - Winston Churchill makes his Fulton Speech in the USA declaring that an Iron Curtain has descended across Europe.

1947
- Fuel crisis and power cuts (February-March).
- 1947 Inland Transport Act transfers to public ownership.
- The former colony of India becomes independent.
- Anti-semetic riots in Britain.

1948
- National Health Service (NHS) is established, following the 1946 National Health Service Act, providing free medical care for everyone in the country. It involves the nationalisation of hospitals along with a wide range of cost-free specialist, medical, dental, ophthalmic, pharmaceutical, ambulance and community health services. The latter encompasses district nursing, midwifery, immunisation, and school medical services, which are controlled and supervised by a local authority Medical Health Officer.
- 1948 Children's Act creates a new childcare service.
- 1948 National Assistance Act provides weekly financial support to individuals in order to cover their food and shelter, thereby marking the end of the legendary Poor Laws that dates back to 1601.
- Railways are nationalised.
- Olympic Games is held in London.

1950
- Labour government is re-elected in February.

1951
- Iron and steel industries are nationalised.

1952
- Death of George VI; accession of Elizabeth II.
1953 o Iron and steel are denationalised.
1954 o Roger Bannister runs a mile in under 4 minutes.
1955 o Conservatives remain in power with Anthony Eden’s re-election (1955-1957).
1956 o Suez Crisis: invasion of Egypt in late 1956 by Israel, followed by the United Kingdom and France.
1957 o Conservatives remain in power under Harold Macmillan (1957-1963) who replaces Eden as Prime Minister.
o The Gold Coast is the first African state to become independent of Britain; it is renamed Ghana.
1959 o Re-election of Conservative government.
o 1959 National Insurance Act introduces earnings-related principle for contributions and some benefits.
1960 o Compulsory military service discontinues.
o Invention of contraceptive pill.
o Robbins Report advocates the expansion of higher education.
1964 o Led by Harold Wilson, the Labour party returns to office in 1964; their doctrine favours state control, industrial competitiveness and modernisation of the British economy.
1965 o Government announces a 5-year National Plan for economic growth and creates the Department of Economic Affairs.
o First Race Relations Act and formation of Race Relations Board.
o 1965 Murder Act suspends capital punishment.
o Foundation of Child Poverty Action Group.
1966 o Labour party wins the general election with an increased majority.
o England wins the football World Cup for the first time (they have not won it since).
1967 o Plowden Report (DES, 1967) published: the first comprehensive review of primary education for more than thirty years. Epitomises a period of creativity and optimism in education, providing strong arguments against 11-plus selection and streaming, advocating a rise in status for artistic and aesthetic subjects, and
Appendix A: Socio-Political Timeline from 1902 to 2016

encouraging a topic-based, flexible approach to learning and teaching. The Plowden Committee's recommendations herald a return to progressive approaches that had begun to characterise primary education during the pre-Second World War period.

- 1967 Abortion Act legalises abortions on certain grounds by registered practitioners, and regulates the tax-paid provision of such medical practices through the National Health Service (NHS).
- 1967 Family Planning Act makes contraception readily available through the NHS by enabling local health authorities to provide advice to a much wider population. Previously, these services were limited to women whose health was put at risk by pregnancy.
- National Front forms from a number of extreme right anti-immigration parties.
- Government nationalises the British Steel Industry.

1968
- Public expenditure cuts; NHS prescription charges are reimposed.

1969
- 1969 Divorce Reform Act: enables either party to seek a divorce on the basis of the irretrievable breakdown of the marriage, proved by evidence. This is in response to the need to eliminate gender distinctions from the law and reflect the new social context in the aftermath of World War II.
- Voting age lowers from 21 to 18.

1970
- A surprise win by the right wing Conservative party led by Edward Heath defeats the previous governing left wing Labour Party under Harold Wilson. The programme of the Heath Government promotes more free-market policies, reduces state intervention in the economy, and initiates trade union reform, higher taxes, and increased selectivity in welfare.
- 1970 Matrimonial Property Act: focuses on cash payments from one spouse to the other or for the benefit of the child in cases of divorce, and to the adjustment of the property rights of spouses in light of a breakdown of marriage.
- 1970 Equal Pay Act prohibits any less favourable treatment between men and women in terms of pay and
Appendix A: Socio-Political Timeline from 1902 to 2016

conditions of employment. This is implemented on a voluntary basis until 1975.

1971
- 1971 Industrial Relations Act. This is an attempt to manage escalating salary demands and unofficial strikes. The Act is intensely disputed by trade unions, and eventually leads to the demise of Heath’s right wing Government.

1972

1973
- The UK joins the European Economic Community.
- The Wilson Government secures a ‘Social Contract’ with the unions, which helps them to gain public confidence in relation to handling the industrial problem and to restrain rapidly accelerating inflation (see Hannah, 1994). The promotion of a left wing rebel, Michael Foot, to Employment Secretary helps to reduce social tension, ending the ‘State of Emergency’ and paving the way for an increase in salaries for the coalminers.
- School leaving age raises to 16 years.

1974
- Prime Minister Edward Heath (Conservative) calls February general election. No overall majority at election.
- In the October general election, the Labour party, under Harold Wilson, wins the majority.
- Miners’ strike and the three-day week (introduced by Government to conserve electricity during the strike) ends in March.
- Clashes between National Front and anti-fascist groups; demonstration in Red Lion Square (London).

1975

1976
- Harold Wilson resigns as Prime Minister.
- Police Complaints Board is established.
- Sterling crisis.

1978
- A series of economic decisions by the Callaghan left wing Government and a subsequent rise in the cost of living

1979

- The Conservative politician Margaret Thatcher becomes Prime Minister, the first female leader of the Conservative Party, following the aftermath of the macroeconomic crisis of the 1970s wherein there is a slow growth rate, high inflation and high unemployment. She begins to introduce free-market policies, reorganising the UK’s economies according to neoliberal ideas (see Kus, 2006). This results in what some allude to as “anti-Keynesian politics”, and an “individualistic philosophy” to create the “neoliberal credo” (Tickell & Peck, 2003, p. 166).

1980

- Riots in St. Paul’s district of Bristol.
- Unemployment rises above two million for the first time since 1938.
- 1980 Education Act removes obligation on local education authorities to provide school meals and milk.
- 1980 Housing Act gives council house tenants the right to buy the houses they rent.

1981

- Government begins a programme of privatisation of state-run industries, followed by the deregulation of financial markets. This is designed to help create a property-owning democracy, produce capital to help reduce government expenditure and bring an end to subsidies.
- Riots in Brixton (London), Toxteth (Liverpool), and Moss Side (Manchester).

1982

- Unemployment rises above three million for the first time since 1933.

1983

- Conservatives, under Margaret Thatcher, are re-elected with an increased majority.
- Establishment of Youth Training Scheme (YST): an on-the-job training course for school leavers aged 16 and 17, managed by the Manpower Services Commission.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events</th>
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| 1984 | - Coalmining pit closures; ministers announce an all-out strike. Violence between police and miners at mass pickets.  
- Divorce permitted one year after marriage instead of the statutory three. |
| 1985 | - Miners’ strike collapses due to their decisive defeat.  
- Fowler review of social security proposes the abolition of state earnings-related pension schemes and the extension of private provision.  
- Riots in Handsworth (Birmingham) and Tottenham (London). |
| 1986 | - Serious riots outside Wapping (London).  
- British Gas privatised. |
| 1987 | - Conservatives are re-elected under Margaret Thatcher. |
| 1988 | - 1988 Education Reform Act provides for the establishment of a National Curriculum of core subjects (English, mathematics, science) and foundation subjects (art, geography, history, music, physical education, technology, modern foreign language) for students of compulsory school age in England and Wales. Budgetary control is given to schools who can opt out of local education authority control.  
- 1988 Immigration Act further restricts rights of relatives and dependants to settle. |
| 1989 | - National Curriculum implemented for children aged 5-16 in phases. |
| 1990 | - Margaret Thatcher resigns as Prime Minister after she failed to defeat a challenge to her leadership of the Conservative party. John Major becomes Prime Minister.  
- Large riot in London and smaller ones across the country in opposition to Poll Tax (a single flat-rate per-capita tax on every adult, at a rate set by the local authority). |
| 1991 | - Privatisation of electricity industry. Coal, railways and post office remain as the only major nationalised industries. |
| 1992 | - John Major is re-elected as Prime Minister for the Conservative party, with a reduced majority. |
Appendix A: Socio-Political Timeline from 1902 to 2016


2008
- Global financial crisis plunges the UK into recession.
  October – the government part-nationalises three leading UK banks with a 37 billion pound rescue package. It also pumps billions into the UK financial system after record stock market falls are precipitated by the global “credit crunch”.

2010
- May – general election: Conservative party wins most seats but fails to gain an absolute majority. Conservative leader David Cameron heads the first post-war coalition with the third-placed Liberal Democrats.
- October – coalition party announces large-scale public spending cuts aimed at reducing UK’s budget deficit.

2012
- August-September – the UK hosts the 2012 Summer Olympics and Paralympics to widespread international acclaim, winning 65 medals.

2014
- Same-sex marriage becomes legal in England, Wales and Scotland.

2015
- May - Conservative party confounds polls by winning a majority in the general election for the first time since 1992.
- Queen Elizabeth II becomes the longest-reigning UK monarch ever.

2016
- June - political crisis after voters in a referendum opt to quit the European Union. David Cameron resigns, and is succeeded as Prime Minister by his home secretary, Theresa May.
Appendix B: Publications resulting from the Research

**Discourses of self-regulation and healthism**

**Charles Sturt University Lecturer, Rachael Jefferson-Buchanan, explores the structure and content of the new Personal Development, Health and Physical Education (PDHPE) K–10 syllabus.**

My current research considers physical education curriculum and associated sport policy in the UK, across a time period of nearly 120 years. I have adopted a genealogical approach, focusing on the historical discourses through which different forms of governing are constituted. In so doing, I have explored ways in which certain discourses give rise to historically specific terms of knowing and governing the body in physical education, and I have examined the power effects that underpin these. The selected methodologies orientate the ‘issue-for-granted’ in contemporary physical education, troubling rather than cultivating consensus, and thereby illuminates how this school subject’s pedagogy and practice construct the body.

Although my genealogical research focuses on the UK, it has inherent connections with the new Australian PDHPE K–10 syllabus developed by the NSW Education Standards Authority (2014), perhaps due to colonial ties between the two countries. It is therefore pertinent to examine various discourses that have emerged in the UK physical education context and apply these to the new Australian PDHPE syllabus. A particularly significant aspect to note in the latter is how the syllabus has been structured. In essence, it is shaped by five perspectives, organized into three content strands, with a focus on these PDHPE skill domains. Figure 1 provides an illustrative representation of these elements and their relationships.

What becomes evident from this simple visual is how extensively self-regulation, cooperative healthiness, and movement skill and performance have permeated the new Australian PDHPE syllabus. Indeed, self-management skills, along with interpersonal skills, and movement skills, form the foundation of the syllabus content. They are encoded by these content strands, of which two are health-oriented. In the third strand, Movement Skill and Performance, health alsoness to the fore. Hence, traces of healthiness are able to be distinguished, whereby an individual’s sense of personal responsibility and their body as sites of intervention and regulation are targeted. In working under the assumption that everyone should endeavor to maximize their own health, healthiness suggests that the individual has a choice when it comes to preventing their body from becoming diseased. As a result, healthiness is often aligned to as an advanced liberal outcome that centers on health objectives with individuals’ aspirations for personal health and wellbeing; that, despite the fact that socioeconomic status is strongly associated with risk of disease and mortality.

Interestingly, healthiness and personal responsibility are two core discourses that tend to dominate contemporary physical education in the UK. However, as explained above, the notion of ‘self-management’ is explicitly stated and concomitantly accepted in the core skill domain in the Australian PDHPE syllabus. In contrast, only emmancipations of the same domain in the UK syllabus through the Key Stage statements and one of the four key concepts amidst ‘healthiness’, active lifestyles’, in the latter it is confirmed that students need to recognize the importance of regular physical activity and its impact on physical, mental, and social well-being. This implicitly suggests that individual conduct, attitudes, and emotions are the manifest symptoms needing attention in health behaviors. In similar ways to the Australian PDHPE syllabus, discourses consequently revered themselves to be self-discipline and responsibility in nature.

It is in the Australian syllabus strand ‘Healthy, Safe and Active Lifestyles’, which focuses on the interrelationship between health and physical activity concepts, that healthiness and self-
Appendix B: Publications resulting from the Research

regulation discourses broader to involve community. The syntheses mean that students are required to "develop the knowledge, understanding and skills to empower them to make healthy and wise choices and take action to promote the health, safety and wellbeing of their communities. They engage with a range of health issues and identify strategies to keep them healthy, safe and active." This affirms that the individual has personal responsibility for their state of health, but this discourse has now been extended to include community obligations. This is akin to my research into curriculum changes in the UK from 1970 to 1990, where the body, through the technology of physical education, became a "solution" to government's desire for greater self-regulation and enhanced moral attributes in its citizens across the epoch. The self-regulation that subsequently emerged from the late 1980s-early 2000s can thus be traced to a proliferation of wellness initiatives of governing that occurred in the early 1990s. This resulted in ruling authorities (government and others) increasing emphasis on governing physical activity - and conduct more broadly - through communities. Featuring national growth through social responsibility has since filtered into national state documents such as physical education syllabuses.

Taking these matters into account, it might be ventured that broader (macro) power structures which operate in society may down to govern the technology of physical education at the micro level. Whole health has been an integral part of physical education curriculum content since the early 20th century in Australia. It was not until the 1990s that health promotion became increasingly prevalent in the public policy arena. This resulted in a new health consciousness and a discourse shift towards personal responsibility. The Australian FDHPC curriculum has seemingly embraced such healthism by placing its three skill domains as the core content from which the body might be constructed. Accordingly, students' individual behaviour becomes the mediator of personal health, and the health ambitions of ruling authorities are able to be realised. It might therefore be proposed that the new

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Figure 1. Diagram from the Australian FDHPC: Core Development, developed by MEA.

Australian FDHPC curriculum re-contextualises old health concepts, bringing new life into them through its contemporary discourses of self-regulation and healthism.
EXPLORING THE GENDER-CONSTRUCTED BODY ACROSS TIME
IN UK PHYSICAL EDUCATION THROUGH A FEMINIST FRAMEWORK

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Abstract- Physical education has the potential to be an empowering arena for young women in that they have the opportunity to resist many of the dominant discourses in relation to femininity and gender. However, many girls and young women choose not to pursue physical activity beyond the school context, since they feel alienated by the pedagogy and practice within physical education. Using a feminist framework that draws on four key perspectives, this paper explores ways in which the body has been and continues to be gender-constructed in UK physical education. By revisiting various historical happenings and issues it exposes the prevalence of discourses in relation to the body and gender, illuminating how they persist even in contemporary physical education. Indeed, the paper proposes that gender discourses remain entrenched in much of the pedagogy and practice of the discipline. This is due to societal structures that have a vested interest in maintaining divisions between gender and sex, and promoting notions of normativity in relation to what constitutes female or male, and their respective roles. Reconceptualisation of longstanding gendered practice in this school subject is proposed by drawing on the poststructuralist feminist perspective in which the notion of gender as performativity is paramount. Utilising such a theoretical framework can help to challenge orthodox gender constructions of the body both within and beyond the physical education context.

Key words- Physical education, discourse, gender, govern, body, corporeal, feminist, feminine, normativity.
INTRODUCTION

Physical education is a practical subject that has been recognised as being principally physical in nature (Armour, 1999). Arnold’s (1979, 1988) triumvirate curriculum model for physical education is noteworthy in this domain, due to its concentration on the interrelated dimensions of learning ‘in’, ‘through’ and ‘about’ movement. Taking into account the dominance of “practical knowledge” in physical education (Reid, 1996; Ryle, 1949, 2009), it might be concluded that the body is at the centre of learning in this subject, affirming the need to examine different scholarly perspectives on the body in order to better understand physical education per se. Game (1991) appears to validate this conjecture through her conception of the body as a site of interplays, which she believes provides the possibility for an alternative conception of knowledge. Similarly, other theorists propose that physical education pedagogy and practice socially and culturally construct the body over time (see Evans, 1986; Kirk & Tinning, 1990; Wright, 1996). Indeed, the history of physical education has allegedly been dominated by disciplining, controlling, moulding and gendering the body, which has subsequently been objectified (Kirk & Tinning, 1994; Vertinsky, 1992; Wright, 1998). Hence, the body needs to be recognised as a complex entity that might be governed in a multiplicity of ways; accordingly it could “be conceptualised as an object that can be laboured on, and as the outcome of an evolving interaction or mutual conditioning with the mind and between nature and culture, between biology and society” (Bates, 2015, p. 142). In parallel with such thinking, four feminist approaches to the body have been identified as particularly pertinent to this study; these will each be explored in succession. The convoluted interrelationships between these feminist perspectives of the body and physical education will be illuminated as such; for the body’s significance in this curriculum area has already been established. Moreover, inherent gendered power structures and struggles in physical education will be exposed during this analytical process.

DRAWING ON FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES TO EXPLORE THE GENDER-CONSTRUCTED BODY IN UK PHYSICAL EDUCATION

A number of feminist perspectives might be considered in relation to physical education pedagogy and practice, with liberal, radical, socialist and poststructuralist perspectives having the most impact on this subject (Flintoff & Scraton, 2005). Feminist perspectives seek to comprehend and explain gender relations, illuminating inequalities between the sexes whilst simultaneously advocating strategies for change. Each of these four perspectives has implications for the governance of female and male bodies within a physical education context. However, it is recognised that a complete overview of all four selected feminist perspectives would be an impossible task within the limitations of this paper; moreover, feminist theories are inherently dynamic and fluid, with one theory never entirely being replaced by another despite their chronological development. It should be remembered, therefore, that there is coexistence of different traditions of feminist thought in one text. Furthermore, gendered accounts of physical
education do not always elucidate which specific feminist perspective underpins them. Notwithstanding this, an endeavour will be made to organise the ensuing discussion of gender and physical education into particular feminist strands, thereby connecting issues raised with the perspective that is most akin to these.

LIBERAL FEMINISM IN THE UK PHYSICAL EDUCATION CONTEXT

Liberal feminists contend that the ‘oppressor’ relative to females is their lack of opportunity due to biological determinism and patterns of socialisation that normalise this. Challenging traditional assumptions about the body as a natural, biological entity and simultaneously furthering research on the social construction of the body highlights some of the socio-cultural effects on girls’ and boys’ participation in physical education (see Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Kirk & Tinning, 1994; Wright, 2000). Notwithstanding this, biological determinism has underpinned the preliminary institutionalisation of physical education for girls, permeating the choices of physical activities that were on offer to girls and boys respectively. Accordingly, traditional ‘male’ activities (for example rugby) that emphasised strength, endurance or physical contact, were modified to accommodate girls ‘innate’ feminine qualities, and new female-based activities such as netball, lacrosse and field hockey that did not run the risk of promoting overt masculinity and active sexuality were introduced in the private school sector. Netball promoted restrictions of space which reduced the speed of the game, and its no contact rule ensured suitable spacing between players was maintained. This ‘protected’ the girls for their future reproduction function and minimised sexual contact or awareness (Scraton, 1992). Similarly, lacrosse and field hockey involved an implement that effectively assured distance was created between the ball and the player, therefore minimising body contact.

In this manner, the female body in physical education experienced something of a dichotomy: “Ideologies around women’s ability, role and behaviour became institutionalised within the PE [physical education] profession such that secondary school girls experienced a subject which on the one hand contributed to their liberation in terms of dress, opportunities for physical activity, and access to a future profession but on the other hand reaffirmed clear physical sex differences, their future role as mother and the boundaries and limitations of women’s sexuality” (Evans, 1986, p. 79). Hence, eugenic and social Darwinian arguments about the female body needing gentler treatment in order to enhance its maternal energy - and thereby not jeopardise the survival of the human race - seem to have endured during decisions about what constitute ‘appropriate’ games for boys and girls. Unsurprisingly, gendered pedagogic principles and content such as these were retained when state-provided secondary schools were developed for children of all social classes during 1944 in the UK. Moreover, even with the development of movement education and Laban-based teaching (1948) that focused on traditional ‘female’ domains such as creativity, expression, discovery and cooperation during the 1950s and 1960s, the alleged
biological inferiority of the female body proved difficult to contest. The dominance of male-driven scientific functionalism within physical education, which defined its pedagogy after the 1950s (Kirk, 1992), served to compound such gendered methods of practice.

**RADICAL FEMINISM IN THE UK PHYSICAL EDUCATION CONTEXT**

When examining radical feminism, sexuality is more centralised in this perspective and regarded as the principal site of male domination over females through the social institution of heterosexuality. A woman’s right to control and redefine the meanings of her own sexuality and her own body is at issue here, in tandem with the acknowledgement of how seldom this is the case both historically and in contemporary times. Thus, the manner in which patriarchy is sustained through structural power relations becomes the primary focus, along with how these serve to disempower females. Under patriarchy, femininity and masculinity therefore become relationally defined hegemonic constructions (Macdonald et al., 2002). Masculinity, through historical constructive processes, encompasses physicality in ways that exclude females, who become alienated by virtue of the sex-gender divides within the social system in which they reside. In this way, gender oppression is normalised and becomes the status quo.

It would appear that the gendered differentiation of physical education activities provided to girls and boys, in tandem with the ways in which both sexes are effectively manoeuvred into gender-appropriate activities and thereby not granted equal opportunities are indicative of longstanding gender oppression in this school subject. Whilst several researchers have affirmed such matters (Griffin, 1984, 1985a, 1985b; Kirk, 1992; Talbot, 1993), others have also been influential, maintaining that girls are socialised into ‘female’ activities such as netball and gymnastics, whilst boys pursue the more ‘male’ activities of football and cricket (Leaman, 1984). Girls’ differential and restricted physical education provision could therefore be said to reflect and reinforce an ideology of femininity, appearing to therefore validate women’s inferior status in society. Such phenomena also seem to substantiate the gender normalisation process mentioned earlier. Certainly, such clearly defined male and female roles imply that a heterosexual body is central, and also actively promoted, within the physical education milieu. In addition, radical feminism in the physical education context might be discernible when considering how stereotyping and gender-related attitudes arise. Whilst the ‘performance’ and construction of normative conceptions of femininity and masculinity will be examined in more detail forthwith, it might be recalled that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century agents from the fields of medicine and physical education (structural power relations), successfully constructed a stereotypical view of the female body as powerless, passive, physically weak, and therefore needful of modified, ‘feminine’ physical activities.
Appendix B: Publications resulting from the Research

With regard to contemporary physical education, it has been recognised that “teaching behaviours and practices reveal entrenched sex stereotyping, based on ‘common-sense’ notions about what is suitable for girls and boys, both in single-sex and mixed-sex groups and schools” (Talbot, 1993, p. 74). Thus, despite the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act in the UK, there remain restricted opportunities for both sexes to certain physical activities, specifically in relation to girls’ access to competitive sport (Talbot, 1993). Such matters point to the fact that physical education is one of the few subjects on the curriculum where a gendered history of curriculum differentiation has prevailed (Fletcher, 1984; Kirk, 1992). Efforts to facilitate mixed sex physical education from the 1980s onwards have indeed proven complicated, with gendered body stereotypes often unchallenged and reproduced by teachers (Evans, 1989; Flintoff, 1996; Scraton, 1993). Moreover, a widespread presence of perceptions of male superiority and female inferiority by both teachers and students has been acknowledged (Chepyator-Thompson, Jepkorir & Ennis, 1997; Santina, Solmon, Cothran, Lofthus, & StockinDavidson, 1998). Notwithstanding these issues, the unequal access to competitive sport is of particular concern, since competitive sports and games have already been recognised as a male discourse that has governed physical education pedagogy since the 1950s (Kirk, 1992, 1998). Evidence of gender inequalities in physical education classes have also been highlighted elsewhere, with boys discriminating against girls and dominating participation in team sports, whilst girls adopt maladaptive behaviours such as giving up or acquiescing due to male practices being favoured in the curriculum (Griffin, 1984, 1985a, 1985b). It would appear then that divisions between the sexes have often prevailed in physical education as a result of ‘natural’ biological differences; these have accounted for variations in content between girls’ and boys’ physical education, together with differences in their expected participation and performance levels by peers, teachers, curriculum designers and higher power structures. This, combined with broader sociocultural influences on both girls and boys, leads to very different gendered experiences in physical education, with girls often being alienated due to ‘traditional’ sex-gender disparities in the school system (Evans, Davies, & Penney, 1996; Leaman, 1984; Scraton, 1992).

As well as documenting oppressive patriarchal structures in physical education such as those outlined above, contemporary radical feminists allude to the notion of the female body being controlled and restrained within a lesson context due to uniform designs across time. At the turn of the twentieth century, physical education contributed to the reform of women’s dress and clothing for physical activities, with the gymslip and tunic releasing the body from restraining items such as corsets and bodices (Scraton, 1986). At first sight this seems progressive, but the barrel shape of the new uniform carefully concealed young women’s bodies as they moved, simultaneously disguising any signs of developing sexuality and preserving their modesty for their future roles as mothers (Okeley, 1993). Contemporary female physical education kits in the UK also show signs of control being exercised over young women’s bodies, with the traditional donning of short skirts, tee-shirts and athletics knickers; this provides opportunities for heterosexual, male gaze and comment as young girls are reminded of their heterosexual
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femininity through a uniform policy that is institutionally endorsed (Flintoff & Scraton, 2005). It also appears to reinforce the ideology of woman-as-object, since the girls are judged against desirable femininity standards; thus their reference point becomes the boys’ attitudes, opinions and responses. In this manner, they conform to the dominant, institutionalised patriarchal narrative that values women primarily for their bodies. Accordingly, under radical feminism, the female body in physical education is, to all intents and purposes, disempowered and excluded on a personal and institutional level since it has lost its right to control and redefine the meaning of its own sexuality.

SOCIALIST FEMINISM IN THE UK PHYSICAL EDUCATION CONTEXT

The third feminist perspective to be examined, socialist feminism, locates oppression in the intersection between capitalism and patriarchy (Tong, 1998), maintaining that liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women’s oppression. Essentially then, socialist feminists argue that capitalism strengthens and supports the sex-gender division status quo as men hold the power and money. Analytical connections between class relations and gender relations in society are therefore made, in an endeavour to relate changes in the role of women to changes in the economic system and patterns of ownership of the means of production. Hence, the social variables of class and gender are perceptible, only this time they are intertwined; while women are recognised as being divided by class, they are viewed as experiencing a common oppression as the female sex. In terms of physical education per se, a socialist feminist perspective maintains that boys are prepared for the job market through physical activities that promote aggressiveness, independence and competition, whilst girls learn modified behaviours such as nurturing and cooperation to facilitate them into their future devalued labour, namely their reproductive role (Bray, 1988). In a similar vein, Scraton (1992) compares nineteenth century ideologies of femininity with contemporary physical education teacher expectations about girls’ physical capabilities, contending that girls remain defined as less able than boys, passive, vulnerable and subordinate. Such matters directly link to the notion of the ‘performance’ of gender, that is to say, how femininity and masculinity are learned, produced and reproduced in the physical education environment through pedagogy and practice; some physical education scholars (Cockburn & Clarke, 2002) confirm this phenomenon occurs due to the choice of curriculum activities, girls’ physical education clothing, and teacher attitudes and expectations. Western historical constructions of masculinity and femininity have long been associated with the body (Shilling, 2012), and since the body has already been established as central to physical education, it becomes the key vehicle through which subject knowledge is built and replicated. Taking this into account, Kirk (2002, p. 25) maintains that “for over one hundred years, the practices that make up physical education have been strongly associated with stereotypical views about the behaviours and activity that is appropriate for girls and boys respectively and with notably singular images of femininity and masculinity”. Whilst physical education practices have already been investigated, the latter point requires additional consideration and contextualisation, since the way in
which physical education provides both informal and formal sites for the construction and reinforcement of gender identity is essential for an enriched understanding of the gendered body. Indeed, Clarke (2002, p. 42) maintains that students and teachers actively “learn and recognise the required feminine and masculine codes for acceptance within physical education and schooling more generally”. The body thus becomes inscribed by the gender-appropriate, dominant discourse and this has an impact on the ‘lived’ body experience, transforming it into a place of personal, cultural and economic desire and struggle in pursuit of an ideal. In accordance with Garrett’s (2004) ‘comfortable’ body analogy that is discussed in greater depth forthwith, Bordo (1995) and Wright (2004) claim that the feminine body ideal is associated with slenderness. Conversely, masculine bodily ideals are linked to strength and muscularity (Connell 1990; Martino & Pallota-Chiarolli, 2003), which symbolise superiority, aggressiveness, independence, leadership and bravery. Although these are polarised body conceptions, there are gender commonalities to be found in the very notion of bodily concern, for it has been confirmed that “Body shape, size, muscularity, and physicality... are of central importance to [both] girls and boys” (Azzarito, 2009, p. 20). Notwithstanding this, a significant narrowing of girls’ physical activity choices can occur, since body shape and size appear to be connected to female and male engagement in gender-appropriate physical activities (Gorely, Horloyd, & Kirk, 2003). This is merely one example of various tensions and contradictions that have already been illuminated between the body, gender, and the body ‘work’ that is undertaken in the physical education environment.

Within this exploration of socialist feminism, Hargreaves’ (1986, 2002) historical perspective is also a useful one to note, since she suggests ways in which early physical education (as previously elucidated) was designed to ensure girls’ healthy bodies so that they could give birth to strong, able, healthy workers, whilst men accumulated capital. Socialist feminism is thereby considered a dual approach due to its focus on both class and gender. Interestingly, Kirk’s (2001, p. 477) reference to the introduction of competitive sports and games in physical education by the ruling classes during the 1950s aligns class and gender (albeit from a male perspective only): “Playing games was viewed as a way not only of redirecting homosexual desire, but also of producing new desire to be part of a team and by extension part of the collective such as a social class or ethnic group or a nation” (Kirk, 2001, p. 477). However, correlations such as these between class and gender have been questioned by some for the unequal priority that they potentially attribute to one or the other of these (Scraton & Flintoff, 2002). Regardless of this, socialist feminist analysis is acknowledged as having broadened its concentration from solely females’ experiences to a more critical review of gender relations (Flintoff & Scraton, 2005). Studies of boys and masculinities have consequently emerged, with explorations of student and teacher experiences in physical education (Braham, 2003; Fleming, 1991; Skelton, 1993). These have illuminated the centrality of power relations between various groups of boys and men, implicitly linking this perspective to the fourth and final one to be reviewed.
THE POSTSTRUCTURAL FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE IN THE UK PHYSICAL EDUCATION CONTEXT

The poststructural feminist perspective has developed more recently than the three previous ones outlined. By exploring connections between oppression, discourses, language and subjectivity as they impact upon gender identities and relationships, it endeavours to dismiss normalising conceptions of female and male, thereby promoting the shifting, plural and complex nature of gender. Experience, according to poststructuralist theory, is conferred meaning in language through a variety of “discursive systems of meaning, which are often contradictory and constitute conflicting versions of social reality, which in turn serve conflicting interests” (Weedon, 1997, p. 33). Indeed, poststructural feminist analysis illuminates ways in which dominant discourses can ensnare a person in conventional meanings and modes of being, noting that language and the range of subject positions that it provides always reside in historically specific discourses which are, in turn, located in and structured by discursive fields such as the education system. Foucault’s work has been adopted by some poststructuralist feminist scholars to interrogate the notion of corporeal, gendered styles that are embedded, resisted and controlled.

Perhaps at this point it is important to acknowledge the work of Butler, a key poststructuralist feminist theorist, who collapses the distinction between sex and gender, contending that there is no sex that is not always already gendered and that both are constructed as opposed to originating from any biological foundations. As a result, Butler (1990, p. 139) maintains that “the body is not a “being” but a variable boundary, a surface whose permeability is politically regulated, a signifying practice within a cultural field of gender hierarchy and compulsory heterosexuality”. For Butler, then, the ‘natural’ body cannot precede culture and discourse, but it should be remembered that the body is not a passive medium that is inscribed by external sources (Butler, 1990). In a similar vein, gender is not perceived as a passive construct that is “determined by nature, language, the symbolic, or the overwhelming history of patriarchy” (Butler, 1988, p. 531); it is instead produced through stylisation of the body and becomes a site through which agency takes place. The notion of performativity consequently comes into play, with the body being naturalised into a specific gender role through repetitious and ritualistic acts over time. This effectively repudiates the notion of gender being a stable identity or locus of agency, enabling the body to step outside of its “restrictive frames of masculinist domination and compulsory heterosexuality” (Butler, 1990, p. 141).

Butler’s work frequently draws from Foucault’s (1980) theory of power relations, emphasising the need to deconstruct ‘female’ and acknowledge pluralities of femininities and masculinities, which has implications for the diversity of girls’ and boys’ experiences in the physical education context. As such, the individual has to be taken into account, with an analysis of ways in which they can become empowered, disempowered or actively resist the effects of power through the gender construction process. Garrett’s (2004) poststructural examination of how young women experience
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their body during physical activity in contemporary society is of particular relevance here. She contends that there are three main female body types that are constructed within physical education, namely the comfortable body, the bad body and the different body. The ‘comfortable’ body is one that conforms to the slim, white, Western, middle-class conception, wherein the individual accepts the need to engage in physical activity to achieve a ‘good’ body whilst continuing to survey herself and others. The ‘bad’ body is one that is essentially viewed as fat and non-sporty, which inhibits the development of physicality and physical identity. In effect, individuals with ‘bad’ bodies seem to have internalised the Western culture of thinness as well as patriarchal standards of what constitutes an appropriate, and indeed attractive, female body. Finally, there are individuals who are described as having the ‘different’ body, because they do not conform to traditional discourses that focus on visual identity; they instead enjoy sensation and empowerment during movement experiences through their ‘lived’ body experiences. These three deconstructed body types expose the corporeal diversity that can be developed and sustained in physical education, illuminating how contemporary young women experience their bodies in multiple and sometimes incongruous ways.

When viewed historically, the body is recognised by poststructural feminists as being a text of culture on which central rules and hierarchies are inscribed, simultaneously operating as “an amazingly durable and flexible strategy of social control” (Bordo, 1989, p. 14). Power is thus exercised through such corporeal discourses, but poststructural feminists advocate that “To be effective, they [discourses] require activation through the agency of the individuals whom they constitute and govern in particular ways as embodied subjects” (Weedon, 1997, p. 108). Social conditioning and normalisation processes on the female body therefore underestimate the unstable nature of subjectivity, as well as the creative agency that the individual has (Bordo, 1993). Moreover, the continual need for body work through the uptake of physical activity, implicitly alludes to the unpredictability and duplicity of the body, as well as it always being in the process of ‘becoming’. It is in this space that dominant bodily codifications might be mediated, which is of particular interest to poststructural feminists.

Garrett’s (2004) hitherto mentioned analysis of the comfortable body, the bad body and the different body demonstrates the complex interrelations between bodies, gender and discourses. Other poststructural feminists (Hall, 1996; Theberge, 1987) have also used Foucault’s notions of discourse, concurrently revealing ways in which surveillance and technologies of the self operate through disciplinary power. Using such points of reference, the manner in which young women’s bodies are constructed and inscribed with knowledge have been shown to affect their understanding of self along with their involvement in physical activity. Theberge (1987, p. 393), for example, emphasises that physical activity and sport offer liberatory possibilities, providing “the opportunity for women to experience the creativity and energy of their bodily power”. This is akin to Garrett’s (2004) conceptions of ‘good’ and ‘different’ body types, notably vis-à-vis the ‘lived’, embodied experiences to which she alludes. It would seem, therefore, that girls in physical education, with or without ‘good’ bodies, can potentially offer some
resistance to traditional viewpoints surrounding femininity and the body through their rejection of restrictive gendered body discourses along with stereotypically feminine physical activities. Whilst some of these power struggles are shaped and driven by popular culture, the physical education profession has an opportunity to help girls contest discourses that define bodily norms and dictate what physical activities girls should undertake as opposed to boys. The work of poststructural feminists also highlights the performative nature of gender with its iterations of socially constructed codes that construe and confirm gender in the female-male replication process. Hence, performative approaches to gender such as those proposed earlier by Butler (1990) have been shown to be significant in terms of how they extend our understanding of gendered bodies in the physical education context.

CONCLUSION

The relevance of the gendered body in the physical education context has been affirmed through the above exploration of four widely accepted feminist perspectives, even though boundaries between these are recognised as being fluid and traversable. What has become evident are the specific ways in which female and male bodies are differently constructed, viewed and treated in physical education. Indeed, the legitimisation and reproduction of social inequalities connected to female-male differences in the physical education milieu have been highlighted, together with some of the accommodation and resistance to gendered body ‘norms’. It is apparent that ideologies of gendered physical capacities are embedded in the development of the pedagogical practices and content of physical education, and that they have become an important aspect of its tradition across time. Hence, “both as a school subject and as a ‘profession’, historically physical education in the UK has developed in explicitly gendered way” (Evans & Penney, 2002, p. 3). This not only rejects the possibility of a student being an individual with multiple identities, thereby relegating girls and boys to discrete homogeneous groups, but it also fails to recognise the shifting nature of gender and gender relations within physical education pedagogy and practice. Taking these factors into consideration, fundamental questions about physical education practice for girls and boys might be raised, challenging the subject’s reinforcement of gender stereotypes and sexual divisions, whilst simultaneously revealing the continuing influence of patriarchy at institutional level across time. Some would even go as far as saying that “physical education as it currently exists in many British schools is a masculinised form of the subject. But it is not merely masculinised. A particularly narrow form of masculinity informs and is expressed in this masculinisation” (Kirk, 2002, p. 35). Recognition of such power relations is pivotal to achieving deeper comprehension of gender issues. Furthermore, it needs to be acknowledged that gendered representations of the body are far more complex than at first sight, which signifies that analyses of gendered bodies will always fall short if there is no explicit engagement in the dynamics within and between gender and sexuality (Butler, 1990). Once it is recognised that gender is “a corporeal style and a copy of a copy” (Salih & Butler, 2004, p. 93), and that societal structures have a vested interest in maintaining divisions
between gender and sex, notions of normativity in relation to what constitutes female or male, and their respective roles, can begin to be contested both within and beyond the physical education context.

REFERENCES

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Rachael Jefferson-Buchanan

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Traces of discourses and governmentality within the content and implementation of the Western Australian Fundamental Movement Skills programme (STEPS Professional Development)
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ABSTRACT
Over the last 20 years or more, a plethora of movement programmes have been adopted within primary physical education in the UK and across Australia. One particular programme, Fundamental Movement Skills (STEPS Professional Development), became of interest to the researcher during her dual role as the UK Fundamental Movement Skills (FMS) consultant and a teacher educator. This resulted in an exploration of the Western Australian FMS STEPS Professional Development programme resources and related professional development files. Utilising a document analysis approach, in addition to semi-structured interviews with the programme writers, the pedagogical contexts and content of the FMS programme were able to be analysed and deconstructed. On closer examination, it also became clear that traces of governmentality and sports, health and education discourses were at work in the FMS programme per se. Interestingly, whilst health was illuminated as the dominant discourse behind the FMS programme’s initial support and implementation at state level, sports and education discourses recurrently permeated the programme’s generic content and related professional development. Contextualising and critiquing movement programmes in this manner before they enter the primary school gates is imperative in order to ensure that the quality of physical education provision is never compromised.

Introduction

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Fundamental movement skills (FMS); movement programmes; professional development (PD); discourse; governmentality; physical education; sports; health; education; holistic; teaching, learning, assessment strategies, pedagogy, module
The following paper focuses on a historical review of the Fundamental Movement Skills (FMS) programme in Western Australia (Hands, Martin, and Lynch 2004a, 2004b), deconstructing its generic content in relation to three primary discourses – sports, health, education – whilst simultaneously considering whether its implementation within early years and primary education during the 1990s was driven by what Foucault (2007) terms governmentality. Rose’s (1999, 15) generic explanation of governmentality is a useful one to note here: ‘the term “governance” is used as a kind of catch-all to refer to any strategy, tactic, process, procedure or programme for controlling, regulating, shaping, mastering or exercising authority over others in a nation, organisation or locality’. A document analysis approach was adopted in this research, which involved an exploration of the FMS programme resources and related professional development (PD) files. This was combined with an analysis of data gathered from semi-structured interviews with the FMS programme writers, in an endeavour to illuminate the pedagogical contexts and content of the programme as well as traces of discourses and governance at work in Western Australian education. Australians, like the majority of physical educators in the Western world, experience regular state interventions and measures of accountability. However, these become interesting from a governance perspective when contemplated alongside a growing trend towards the outsourcing of physical education to external private providers and its commodification through various ‘add on and pull out programmes’ (Luke 2003, 4). Indeed, during the last 20 years or so, there have been many movement programmes such as FMS released into primary physical education within the UK and across Australia, which some have suggested is due to the neoliberal age in which physical education is now conducted (Macdonald, Hay, and Williams 2008; Macdonald 2011). Neoliberalism is essentially a means of governing individuals in society by reconstructing them as productive entrepreneurs in the marketplace who adopt self-care in relation to their bodies, their minds, and their forms of conduct. Hence, governmentality is situated at the contact line between technologies of power and technologies of the self (Foucault 1988); amidst the tension of technologies of governance of others and technologies of self-governance. Thus, by contextualising and deconstructing the FMS programme, it is hoped that a deeper understanding of discourses such as these that underpin the development of movement programmes and their endorsement might be exposed.

Contemplating discourses further
It is recognised that discourse is the most omnipresent concept in Foucault’s (1972) work, and he uses it in multiple ways; this, he perceives, is a strength that adds to the complexity and usage of the concept. Thus, Foucault broadens his understanding of discourse from an earlier linguistic definition to include the material discourses of ‘institutions, political events, economic practices and processes’ (Foucault 1972, 49). Aligned with language, discourse also refers to ‘overlapping sets of deep principles incorporating specific grids of meaning that underpin, generate and establish relations between all that can be seen, thought and said’ (Shilling 2012, 79). Hence, ‘Discourse lies between the level of pure atemporal linguistic “structure” (langue) and the level of surface speaking (parole): it expresses the historical specificity of what is said and what remains unsaid [author’s italics]’ (Ball 1990, 2–3). Moreover, discourses have been referred to as the connection...
between daily practices and the organisation and employment of power (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982). It is therefore ‘through discourses, that is, the mix of beliefs, ideas and concepts which make up and organise our relation to reality, that power and knowledge come together’ (Foucault 1972, 48).

In terms of physical education per se, it was hitherto mentioned that three primary discourses would be focused on in this paper – sports, health, and education – with each of these coming to the fore at varying intervals during the ensuing discussion as appropriate. The first of these, sports, has become the core of Western physical education programmes, often dictating the content and also timing of the physical education lesson in relation to seasonal variations in sports (Kirk 1992, 1998). Indeed, it might be ventured that following the Second World War, competitive games and sports have acquired the epithet of ‘traditional’ physical education. Ascendancy of performance and skill-focused objectives within physical education have become apparent simultaneously, and FMS such as running, catching, and throwing have been recognised as prerequisites to more advanced skills employed in sports, games, gymnastics, dance, and other physical activities that comprise contemporary physical education (Wichstrom 1983; Buschner 1994; Gallahue, Ozmun, and Goodway 2011). Interestingly, some theorists have aligned the attainment of proficiency in FMS with health discourses, claiming that the development of FMS is essential to ensure young children’s future physical activity levels and resultant health (Okely, Booth, and Patterson 2001; Wrotniak et al. 2006). This hypothesis seems to have influenced primary physical education syllabuses globally, for many have FMS as central components. Alongside this emphasis on skill and physical development more generally, holistic educational discourses are also often visible in primary physical education pedagogy and practice, with references made to the subject’s potential to positively affect a child’s emotional, social, and cognitive development (Bailey 2006). This type of educational discourse and the sports and health discourses mentioned previously will provide a framework for the subsequent analysis of the FMS programme, in tandem with the notion of governmentality.

The FMS programme: historical origins
The claimed link between physical education and health has been one of three primary discourses (health, sports, education) that has dominated physical education pedagogy in the UK at all levels of education (Armstrong and Sparkes 1991; Capel and Piotrowski 2000; Griggs 2007; Bailey and Kirk 2009). This health focus is reminiscent of the context in which the FMS programme was originally developed during 1995–1997 in Western Australia. Indeed, several government reports in the 1990s (Senate Standing Committee on Environment, Recreation and the Arts 1992; Office of the Minister for Education 1994) had raised their concerns about the development of FMS in young children, pointing to the long term health benefits of movement proficiency for children and adolescents. This resulted in a plea for increased support for early childhood teachers to help them plan, deliver, and evaluate quality teaching and learning programmes that maximised children’s learning of FMS. Accordingly, the Western Australia Department of Education funded the ‘Physical Steps’ initiative, with one of the outcomes being the development of a FMS support package (Education Department of WA 1997) for teachers of children aged four to eight years. Teachers could choose the depth of their analysis of the
children’s movement skills, and the support package essentially comprised a ‘play stations’ approach in which 10 FMS were focused upon and enhanced during the school week at the teacher’s discretion through play-based pedagogy. This FMS play stations package was distributed to all primary, district high, and early childhood centres from education sectors throughout the state. In addition, government schools were provided with the opportunity to participate in a one-day PD vis-à-vis how to use the package during 1997 (STEPS PD 2004a, Information Session, 6).

Ongoing research in Western Australia continued to stress the importance of developing FMS competence in young children and adolescents; indeed, this was viewed as a potentially significant long term health benefit predictor, in conjunction with good physical activity habits and a healthy diet (STEPS PD 2004a, Information Session, 6). Due to broader societal concerns such as these, as well as curriculum changes, the Western Australian Education Department asked STEPS Professional Development (Edith Cowan University Resources) to rewrite the ‘Fundamental Movement Skill Teacher Resource’ (Education Department of WA 1997), bringing it into line with the Curriculum Framework for Western Australian Schools (Curriculum Council 1998). This highlights how an add-on programme such as FMS began to find itself being used as a tool by the state to promote their health discourses; accordingly, there was a need to revise the original FMS programme and incorporate a wider range of integrated FMS experiences as opposed to mere play stations. Many teachers had given positive feedback on the earlier FMS Resource, commenting that it had helped them understand how FMS were performed and had also successfully introduced them to one specific learning experience; play stations (Hands and Martin 2003a). However, physical activity was, to all intents and purposes, being marginalised by portfolio reporting in the early years sector due to its heavy focus on children’s written skills. The new FMS Resource therefore attempted to address such state and teacher concerns by providing teachers with a broader range of quality teaching, learning and assessment strategies to augment young children’s FMS development (Hands and Martin 2003a). The Resource was therefore underpinned by a more holistic pedagogical approach that connected physical development with other key learning areas, whilst simultaneously illuminating all three discourses of sport (skill development), health (the need to develop FMS to promote physical activity across the lifespan), and education (integrated, inclusive, child-centred pedagogy).

Hands and Martin were the principal authors of both the original 1997 (Education Department of WA 1997) and the newly developed 2001 (Education Department of WA 2001) FMS Resource, thereby forging an alliance between physical education and early years education respectively. Hands studied physical education at the University of Western Australia, and taught physical education in a high school for several years following this. She later undertook a Masters in special educational needs and worked in a special education centre, predominantly in the area of movement. Subsequently, her PhD focused on motor skills of children aged five to six years, wherein she used a statistical approach (Rasch Model [1960] 1980) to look at the measurement of skills. At the time of the interview process for this paper, Hands was Director of The University of Notre Dame Australia’s Institute for Health and Rehabilitation Research (Interview Transcript 1, 2009). Martin has a long
career history in early childhood and primary education, having completed her initial teacher training in this domain. She taught children of a range of ages from Kindergarten to year 7 in a Western Australian alternative school. Thereafter, she moved to the USA, and worked in a childcare centre and in family education. Her master’s degree was in early childhood education, with a specific focus on speech and language acquisition. When she returned to Western Australia, Martin started an alternative secondary school, where she was principal for five years. Several years later, she worked in PD and undertook her PhD, eventually starting her own business entitled ‘Learning Conversations’ and taking on the role of Director. She is particularly known in Western Australia for her work in student-centred curriculum development (Interview Transcript 2, 2009).

Hands and Martin were supported in the rewriting of the 1997 FMS package by practising teachers, who were involved at all stages of the process: ‘A reference group oversaw the production of the materials, a teacher reference group read and provided feedback on each draft of the materials, and a case-study group implemented the materials and reflected on their experiences with them’ (Hands and Martin 2003a, 40). In this manner, the 2002 FMS programme was being created as it was being implemented. According to Hands and Martin (2003a, 41), the FMS programme thus developed three main focuses:

- documenting the use of the package in order to refine the content and presentation of the information,
- researching the impact of a fundamental movement skill learning program on children’s skill and activity levels, and
- researching the impact of the FMS teacher resource on teacher’s practice.

Using a case-study method, Hands and Martin conducted their investigation with seven teachers from five different early childhood settings: ‘pre-primary, primary, special education, government and non-government’ (Hands and Martin 2003b, 48). The research process comprised teachers’ initial engagement in a half-day introduction to the FMS Resource, which involved the completion of feedback forms and the distribution of reflective journals. Two face-to-face interviews were then undertaken with each teacher during the Resource implementation phase. Towards the end of the research stage, teachers attended another half-day workshop in which they presented a short report of their Resource experiences and completed a final evaluation. The various data sources (reflective journals, interviews, final reports) enabled case stories to be constructed, and these were eventually included in the final FMS Resource for other teachers. Emerging themes from the case studies were teacher knowledge and confidence. Indeed, the writers’ research concluded that ‘The FMS Teacher Resource provided the information and security that teachers felt they needed to teach FMS’ (Hands and Martin 2003a, 41). In 2002, the FMS Resource and its associated PD became available in Western Australia. One year later in 2003, it was marketed internationally, showing how a state and research-led movement programme had become a valuable commodity within the global marketplace over a relatively short time span.

The FMS Resource writers’ personal and professional narratives have inevitably shaped its development. However, there are many other explicit and implicit influences that merit exploration. It is to these that this paper now turns, with its specific focus on the FMS programme’s aims, content, pedagogy, discourses, and practice. At this point, it should be noted that the FMS programme comprises the FMS Resource and 12 hours of associated PD for teachers. Initially, the former will be examined, followed by a critical analysis of
the latter in an endeavour to deconstruct the movement programme. Notwithstanding this, there will be periodic cross-referencing between the Resource and the PD when further clarification is necessary.

The FMS programme: aims and content
The aims of a movement programme embody its fundamental purposes, effectively determining its character. At first sight, the FMS Resource per se has no explicit aims stipulated, however, an important one might be obtained from the foreword: ‘This Resource supports early childhood teachers, assistants, workers and community helpers in designing learning and teaching programs [sic] that incorporate the development of children’s fundamental movement skills’ (Hands, Martin, and Lynch 2004a, 1). This seems to be confirmed as its core aim in the FMS PD, wherein it is stated:

Fundamental Movement Skills (FMS) is a resource to support teachers in the assessment, planning and teaching of skills such as balancing, running, throwing and catching to 3–8 year old children and aims to increase teachers’ understanding of the importance of fundamental movement. (Steps PD 2004b, 2)

In accordance with the historical origins of the FMS programme outlined previously, it would therefore appear that it has a central utilitarian aim, which implies that it is worthwhile on account of its extrinsic ends or consequences.

In terms of content, there are three primary components to the FMS Resource that warrant consideration: FMS Book 1: ‘Learning, Teaching and Assessment’, FMS Book 2: ‘The Tools for Learning, Teaching and Assessment’, and a support CD called ‘Making the Right Moves’. The two FMS books are deemed to be ‘interconnected but separate’ (Interview Transcript 2, 2009), and were developed to manage the information so as not to overwhelm the teachers (Interview Transcript 1, 2009).

FMS Book 1 (Hands, Martin, and Lynch 2004a) is affectionately known as ‘the guff’ by the writers – a term that was apparently adopted from a description of it as such in one of the teacher case studies (Interview Transcript 1, 2009). This book contains the theoretical underpinning behind the FMS Resource, providing information to assist teachers in developing children’s FMS. Section one is entitled ‘About the Resource’ and it seeks to give an insight into the structure of the Resource, explaining its key components and how these interconnect. The reader is then introduced to the learning–teaching–assessment (LTA) cycle that underpins the FMS PD. Finally, there are several pages dedicated to the case story outlines, which were highlighted within the prior review of the programme’s historical origins. ‘Fundamental Movement Skills’ constitutes the title of the second section in FMS Book 1. An overview is offered herein as to what FMS are, why they are important, and what factors influence their development. In addition, myths about FMS are revealed, and the six key understandings are delineated. Following these is a table depicting ‘The Domains of Learning and FMS’, which links directly with the Australian curriculum concepts of that time, introducing cross-curricular, holistic, and integrated teaching and learning possibilities. This is an example of educational discourses that have helped to shape and influence the movement programme’s content and delivery.

In section three of FMS Book 1, ‘Learning, Teaching and Assessing FMS’ is the focal point, corresponding with the LTA Cycle mentioned earlier through its elaboration of each of the six steps involved. Towards the end of section three there is further input on ‘children with movement difficulties’, with advice regarding how to identify them and ways to increase participation in the school day, together with a synopsis of ‘movement enhancement programs’. The researcher’s
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Interview with Hands (Interview Transcript 1, 2009) revealed her strong interest and expertise in special educational needs, as well as her personal experiences of working with children who had developmental coordination disorder (DCD); this is therefore an example of how her own context influenced the Resource content. However, in terms of the discourses that run through the design of the movement programme, it also points to inclusion, thereby contravening any emphasis on elite sports discourses and instead adopting a more child-centred educational philosophy. Section four of FMS Book 1 involves ‘Putting it All Together’, containing practical suggestions for implementing a learning and teaching programme that facilitates children’s learning of FMS. Its key subsections encompass ways to incorporate FMS in the school day and via integrated learning experiences, as well as an overview of how to plan FMS activity sessions. This illuminates educational discourses that are early childhood and primary focused, wherein cross-curricular teaching and learning pervade. The teacher case studies in the FMS programme are also built into the closing part of this section as six separate ‘case stories’. The fifth section of FMS Book 1 offers four appendices: ‘glossary’, ‘games and activities referred to in the FMS Teacher Resource’, ‘other resources’ (themed bibliography, FMS referenced to other physical education/sports resources) and ‘blank proformas’ for planning and profiling children. To conclude Book 1, section six offers an index.

FMS Book 2 (Hands, Martin, and Lynch 2004b), is described as ‘the stuff’ by the writers, in accordance with a teacher case study’s description of it (Interview Transcript 1, 2009). This book provides five different sets of ideas and strategies termed ‘Tools’. ‘Tools 1: FMS Descriptions’ comprises a description of the 22 FMS, including ‘an in-depth background information about the skill; skill criteria and their importance; an Observation Record; some appropriate teaching strategies; and movement that children do that require teacher and adult intervention’ (Hands, Martin, and Lynch 2004b, 1). This section exposes the historical context of Hands, with her specialist knowledge of biomechanics. However, it also alludes to a sports discourse in its presentation of a narrow epistemological perspective that perceives the body’s development of fitness and technical skills as the core of teaching and learning in physical education. This has led to what Dodds (1986) characterises as ‘motor elitism’ in physical education, whereby skill learning has become the stronghold of pedagogy and practice. ‘Tools 2: Assessment Strategies’ proposes a range of assessment strategies to help teachers make ‘fair, valid, comprehensive, explicit and educative assessments’ of children’s proficiency levels in FMS (Hands, Martin, and Lynch 2004b, 1). These include learning stories, rubrics, profiles, teaching cards, photographs, images, drawings, videotape, talks with children, audiotape, self, and peer reflection. Broader, more child-centred assessment approaches in the area of FMS such as these illuminate the influence of Martin on the programme, and they also conform to the child-centred educational discourses mentioned earlier. In ‘Tools 3’, the focus moves to the provision of ‘Learning Experiences’ to support teachers’ planning, which are grouped under the headings of child-structured and teacher-structured experiences. Child-structured examples include playground activities, invented games, movement to music and dramatic play. Teacher-structured experiences consist of obstacle courses, circuits, learning centres, play stations,
skill practices, problem-solving, task sheets, contracts, peer teaching, long walk or run in the neighbourhood, games: simple, cooperative and modified, poems, rhymes and songs, aerobics, dance, gymnastics, sports, outdoor pursuits, and performance tasks. This section moves away from sports discourses where FMS acquisition is prioritised and didactic teaching approaches are permitted to dominate; instead, a range of child and teacher-initiated activities with FMS at their centre become visible.

‘Tools 4: Formats for Sharing Information’ presents the teacher with a range of ways to share children’s progress in FMS activity sessions with the children and their families, other teachers, the school, and the wider community. Ideas involve postcards, notes, class lists, letters, newsletters, certificates, portfolios, reports, conferences between the parent, child and teacher, as well as child and teacher conferences, family information sessions, school assemblies, parents in the classroom, at-the door and in-the-community chats, staff room chats, carnivals, family games days, dance nights, participation in community events, and school and community displays. Early childhood and primary education discourses dominate here, with inclusive and wide-ranging family and community approaches being adopted and nurtured. The final section of Book 2 is entitled ‘Tools 5: Stay in Step Screening Test’. It contains four test items that aim to provide quantitative information about children’s gross motor coordination (Larkin and Revie 1994). The FMS Resource writers apparently debated the value of this test. Martin was concerned that non-specialist early childhood teachers could misuse it and the accompanying results, whereas Hands, with her special educational needs background, was determined to include it but with robust guidelines that emphasised how it should only be used to support observations of children with movement difficulties (Interview Transcript 2, 2009). Interestingly, Hands also acknowledged that she had a previous working relationship with one of the writers of the ‘Stay in Step’ test, since she was her PhD supervisor (Interview Transcript 1, 2009), showing the way in which she drew upon her previous research and professional links in the construction of the FMS programme. FMS Book 2 concludes with the customary index.

The third component of the FMS Resource is the support resource CD entitled ‘Making the Right Moves’. The rationale behind the making of this resource was to provide visual and verbal explanations as to what inefficient and proficient movements entail. The FMS Resource writers explain the value of this in more detail:

People usually have a fair idea of what proficient movement looks like and can identify when something doesn’t look quite right … the video [CD] shows children performing in a smooth and coordinated manner as well as children who are yet to master the skill. (Hands, Martin, and Lynch 2004a, 6)

Through the use of normal, slow motion, and freeze frames, seven of the 22 FMS are broken down into phases to guide the teacher’s observation: sprint run, hop, jump for distance, overhand throw, catch, lofted kick, two-handed strike. The FMS facilitator notes (STEPS PD, Module 1, 2004a, 8) explain that ‘working through the video [CD] footage will assist teachers to become familiar with the systematic observation of skills. This knowledge can then be transferred when making observations of the other skills’. In this sense, the recording aims to offer observation scaffolding for early childhood educators, recognising, as others do, that ‘Watching children as they learn and understanding their learning moments is complex and difficult work
and places the highest of demands upon their educators’ (Nutbrown and Carter 2010, 120). The importance of developing teachers’ observation skills in the movement context was reinforced by Martin in her interview, wherein she commented:

If there wasn’t an emphasis in clear observation then the wrong judgements were being made and the teachers weren’t intervening appropriately, if they weren’t talking at least to the child about what the child was able to do; sharing their observations and information … then this child wasn’t really learning and growing … (Interview Transcript 2, 2009)

This indicates that although a strong sport discourse runs through the FMS programme with its emphasis on technical proficiency, this is merged with educational discourses that focus on teacher intervention and scaffolding of motor skills at appropriate times.

Deconstructing the FMS professional development

As previously clarified, the three-part 2002 FMS Resource has associated PD, amounting to a total of 12 hours of training. This was a development from the original FMS package (1997), since this initially offered written materials only:

The original package was rolled out to every government school … but they might not have opened it, and it’s one of the reasons why the package [the revised 2002 FMS programme] has been rolled out differently and only with professional learning this time. (Interview Transcript 2, 2009)

The 12 hours of PD are broken down into six two-hour modules as follows: ‘Module 1: Introduction to Fundamental Movement Skills’, ‘Module 2: Balance your Day’, ‘Module 3: Run and Jump right in’, ‘Module 4: Throw it out’, Module 5: ‘Catch me if you can’, ‘Module 6: Putting it altogether’. One, two or three steps of the FMS learning-teaching-assessment cycle are explored in detail within each of the six modules (STEPS PD, Module 1, 2004a, 14). Each module has a similar structure with six or seven parts, in which parts one or two constitute the introduction. The designation of action tasks occurs at the end of Modules 1–5, and the conclusion always forms the final part of every module. The middle parts of each module are far more varied in content terms, since they are tailored to the individual module purposes. Moreover, each module is progressive and teachers should therefore be given access to them in numerical order for the movement programme to work effectively in its entirety.

The purpose of Module 1 is:

To provide an overview of the FMS Teacher Resource; to introduce and explain FMS; to develop an understanding of the learning, teaching and assessing process in relation to FMS; [and] to identify ways to determine children’s interests, strengths and needs. (STEPS PD, Module 1, 2004a, 2)

Part one includes a welcome, some housekeeping matters, and then the module outline is shared with the above purposes elucidated. Part two concerns the development of the FMS Resource, with its brief historical insight into the writing process. Following this, the six key understandings underpinning the Resource are explained and an overview of the FMS Resource is provided in terms of its three-part content. Part three of Module 1 involves an investigation of FMS with group discussions as to what FMS are, as well as why they are important. Health discourses are evident here, since there is explicit reference made to the need to be a proficient mover in order to enhance lifelong physical activity. The categories of FMS (body management, locomotor skills, object control) are subsequently revealed, and teachers are invited to place the 22 FMS under each of these in small groups. These FMS categories have been validated elsewhere (Haywood and Getchell 2009; Gallahue, Ozmun, and Goodway 2011; Haibach, Reid, and Collier 2011). These categorisation processes in relation to FMS conform to the sports discourse that underpins the programme. Conversely, education discourses follow when
individual work on myths about FMS ensues and teachers share their FMS beliefs and values. Part four also includes educational discourses when the LTA planning cycle is deconstructed and recommendations are that ‘while there is never just one way for teachers to plan there are different elements that need to be addressed’ (STEPS PD, Module 1, 2004a, 13). The first step of the LTA Cycle is then analysed through discussion and further reading in part five. Part six of Module 1 concludes the whole with a recap of the module’s key aspects and an explanation of the action task that relates to the content of Module 1; teachers are asked to observe their classes, identifying their interests, strengths, and needs and to return with their feedback for Module 2. Thus, it would seem that there is evidence of all three discourses within the various PD components of Module 1.

Module 2’s purpose is defined as being: ‘to focus on how to choose appropriate skills; to identify possible learning outcomes; to examine and use the Observation Records’ (STEPS PD, Module 2, 2004a, 2). After the reflection and review of the action task from Module 1 (part one), the introduction ensues (part two) with the sharing of the module outline and a return to the LTA Cycle, highlighting the two steps that will be the focus for Module 2. Part three concentrates on choosing a skill and then identifying possible learning outcomes, with emphasis on the cross-curricular potential of FMS; one of the teacher case studies is used as a model for this. A practical activity is subsequently set up for teachers in which they explore the outcomes of play by designing their own FMS games with recyclable materials such as cardboard, yoghurt pots, and food tins. This aspect of the PD module is implicitly underpinned by Martin’s Reggio training; an educational philosophy that focuses on preschool and primary education, promoting exploration and discovery in a supportive and enriching environment that is based on the interests of the child. The main purpose of this FMS practical activity and the ensuing discussion is ‘that a range of different outcomes could be demonstrated through learning fundamental movement skills’ (STEPS PD, Module 2, 2004a, 8). Moreover, the fact that recyclable resources are used instead of more expensive specialist physical education equipment encourages teachers to explore movement possibilities without budget limitations inhibiting them. In part four of Module 2, assessing FMS is the key element, bringing education discourses once more to the fore. Pitfalls of assessment when gathering information about different children are reflected on and discussed. Following this, there is evidence of sports discourses returning when teachers are introduced to the systematic approach for observing FMS through an analysis of the walk. Observation is from the ground upwards and the body is separated into three sections: the feet, the head and trunk, and the arms. Part five gives teachers the opportunity to analyse the FMS Observation Records as one way of gathering information and assessing a child’s movement proficiency. Three types of skills are identified: continuous, explosive, and receptive. Teachers work in pairs to observe one another in the balance on one foot (a continuous skill) and record this on the Observation Records provided. The last part of section five brings back educational discourses by considering ways in which to manage observations such as this with a class of children. Part six concludes the module by revising the key aspects and presenting the action task, which is designed to enable teachers to apply their learning from the module to their classroom practice. All in all, it would seem that Module 2 is underpinned by both sports discourses and educational discourses.
and education discourses at various points.

The purpose of FMS Module 3 is: ‘to provide an opportunity to use the FMS Observation Records; to explore different ways FMS can be learned and applied; to provide opportunities to design teacher-structured learning experiences’. Part one is the customary review and discussion of action tasks from Module 2, which then moves on to the module three outline, a review of the steps already covered in the LTA Cycle, followed by an explanation of the focus steps for this particular module. Part three involves exploring FMS Book 2, particularly to clarify its relationship with FMS Book 1. Part four returns to the Observation Records, but the support CD ‘Making the Right Moves’ is now utilised as an additional visual aid for the teachers when analysing and discussing the sprint run. To fortify the teachers’ understanding of the Observation Records, they undertake an observation of one another sprint running. This is followed by a focused discussion that illuminates any observation difficulties and successes, simultaneously asking teachers to consider what games they might use to facilitate global checks of the sprint run skill levels in their classes. A similar process is used to observe the FMS jump for distance; teachers observe the support CD, discuss the skill in more detail and then practise performing and observing the skill in pairs. Another focused discussion concludes the work on the Observation Records within this module.

Through its emphasis on the FMS observation records and the technical proficiency required for each FMS, this particular module exhibits sports discourses. Indeed, some would venture that it effectively privileges empirical-analytical science, promoting the ideology of ‘technocratic physical education’ (McKay, Gore, and Kirk 1990, 53). Part five engages the teachers in the planning appropriate learning experiences step of the LTA Cycle by asking them to consider things that have supported and hindered their learning of a selected new skill. The remainder of part five analyses the FMS Resource in more detail by having teachers individually read and then share the Book 1 and Book 2 sections that detail child and teacher-structured learning experiences. Part six of this module contains the usual review of key aspects in tandem with the assignment of an action task that is designed to reinforce the teachers’ learning for this specific module. In this manner, Module 3 combines education and sport discourses, whereas health discourses are less prevalent. In Module 4, the purpose is defined as follows:

- to consolidate the use of the Observation Records; to demonstrate how to develop class/individual profiles; to provide time to design a play station; to give a clear understanding of the principles of assessment; [and] to investigate a range of assessment strategies. (STEPS PD, Module 4, 2004a, 2)

Action tasks from Module 3 are initially reviewed in part one, then part two follows with the module outline and the review of the three steps of the LTA Cycle on which this module is based. In part three, the use of the Observation Records is consolidated through the skill of the overhand throw. Once again, sports discourses are perceptible here with skill acquisition and investigation processes prioritised as they are informed by analysis of the FMS support CD, discussion, practice of the skill, and a final reflection. In the remainder of this module, education discourses dominate. Part four of Module 4 introduces teachers to ways in which they can use and interpret the information from the Observation Records to group children in terms of four proficiency levels: beginning, developing, consolidating, generalising. The remainder of this part explores
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developing class profiles through a practical mock-up levelling activity and further reading of the FMS Resource. In part five, one learning experience is presented and teachers work in small groups to design their own play stations. This leads on to a more in-depth discussion of assessment in part six, where it is stipulated that ‘assessment opportunities can be incorporated into every learning experience ... as opposed to being “bolted on” as an afterthought to the lesson’ (STEPS PD, Module 4, 2004a, 11). Accordingly, the principles of assessment are revised and teachers are given one assessment strategy to examine and share from Book 2, Tools 2: ‘Assessment Strategies’. Part seven supports teacher learning in assessment with two of its three action tasks focusing on this; this follows the usual summary of the module’s key aspects. As with the two previous modules, both sports and education discourses are an integral part of this PD module.

Module 5’s purpose is written as follows:

to develop an understanding of how to assist children with movement difficulties; to identify different ways of individualising experiences; to demonstrate the Stay in Step Screening Test, to deconstruct the skill criteria for the catch; to provide opportunities to investigate different ways of sharing information. (STEPS PD, Module 5, 2004a, 2)

After the reflection and review of action tasks from Module 4 in part one, the introduction (part two) once again clarifies the LTA Cycle steps that are the principal focus for this module. Part three is entitled ‘children with movement difficulties’, and it consists of an explanation of DCD and an introduction to the ‘Stay in Step’ Screening Test mentioned previously in the historical origins section of this discussion. Avoidance behaviours of children with movement difficulties, along with ways in which teachers can individualise learning experiences are then illuminated. Central to this part of the module is the need for teachers to optimise children’s learning and maximise their participation, for it is believed that ‘A teacher’s support and encouragement can have a positive impact on the child’s attitude to physical activity in both the playground and class activities’ (STEPS PD, Module 5, 2004a, 9). Part four of Module 5 analyses the catch, but instead of the usual CD observation–discussion–practice–reflection process, teachers are required to deconstruct it in small groups, drawing from their previous experiences of the Observation Records. The support CD is used after this practical activity to open up discussion around what they might do to help the inefficient catchers shown. In part five, the final step of the LTA Cycle is reviewed through an examination of how teachers might share information gathered with children, other teachers, the school, other adults, and the wider community. This is consolidated through individual reading of the FMS Resources and a follow-up group article. Part six contains the customary review of key aspects in this module and an action task for the teachers about sharing information. Within the parameters of this PD module, there is a central focus on education discourses rather than on sports or health, with teachers adopting problem-solving approaches to the focus FMS (the catch), and the majority of the work involving quality classroom pedagogy and practice in relation to skill development.

Module 6 has the following purpose:

to demonstrate how to use each part of the Fundamental Movement Skills Teacher Resource to plan a teaching and learning program that enables children to learn fundamental movement skills; to share a range of planning formats with participants; to explore ways of incorporating Fundamental Movement Skills into the school day; to provide an opportunity for each participant to use the Fundamental Movement Skills Teacher Resource to develop a plan they can implement in their classroom. (STEPS PD, Module 6, 2004a, 2)
The reflection and review of action tasks in part one is followed by the outline of the module (part two). In part three, essential elements of planning for FMS learning are suggested: purpose, learning outcomes, tuning-in, activities, and a closing activity. Teachers are then given an opportunity to ‘dial an adventure’ with a paper-based circular resource, which allows them time to create and develop their own plan. A sharing of planning formats in the FMS Resource ensues, with templates and case stories being highlighted. During part four, teachers are given a substantial amount of time to use the FMS Resource and additional curriculum resources that are available to plan for developing FMS in their classes via a daily plan, an individual activity session, a weekly plan, or a unit plan based on a focus skill. Key planning considerations are offered through a question and answer approach. In part five, there is an ‘open forum’ whereby questions and concerns are shared and discussed. The conclusion (part six), reviews the central modular aspects and the training finishes with the completion of a teacher evaluation form and the distribution of their FMS certificates. Clearly, sports and health discourses have not been prioritised in Module 6, as education discourses form the core foundation of this final part of the FMS training.

Conclusion
Generalist primary teachers are often faced with choosing between a wide range of movement programmes to support their physical education teaching, learning, and assessing, yet they may have limited knowledge and understanding of their contexts, drivers, and discourses. Until such time as further research is conducted into the quality of each primary movement programme that comes onto the market, issues surrounding a programme’s implementation in the primary physical education classroom could arise. Having reviewed the FMS programme and its related PD, along with data from the programme writers’ interviews, it has been demonstrated how much these elements are interconnected and influence the Resource in its entirety. Indeed, it has been shown throughout this paper that three principal discourses underpin the FMS programme: sports, health, and education. Whilst health has been illuminated as the dominant discourse behind the FMS Resource’s initial support and implementation at state level, which appears to confirm the presence of governmentality, health was not shown to be the most prominent discourse within the programme’s content and PD. Instead, sports and education discourses were discernible throughout the Resource, suggesting that the writers, who are sports/physical education (Hands) and early years/primary education (Martin) specialists, designed and retained these two key discourses at the very heart of the FMS programme. Certainly, there were allusions to health aspects in relation to the development of FMS at certain points in the programme, but these failed to heavily influence the generic FMS based pedagogy and practice being fostered. Hence, whilst the preliminary creation and implementation of movement programmes such as the FMS Resource might be in response to state-led health interventions and doctrine, it is only when a movement programme is further contextualised and deconstructed that a richer, more in-depth understanding of its dominant discourses might be attained. Accordingly, primary teachers of physical education could make more informed decisions about the uptake and rollout of ‘add on and pull out programmes’ (Luke 2003, 4) such as the FMS Resource if they engaged in such research processes, thereby minimising any potential adverse effects.
on the quality of the physical education they provide.

Notes
1. Body management skills: balance on one foot, line or beam walk, climb, forward roll. Locomotor skills: sprint run, hop, jump for distance, jump for height, skip, gallop, side gallop, dodge, continuous leap. Object control skills: catch, overhand throw, underhand throw, chest pass, kick, punt, two-handed strike, hand dribble, foot dribble.
2. The 22 FMS are categorised as follows – body management skills: balance on one foot, line or beam walk, climb, forward roll; locomotor skills: sprint run, hop, jump for distance, jump for height, skip, gallop, side gallop, dodge, continuous leap; object control skills: catch, overhand throw, underhand throw, chest pass, kick, punt, two-handed strike, hand dribble, foot dribble.

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