The contribution of teacher talk to the production and reproduction of gendered subjectivity in physical education lessons

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF TEACHER TALK TO THE PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION OF GENDERED SUBJECTIVITY IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION LESSONS

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

from

THE UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

JANICE E. WRIGHT

B.Ed, M.Ed (Sydney)
DECLARATION

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not being submitted for any degree.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all the sources used, have been acknowledged.

Signed

JANICE E. WRIGHT
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This study would not have been possible without the assistance of a number of people and organisations.

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ABSTRACT

It is widely accepted that girls and women are less likely to participate in physical activity, have on average lower cardiovascular fitness and are more obese than boys and men. The response to this by the government and by those espousing a liberal femininist position has been to argue that such differences are the consequence of inequality of opportunity in regard to access to resources, skills and teaching time. This position takes for granted the value of sport and physical education as it is practised in western societies. It does not pose as problematic the contribution that such practices make to the (re)production of expressions of femininity which motivate girls' apparent reticence to participate in physical activity.

This study goes beyond an equity approach to investigate the ways in which the practices of teachers contribute to girls' alienation from physical activity. In particular it investigates how the linguistic choices made by teachers and students reproduced particular subjects and subjectivities in relation to patriarchal discourses of femininity and masculinity.

Although framed within a broad ethnographic approach, feminist, poststructuralist and linguistic theory has informed the methodology and analysis of the study. Teacher-pupil interactions were recorded by means of video and audio tape. Teacher language was analysed using methods developed from systemic functional linguistics. Non-verbal aspects of teacher and student behaviour were not central to the study but were important in providing both context and additional information about the social relations between teachers and their students and students with each other.

The cultural and historical contexts which contributed to the framing of the physical education lesson as genre and to the determination of teachers' and pupils' subjectivities were also investigated in order to interpret teacher-pupil interactions in the lessons. To
this end the production and recontextualisation of discourses and practices affecting contemporary practices in Australian physical education were mapped from their beginnings in the male and female traditions of physical education operating in nineteenth century Britain.

An examination of media representations of women in sport together with an analysis of interviews conducted with teachers and students provided insights into the ways in which students were likely to be positioned in relation to the dominant values and beliefs about masculinity and femininity as these intersect with those discourses associated with sport in Australian society.

Results of the study indicated that girls and women were positioned and positioned themselves as marginal to sports discourse; that is, as passive, lacking in skill, strength and enthusiasm and as the antithesis of the male students who were constructed as skilled, enthusiastic, tough, competitive and knowledgeable. The female students and female teachers, however, exhibited a greater facility with interpersonal language.

The resistance of female students to male teaching practices usually drew on their expertise and power in the discourses and genres of heterosexual relations. In this study co-educational experiences appeared to provide very alienating contexts for girls in which they were unlikely to develop skill. However, the language of female and male teachers in single-sex classes was also found to contribute to the normative positioning of female and male students in relation to patriarchal discourses of femininity and masculinity.
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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 A Statement of Aims

This study is about the production and reproduction of subjects and subjectivities in and through the practices of teachers and students in physical education lessons. It will investigate the ways in which students and teachers position themselves and are positioned by others in relation to patriarchal discourses of sexuality. In particular it seeks to explain how the systems of knowledge and beliefs (discourses), determining and determined by the genre of the physical education lesson, intersect with other relevant discourses of the body to reproduce or challenge patriarchal expectations of masculinity and femininity. How this in turn affects female and male students' relation to physical activity will also be examined.

The main window into the study will be through an analysis of the language of teachers and students. However the meanings constituted in and through language use cannot be understood adequately without attending to the non-verbal context in which it is used. Non-linguistic practices that regulate the body are also important to a more complete understanding of the female subject as an embodied subject. Physical education is
centrally concerned with 'work' on the body, with the regulation and control of the body through both the ritualised practices of sport and physical education lessons and through the scientific, medical rationales that underlie these practices (Hargreaves, 1986). Historically, sport and games have been among the most public forums for the display of male and female difference. Media representations of women in sport continue to contribute to the (re)production of traditional expectations of femininity. In schools, the dominant cultural beliefs about masculinity and femininity circulating in the wider culture are likely to be replicated in the organisation of schooling, including the allocation of resources, programming, staff allocation and within classrooms practices themselves.

1.2 Background and Rationale

1.2.1 Equal opportunity in education and physical education

This project was initially designed to examine the contribution the school environment makes to the low participation and fitness of adolescent girls. Thus it was conceived within a liberal feminist framework which asked: 'In what ways were girls disadvantaged by the practices associated with sport and physical education in schools?' This question was informed by a widespread body of research from the United Kingdom, North America and Australia which pointed to the different opportunities and treatment for girls in education generally (Delamont, 1980; Spender and Sarah, 1980; Deem, 1984) and particularly the Open University Series, Gender and Education edited by Deem and Weiner). Other studies focused in the same way on the disadvantages and discrimination that girls and women experienced more specifically in physical education and sport (Hawkes et al, 1975; Coles, 1980; Ey, 1982). In the 1980's following the publication of Dale Spender's Man Made Language and Spender and Sarah's Learning to Lose (1980), and combined with the development and a growing acceptance of ethnography as an appropriate methodology for research in education (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982), research shifted from broad quantitative considerations of inequality in the provision of resources
and opportunities to a concern with the classroom environment. Thus studies examined
teacher-pupil interactions, teachers as role models and students' opportunities to identify
with the delivery, presentation and organisation of school knowledge through content,
methods of teaching and text books.

In physical education, the shift was primarily characterised by research into the effects of
colocational physical education on opportunities and participation rates of girls in
physical activity. (In education generally this has often been motivated by a concern to
argue the case for single-sex education or, in arguing for co-education, to identify and
address the problems associated with mixed classes. The research tended to take two
main forms, often combined as a case study of a particular school or class (for instance,
Griffin, 1983). One form involved the analysis of surveys of students' and teachers'
attitudes to co-education physical education; the other the quantitative and qualitative
analysis of participation patterns, teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interactions in physical
education lessons. (for instance, Griffin 1981; Bischoff, 1982; Macdonald, 1989)

It is within the tradition of ethnographic studies of school and classroom environments
that this study is broadly located. The original aim was to investigate classroom
interaction and participation patterns within the context of the whole school environment
in order to identify ways in which these might be changed to improve the participation of
girls in physical activity. Implicit in this undertaking was the belief that through teacher
awareness of the inequities (their wrong practice), change is likely to take place. This is
very much the pattern for much of the research undertaken by teacher educators and in
one way, understandably so. Many of those involved in the delivery of schooling,
whatever their underlying ideological dispositions, are concerned to change things 'for
the better'; change which often incorporates notions not only of changing school practices
but of changing society through schooling. For instance the critical theory approach of

1 In Australia, most of this work was school initiated and school based as part of the Girls,
Physical Education and Self-Esteem Project.
writers such as Henry Giroux (1989) and Michael Apple (1979) is predicated on this notion - one which to some extent also frames this study.

The more modest aim of changing school practices is the one most likely to be taken at the level of policy makers and state and school based programmes of educational reform in relation to equity issues. The Commonwealth Schools Commission Project, *Physical Education, Girls and Self-Esteem*, is a good example. The modest approach may be valuable in generating support for women's issues in the public arena and, at its best, in actively involving teachers and students as change agents in their own schools. However, its emphasis on information and changed consciousness fails to take into account the complex work of political, economic and ideological practices in constituting what happens in and through schooling, in both subverting and facilitating change. In particular, it does not account for its own failure to bring about changes in the directions it assumes to be desirable. Neither does it generally involve a critique of its assumptions about the homogeneity of girls' experiences and desires, nor does it involve a critique of the way in which sport and physical education are implicated in the (re)production of dominant discourses of sexuality that disempower women.

A concern with change remains the underlying motivation for this study. The study is framed within a feminist political purpose and as such change is both perceived as inevitable and desirable. However, a simplistic notion of change in the direction of equal opportunity is no longer taken for granted as either a desirable or a possible outcome, but has been theorised as problematic within the context of the multiple and contradictory values and knowledges that inform the practices of teachers and students in physical education lessons. Particularly, there has been a shift in thinking from a liberal feminist position which argues for an 'equal slice of the same cake', to a position which takes into account the differences in interests and experiences of and between girls and women in

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2 This is an approach that has been called 'naive possibilitarianism' by Geoff Whitey (1985: p 30)
comparison to men and which at least keeps in mind the possibilities of alternative forms of movement to those privileged as institutional forms in a patriarchal society.

This feminist purpose is expressed in a concern to investigate the ways in which patriarchal discourses intersect in the practices of physical education lessons to produce possible subject positions and subjectivities for students and teachers in relation to femininity, masculinity and physical education. Further, it asks how physical education contributes to the production of embodied subjectivities which are more or less able to contest patriarchal positionings.

1.2.2 Women and physical activity: an historical overview of the literature.

As mentioned above, much of the early writing in physical education and sport (and the continuing contemporary non-academic argument) took a liberal feminist position - that is, that women are treated unfairly in being denied access to material resources, media coverage, prizes and so on. The Australian Commonwealth government-sponsored *Fit to Play* Conference in 1980 brought together women from the academy, sporting bodies, women's community organisations and the government to identify women's concerns and needs. It was the first of a number of Commonwealth government-sponsored working parties and projects to identify prevailing inequalities and to develop strategies to address these (for instance, Women's Working Group on Sport and the Media, Commonwealth Schools Commission Project: Physical Education, Girls and Self Esteem; and the formation of the Women's Sport Foundation). Studies by Coles (1980) and Hawkes (with Dryen, Torsh and Hannan, 1975) identified marked inequities in the resourcing of girls' physical education and sport as compared to boys' in terms of

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3 One of the latest government initiatives has been the sponsoring of Equity in Sport Conference held at Parliament House, Canberra in April, 1991. The Conference demonstrated the close relationship between sport and dominant cultural preoccupations. The pervasive discourse at the Conference was one of marketing (with the rare dissenting voice from the critical sociologists Lois Bryson and Jim McKay). Sports and athletes were 'products' to be attractively packaged and sold. Thus could women achieve the recognition and sponsorship they desired.
finance, allocation of playing space, provision of equipment, timetable preferences and choice of an activity.

Underpinning this research and government efforts to increase equity, valuable as they might have been in terms of getting a bigger 'slice of the pie', was the assumption that sport as it was, was equally desirable for all, for all men and all women. A further assumption which informed the work of many researchers and indeed the public pronouncements of athletes (and media writers and commentators) was that of the male standard of achievement as the norm - male records, male sports, male coaching methods, masculine attributes - and their arguments were devoted to the insistence that given the same opportunities as men women would/could and indeed were catching up (see Ken Dyer's, *Challenging the Men* for the best example of this). At the same time within this same perspective, physiologists, such as Barbara Drinkwater (1980), writing from a feminist position, challenged the 'scientific facts' that had accumulated in sports discourse to explain women's failure to perform as well as men. While this latter work was important in dispelling many of the myths surrounding women's physiology, it, together with the equal opportunity rhetoric, contributed to the (re)production of an ideology that continued to dichotomise difference by comparing women's achievements, physiology, attitudes and desires to those of men.

Since much of the 'scientific writing' outside the area of exercise physiology and biomechanics in sports discourse is in psychology, sex-role theory made an important contribution to the further explanation of differences in performance and participation (see for instance, Reis and Jelsma, 1980). Women, it was suggested, via early socialisation practices, lacked the masculine qualities of competitiveness, aggressiveness, independence and so on that were synonymous with success in sport. Those women who did succeed came closer to the male psychological profile; they were more androgenous. Role-conflict was also used to explain women's drop out rate, poor performances and their absence in any large numbers from some sports (see Birrell, 1983, for a critical
review of the psychological literature). Many of these studies suffered from the same 'chicken and egg' problem that characterises mainstream sport psychology studies which compare athletes and non-athletes in order to demonstrate the positive outcomes of sports participation. But particularly, they too established male attributes and personality characteristics as the standard to be emulated while at the same time constituting attributes such as competitiveness and aggressiveness as masculine and, therefore, the individual who possesses them as unfeminine.

In education, the liberal feminist position was expressed through arguments and finally legislation against discrimination. In Australia, this took the form of the Sex Discrimination Act, 1984 and in particular its interpretations in relation to education and sport and in the United States, Title IX. The specific statement in the Act referring to education reads: "It is unlawful for an educational authority to discriminate against a student on the grounds of the student's sex, marital status or pregnancy - by denying the student access, or by limiting the student's access to any benefit provided by the authority" (p.56). There are, however, special provisions which permit segregation of women in sporting activity or exclusion of women from sporting activity altogether when "the strength, stamina or physique of competitors is relevant."

Whereas many schools in other states already had co-educational physical education, in New South Wales the main effect of the legislation was the encouragement but not the mandate from the Education Department to change what had been almost universal single sex physical education into co-educational classes. The shift to co-education was far from widespread and both forms coexist in the State and indeed within schools. A further outcome at the national level was the funding of the Commonwealth Schools Commission Project with its headquarters in South Australia. This project was designed to review "the research, resources and strategies in the areas linking girls, self-esteem and physical activity", to develop programmes in a range of South Australian schools and to promote an awareness of the issues among parents, teachers and students (GAPA Newsletter,
No.4, 1986). The focus of the project on girls' self-esteem signalled a shift from equal opportunity to a concern with the effect of the school environment and particularly the effect of pedagogical practices on female students' self image and their perceptions of their physical competence.

In North America the equivocal consequences of Title IX raised doubts about simple solutions that provide women with the 'same' opportunities as men. For instance, women's athletic departments and their female executives in schools, colleges and universities in some ways were worse off when they amalgamated with men's departments, despite the additional revenue that usually obtained. The writing of feminists in athletic departments at the time (Bain, 1985; Theberge, 1985) began to raise issues and propose alternative theories and methodologies, rather than to continue arguing for particular solutions.

Increasingly, those writings on gender issues in the major sport sociology journals such as Quest, the Sociology of Sport Journal and the International Review of Sport Sociology have drawn on critical social theory, cultural studies and other feminist positions (other than liberal) to inform the subject, methodology and interpretation of their work. Sport itself as a social institution implicated in the (re)production of ideology, including the constitution of ideologies to do with sexuality, has been the subject of sustained critical study. In Britain, the cultural studies approach of Raymond Williams and Paul Willis has been taken up by Jennifer Hargreaves (1982) and John Hargreaves (1986) to trace the workings of ideology through the practices associated with physical education and sport; Sheila Scraton's (1986; 1987a; 1987b) school based studies examine gender and physical education in the context of patriarchal power relations. In Australia, Lois Bryson has made an important contribution to the literature with her discussions of male hegemony in sport (1983; 1991) and Jim McKay (1991), John Goldlust (1987) and Patrick Heaven and David Rowe (1990) have analysed the reproduction of gender ideologies through the representations of women in sport in the media.
The ethnographic work of Scraton and, to a certain extent, the classroom interaction studies of Griffin et al (1981; 1983) have the closest immediate links with the present study. Although Hargreaves (1986), Scraton and others have to some extent investigated physical education and sport as sites of regulation and (re)production, none of these studies has systematically addressed the part played by the linguistic choices of students and teachers in this process. This study fills that gap and in doing so provides a more substantial model of classroom interaction by which teachers may come to analyse and change their practices.

1.3 Methodology

The study originated from a need to explain the differences in participation rates between boys and girls in physical activity. It was conceived as an ethnographic study working towards a 'grounded theory' that would emerge out of several cases studies of secondary schools. These schools were to be selected to cover the various combinations of female and male teachers, taking single-sex and mixed classes. It was intended that using the fieldwork tools of observation, open-ended interviewing and the analysis of curriculum and other relevant documents, certain trends would emerge to answer the original questions and to explain the differences in the experiences of boys and girls in relation to physical education and sport. As is the way with an ethnographic approach, a broad theoretical base may inform the focusing of the original investigation but it is through this investigation that further theoretical insights should emerge (Lincoln and Guber, 1985).

It soon became clear, however, that firstly, such a general study of the school ethos was not going to break any new ground, particularly as the Report from the Commonwealth funded project *Girls, Physical Activity and Self-esteem* (1986) had been published and secondly, that what was more revealing and yet unexplored was what was happening in the language students and teachers used with one another. Observations of lessons by
male and female teachers suggested profound differences between the two that were
difficult to explain using the tools of interaction analysis that had been developed in
response to Dale Spender's (1980) work - that is, tools that were based on counting the
number and type of interactions that teachers engaged in with boys as compared to girls.
A more subtle and sophisticated tool was required to understand the meanings that were
being produced by teachers and students and further a way of understanding language
that took account of the social and ideological importance of language.

Most of the studies into class room interactions have drawn on the work of Good and
Brophy (1973) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) to develop a checklist which could be
used by an observer to identify and quantify the number and duration of different types of
teacher and pupil behaviour. This approach has enabled researchers to answer questions
about gender differences in classroom interaction patterns, the amount of talk as
compared to activity in a lesson and the use of reinforcement and feedback. It has been
particularly useful for teachers following an action research model to examine their own
practices in the classroom in order to facilitate change. However, as Dart and Clarke
(1988) point out, where this form of research has been used to examine sex differences in
teacher-pupil interactions in co-educational classrooms, the results have been
contradictory. They suggest that a more complex perspective, taking into account
personality and environmental factors, is required to unravel such varied results. Yet they
themselves do not go beyond what are essentially quantitative measure of teacher-pupil
interactions.

In the present study, systemic functional linguistics and semiotic theory and methodology
have provided the means to go beyond the earlier approach - that is, to take into account
the complexity of meanings generated in lessons, including meanings, that operate at the
unconscious as well as the conscious level of awareness. Systemic functional linguistics,
as developed by Michael Halliday (1978; 1985), unlike most other contemporary models
of language (for instance Chomsky's Transformational Grammar) does not take language
to be a universal system, marginally related to culture; rather language is theorised as a social semiotic, realising, creating and transforming specific cultural meanings. The systemic model of language is predicated on the assumption that language has evolved over thousands of years to enable humans to make meanings. These meanings have developed to meet the needs of particular societies and groups and thus reflect/predict the world view or the culture of these groups and societies. New members of the society learn the culture primarily through language but also through other symbolic systems that are similarly culturally determined. Thus language is functional, not arbitrary. The forms of language so developed do not exist independently of meaning. Halliday's model of language provides an analytical tool to make visible the system of meanings expressed through language. In this study systemic functional linguistics is used to examine texts, as written or transcribed from the spoken, at the structural or lexico-grammatical level in terms of the way words function in particular patterns or structures.

Systemic functional linguistics requires a detailed and systematic analysis of text. Most texts that have been analysed in this way have been short (about three pages) and written. The grammar is much more developed as a mode of analysis in relation to the written form than it is in the spoken form, although the work of Margaret Berry (1981) and Jim Martin (forthcoming) on exchange theory and Cate Poynton (1990) on the realisation of interpersonal meanings in spoken texts have provided important extensions to the model. Adopting systemic linguistics as an analytical tool effectively meant a shift away from the broad ethnographic approach which took the whole school as case study, to a focus on classroom interaction in depth. This is not to say that the institutional context was ignored. Fieldnotes were still taken on visits to schools and student and teacher interviews were recorded to provide further context and substantiation of the interpretations of interactions.

Three schools were finally settled upon as the most appropriate sources for the variety of lesson situations required. This selection took into account the combinations of teachers
and students most likely to be found in New South Wales secondary schools. One school situated in a semi-rural area had universal mixed physical education except for the odd special exception; one other school was an independent religious school that had recently amalgamated and had all single-sex classes but with some of the girls classes taught by male teachers; and the third school was an urban government school having most of its classes segregated but with some mixed classes in Years 7 and 10 and mixed classes for social dance. From these schools, six male teachers and three female teachers consented to have their lessons recorded on video and audio tape (through lapel microphones). These teachers, together with at least one other member of staff from each school, were also interviewed at length about their background and their attitudes to girls' and boys' participation in physical activity. The interviews also provided important contextual material about the school ethos. The audio recordings of the lessons were transcribed verbatim and in the first instance were read thoroughly several times as a basis for further systematic analysis using systemic linguistics. This method looks at instances of text as instances of culture.

In all, eighteen lessons were recorded, some lasting for one 'period' of 40 minutes duration and others for a 'double period' of 80 minutes. As some lessons yielded 40 pages of transcript, the usual detailed analysis of every clause followed by systemicists was obviously impracticable for this amount of data. A taxonomy was developed to provide the initial framework (grid) by which the lessons could be analysed in terms of the research questions described below. As a starting point, two lessons were selected for analysis using all the categories under the headings of field (content meanings), tenor (interpersonal meanings) and mode (the way a text is constructed). These lessons were selected because they provided the possibilities for a comparison between male and female styles of teaching (if there was indeed a difference) and thus the potential to identify the most salient features for the analysis of other lessons.
A very detailed analysis of each lesson revealed that while the field components would be important and a limited mode analysis would be required for an understanding of the physical education lesson as genre, the most striking difference was in the way teachers chose language to create interpersonal relations of power, intimacy and solidarity. Thus future analysis could focus on those features of language that were implicated in realising such meanings - that is, the grammatical realisation of tenor through language choices of speech functions, modality and modulation and other indicators of power and intimacy such as mode tags, apologies and joking. At a later stage of analysis the use of personal pronouns and an analysis of taxis (clause dependency structures) was also warranted.

At this stage of the study, several broad questions could be said to inform the interpretation of the lesson texts:

- Were there differences in the language resources that teachers drew on to make meaning?
- Was there a difference that could be attributed to the sex of the teachers and/or the sex of the students?
- If differences existed, what were the consequences of such differences for students in terms of their understandings of themselves as male and female and in terms of their attitudes and behaviours in relation to physical activity?

This last question took the study beyond a comparison of differences to the issue of the very production of gendered subjectivities. Although a broad theory of social and cultural reproduction that argued for the reproduction of society through its institutions (Connell, 1977; Hargreaves, 1986) had provided some explanatory power for the study to this point, it was no longer adequate to provide the link between what teachers did and said, and students' consciousness of themselves in terms of masculinity and femininity. To a certain extent Michael Halliday's (1978; 1982) (following Sapir and Whorf) understanding of language as a social semiotic makes the connection between cryptotypical patterns of grammar and ways of thinking that are located in particular
cultures and are thus incorporated into the consciousness of members of that culture as they learn the language. However, more recent work from Foucault (1972; 1984) and feminist writers like Weedon (1987) and Silverman (1983) under the umbrella of what has come to be known generally as poststructuralist theory, as well as feminist linguists such as Poynton (1985), have more clearly articulated the close relationship between linguistic but also non-linguistic practices in producing individual consciousness or subjectivities.

Foucault (1972; 1984) in particular describes the historical and cultural production of systems of knowledge and beliefs (discourses) that regulate the behaviour of individuals in a culture at any one time. These discourses include discourses of sexuality. At any one instance of action, according to Foucault, individuals' thinking, feeling and acting, are determined by their positioning in specific historical and cultural discourses. Although there are some problems (as will be discussed in Chapter 2) with the degree to which individuals and their actions are wholly determined by discourses and discursive formations, Foucault's 'genealogical' approach, which maps the operation of discourses and their production and influence at any one time, was important to the development of the study at this stage.

It became clear that in order to understand what was happening in physical education classrooms I would need to understand how the very structure of physical education lessons in general (the genre of the physical education lesson) and the experiences of the teachers and students, that is, their previous experience of discourses and discursive practices, determined their behaviour in the instance that was being analysed. That is, to what historically and culturally constituted discourses associated with physical education, sport and sexuality had the participants in the lessons been exposed and how were these enacted in their practices? Further, a 'genealogical' approach provided the means to argue that the interactions of teachers and students were in themselves productive and
reproductive of discourses and, most importantly for this study, of discourses of masculinity and femininity.

In practice then, this led to the decision to trace the production of those discourses that most affected the field of physical education - that is, to examine the historical production of the genre of the traditional physical education lesson and the discourses that it realises. An understanding of student and teacher subjectivities also meant investigating the cultural resources outside of the school genres and discourses on which they drew to make meaning in the lesson - for instance the discourses that informed the media representations of women and men in sport. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to this purpose.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis organisation is informed by the theory underpinning the analysis as a whole. After critically reviewing this theory in Chapter 2, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 provide the cultural and social context by which the analysis in the later chapters may be understood. Thus, Chapter 3 provides a description of the historical context demonstrating how certain discourses became the dominant discourses, how these relate to present day practices in physical education and how these both reflect and maintain hegemonic gender relations. Chapter 4 identifies contemporary discourses of hegemonic masculinity and femininity in relation to sport as they are produced and reproduced through the most public arena of human knowledge and belief systems - newspapers and television. Chapter 5 signals the beginning of the empirical work of the study but also in its description and analysis of the interviews with teachers and students provides an understanding of the subjectivities that the participants bring to the lesson - that is, it describes the self-perceptions and the perceptions that teacher and students have of male and female attitudes to, and capabilities for, physical activity and physical education.
Chapter 6 contains the substantive material around which the thesis as a whole is based by focusing on the lessons and the teachers that have been recorded for the study. It provides a detailed analysis of the ways in which teachers and students draw on various discourses and genres to construct each other as male or female. This chapter also investigates how the discourses identified in Chapter 3, 4 and 5 intersect in physical education lessons and in the bodies of individual subjects to produce a context in which certain sets of social relations and subject positions are available for teachers and students, thus providing the potential for the production of particular gendered subjectivities. Chapter 7 uses a particular model of genre as proposed by Bakhtin and more recently developed by Kress and Threadgold to analyse the lessons in terms of their normative and non-normative generic realisations. The latter are interpreted in terms of the opportunities they provide for the reproduction of patriarchal masculinity and femininity and also the spaces they allow for resistance and for change. Chapter 8 discusses the implications of the study in general terms and proposes future directions. Where appropriate the chapters will begin with a more detailed discussion of the theory and methodology that underpins the substance of the chapter. This has been deemed necessary because of the differing substantive material for analysis and the differing purposes of some chapters as compared to others. Chapter 4, for instance draws on semiotic theory to analyse media texts, whereas Chapter 5, 6 and 7 draw on ethnographic methods of coding data and use systemic linguistics and genre theory for its explication.

1.5 An Autobiographical Note

The researcher's own subjectivity is clearly an important factor in the selection of topic, methodology and explanatory theory. The form that this study takes relies particularly on the interpretations of the researcher as a member of the culture in which the participants in the study are located and more specifically on her experiences in the field being studied. It is therefore important to include a brief description of the researcher's autobiographical background as it pertains to the study.
Firstly I am a feminist; what radical and socialist feminists in the community call an "academic feminist". I would call myself a poststructuralist feminist. Poststructuralism has been particularly appealing both theoretically and personally because it both acknowledges and helps to explain the multiple and contradictory feelings and actions that I as a feminist and woman find myself caught up in, in everyday life. As Rosemary Pringle (1988) points out, poststructuralism acknowledges pleasure as a motivating principle for actions that appear contrary to one's self-perceptions as a rational and in my case feminist aware being. Poststructuralism does allow for change, for the possibility of subjects making choices in terms of their positionings in various discourses, but it also acknowledges the investment that underpins particular positions and practices and the notion that choice is not simply a rational action predicated on awareness.

As a feminist and as an educator committed to social justice, I am committed to social change in directions that benefit women (and also men). While I find it difficult to resist the urge to impose my vision of change, I am at least theoretically committed to a model of change in education based on the Action Research Model as developed at Deakin University through the work of Stephen Kemmis and others (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988). Their particular model emphasises teacher agency in changing their own practices through posing questions about that practice, gathering data to answer those questions and implementing change based on their interpretations of that data. One of the main purposes of this study is to develop a model of data gathering and analysis that can be modified for the use of teachers in reflecting on their language use and its consequences.

I bring to the analysis of the data the following experiences in physical education: I have been a student in the state system of education in New South Wales, a physical education teacher in the same system for five years and a lecturer and supervisor of physical education tertiary students in schools for the last sixteen years. Although I have had reasonably successful experiences in competitive sport (gymnastics and swimming), my real love is improvised or creative dance. This already places me on the fringe of the
dominant practices of physical education in Australia - and I believe this to be important in understanding my framing of the study and some of the conclusions that I draw from it. The pleasure of moving my body with confidence, the kinaesthetic pleasure of curving an arm, or of shaping the torso, of travelling through space in response to a feeling to music or for the sheer joy of moving is central to my enjoyment and pursuit of activity. I believe that this is an experience of movement that is rarely foregounded in the instrumental and masculinist pursuit of activity in schools and yet I believe it has the potential for profound resonances with the desires and needs of girls and boys if it could but penetrate the discourses of "technocratic rationality" (Tinning 1991) and instrumentalism that dominate physical education today.

Thus are my biases revealed. At the same time my experience as a physical educator and my relative marginality in that discipline enable me, I believe, to observe from without, to be more aware of the operation of dominant discourses and their power in persuading to a particular point of view.
Chapter 2

SUBJECTS AND SUBJECTIVITIES

Chapter 2 examines the way subjectivity has been discussed at various sites under the broad umbrella of poststructuralist and related theories. A poststructuralist approach by emphasising the constructedness of subjectivity immediately excludes those notions of the self that are the subject of traditional humanist discourses - that is an individual capable of rational, self-determination. Such an approach, however, has important limitations for the possibilities of individual action in the process of social change. Despite these limitations, poststructuralist and related theories provide important insights into the way in which subjects and subjectivity are produced in and through cultural practices. They are particularly relevant to this study because of the importance they place on the function of language and other signifying systems in constructing subjectivity. Such insights can be appropriated and extended to a more overtly political purpose. Indeed many recent feminist writers and critical theorists within an educational perspective do just that and it is to these perspectives that I have turned in the second half of the chapter to elaborate a notion of subjectivity that allows for individual action and social change.
2.1 Theories of subjectivity

2.1.1 Psychoanalysis and subjectivity: the 'unconscious' and the construction of desire

Freudian psychoanalytic theory and its more recent interpretations by writers such as Jacques Lacan and Julia Kristeva have been extremely influential in poststructuralist formulations of subjects and subjectivity. Psychoanalytic theory makes two main contributions - firstly through its proposal of an unconscious mind motivated by irrational desires and secondly through the idea that subjectivity, including the unconscious, is constituted in and through language.

However, the appropriation of psychoanalytic theory by poststructuralists and, particularly, by poststructuralist feminists is not without its own problems and contradictions. Psychoanalytic theory has been severely criticised on a number of counts. The Freudian account of female sexualisation rests heavily on the privileging of the male as the possessor of a penis and has thus earned the accusation of being anti-woman and phallocentric - that is, in assuming male as the norm and female as divergent. It has been denounced by Foucault (1978) as playing a normalising role in the regulation of sexuality. It has also been accused of assuming a universal application (particularly when drawing on the kinship relations discussed by Levi-Strauss) while ignoring its historical and cultural specificity, including its own origins in middle class Viennese society (Burniston et al, 1978).

On the other hand, there are many themes common to both poststructuralist and psychoanalytic theory. First and foremost, is the shared rejection of the unitary rational pregiven subject as the source of meaning and language. Psychoanalysis provides a model of divided subjectivity by proposing the notion of the 'unconscious'. Within psychoanalysis (and beyond psychoanalysis) the actual nature and function of the unconscious differs. For my purposes its value as a concept lies in the possibilities
afforded by its function as the source of irrational motivations and desires constituted in and through the signifying practices of a culture.

It is in Lacan's work that the social construction of the unconscious through language is made most explicit.¹ For Lacan, the unconscious is itself constituted in and through significations. It is not a pre-existing entity, but is constituted firstly, in and through relations with the mother and the interruption of this relationship through birth and secondly, through the entry of the subject into the symbolic order and language "which will henceforth determine the subject's identity and desires" (Silverman, 1983: p.172). The interruption/disruption of the relationship with the mother creates a lack/loss that the subject continues to attempt to make good. The subsequent desire for closure/pleasure thus provides the motivation for positions that individuals take up or accept from others.

Moreover for Lacan (referring back to Freud) the identity of the subject, including sexual identity, is continually at risk - the fictional idea of a coherent identity is continuously challenged by the unconscious. To explain the notion of subjectivity as a fiction, Lacan introduces the 'mirror stage', whereby the child identifies with its image as reflected in the mirror or by other objects in its environment, including parents and other adults. This identification is however a false one, - the image is not the child but an imaginary identification with a moment that "conceals, or freezes, the infant's lack of co-ordination and the fragmentation of its desires" (Mitchell and Rose, 1982: p.30). "(T)he mirror image represents the moment when the subject is located in an order outside itself to which it will henceforth refer" (p.31).

¹ Burniston (1978) argue that linguistic and verbal concepts were also central for Freud in the formation of the unconscious, particularly in his studies of dreams. It is usually Lacan's interpretation of Freudian psychoanalytic theory that has been taken up rather than Freudian psychoanalysis itself.
This happens primarily through language. In taking up the position of the speaking subject, constituted through language, the child in the process of acquiring language enters the symbolic order or the system of signifying practices that constitute the culture through taking up the position of the speaking subject, the 'I' in the 'I-you'. Herein emerge the beginnings of 'subjectivity', as the child takes up the position of the speaking subject, that is, takes up the first person, the 'I' position in an exchange. The linguist Beneveniste (1971) has identified the pronoun 'I' as 'shifter', an indexical symbol that does not represent a reality outside the instance of speaking and whose meaning is purely a function of the moment of utterance. The 'I' that speaks thus stands for the identity of subjects in language, but it is unstable. It follows, then, that although individuals may experience themselves as having a coherent identity or consciousness, 'subjectivity', as constituted in language, is constantly changing; it is continually being dissolved and reformed as the 'I' in any exchange changes from one speaker to another, and as the discursive relations between speakers change. In speaking, the subject takes up a position/a relation to others and the Other (the Symbolic Other) at the intersection of multiple systems of meaning, of relationships, many of which may be contradictory. This positioning, as it is expressed in and through language, can be read from texts and interpreted.

Mitchell expresses the concern that the contradictions in Freud's theory seem to make it "legitimate for everyone to take their pick and develop it as they wish" (Mitchell and Rose, 1982: p.1). In contrast to this position, the potential of Freudian/Lacanian psychoanalytic theory for selective appropriations and interpretations seem to be a way for many poststructuralists to reconcile their reservations over the phallocentric and culturally specific aspects of psychoanalysis with their need to provide for alternative explanations of motivation and subjectivity other than those derived from humanist theories of the subject.
These appropriations are not homogeneous in degree or kind. For instance, for Henriques et al (1984), psychoanalysis is a necessary prerequisite to resolve the unresolved problems that remain, having established subjectivity as discursively constructed in and through multiple and contradictory discourses. It provides a way of explaining the sense (even if imaginary) that most people have of themselves as historically continuous and integrated individuals. Holloway and Irwin, in particular among this group, use the Lacanian concept of desire to explain the incorporation of certain discursive positions into subjectivity rather than others (including the resistance to change). They describe their adoption of psychoanalytic concepts as "both critical and selective", introducing "some major shifts in emphasis ... which go beyond what is available in current analyses" (Henriques et al, 1984: p.204). They use psychoanalysis and particularly Freudian theory as interpreted by Lacan to provide an account for resistance and reaction to change and concomitantly to provide the starting point for the possibility of change in people's lives. Other writers, while having more difficulty accepting the clinical and phallocentric premises of psychoanalytic theory, still incorporate the notion of the unconscious and a discursively constructed desire or rather interest or investment (for instance, Weedon, 1987) into their explanations of subjectivity.

Charges of phallocentrism have been dealt with by arguing, along with Mitchell and Rose, that the Lacanian phallus is symbolic of an historically and culturally specific order consisting of language, laws, social processes and institutions - that is, that it explores how subjects came to be what they are, rather than prescribing what sexual identity and relations should be. The phallus thus "signifies cultural privilege and positive values, which define male subjectivity within a patriarchal society from which the female subject is excluded" (Silverman, 1983: p.183).

In conformity with its peculiar nature, psychoanalysis does not try to describe what a woman is - that would be a task it could scarcely perform - but sets about enquiring how she comes into being. (Freud quoted in Mitchell and Rose, 1982: p.4-5)
This has enabled some writers to appropriate and rewrite psychoanalysis to explain the oppressive elements of sexuality. For these writers it seems that the appeal of psychoanalysis lies in the belief that it is only in the context of psychoanalytic theory that the connection between the unconscious and sexuality has most profoundly been addressed. They argue that in contrast to the biologism of which it is often accused, psychoanalytic theory allows for the analysis of sexuality as an historical and social construction (Burniston et al, 1978: p.119). Rose for instance argues that "psychoanalysis is now recognised as crucial in the discussion of femininity" (Mitchell and Rose, 1982: p.27).

Psychoanalysis may very well be crucial to discussions of femininity both for its role in producing a particular version of female and male sexuality, and for the questions it raises about the unconscious and the production of desire. However, despite protestations to the contrary, in most interpretations of Freudian psychoanalytic theory (allowing for the exceptions of radical reworkings by French feminists such as Luce Irigary, Julia Kristeva and Helen Cixous), there is no avoiding the implication that inevitably sexuality hangs on the possession or lack thereof of a penis; the symbolic order in the last analysis is a phallocentric order taken as the universal norm. While acknowledging the contributions that psychoanalytic theory has made to the development of poststructuralist theory, like Weedon (1987), I too find that "the actual theorization of the structure of the unconscious and of subjectivity which psychoanalysis proposes is too intricately bound up with an inevitable model of psych-sexual development to serve the interests of feminism" (p.71).

Whereas Lacanian psychoanalytic theory acknowledges the cultural in the constitution of both the unconscious and conscious aspects of subjectivity, in the end, if ones relies solely on psychoanalytic theory, explanations of behaviour and social relations continue to come back to early childhood experiences, the relations of mother and child under the normative umbrella of patriarchy. Taken alone it is a closed system of explanation that,
except as part of a clinical practice, does not offer a great deal in terms of agency and
social change. Further, while sexuality is central to Freudian theory, bodies remain
biologically determined and determining in the process by which individual subjectivity is
produced. The central concern of psychoanalytic theory in the end is the mind, the
conscious and unconscious mind, as the instrument and product of a subject’s interaction
with symbolic order. There is less of a concern to analyse the nature of this order or to
account for the specific historical processes by which it is constituted.

While the concepts of desire and the unconscious are important to many feminist and
poststructuralist accounts of the subject, many writers, like Weedon (1987), reject
Lacanian and Freudian psychoanalytic psycho-sexual explanations of desire and female
subjectivity. Rather desire/interest/investment is taken as discursively constructed under
specific historical and cultural conditions. As desire is constructed, so may it become the
object of analysis and potentially the source of (re)constructions. The concept of ‘desire’
may be used to explain why subjects take up/accept certain positions in relation to
discourse rather than others. For instance, it may be used to explain why some teachers
attempt to create through their language and non-verbal behaviour certain relations of
power and intimacy with some students rather than others. It may also help to explain
why physical education lessons have so little appeal to some students. In what ways are
they prepared, how are their desires fashioned prior to the physical education class and
how do these desires connect with the positions available in those classes? Analysis of the
texts may give some indication of the motivation or structuring of the desire at work in
any particular instance, when taken in conjunction with what is already known about the
discourses operating at the time.

2.1.2 Structuralism and subjectivity: the relationship between the subject and society.

Along with those writing about subjectivity from a psychoanalytic perspective, the first
and foremost concern of poststructuralists has been to deconstruct the humanist concept
of a unitary, consciously rational, pre-given subject found in hegemonic academic discourses (Henriques et al, 1984; Shrag, 1986; Weedon, 1987). The notion of a pre-given subject capable of rational choices based on their experience of the world is very seductive and supports a taken-for-granted sense of a reality that is experienced in common with all others. Such a view of the subject supports a normative perception of the world, of knowledge, of attitudes and of practices. For instance, in contemporary capitalist society it produces a discourse of individualism and individual responsibility that ignores the contribution that the society as a whole makes to individual situations (Henriques et al 1987, Kirk and Colqhoun, 1989). A specific example from Henriques et al describes the reaction of the British government to racist practices by police (p.61). These are interpreted by the ministry as the actions of a few misguided individuals in an otherwise essentially non-racist society. Similarly sexism is regularly construed as the problem of a few individual males, who will eventually behave more appropriately once enlightened, or in the extreme legislated against. This kind of reasoning is often accompanied by the suggestion that it is, after all, women's responsibility - they only need to ignore the sexism of the few males who behave in this way, to get on with their lives and achieve in the same way as men.

What is left out of such a theory of the subject is not so much the influence of the social environment (because social cognition and socialisation theory do incorporate this) but the way in which the social is incorporated into the personal. Humanist theories, in positing a universal and unitary subjectivity, ignore both the cultural and historical specificity of experience and practices.

While Freud and Lacan have been influential in providing explanations for the constitution of individual subjectivity and motivation in the development of poststructuralist theory, it has often been those, such as Louis Althusser, writing within a Marxist tradition that have provided important insights into the constitution of the social structure and social relations. Althusser's work (1971) is interesting in that his own
theory draws on both Marxist theories of production and reproduction and on the Lacanian concept of subjectivity as an imaginary relation with the real that is constituted in and through language. On the other hand, Althusser (and those who have developed his theories, such as Michel Pecheux) in particular amongst contemporary structuralist writers, has been criticised for constructing a subject so dominated by the social structure that it is "no more than a bearer or support of ideological practices that are inscribed upon it" (Smith, 1988: p.17).

Althusser's work is valuable to the poststructuralist enterprise in two main ways. First, he challenged the classical Marxist view of ideology as 'false consciousness' and developed in its place a broader concept of ideologies as practices - that is, as "providing the frameworks of understanding through which men (sic) interpret, make sense of, experience and 'live' the material conditions in which they find themselves" (Hall, 1980: p.32). This formulation comes closer to both the Foucauldian concept of discourses as systems of knowledge, values and practices and to the semiotic/structuralist concept of culture as a system of signifying practices.

For Althusser (and indeed for most poststructuralists, although the terminology may differ), there is "no practice except by and in ideology" (Althusser, 1971: p.170). Individuals are 'hailed' or 'interpellated' as subjects in ideology, that is, recognise themselves as subjects or as a participants in a set of social relations and practices that is determined by the larger social structure. Having once accepted a position as such, they are from thereon locked into the ideological practices that constitute and are constituted by ideological state apparatuses such as religion, the law, the media and the family, with education as the primary apparatus of domination (Althusser, 1971). While the word 'accepted' may appear to imply some conscious activity on the part of the subject, Althusser makes it clear that "individuals are always-already subjects", even before they are born, already interpellated by the family as subjects into the existing social order (p.176).
Second, through his reading of Lacan, Althusser by developing the notion of interpellation, proposes one explanation for the way in which individuals recognise themselves as subjects in ideologies. The subject in recognising her/himself as 'I' or 'you' is interpellated not simply into an homogeneous symbolic order but into a specific set of ideological practices that are historically and culturally specific and that work to maintain the relations of production in a capitalist society. Thus women will accept their position as unpaid workers in the home, together with the capitalist (and from a feminist position, patriarchal) ideologies that legitimate their subordination. However, this process only works (and it usually does work) if subjects perceive their positioning as 'natural', their beliefs and actions as autonomous.

It is in this anticipation of success that Althusser is pessimistic if not completely deterministic. He does allow for 'bad subjects', those who have not 'bought the line', who have not been successfully interpellated into the ideological practices of the state. Presumably, it is with these subjects that lie the possibilities for change. He also suggests that it is at the site of ideological production - that is, the ideological state apparatuses - that the class struggle must take place. However, these possibilities for change are not developed and in the end we are left with a description of subjects locked into a hegemonic ideology through their belief that they are 'free'.

2.1.3 Foucault and relations of power

Where Althusser talks about ideology, Foucault uses the term 'discourse' to refer to articulated systems of "statements, terms, categories and beliefs" (Scott, 1988: p.35) which serve to regulate and control social relations and social practices within particular social formations. These social formations are usually referred to as discursive formations - that is, constituted in and through specific discourses. Discursive formations are also likely to include 'environmental' or 'non-discursive' elements - that is visible structures, institutions, modes of organisation and control. For instance, in *Discipline and Punish*
Foucault describes the regulatory function of the non-discursive in the architecture of the prison. This is only one element in the larger discursive formation that is the legal system and which includes as a discursive element, aspects of criminal behaviour that can be articulated, such as penal laws and criminology. Similarly, the education system as a discursive formation is constituted not only in and through the statements that regulate pedagogical and curriculum practices (amongst many others) but also through the physical structures of schools, the institutionalised patterns of organisation and ritual that regulate and control bodies. Whereas the distinction between discursive and non-discursive is used to draw attention to the often neglected non-linguistic aspects of the environment, these same elements in themselves generate statements and are so closely intertwined with language that the distinction between discursive and non-discursive must be acknowledged as pragmatic rather than a description of the way things are. For instance, in Chapter 4 of the thesis it will be demonstrated that the performances of Olympic gymnasts, are interpreted in and through the commentators' and spectators' positioning in relation to discourses which include those of sexuality, sport and ethnocentrism. These are mapped onto the practices and techniques that select and shape the gymnasts' bodies to be what they are, and to perform as they do. As McClaren suggests

... the body both incorporates ideas and generates them. This process is of course a dialectical one. It is important here to recognise that words and symbols are physiognomic and just as much part of our bodies as flesh.

(1988 : p.61)

The terms ideology and discourse as used by Foucault and Althusser, have much in common. Ideological and discursive practices are both central to the positioning of subjects within particular sets of social relations. Both writers argue for the materiality of ideologies and discourses, and neither would argue for a reality outside ideology/discourse. Althusser, however, is less concerned with describing the nature of particular ideologies. Foucault, on the other hand, is particularly interested in exploring the processes by which discourses are constituted as 'regimes of truth' - that is, the
circular process by which particular systems of knowledge, beliefs and practices are produced through the enactment of power and, which in turn, produce particular relations of power through control of the 'regime of truth'.

Although Foucault has been accused of ignoring the power exerted at the level of the state and state apparatuses (Snow, 1989) this is not entirely the case. What he does say, is that an analysis of relations of power must go beyond the limits of the state, because the state "can only operate on the basis of other already existing power relations" (Foucault, in Deleuze, 1988: p.64). The relations of power and the corresponding regimes of truth, the discursive formations in and through which they function, are produced to meet particular historical circumstances and flourish because they serve the interests of particular vested interests. In a patriarchal capitalist society, for instance, discourses that legitimate class and gender differences will have prominence.

An important tenet of the Foucauldian notion of discourse is that discourses are themselves produced in and through the practices of individuals in relation to each other. Individuals in their everyday practices continue to produce and to reproduce social formations, behaviours, spaces, bodies, sexualities, beliefs, knowledges and so on - the discursive and non-discursive practices of a culture. But in doing so they, in turn, are produced as subjects of these cultural practices - "they are spoken by as well as speaking their culture" (Hall, 1980: p.30). Individuals are thus productive as well as reproductive.

Since power, according to Foucault, is not primarily located in structures nor in an all powerful state apparatus, then the play of power is more dynamic. Individuals are not powerful or powerless, once and for all, but power is constituted in the relations between individual and groups and depends on both the particular discourse in operation and the positioning of individuals within that discourse (Urwin, 1984: p.284). Following Foucault, Henriques et al (1984) argue that rather than being inherent in monolithic and oppressive structures,
I take this to include those discursive but also non-discursive practices that constitute economic and political constraints on subjects' ability to take up certain positions. This seems to address the concerns of critical theorists such as Giroux (1989) that Foucauldian notions of power fail to acknowledge the materiality and inevitability of power differentials that are constituted through economic and political conditions. I would also take this to include the work of discursive formations in constraining what people can think, say and feel - that is, the limits imposed on individuals through their positioning in particular institutional discourses, as well as the production of desire in their personal history.

The Foucauldian perspective enables the analysis of power at the site of operation - that is, in the relations between subjects as they take up particular positions in discourse. This allows us to go beyond the power or powerlessness that is assumed to reside in particular 'roles' or 'categories', like those of 'woman' or 'student' to ask how these as particular positions in discourse are expressed by specific subjects in their relations with one another. As Henriques points out:

(An) approach which expects multiple positionings corresponding to multiple subjectivities - as mothers, wives, consumers, workers of one kind or another, etc. - must refer to the specificities of the different practices in order to describe to describe the different subject positions and the different power relations played out in them. It cannot simply speak of a subject's behaviour and attitudes and ascribe in advance subject's position according to class or gender. (Henriques et al, 1984: p.117)

2.1.4 Genres as a means of institutionalising purpose

The relationship between social structure and discursive formation becomes clearer if the notion of genre is taken into account. Society or the social structure works through...
institutionalised forms, including genres. Other writers, writing from a cultural studies or critical theory position, use the concept of 'sites of production/practice' (for instance, Bernstein, 1986; Kirk, 1990b). The term, 'sites of production/practice', more clearly indicates a location and is useful as a descriptive term. As such, I have used it later in this chapter. However, in itself, it lacks the theoretical explication as an institutionalised form that has been developed around the concept of 'genre'. For this reason, I have chosen to use the concept of 'genre' in relation to physical education lessons, as a more specific term to describe a social formation that has already associated with it inherent and specific constraints.

By 'genres', I mean those clusters of social interactions that are defined/delimited by their social purpose. As Kress and Threadgold (1988) have pointed out the concept of genre has been used differently in a number of contexts. In the context of contemporary literary criticism for instance it implies the slavish following of conventions in popular writing. I will be following an understanding of genre developed with the framework of social semiotics - that is, as part of the larger enterprise of understanding the social meaning making practices of a culture. Within this perspective, while there is not always general agreement as to the particular label, purpose and structure of any genre, there is agreement that genres are institutionalised forms that perform a particular cultural purpose and that this purpose is encoded in the schematic structure and other retrievable characteristics. Further, there is agreement that to describe a genre involves specifying its possible choices of subject matter (field)\(^2\), possible choices of social relations between participants, including relations between readers and writers, observers and observed (tenor) and possible textual forms and constructions (mode) (Kress and Threadgold, 1988: p.218).

Genres are primarily defined as the socially ratified text-types in a community, which make meaning possible by contextualising in a

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2 Field, tenor and mode are systemic function linguistic terms to describe the register variables that characterise texts.
grammatical way (a way that tells us something about the grammar) the actual linguistic or semantic patterns that constitute the lexico-grammar of texts. (Kress and Threadgold, 1988: p.217)

Genres constrain or make probable what can happen, what can be said and how it can be said in any text. They provide the form and institutionalised structure in and through which various discourses, practices and relations are possible. However, while certain practices and social relations are more probable in particular genres, these may be contested - in which case the effectivity of the social purpose of this particular realisation of the genre might also be brought into question. For instance, when students challenge the authority of the teacher to the point that the teacher is unable to teach, does this continue to be a lesson in terms of contributing to the achievement of its social purpose? On the other hand the intersection of conflicting and contested discourses may also allow for subversion and change within genres.

For Bakhtin, genres provide a sense of unity or wholeness, 'knitting together' the diverging heteroglossia (or intertextuality), the multiple voices or multiple discourses that are available in a culture. "Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear" (Bahktin, 1981: p.271). Bakhtin's centrifugal forces are the social and historical heteroglossia, the meanings that derive from the individual's past and present positionings in divergent and multiple discourses - only some of which have to do with class, occupation, sex, race and so on - as well as the discursive frameworks that are indigenous to the particular genre. For instance, while students and teachers bring their past experiences of being male or female, skilled or unskilled, adult or child and so on to a physical education lesson, there are also knowledges, beliefs and practices which are embodied in the participants, but which are likely to intersect in this particular institutional setting rather than another - that is, medical discourses about health and fitness, pedagogic discourses about authority relations and teaching method, patriarchal and capitalist discourses about competition and achievement and so on. It is at the intersection of these various forces that
subjects/subjectivities are produced. The multiple and contradictory nature of the subjectivities and discourses that are possible, makes for an apparently unpredictable outcome. On the other hand there are congruencies between discourses and subject positions that increase the salience of certain social relations, hence the likelihood for the production of certain subjectivities over others. For instance, there is a strong co-relation between the dominant discourses of sport, patriarchal discourses of masculinity and the pedagogic discourse one is most likely to find associated with physical education lessons.

The interactions that happen within the generic setting are the realisation of the dynamic process of (re)production. It is through these interactions that subjects and subjectivities are (re)produced. Every interaction, every utterance is evidence of the speaking subject's positioning in discourse. The actual constitution of the educational discourses and genres associated with the practice of physical activity in western capitalist societies will be taken up in later chapters.

2.2 Sites of (re)production: specific cultural practices implicated in the production of subjectivities.

2.2.1 Language and subjectivity

Just as common sense understandings produce a rational thinking individual capable of self-determination, so do they assume the transparency of language - that is, that language represents a universally shared reality with a one-to-one relationship between words, things and ideas. Contrary to such common sense understandings, meanings are not inherent to a reality that exists apart from those who live it. Rather meanings/the signifying practices of a culture are produced within and through the interactions that constitute a social system. This takes place primarily, but certainly not only, in and through language. From this point of view, language both reflects and maintains social structures, it constitutes subjectivity and social relations between subjects and this process
takes place largely at the unconscious level of awareness (Halliday, 1982). As Cate Poynton suggests, "language is the primary means by which we create the categories that subsequently come to organise our lives for us" (1985: p.4), so that it is primarily through language that we are positioned as female or male, black or white, teacher or student and so on.

Whorf (1956) and those influenced by his work (for instance, Bernstein, 1971, Halliday, 1982) argue that it is not only through individual words but through the grammatical patternings of a language that different world views are encoded; a process that occurs at the unconscious level of awareness. For Bernstein (1971) this has meant the encoding of cultural differences that have to do with class; for femininists it implies grammatical patternings that encode social relations that position women as subordinate to men. Both Whorf and Bernstein have been criticised for being overly deterministic (Cameron, 1985; Urwin, 1984) in the sense that language determines subjects and an inescapable subjectivity. However, both have also been defended by arguments that critical interpretations of their work have focused on the linguistic and have failed to take into account social, economic and cultural/ideological conditions (Threadgold, 1987). For instance, the most common criticism of Bernstein's work is that it proposes a deficit model of working class failure in the education system, based on limited linguistic resources. However as Atkinson points out, for Bernstein, "if anything the social structure and the social division of labour are determining rather than the language" (1985: p.69).

...the form of the social relation or, more generally, the social structure generates distinct linguistic forms or codes and these codes essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behaviour. (Bernstein, 1971: p.143)

In her commemoration paper to the Italian linguist, Rossi-Landi, Threadgold points to the similarities between his work and that of Bernstein, Whorf, Halliday and Foucault. She suggests that they
all argue for an intimate, if complex, relationship between language and social structure, and between structure and content which is markedly different from mainstream social science or linguistic approaches. What they all share is a concern to deconstruct that dominant epistemology which would see language "as a system of forms with meaning attached to make sense of them," and instead to see language or discourse (in Foucault's sense) as a system of meanings which can be expressed or realised or instantiated in different forms. (p.6)

Thus for Rossi-Landi 'the systems of meanings' are the constant capital or the body of intertextual meanings both linguistic and other which have been produced by the workers of the culture and from which choices are now made. (Threadgold, manuscript: p.111). For Foucault, these meanings are instantiated as statements that encode the beliefs, knowledges and practices of a culture at any historical instant (1972). And for Halliday and Whorf 'the systems of meanings' are realised in and through the crypto-typical patternings of the lexico-grammar of a particular language.

Individuals do not have free play to make meanings (within the limits of their culture) as they wish; language should not be taken as a shared resource available to all. Although it may be "presented as everyone's common property ... certain kinds of language are produced in certain places by certain people for specific purposes" (Threadgold, manuscript: p.114). This is particularly relevant to education where analyses of the social construction of knowledge demonstrate the reproduction of dominant ideologies through control of the curriculum. A subtler form of control and reproduction will be demonstrated in later chapters through the control of meanings in teacher-student interactions.

In summary, individuals are constrained in what they can say, and hence what they can mean, by the linguistic choices (made) available in the language that they use and which is in turn, limited by their positioning in relation to the knowledge and practices (the discourses) of the culture from which they speak or write. The interactions of teachers and students in physical education lessons are to a large extent determined by the cultural baggage (subjectivities) they bring to the situation and the constraints of the genre in
which the interactions take place. Subjects are however also 'productive' and creative - they are capable of constructing and are required to construct new meanings and new relations as students and teachers take up resistant relations and refuse the normative positions available from the genre.

While language is taken as integral to the domination of the subject and the formation of subjectivity in the approaches described above all but one fail to provide the means for the empirical task of systematically analysing and interpreting language use. The model of language developed by Michael Halliday (1978; 1985; Halliday and Hasan, 1985), generally called systemic functional linguistics or functional grammar, incorporates the necessary theoretical link between language and culture as well as the interpretative tools to retrieve the crypto-grammatical meanings encoded beyond the surface in texts, both written and spoken, at the structural or lexico-grammatical level of text. In other words it makes possible an analysis that goes beyond the level of the word (lexis) to the choices made by speakers/writers and the way the words function in particular patternings or structures.

While this section has concentrated on the linguistic construction of subjectivity and power-knowledge relations, in many ways the non-linguistic significations, the ways in which bodies and spaces are inscribed, are more insidious and controlling because less visible and because taken to be more natural. The following section will deal specifically with the cultural (re)production of the body as it is associated with femininity and physical activity. Deconstructing the apparent neutrality of bodies and movement and the cultural investment in inscribing bodies and spaces with certain meanings is essential to bring about change.

Belief in the 'natural' nature of bodies and artifacts, of the built environment, of cities and buildings, of automobiles and leisure practices and so on is crucial if the system is to be preserved from change. As long as these are not seen as the products of human labour and therefore meaningful, not seen as the texts to be read and decoded and therefore able to be rewritten, they are
consigned to the realm of the inevitable, the real, the 'natural'.(Threadgold, manuscript: p.115)

2.2.2 *Embodied subjectivity*

Except for Foucault, whose writing will be important to what follows, most writers referred to so far have generally focused on the production of subjectivity through language or material texts such as films and advertisements but have ignored subjectivity as constituted in and through the body. Humanist, poststructuralist, and feminist discourse alike has implicitly operated on a model of the subject that is disembodied. This is a culturally powerful model that follows the oppositions of mind, intelligence, thinking, verbal to body, emotion, acting and non-verbal. For many feminists the body has been associated with the site of their domination through medical and sociobiological discourses that attribute to women subordinate or weaker positions linked to their reproductive function. Thus the body has been perceived as the site of vulnerability both literally and theoretically. One solution was to deny motherhood altogether and to look to a utopia where women would be liberated by science from this biological responsibility (for instance, Firestone, 1971); another, to trivialize the body as inconsequential to the production of gender by reworking traditional role theory to expose the masculine constructions of sex-roles (see Caddick, 1986 for a criticism of this approach).

Most of the early feminist writing that has addressed the body as an important subject/object of study has taken two main directions. There has, on one hand, been the concern of women writing within a socio-biological tradition (Lowe, 1982; Sayers, 1982 and in sport Drinkwater, 1980) to argue via the evidence of empirical research that what has been understood about the biology of women's bodies is socially constructed. These writers argue that biological explanations of women's inferiority are frequently founded on research findings that are profoundly affected both methodologically and interpretatively by *a priori* assumptions about women's location in the social structure. The other major direction, taken up by feminist writers usually researching within a
sociological or anthropological perspective, has been concerned to expose the exploitation of women's bodies - for instance, through reproductive technologies (Corea et al, 1985), advertising and pornography (Brownmiller, 1986; Griffin, 1981).

Both of these perspectives are still generating important work, often becoming increasingly informed by a growing body of work drawing on a philosophical, poststructuralist perspective. More recent writing, however, incorporates an increasingly sophisticated approach that draws on poststructural, psychoanalytic and/or semiotic theory to provide insights into the ways in which the female body is produced and reproduced. The collection of readings edited by Jacobus, Keller and Shuttleworth (1990) for instance, draws together the work of scholars from many different fields to investigate how the fictions, discourses, representations and material practices of science are implicated in (re)constructing "our understanding of the contours of the female body" (p.2). Feminists writing from this perspective often acknowledge the influence of Michelle Foucault, although not uncritically. Foucault has been important to recent writing about the body because, while certainly not the first to do so, he demonstrated in *The History of Sexuality* (1981) and *Discipline and Punish* (1979) that the body is not neutral, not simply the outward expression of the biological inheritance of the individual, but that it is constituted in and through specific historical and cultural conditions. In *Discipline and Punish*, for instance, Foucault argues that the material practices of discourses and institutions manipulate, shape, (and) train bodies to particular ends.

What was then (in C17 and C18) being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviour. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it. (p.138)

In the *History of Sexuality* (1981), Foucault demonstrates how sexuality in the nineteenth century rather than being repressed and hidden was the subject of a proliferation of statements, a regime of power-knowledge-pleasure that proscribed and prescribed the function and form of appropriate sexuality. Foucault therefore provides a starting point
from which to talk about masculinity and femininity as constituted through a process that is both historically and culturally specific and that begins with a focus on the regulation of bodies. Moreover the Foucauldian construct of the body as the object and target of discipline and control fits well with the centrality of the body to the process of enculturation of the child/student that occurs through physical education and sport.

Recent writings in the area of dance have combined a Foucauldian and literary perspective to investigate the body and institutionalised movement practices. These, therefore, provide a useful analytical framework to start thinking and writing about the representation/presentation of the body in sport. Writers like Dempster (1988), Rothfield (1988) and Grosz (1990), for instance, appropriate metaphors from literary theory and text analysis to analyse the active body as a corporeal text, a surface on which many meanings are writ and from which social and historical meanings can be read.

The metaphors of body writing poses the body, its epidermic surface, muscular-skeletal frame, ligaments, joints, blood vessels and internal organs, as corporeal surfaces on which engraving or 'graffiti' are etched. The metaphor of the textualised body affirms the body as a page on which messages may be inscribed. The analogy between bodies and texts is a close one: tools of body-engraving - social, surgical, epistemic or disciplinary - mark bodies in culturally specific ways; writing instruments - the pen, stylus, or laser beam - inscribe the blank page of the body. (Grosz, 1990: p.62)

The most basic inscription is that of sexual difference. As Moira Gatens writes, "(c)oncerning the neutrality of the body, let me be explicit, there is no neutral body, there are at least two kinds of bodies; the male body and the female body" (quoted in Rothfield, 1988: p.8). This is not to imply that there are essential differences between male and female bodies that transcend specific social and historical contexts, rather that male and female differences are for the most part constructed by the attitudes and practices of the culture in which they are found. Society requires a clear differentiation of bodies as male or female, no matter how great the blurring of difference between bodies. Male is defined as as different from female, the "potency of the male subject is defined in contrast to women's weakness" (Silverman, 1983: p.139).
The production of sexuality, the inscription of the body with sexualised meanings is not a unitary or simple process. The body is the site of contesting discourses, that is, the site of contesting systems of values and beliefs about what is normal and desirable - for instance, what is normal and desirable femininity. Women's bodies are particularly potent sites of meaning because they are so closely bound with women's identity as sexually attractive, as the objects of an evaluating gaze. In our culture, women are valued for the way they look rather than for their achievements, how they are, rather than what they do. So for many women, how they look and how they measure up to standards of sexual attractiveness is a pre-occupying concern and a central feature of their investment/desire. Such desires and subject positions are produced in and through multiple sites, including the popular media, medical discourse, the health and fitness industry, sport and physical education. Matthews (1987), for instance examines the contribution of the physical culture movement to the shift from corporeal meanings and desires associated with a "uterine tradition" of motherhood in nineteenth century and early twentieth century England to meanings and desires constituted around physical beauty. The constitution of desire and corporeal subjectivity will be taken up in Chapter 4 in relation to representations of the body in print and visual media.

The 'I' who speaks, is an embodied 'I', and speaks from all of her experience of herself as constructed in and through discourses and by technologies/material practices regulating bodies. First and foremost this is the experience of having been designated male or female and all that that entails about bodies in our culture, but also black or white, competent or clumsy, fat or thin, attractive or unattractive and so on. Having incorporated such meanings into their understanding of themselves, as part of their subjectivity, women continue to construct themselves in keeping with such designations. Thus is the body the site par excellence of the workings of power - its apparent neutrality/givenness makes opaque the process of production and the workings of desire.
Physical education is centrally concerned with 'work' on the body, with the regulation and control of the body through both the ritualised practices of sport and physical education lessons (Hargreaves, 1986) and through the scientific and medical rationales that underlie these practices. Physical education of all the curriculum areas of contemporary schooling provides the optimum opportunity for a detailed attention to the disciplining of the body.

2.3 Subjectivity, agency and resistance

As discussed above, the poststructuralist perspective in deconstructing the humanist subject has generated within its own and related discourse(s) a concern with agency and change. In deconstructing the humanist subject, poststructuralists have been accused of determinism and a preoccupation with "undoing the text, subject, truth and any other such terrains which have been the traditional edifices of meaning and agency" without developing "any moral, ethical or political project" (Giroux, 1989: p.62). The question is, how can individuals initiate social change if all reading and all writing, all speaking and all listening are discursively constructed? Are we locked into an 'imaginary' world from which there is no opportunity to escape? The answer to that last question from a poststructuralist position seems to be 'yes'. We cannot speak/write from outside discourse - the opposition of the real and the imaginary, utopia and ideology are false dualisms (Threadgold, manuscript). Subjects do not exist outside discourse - "there is no outside from which to speak, ...we cannot position ourselves at will, as is if we were simply 'real individuals', not socially constructed subjects, 'outside' and beyond the 'object' of our enquiry - the cultural system" (Threadgold, manuscript: p.81). So, if there is to be change the potential for change must come from within or between discourses.

To the extent that my research project is feminist, it is centrally concerned with change - often on quite different fronts (changing women, changing men, changing society, changing our understanding of the world/social reality). On the other hand, I have found
the 'subjectivity' proposed by poststructuralist theory useful in explicating the (re)production of masculinity and femininity through particularly linguistic but also through non-linguistic practices. The question is how to reconcile/explain the apparent contradictions produced by the notion of subject qua agent. The notions of resistance to oppressive practices and structures demands a concept of the subject that allows agency while acknowledging the discursive construction of subjectivity.

In this final section of the chapter, I will examine the possibilities for social change from a poststructuralist position and the means by which individuals might participate in this process through an examination of two closely related propositions: first, that in any society, the normative power of discursive formations and their attendant subject positions and desires is always contested by alternative discourses, subject positions and desires; secondly, that individual subjectivity, as produced within the context of multiple and conflicting discourses is itself constituted as multiple and contradictory and therefore alternative choices of subjectivities are possible.

2.3.1 Normative and contesting discourses

If we were to allow that individual choices of alternative and contesting subjectivities was possible and indeed desirable, then subjects, in the first instance, must be alerted to the imaginary nature of their freedom and second, there must be alternative positionings, discourses, desires and generic forms in and through which to act. It is in the work of writers as divergent as Kristeva (1973) and Foucault (1972) as well in the work of feminist educators arguing for an alternative pedagogy that this position has been articulated.
2.3.1.1 Foucault and alternative 'regimes of truth'

In an *Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault maps out his general theory of discursive formations as historical productions (or at this stage in his writing 'epistemes') and the methodological conclusions inherent in such a theory. Since that work, Foucault has been concerned primarily to identify the historical production of specific discursive formations both visible (*Discipline and Punish*) and articulated (*History of Sexuality*) and their function in regulating individuals through the operation of the power/knowledge nexus. As has already been described above, the potential for change for Foucault lies in the struggle over the production of knowledge and the acceptance of alternative discursive formations that presumably are less oppressive (although Foucault never goes quite so far into the contentious issue of 'oppression'). Foucault demonstrates through his own 'genealogical' analyses the methodology to make visible the historical production of discourses and regulatory practices. For Foucault it was sufficient to reveal the workings of power; it was not part of his work to provide specific alternatives. However, in writing challenging theory within an academic discourse he has obviously contributed to the ongoing transformation of that same discourse. As many feminist writers have also pointed out, Foucault was gender-blind, even when discussing the construction of sexuality (Bartky, 1988; Pringle, 1988).

2.3.1.2 Kristeva and the semiotic

In the earlier section on psychoanalysis and subjectivity, Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalytic theory was described as both universalistic and phallocentric in its treatment of subjectivity. Social change is not an important part of the psychoanalytic agenda, though for clinical practitioners writing from this perspective (including feminists) individual change will be important. Julia Kristeva and Luce Irigaray were mentioned as notable exceptions to this position. Writing from an essentialist position Irigaray has been important to the development of contemporary feminist theory (Gross, 1986). It is,
however, to Kristeva that I wish to turn to begin a description of those approaches to
change that assume the possibilities to be always/already present in society, independent
of changes in individual consciousness but, in the end, productive of such change.

Kristeva (1973) takes a somewhat problematic stance (for the feminist reader) by
identifying feminine and masculine, not with corporeal differences but with signifying
practices that are located at the level of the individual, the speaking subject, and at the
level of the social formations. The symbolic order/ the masculine is equivalent to "the
social, the order of law, language and regulated exchange" (Gross, 1986: p.128). The
semiotic order/ the feminine correlates with the preoedipal sexual phases in a child's life
and is identified with those signifying practices that are anarchic, creative, emotional and
repressed within the symbolic order. Avant garde literary activity, particularly poetry is
an example she cites of semiotic activity that surfaces in the spaces of the symbolic order.
The symbolic is contested/subverted at both the social and the personal level by the
semiotic.

It is these signifying practices (the semiotic) that can reveal the economic and
social formation that shelters them as a provisional articulation, constantly
exceeded and threatened by the permanent contradiction proper to the process
of significance - a contradiction between symbolic and semiotic inherent in
any speaking being from the moment it speaks to another by means of signs.
(Kristeva, 1973, p. 68)

Kristeva argues for the subversive role of those signifying practices that privilege the
semiotic. While her examples are mostly of literary texts, particularly poetry, there are
insights here for understanding the potentially subversive role (and also the repression) of
those forms of expressive activities that centre around the body, such as dance and other
forms of creative movement in education. While dance amongst other such socially
expressive forms has been and is easily colonised by the symbolic to serve the processes
of reproduction (the ballet and the opera as high culture are the best examples), dance and
musical theatre are continually reappropriated to challenge their institutionalised forms and
aspects of the socio-economic structure itself.
2.3.2 *Multiple subjectivities: possibilities for change*

The notion of contesting discourses provides for the possibility of change at the macro level of society. However, it is important not to lose sight of the activity of individuals in producing discourses and thus in producing contesting discourses or in Kristeva's terms producing challenges through the creativity of the semiotic. The question of change at the level of individual subjectivity and practice therefore remains to be answered. As a starting point to addressing this question a summary of the relevant propositions describing a poststructuralist account of subjectivity and its relation to discourses and discursive formations will be given below.

- All persons experience their positioning/their interpellation in discourse differently, because of the differences in their positionings in relation to multiple texts and relations that have provided subject positions in the past.

- Subjects take up positions or accept positions because they are in accordance with historically and culturally constituted desires/interests (Weedon, 1987) or affective investments (Urwin, 1984; de Lauretis 1984). Subjectivities that bring to bear an experience of difference or the taking up of alternative positions in discourse are less likely to be desirable for those who have incorporated normative patterns of desires. However, the contradictory nature of these positionings at the intersection of multiple and contesting texts provides for options, for the recognition of alternative discourses and thus the potential for action to bring about change. "(R)esistance must be regarded as the by-product of contradictions in and among subject-positions" (Smith, P., 1988: p. 25).

- Subjects choose their positioning in discourse, choose between subjectivities, albeit motivated by irrational and discursively produced desires. For Weedon "(w)here there is a space between the position of the subject offered by discourse and individual
interest, a resistance to that subject position is possible" (1987: p.112-3). However, this interest is itself discursively constructed, and for Threadgold:

The discursively and socially constructed subject, and her discursively, corporeally ... and socially constructed desires and motivations are as heteroglossic, as constrained and as open to free play and indeterminations precisely because of their social, historical and institutional positioning, as any other text. (Threadgold, manuscript: p.91)

There are problems in the propositions listed above, but also ways forward. Firstly, resistance appears to be accepted as unequivocally desirable, despite indications by researchers such as Scraton (1987) and Willis (1977) that certain forms of resistance to dominant discourses and institutional power by those who are already marginalised is likely to consign those who resist to the least desirable positions in a society.

While accommodation and resistance as as modes of daily activity provide most females with ways of negotiating individually felt social conflict or oppression, this individual activity of everyday life remains just that: individual, fragmented and isolated from group effort. (Anyon quoted in Weiler, 1988: p. 50)

Secondly, it is important not to assume that subjects are constantly involved in unlimited and conscious choices of subjectivities and subject positions. In practice, the constraints of discourses and discursive formations limit the positions available. Discourses operate within institutional frameworks (elsewhere called genres) which constrain the likelihood of one position being taken up over another. For instance, within schools the power relations between teachers and students are normatively skewed in a particular direction. Nor are choices necessarily, perhaps even probably, going to be made in the direction of resisting the status quo. Desire in being discursively constructed may, in fact is likely to, lead to choices that position subjects in normative relations with others within institutional formations.
Thirdly, implicit in the possibility of change seems to be an assumption that subjects are able to recognise and to read 'ideological scripts' in ways that come very close to the humanist notion of the self-determining subject and to make conscious decisions in taking up particular subject positions. This seems to be implicit in the arguments for a self-determining individual put by de Lauretis. Although she allows a "multiple, shifting, and often self-contradictory identity" (1986: p.9), located within specific historical conditions and constraints, she proposes a subject that is also "subject in the active sense of maker as well as user of culture, intent on self-definition and self-determination (1986: p.10). But then she is writing within a literary and film tradition where feminist women are engaged in sophisticated resistant readings of patriarchal texts. Women (and men) may very well be the 'makers' of culture, but how do individual women arrive at insights that will enable them to deconstruct the workings of power and desire in their everyday lives and make culture in ways that serve their needs. For instance, how do the teachers in my study, make choices, make coherent sense of their experiences as the consequences of a history of relations in patriarchal discourses?

2.3.3 Alternative discourses, agency and change

The potential for change seems not so much to lie with meanings that individual women make/create (the humanist answer) but with the discourses that are available to them from which to make sense of their experiences and their's and others' actions. The development of feminist discourses provide alternative explanations and subjectivities to those made available by and through dominant patriarchal discourses.

It is certainly through "political, theoretical, self-analyzing practice" (Alcoff, 1988: p.424) that women have come to recognize and struggle against the determinations of history and discourse. However, Alcoff argues that for de Lauretis it is not only in academic journals that this should take place but that "all women can (and do) think about, criticize and alter discourse and change subjectivities through reflective practice" (1988: p.425). I am not so
easily convinced although I have an immense sympathy with the optimism of this position. De Lauretis gives agency to the individual but does not adequately account for the source of the political consciousness that is a precursor to self-reflection and the questioning of social reality.

On the other hand, I do agree with de Lauretis that subjects make choices. In their everyday lives, women make choices in language, in ways of behaving, reacting, interpreting and these are mediated by prior experiences. These choices, however, are not necessarily conscious and are likely to be compliant with dominant discursive positionings and practices. However, where oppression or difference is experienced consciously, an unquestioning acceptance of single social reality is certainly going to be at risk. As de Lauretis (1986) points out, for women it is their experience of their sexuality that most defines what it is to be a female subject and it is through her sexuality that a woman's personal concerns often become political ones.

Herein lies the potential for reflection and active and resistant choices for individual women. However, there must be alternative discourses, practices and social relations available to choose from. Moreover relying on oppositional insights at the individual level, may be important in reconstructing individual desires although these are unlikely to produce more widespread social change. On the other hand, it could be argued that the public circulation of feminist discourses identifying female oppression and tracing the processes by which it is (re)produced, have profoundly influenced the dominant construction of what it means to be female or male. While these discourses filter somewhat slowly into the general discourse, the process of critique and of production of alternative subjectivities is an important work that must continue through academic writing, literature, film and other art forms and through the everyday practices and struggles of individuals and groups.
The usefulness of this thesis can therefore be judged on the contribution it makes as a theoretical and empirical study to the knowledge that constitutes a dynamic feminist discourse. Its purpose then is to provide the space for alternative positions for those choosing to resist the normative positionings available in dominant discourses of masculinity and femininity. Specifically, it maps patriarchal discourses, including those constituting the knowledges and practices associated with pedagogy, sport and masculinity, as these intersect in the genre of the physical education lesson to produce gendered subjectivities and particular relations of power that are oppressive for women.
Chapter 3

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: MAPPING THE DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

Utilising a poststructuralist position, I argued, in the previous chapter, that individual subjectivity in any one instance is constituted at the intersections of multiple and contesting discourses. In this thesis I am concerned to identify the ways in which gendered subjectivities are produced in a particular instance of culture, namely the physical education lesson. To make sense of the linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours that constitute such lessons, it is necessary to understand the systems of choice which students and teachers have to draw upon in order to make sense of their interactions with one another. These paradigms of choice are constituted by the discursive positions and practices most likely to be found in the particular institutional setting of the lesson (or, using the terminology introduced in Chapter 2, the particular curriculum genre).

Genres are institutionalised forms that have evolved to serve specific social purposes (Martin, 1984). They constrain or predetermine the discourses and ensuing social
relations and practices that are likely to be instantiated in a particular historical and cultural context to realise these purposes (Bakhtin, 1981). In discussing educational genres, the work of Bernstein (1986) on pedagogic discourse is useful in understanding how discourses from outside the field of education become recontextualised to serve educational purposes. According to Bernstein, pedagogic discourse has no particular discourse of its own. Rather, "it is a principle for appropriating other discourses and for bringing them into a special relation with one another for the purposes of their selective transmission and acquisition" (Bernstein, 1986: p.210). By this process, pedagogic discourse becomes constituted as a specific and complex discourse (as in the pedagogic discourse of physical education) which is concerned with the organisation, and implementation of a particular curriculum area. In this way, instructional discourses derived from the primary fields of sports skill, medicine and exercise physiology are recontextualised and relocated in the secondary field of physical education.

The principles which govern the recontextualising of specific discourses are themselves regulated by what Bernstein (1986) calls distributive rules. These principles are inextricably linked with relations of power and control over the production of knowledge. In regulating the distribution of knowledge, they define what is established knowledge or the 'thinkable', and what is esoteric knowledge or 'the unthinkable'. Distribution principles are closely connected to the relations of power between those groups who are involved in the production of knowledge, those who are involved in its reproduction, and those who are produced as its subjects/objects. According to Bernstein, in education the production of knowledge occurs primarily, but not exclusively, in the upper echelons of the education system or what he calls 'primary contexts' of production. These contexts include research sites in universities and other similar sites.

The knowledge that is produced in primary contexts is selectively reproduced in secondary contexts which consist of four levels: tertiary, secondary, primary and preschool. A further level of context is identified which is responsible for the
recontextualising and circulation of texts (discursive realisations) between the primary and secondary context. This level of context has a distributive and dispersal function, and through such functions, it also transforms the knowledge being circulated. Tertiary lecturers, for instance, summarise and interpret the findings from specialised fields of research to write text books that are published and read by teachers, students and other academics. In physical education the knowledge produced from bio-medical research is translated to provide the rationale for school based physical education as a preventative for cardio-vascular disease.

This chapter, then, is primarily concerned with mapping the production and recontextualisation of pedagogic discourses in physical education. The production of these discourses has involved the recontextualisation of statements of knowledge and belief that have their origins in fields inside and outside of education. In physical education, as in education generally, different discourses have achieved the status of the normative discourse at different historical moments, dependent largely on their correspondence with other dominant discourses in the wider society which, in turn, have been influenced by specific economic, political and social conditions. As such, the knowledge that is legitimated or taken as truth (the 'regime of truth') serves as a source of power and subjugation for those whom it effects. Following Foucault, this conjunction of power and knowledge, or power-knowledge, works both to constitute powerful subjects, those people who in accepting and identifying with a particular system of knowledge and beliefs benefit from it, and subjects of power, those who are subjugated by the same system (Ball, 1990). This process never works simply. The sexual division inherent in school-based physical education until very recent times contributed to the reproduction of gender difference while at the same time provided many women with opportunities for a career structure which they would otherwise not have had in other fields in the state system of education.

For instance, the emphasis on health as fitness in contemporary physical education reflects and interprets a wider societal concern with cardiovascular disease as a major cause of death for men, together with the equation of the fit body with attractiveness for women.
Discourses are not fixed, nor unitary. By their very exclusion of other ways of knowing and believing they define alternatives, which provide positions of contestation. The intersection of conflicting discourses and discursive positions thus allows for change.

Discourses constrain the possibilities of thought. They order and combine words in particular ways and exclude or displace other combinations. However, in so far as discourses are constituted by exclusions as well as inclusions, by what cannot as well as what can be said, they stand in antagonistic relationships to other discourses, other possibilities of meaning, other claims, rights and positions. (Ball, 1990: p.4)

The discourses that constitute contemporary physical education and that then become instantiated in the genre of the physical education lesson are the outcome of years of individual and group production and conflict. Historically, the process of discursive production and reproduction has been dynamic and dialogic, with no clear point of departure for the institution of a new regime of truth. The development of physical education in New South Wales has contained within it the struggles of various contesting groups to have their own ideologies and authority accepted as the ideology and practice. It is possible, however, to delineate periods in which certain discourses or regimes of truth achieved a greater legitimacy than others. As will be demonstrated, the successful discourses and practices in physical education are always closely aligned with, or follow from, the broader social and political climate of the culture. This has not been accompanied by a tradition of critique. Kirk and Tinning (1990), for instance, suggest that there has been a tendency for physical educators "to be more concerned with following trends, with showing that we can fit whatever role society requires of us, and we take the subservient view that we shouldn't 'bite the hand that feeds us'" (p.2).

Western capitalist cultures make a strong distinction between the mental and the manual\(^2\), and privilege the former. From its inception as an identifiable lobby group in education,

\(^2\) Feminist philosophers such as Helen Cixous and Julia Kristeva also point to the body/mind opposition as equated with a male/female opposition that associates maleness and masculinity with intellect, thought, reason and femaleness and femininity with emotion, feeling and passion. (Buchbinder and Milech, 1989)
physical education, as a profession concerned with bodily practice, has always been marginal and required to justify its existence. In the process of legitimation, physical educators have closely aligned themselves to the more powerful professional discourses operating at any historical moment, such as those derived from the fields of medicine, physics and psychology. Having no long established and recognisable discipline tradition of its own physical education, also looks to what are often transient social and political discourses to support its case. For example, in Victorian England, Bergman-Osterberg argued for Swedish gymnastics and the training of specialist teachers in the language of Social Darwinism, to convince state and private educators and administrators and particularly parents that physical activity would be beneficial in producing healthy young women who would become strong mothers (Atkinson, 1978). Contemporary physical educators argue for their place in the curriculum using the rhetoric of individual responsibility and scientific rationalism. As Andrew Sparkes (1989) points out in relation to health related fitness (HRF), the ideology of "individualism" lies at "the very heart of contemporary radical conservatism in the United Kingdom" (p.4). As the state in Australia, whether Labor or Liberal, moves to the right, it affects government policy and practices structuring education and distributing resources to certain academic areas in universities rather than others. Hence the growth of human movement science departments in English speaking universities and the comparative decline of physical education departments and faculties (Kirk, 1990).

Unequal social relations between men and women have played an important part in determining which cluster of physical education discourses have formed the dominant tradition. The scientific discourses which inform the curriculum area of physical education take as given the biological 'facts' of male and female differences in physical ability. Thus

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3 The exception might have been the sportsmasters in private schools where athleticism was often prized over academic interests by the parents, teachers, and students. These teachers, however, were not physical education specialists but were drawn from academic subject areas. (Mangan, 1981)

4 The final published version of this paper was not able to be obtained. This page number relates to a draft version of the paper sent to me by Richard Tinning from Deakin University.
physical education, as a school subject which takes the body as its central concern, has generally accepted uncritically that male and female physical activities will differ. Furthermore, in a culture where sport and organised physical activity is seen primarily as a terrain for the demonstration of male prowess, female physical education and female physical educators since the 1940's in Britain, and possibly even earlier in Australia, have been marginalised in relation to the dominant male tradition of scientific rationalism and para-militarism (Fitzclarence, 1987; Kirk and Tinning, 1990). This situation has arisen despite (or perhaps because of) the women's early importance in establishing the physical education profession and the first professional discourse in physical education.

It is thus essential, in understanding the contemporary physical education lesson, to understand the historical and cultural forces that have influenced its production and reproduction. Furthermore, an interpretation of physical education lessons requires an understanding of the major discourses which constitute this particular curriculum genre and the ensuing social relations and subject positions which are thus made possible. This chapter will map the production of physical education through an examination of those discourses which have most affected its practice. It is not intended to be a history per se. It will trace the various struggles for the legitimation of their discourses (their regimes of truth) and practices by the professional groups involved in the production of the discipline. In particular, the chapter will trace the ways in which these discourses and struggles have produced certain notions of active male and female bodies within the context of physical education and sport. It will also examine the social purpose of physical education, both as articulated by various groups throughout its history and as an institutional formation implicated in the maintenance of hegemony that privileges the values and practices of white middle-class males.

Material for this chapter that has been drawn primarily from New South Wales policy documents on education and other relevant archival materials, articles in the national and state physical education journals that reflect the thinking of the time and interviews with
physical educationists. Histories of physical education in Britain and New South Wales have provided important contextual information in which to locate the analysis of physical education discourse.

3.2 The British experience 1870 - 1940

The Australian physical education tradition is first and foremost a British tradition (Crawford, 1981). The British physical education syllabi were used in Australian schools until the 1940's and British sports were pursued with great enthusiasm by the first colonists. Like Britain, participation in sport and the development and provision of physical education depended on the class and sex of the pupils involved. Some analysis of the British situation is therefore necessary to understand the development of physical education in Australia.

3.2.1 Boys physical education: drill and games

The masculine tradition of games and sports evolved in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the private schools that were responsible for the education of the sons of the wealthy middle and upper classes. Goldlust (1987) argues that the organised form of games that we now understand as 'sport' was the result of a deliberate decision on the part of school administrators to regulate and provide a more formal structure to the games already established by the boys. This was intended to provide a means by which the riotous behaviour of the boys could be controlled through activities which they enjoyed. The transformation of the unruly folk football played by the male students into a more disciplined, though still aggressive game, was also perceived to provide a medium for character building of an essentially masculine kind. Football was to become "a form of group contest that provided as much as possible the pleasures of a real fight without its risks and dangers" (Dunning quoted in Goldlust, 1987: p.18).
The reconstruction of sport in mid-nineteenth century Britain came at a time when there was rising dissatisfaction with what was seen as the 'aristocratic mismanagement' of the Crimean war. There were fears of a declining physical prowess and fighting character in British manhood; and organised sport, as exemplified by the public school experiment, was seen as the appropriate means of restoring positive masculine values against the insidious threats of 'tractarianism and effeminacy'. (Goldlust, 1987: p.18)

At this stage, however, the virtues and pleasures of sport were not especially to be shared with the masses. Initially appropriated from working class and rural pastimes, the games, now 'civilised', were perceived to be more suited to the leisure activities of the prosperous classes (Goldlust, 1987). They were pursued with enormous enthusiasm in the public (meaning independent) boys' schools to the point where some commentators lamented the little attention paid to academic study (Fletcher, 1984: p.10). Games were perceived to be training grounds for the leaders of society, teaching them to be courageous, loyal and patriotic.

In the working class elementary schools, what little organised physical activity there was had a rather different form and purpose. Physical education for working class boys meant military drill, taken for the most part by hired army personnel. Drill, it was believed, would provide regulated activity that would inculcate the virtues of obedience to authority, discipline and cleanliness, as well as providing training for a future army. As Kirk and Tinning (1990) point out, in the context of the rise of industrial capitalism, this was part of a larger process of physical repression and control aimed at producing a docile workforce:

It is no coincidence that the substance and conduct of physical education was framed within repressive, quasi-militaristic forms in the context of compulsory mass education in the late nineteenth century, a legacy that remained with physical education until as recently as the 1960's. (p.5)
3.2.2 The female tradition in physical education

In nineteenth century England and Australia, women's sexuality and their desires were primarily defined in terms of their reproductive function. The health and vitality of their bodies were perceived as vital to the future of the race. At the same time, middle class women were mysterious, unknown, ill-defined physically, sculptured in ways that made them frail. Tight stays and voluminous skirts ensured their fragility and lack of mobility and thus their dependence on male support.

Women's physical activity was constituted within the existing scientific and medical discourses that defined female sexuality. The concept of 'conservation of energy' derived from Newton's laws was particularly important in providing a rationale for regulating female behaviour. By this tenet, the functioning of the female reproductive system demanded so much of a woman's energy that other activities deemed to compete for this scarce resource were thought likely to debilitate her health and cause irreparable damage. This, of course, was the argument used to resist women's entry into serious academic activity. However, physical activity of the right kind, it was argued, could be therapeutic and mitigate the effects of study. So it was that physical activity in the form of therapeutic exercises and later some games were introduced into private ladies' colleges for the daughters of the prosperous middle class. Young women could participate in activities that provided them with healthy exercise but did not redefine them in any way as masculine. Even advocates of sport and physical training such as Sara Burstall, a nineteenth century feminist, followed this line:

Important as are bodily vigour and active strength ... in the men of a country who may have to endure the supreme test of physical fitness in war, the vitality and passive strength - potential energy - of its women are even more important, since Nature has ordained women to be mothers of the race. (Burstall quoted in Atkinson, 1978: p.126)
This sentiment was shared by Madame Bergman-Osterberg who was the primary influence in the adoption of the Swedish system of gymnastics in British girls' schools. The forms of training developed from Swedish gymnastics and taught by teachers trained in the colleges established by Bergman-Osterberg endorsed a means of implementing a systematic control over female bodies. Bergman-Osterberg taught a system to her middle class women which was introduced into England for the training of working class girls in London schools. Thus a method of control that was initially applied to the working classes became applied to upper and middle class students as well (Atkinson, 1978). The Swedish or Ling system emphasised strict control by the instructor. The class executed closely coordinated movements in unison at a curt command. These exercises were designed to develop correct posture and deportment and improve women's health and physical development and thus improve their reproductive capacity for the good of the race. While offering women more opportunity for movement than had been the case previously, the movements were prescribed and formalised, corporate activities within which individual differences were erased.

Although there were many women such as Bergman-Osterberg and Burstall who supported physical activity for girls, there were many critics, particularly, when it came to the introduction of games in girls' schools. They argued that participation would impair health and transform girls into inferior copies of men.

There is a well-known Girls' college which makes pre-eminently for the cult of Mannishness. And here may be seen, absorbed in fierce contest during the exhausting heat of summer afternoons, grim-visaged maidens of sinewy build, hard and tough and set as working women in their forties; some with brawny throats, square shoulders and stern loins that would do credit to a prize-ring. (Anabella Kenealy quoted in Atkinson, 1978: p.127)

In 1939 one writer could still comment with authority that:

... too much activity in sports of a masculine character causes the female body to become more like that of a man. This holds good not only for outward appearance but in regard to the genital organs for they tend to decay. (Westerman, 1939, quoted in Birke and Vines, 1987: p.340)
For working class girls in London, until the appointment of Miss Lofving, a gymnast trained in the Swedish Ling system, as 'Superintendent of Physical Education in Girls' Schools' in 1879, physical activity was usually ignored or took the form of exercises that were restricted to arm movements (Fletcher, 1984). Miss Lofving introduced the Ling system of free-standing exercises to London Board schools, by training and examining women teachers at night. She was replaced in 1881 by another expert from Sweden, Martina Bergman, who later became Madame Bergman-Osterberg. By the time Bergman-Osterberg left the service of the London School Board in 1887 to set up her own colleges, Ling exercises were being practised in almost every school under the London School Board.

It is with Bergman-Osterberg and the Ling system of exercises that the women's tradition in physical education truly begins. Although games had begun to appear in girls' independent schools from the 1870's, Bergman-Osterberg instituted a tradition of physical education with a strongly argued rationale in terms of female health, beauty and the well-being of the race, and developed the means to put this into practice by opening a training college devoted to inculcating teachers in this tradition. As Fletcher (1984: p.31) and also many critics of the tradition (even through its transformation from the Ling tradition to the Laban tradition) have pointed out, its ends were pursued with missionary zeal. In the beginning this zeal was directed at purging the German gymnastic system from the girls' private schools, and later it would be called on to contest the masculine games dominated tradition of physical education. Up until the World War II, however, the female tradition of physical education in Britain had the upper hand, at least in female physical education and in the professional discourse of physical education. It drew on the medico-scientific discourses of the time to legitimate its position and it had the only body of specialist trained teachers to implement its practices. In the boys' independent schools, sports teachers were for the most part drawn from regular staff who were good at games. The gym master often had armed service experience and in some cases was himself influenced by the Swedish system. Commander Grenfell and Commander Coote, for
instance, took Swedish gymnastics to Eton and Harrow respectively (Fletcher, 1984). In the elementary state schools, boys continued to be taught by army personnel or by their teachers who were for the most part female and may have had some training in the Swedish tradition.

Ling had triumphed. By the end of her (Bergman-Osterberg's) career, the German system had been bested in the schools; so much so, that there were even teachers, trained for two years in 'some other system', now retraining in the methods of Ling. (Fletcher, 1984: p.37)

In British state schools gymnastics and physical education were virtually synonymous in practice until the 1940's. However, the beginnings of the decline of the Swedish system can be traced to the 1930's and began as a reaction to the mass, formalistic, command-style teaching. This was a reaction which was partly due to "the uncomfortably close association of these methods with the mass exercising of the Fascist and Nazi Youth Movements and with militarism" (Kirk, manuscript: p.63). In contrast, Rudolph Laban's (1975) development of a child-centred, problem-solving approach to movement education in the form of educational gymnastics and modern educational dance fitted with the popular educational discourse of progressivism that was current in the 1940's and 50's. After World War II, the influx of male teachers into what had been essentially a female profession caused further conflict over what would be taught as gymnastics, and more broadly, what constituted physical education as a field of knowledge.

Swedish gymnastics disappeared from the curriculum of specialist colleges in the decade following the war, to be replaced by forms of gymnastics which differed according to the sex of the student. Educational gymnastics were taught to female students and 'apparatus gymnastics' or olympic gymnastics to the male students. Simultaneously, the predominantly female progressivist position in physical education was challenged by a male discourse that was founded on scientific functionalism (Kirk, manuscript). In the curriculum and in schools, the central position of gymnastics was eventually ceded to games or sports.
3.3 The Australian experience

3.3.1 Drill and games - 1880 - 1930's

Physical education in Australia was profoundly influenced by developments in Britain, but this was filtered through the particular climatic, social and political demands of Australian conditions. Up until 1945/6 most states were still using the 1933 British syllabus as their main reference and female lecturers in model schools and colleges either trained in Britain or visited Britain for inspiration. Most teachers in the female private system were trained in the British Colleges of Physical Education. Their qualifications were not recognised by the Australian state systems of education. As a result, although some British educated teachers like Marjorie Swain might find themselves lecturing at Sydney University, they could not be employed in government schools (Swain, 1988).

As was the case in Britain, one's 'station in life' was to prove the decisive factor in the amount and kind of education made available during the nineteenth century (Crawford, 1981; Kyle, 1986). In turn, the kind of school one attended determined the nature and purpose of physical education in the curriculum. The sex of students was to be a more decisive factor in differentiating between physical education practices in the twentieth century. For middle and upper middle class males, physical education consisted primarily of organised games, intended to develop those positive masculine virtues of courage and loyalty that were perceived to fit them for their station in life. For the daughters of the wealthy, it was games and callisthenics. For working class boys and girls, like their British counterparts, physical education (or rather training) meant drill - marching, together with exercises based on the Swedish system - "to mould behaviour of undisciplined boys, to inculcate habits of sharp obedience, smartness, order and cleanliness" (Crawford, 1981: p.38). Drill including rifle drill was also encouraged for boys as a means to train a future fighting force. The exigencies of war seem to have had an energizing effect on physical education throughout its history and in 1916 Major
Reddish, the Superintendent of Drill, could claim that the "enthusiasm aroused in military matters" had increased the practical interest and expertise of male teaching staff in elementary drill (Reddish, 1916: p.204).

In 1908 a Mr Plumptre, addressing the Cobar Teachers Association and drawing on the philosophy of Comenius, argued for the educative value of play and, in particular, the value of games and sports for bodily development and for providing a "wide scope for the individuality of the participants". He was, however, ahead of his time. Whereas games were vigorously pursued by teachers and students in state schools as extracurricular activities - indeed the founding of the voluntary and autonomous New South Wales Public Schools Amateur Athletic Association in 1885 attests to that - school reports in the 1910's and 20's were still concerned with the quality of performance in drill and marching. The Superintendent of Drill's Reports of the time are concerned with perfection of performance in Swedish exercises and teachers' ability to handle large cadres of pupils (Reddish, 1916).

In 1934, a guide to physical training in post-primary schools was published to supplement the 1933 British syllabus. Under the heading "General Directions to Teachers", it suggested that

The place, scope and conception of physical education have broadened and it has gradually assumed a meaning entirely different from that implied by the old term, 'school drill'. 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 the body the development of the mental and moral faculties is seriously retarded and in some cases prevented. In a word physical growth is essential to mental growth. *(Education Gazette, Feb, 1934: p.18)*

The examples of lessons that follow, however, are based on tables of formal exercises that must be performed correctly and systematically. These tables are graded for age and

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5 The writer in the *Education Gazette* has taken this directly from George Neuman's Prefatory Memorandum to the 1933 British Syllabus (my thanks go to David Kirk for pointing this out)
sex, with some allowance made for breaks between exercises when "for a few moments pupils carry out active movements of a recreative character" (Education Gazette, 1934: p.18). The individual activities in the tables did allow for more enjoyable activities based in many cases on more 'natural' movements such as hopping, skipping and jumping and running. Rhythmic dancing was also encouraged for girls.

Immediately following this article in the Gazette, there is an article describing the results of the Challenge Shield for Drill Competition, 1933. The juxtaposition of an article encouraging a liberalising of physical education with one that praises the meticulous performance of drill and marching symbolises the discrepancy between educational intentions and actual practices within the system.

This revised syllabus was in step with the times in England because it satisfied the pressures to reform in a practical way. But Australia's experience with cadet training, military requirements and drill was too recent for the syllabus to be accepted wholeheartedly; moreover, teachers without training were unable to understand the syllabus and to demonstrate it effectively. Teachers felt that whether the subject was called physical education, physical training, or physical culture, it was still in essence 'drill'. (Young, 1962: p.174)

It is not clear from Young's analysis whether there were differences in reactions to the new syllabus from male and female teachers. However, some indication might be taken from the experience of a female administrator in another state. In his obituary to Rosalie Virtue, Harvey Cox (1967) suggests that with the involvement of male administrators in the Second World War, after years of feeling restricted by the army men who set the program for boys, she felt free to develop a syllabus (the 1946 Victorian Syllabus of Physical Education) which provided for the needs of all children after they left school.

As shall be argued below, female physical educators had played a major part in the development of physical education; how this part was actually articulated is not always clear from the documents of the time, nor from the historical analyses that exist. An attempt will be made to tease out the significance of the women's tradition in Australia
from the eruptions that a female discourse has made in the predominantly masculine authorship of material relating to physical education. Certain interpretations will also be made about the very absences of the female voice from physical education discourse.

3.3.2 The female tradition in New South Wales to 1960

The history of state physical education after 1939 has not been well documented, particularly in relation to the experiences of female teachers and students. An understanding of physical education in New South Wales for the purposes of this study must therefore rely on the few written reflections by contemporaries of the period that exist, interviews with those who were teachers and lecturers during the period under review, articles in the professional journals and the triangulation afforded by my own experiences as a school student, physical education trainee, teacher and lecturer.

The female tradition in Australian physical education began as a very muted version of the Swedish tradition in Britain. The centralised organisation of Australian physical education under the auspices of State education branches has generally meant a male senior executive (except in some States during the war) so that most of the early influential figures in government-run physical education administration were army officers who had received their physical training in the service (Crawford, 1981). In New South Wales this has certainly been the case with service officers filling the top positions until 1938 when a specialist physical educationist from Canada, Gordon Young, was appointed to develop physical education and recreation. In New South Wales from 1886 these men were appointed as Superintendents of Drill and Cadet Training. However, it was the influence of women educators which was strongest in developing the early discourses and practices of physical education as compared to drill. While women may not have held the top administrative positions, they were influential in implementing a system of coherent beliefs and practices in teachers' colleges and girls' schools that was absent from the male practice of physical education. It was in girls' schools that the first break with the military
bias occurred. The first gymnasium was built at North Sydney Girls' High in 1916; the first specialist teachers in physical education and the first lecturer in physical education at a teachers' college were all concerned with the physical education of girls (Young, 1962). Ella Gormley was appointed as the first Supervisor of Girls' Physical Training and in 1919 was sent to North America and Britain for one year to study physical education and to prepare a suitable programme for introduction into girls' schools. When she returned she conducted a six months training course for twenty female teachers based on the Dano-Swedish system of games, folk dance, rhythmical work plus formal exercises (Young, 1962).

In 1940, a three year course to train teachers of physical education was set up at Sydney Teachers' College. From its inception, all practical and method classes in gymnastics, games, athletics, swimming were segregated according to gender. Folk dance and later ballroom dancing were the only exceptions. Foundation classes on the history, philosophy and scientific bases of physical education were taught to men and women together by male and female teachers representing considerable differences in philosophies and approaches. Swain complained of the confusing effects on trainee specialists of these different and sometimes conflicting philosophies at a time when physical education was in its infancy and still not readily welcomed in schools (Swain, 1970).

The first female students were trained in dance, gymnastics and games by teachers who themselves had either trained in or been influenced by the practices and philosophy of the all female Colleges of Physical Education in Britain. This meant that Australian students were initiated into the female tradition of the Ling system as it had evolved to include rhythmic exercises with music, folk dance and games. The challenge to Swedish gymnastics and its derivatives that began in Britain and America in the 1930's also affected girls' physical education in Australia. Although lecturers at the teachers' colleges
were still issuing commands, "to the wallbars, run, to the wallbars, jump up, to the right, hang, to the left, hang, dismount" (Interview Rees, 1989), early in the 1950's, Swedish exercises were largely abandoned by the end of the fifties. At Sydney Teachers' College, the gymnastic component of the program took on more of the characteristics of the German apparatus work and recreational gymnastics which was being taught to male trainees of the time. In 1964, with the appointment of Janelle Cust after the completion of her studies in the United States, Laban-style educational gymnastics and creative dance were also introduced (Cust Interview, 1989). In 1956, Australian physical educators were profoundly influenced by their first hand witnessing of the epitome of women's olympic gymnastics at the Melbourne Olympics. Olympic gymnastics, or more accurately, Men's and Women's Artistic Gymnastics were soon introduced into the training of specialist teachers.

Despite the possibilities of a more liberatory approach with the move away from the constraints of the Ling system, gymnastics and dance continued to be taught within a discourse of patriarchal femininity. The encouragement to move freely, to run and jump, seemed to contradict the restrictions on conduct and deportment that characterised the female tradition in Swedish gymnastics and the regulation of female bodies in the physical education training of the 1950's. For instance, one student at the time who was interested in athletics remembers "all the portents of doom that were always heaped on me because I was always long jumping and hurdling and what difficulty I was going to have in later life bearing children ... as a result of doing that". The same student was sent to the vice-principal of the college for her unladylike behaviour,

... we used to wear these huge bombay bloomer things, underneath, that matched our tunic. The uniform was all very strictly controlled, all the time....We decided we'd practice doing these cartwheels (on the hockey square at Sydney University). It was the original sin upending ourselves on the square. (Rees Interview, 1989)
Although the explicit control of Swedish gymnastics through mass performance of strictly prescribed and observed exercises disappeared in educational gymnastic lessons, it was replaced by a different kind of surveillance and different expectations. Students now had to demonstrate individuality and with encouragement and support from the teacher, were expected to respond by expressing something of their 'personal creativity'. Certainly there was more freedom to participate in one's own way. The lack of apparent disciplined effort and what was perceived as the encouragement of deviations from the 'right' performance of skills formed the basis for many of the criticisms of movement education. However, movement education was not without its own constraints and expectations. These expectations now centred, not on the ability to obey directions and perform specific skills perfectly, but to draw on one's own resources and to create solutions to problems. For many children it is likely that the latter was actually more demanding than the former expectation. In many respects teacher surveillance, while perhaps less apparent, was in some ways facilitated as the teacher could move around the room while the children worked independently on tasks.

In New South Wales, although educational gymnastics was taught to female specialist teachers with the intention that it would be taught in secondary schools, there was little in student teachers' own experiences to prepare them for a non-directive problem-solving approach. Moreover, when they took up their positions in secondary schools few found that they had an indoor space in which to teach it. Educational gymnastics sat more comfortably with the discourses and practices of the primary school (Gray, 1985c). It provided a way of implementing a progressivist discourse which encouraged experimentation, self-expression and creativity, but even here it was unlikely to be taught by non-specialist, usually female, primary school teachers whose own experiences and training did little to prepare them for teaching any forms of physical education.

The creative dance aspect of the movement education approach was the more likely form of movement education to be taught at the secondary level. Again the absence of a
gymnasium or available hall in most schools inhibited its spread. Further, improvisation and creative expression were not concepts with which the teachers and the pupils were very comfortable. Years of experience in supervising and teaching and interviews and conversations with other lecturers in physical education (Interviews: Cust, 1989; Rees, 1989; Rice, 1989; Wilsmore, 1989) support this. The strengths and interests of students who are attracted to physical education teaching lie most often with sport, as do the interests of the majority of their pupils. Jazz ballet immediately became more popular than creative dance with female teachers and pupils after its addition as a dance option to the syllabus in the 1960's. It had characteristics that fitted more closely with the skill acquisition and teacher-directed practices of games teaching and the students' and teachers' prior experiences of sport (and for some students of ballet). In New South Wales, as in the rest of Australia, the masculine games tradition became the tradition; the British female tradition barely survived despite the hard work of early and more recent female physical educators who were (and still are) committed to a vision of physical education that includes opportunities for creative expression through dance and gymnastics.

3.3.3 The male tradition in New South Wales to 1960

While female physical educators still looked to Britain for inspiration, even before the appointment of Gordon Young from Canada, male physical educators were completing their specialist training in North America. For instance, E. H. Le Maistre, who with Marjorie Swain staffed the first specialist training course at Sydney Teachers' College, completed his doctorate at Springfield College, Massachussetts (Swain, 1988). The North American leaders in physical education of the time were busy redefining physical education in terms of the philosophy of John Dewey. Dewey had attacked the formal discipline and conception of teaching as the acquisition of factual knowledge and urged the importance of the individual child's interests and experience. Most importantly for physical education he argued for the concept of learning through active experience and
saw physical education as "a vehicle for providing experiences capable of effecting
desirable changes in human behaviour" (Gray, 1985b: p.53). Dewey's philosophy of
education both challenged the formal discipline of gymnastic exercises and the command-
response style of teaching evident in drill and Swedish gymnastics and provided a much
needed argument for the educational legitimation of physical education in the school
curriculum.

In the United Kingdom, a progressivist discourse provided an important impetus for the
female dominated movement education, via Laban's analysis of movement, to implement
a freer approach to physical activity by adopting a movement theme approach for
gymnastics, dance and some games (see for instance, Lenel, 1969; Morrison, 1969).
However, in North America, physical educators utilised progressivist educational theory
to argue that physical education was not only, or even mainly, concerned with the
physical health of children but through its emphasis on play and 'natural' skills should be
centrally located within education concerned with the social and emotional development of
children (see for instance Cowell, 1966; Hellison, 1973). It was this latter position, the
'education through the physical' position, that was taken up by male physical educators in
Australia, many of whom had completed part of their undergraduate and their
postgraduate training in North American universities. In New South Wales, the influence
of progressivism and particularly the North American tradition which emphasized social
development and citizenship, became most evident in departmental bulletins and the
syllabus after the appointment of the Canadian, Gordon Young, as Director of Physical
Education in 1938. By the 1950's, statements about the development of the whole child
were pervasive in any writings about the aims and philosophy of physical education.
Under the title "The Spirit and Purpose of Physical Education" an article in a Physical
Education Training Bulletin of the early 1950's, provides an explicit and detailed example
of the shift from a preoccupation with posture, physical health, discipline and control to a
concern with fitness (cardio-vascular endurance), skill, social and emotional
development.
Physical Education contributes to the total education of children and has as its medium, physical activities. The activities themselves are not the aim of physical education. (emphasis in the original)

**Organic Development:**
1. To contribute to the development of cardio-respiratory endurance through participation in vigorous physical activities.
2. To promote skeletal and muscular growth through resisted muscular activity.

**Neuromuscular Development:**
To develop hand-eye, foot-eye coordinations, rhythm, body mobility, speed, agility, strength and good body mechanics through agility activities, dancing, games and contests, to the end that each boy and girl may achieve a high degree of motor control.

**Social and emotional Development:**
1. To develop high standards of sportsmanship, fairplay, self-discipline, leadership, followership and other traits essential to good civic behaviour.
2. To provide an opportunity for social adjustments and the development of emotional control. These may be achieved by intelligent leadership combined with the free play of the group process that arises in the games situation.

**Recreational:**
To provide opportunities for each boy and girl to learn healthful, recreational activities which can be used now and in later life.

Under the heading "Present Trends" the article goes on to criticise "that method of teaching, whereby the teacher stands in front of a class organised in lines, and gives set commands to which the class responds simultaneously" and encourages instead a group approach where students practice "purposeful whole-body activities performed in (their) own time" (*Physical Education Training Bulletin*, No. 9, 1952/3).

While progressivism via the 'education through the physical approach' was (and remains) evident in the official discourse, since its inception the dominance of this position in physical education has been contested by a rationalist and pragmatic discourse that argues for the singular role of physical education in providing for 'education of the physical'. This position argues that physical education is a unique discipline that takes the physical as its central concern. It follows then, that physical education should not be primarily concerned with social and emotional development as goals but should take as its focus the acquisition of motor skills and the development of physical fitness. To some extent the departmental material quoted above incorporates something of this discourse; the development of skill and fitness are clearly stated as aims. However, the initial statement
of the purpose of physical education reflects a 'through education' position. In the practices of teachers in schools the 'of the physical' approach prevails. Although teachers may include social and emotional development in their programme aims many, if not most, physical education teachers spend their time teaching and evaluating skills.

A further and perhaps more profound influence from North America was the evidence from empirical studies in the emerging areas of exercise physiology and motor learning. Research carried out in North American universities challenged the practices associated with Swedish gymnastics. Progressive overload and progressive resistance in exercises were demonstrated to be essential for the increase in muscular strength; exercises that relied only the weight of the limb being moved (such as most of the Swedish exercises) did not meet these requirements. The satisfactory application of progressive resistance was judged to require special weight training equipment. Since such equipment was generally out of the question for schools, circuits were devised to incorporate activities over natural and devised obstacles (Gray, 1985b). Research from motor learning also influenced the way lessons were taught, but the most profound effect was the conclusion by Franklin Henry that learning in one skill did not transfer to another (Gray, 1985b). Here was a challenge to one of the important tenets of movement education which held that the activities children performed in response to broad theme-based problems formed a basis for more specific skill learning later in their schooling.

"By the middle 1950's, physical fitness activities and games skill practices had replaced gymnastic exercises as the central core of physical education for boys in Australian secondary schools" (Gray, 1985b: p.27). The evidence from motor learning and exercise physiology, supported a form of physical education that privileged activities designed to produce muscular strength and endurance and the acquisition of specific skills. As a scientific discourse produced in and through research from the primary fields of motor learning, exercise physiology and biomechanics, it provided not only a specific body of knowledge about the conduct of the body, to be recontextualised and reproduced as
instructional discourses in teachers' training programs, but also ways of regulating how certain subjectivities could best be produced. For instance, research from motor learning concerning the ways in which motor skills were most efficiently learnt, was employed in the pacing and sequencing of skill practices in single lessons and units of work. Exercise physiology provided the principles necessary to produce the 'fit subject' through graded sequences of exercises (for instance, the Royal Canadian Airforce's 5 BX and 10 BX exercises which were also used in some schools in New South Wales).

What has been described above in relation to the male tradition is indicative of developments affecting the production and reproduction at Bernstein's (1986) primary and secondary levels of context; that is the production, recontextualising and distribution of knowledge by academics as researchers and lecturers, syllabus committees, departmental inspectors and consultants, and through textbooks. What it does not take account of is the influence of the discourses and practices associated with sport and circulating in cultural contexts outside of education. Competitive, organised sports which owed their earlier development and promotion to the upper middle class schools of Britain, had by the twentieth century become a central aspect of male popular culture in Australia. Always important to the purposes of most private boys' schools, by the end of the Second World War games had replaced drill as the dominant feature of the masculine practice of physical education. The pedagogic discourse and social relations of physical education have and continue to be profoundly influenced by the discourses, practices and social relations of sport, including those which contribute to the perception of male and female differences.
3.4 The masculine tradition as the dominant tradition with sport and games as its focus.

Although women were, for the most part, absent from the activities which produced the dominant physical education discourses and their ensuing practices, female physical education was profoundly affected by these developments. The male dominance of the discourses and the apparent irrefutability of measurable outcomes diminished any claims in favour of other practices emphasizing immeasurable, less immediately observable outcomes couched in terms of personal development. The privileging of sport and games in both government and private schools meant enormous resources invested in outdoor playing fields, with little or no attention to indoor space for gymnastics and dance. A survey of Australian secondary schools in 1972 revealed that in New South Wales only 7 per cent of schools had gymnasia (Thompson, 1972).

Generally the structure, resourcing and organisation of co-educational schools in New South Wales worked against the survival of the discourses and practices derived purely from the movement education tradition. In co-educational schools the dominance of the male physical education teachers in the staffroom and in decision-making about curriculum and resources restricted opportunities for the development of female interests. As a female teacher in a co-educational school, Pat Rees experienced the dominance of set discourses and practices which privileged male physical education and sporting achievements. The male specialist at her school had first option on the budget ("the men bought everything they wanted and then you had some say"), on equipment and facilities, but her "biggest fight" (which she lost) was with the male principal over the girls' attendance at the Combined High Schools Athletic Carnival.

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6 As was the case in most "scientific" areas in Western universities (and remains the case in Australian universities) female academics constituted a very small minority of those researching in biomechanics, exercise physiology, motor learning and so on. A quick accounting of the general physical education texts in the University of Wollongong library reveals that the majority of those written for the secondary school are by men. Textbooks for primary physical education are more likely to be written by women.
I'd worked just as hard with the girls' athletic team as (the male teacher) had worked with the boys athletic team. The boys team always did ... remarkably well ... and this year we had some really good girls and then all of a sudden the principal decided the exams would go on in the same week as as the girls' CHS. And I went to him and pleaded with him to change the date of the exam because all of these girls who had trained so hard ... wouldn't be able to go to CHS. Ahh, I had an absolute war about it. (Interviewer: Did you win?) No, the girls just all had to be pulled out ... I was ... so upset to the point where I was in tears because we had worked equally as hard as the men ... I could see it was so unfair so unjust to the girls. (Rees Interview, 1989)

Male physical education teachers were generally very suspicious of practices that were not teacher-directed or were not clearly skill based. These other activities, the expressive activities, were left to the women, being thought inappropriate for boys.

Patriarchal discourses and practices characterised physical education in all sites. At the most fundamental level, since its inception physical training and physical education have been clearly differentiated as pertaining to the male or to the female. In practice, the one exception has been government, elementary schools with mixed sex classes. In the days of drill, for practical reasons, the whole school would perform the exercises together in unison in the school playground. For sports, however, girls' and boys' sports were separated and in the syllabus materials after 1946, separate sections with different developmental standards were written for male and female students.

Although the movement education/scientific bases debate has never surfaced explicitly in the physical education literature in Australia as it has in the United Kingdom, this does not mean that there has not been a tension between men's and women's physical education. From its inception as a profession there seems to have been some tension between women physical educators and their male superiors. The dominance of the male practice of drills and later games thwarted the implementation of the broader notions of physical education, including a greater emphasis on dance and gymnastics, espoused by the women.

7 For instance, the Victorian 1946 syllabus. New South Wales was still working from the 1933 syllabus with updated advice in the Education Gazette and the Physical Education Training Bulletin until 1948.
Physical education in New South Wales was organised by men, but because the great majority of students in war time were women, the syllabus of training was planned and taught by women. It happened that in New South Wales the men had gained their experience and training in America at a time when formal and developmental work has been thrown out in favour of recreational activities, while the women had been trained in England where developmental work was considered indispensable in a balance programme of physical education. This increased the natural differences in approach to physical education that are to be expected between men and women. There was an added difficulty in differences in language. The same words were used to mean different things and different words to mean the same thing. (Swain, 1970: p. 5)

Marjorie Swain also recalled the dismay with which a proposal to establish a Bachelor of Science (P.E.) was greeted by women interested in physical education. The requirement that students major in science effectively denied access to the course for most women.

Few girls at the time took science at school so would not have gained entrance to the course even if they had wanted to. It would have elevated the scientific side of education at the expense of the educational and would have maintained the dominance of the male for many years. (1988: p.51)

Despite the early influence of female staff in the tertiary training institutions, the theoretical articles in the national and state journals of physical education were (in contrast, to the 'how-to-do-it' articles) predominantly by men. Female physical educators were mostly to be found writing practical articles about how to teach dance or gymnastics, first with an educational gymnastics flavour and after 1960, including the teaching of artistic gymnastics. This may partly explain the absence of any explicit general debate along gendered lines - the women wrote for women and the men for a male audience. However, this does not indicate an absence of conflict.

Although the conflict between male and female interests rarely appears to erupt explicitly in the literature, it is part of the working life of many physical education staff in co-educational schools. In schools, it seems to centre more on the use of resources and the

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8 The current national journal of the profession, the ACHPER National Journal, was first published as the Physical Education Journal, by the Victorian Physical Education Association in 1954.
recognition of the achievements and needs of female students, whereas, in tertiary institutions, conflicts extend as well to the different gendered positionings of staff in terms of discourses of education and physical education. These differences in positioning, when they occur, are located at the intersection of discourses of education that posit process and product as oppositions. For instance, discussions with colleagues at my own institution, taken together with my experiences at planning meetings concerned with future directions for the physical education program, clearly signal a conflict between a predominantly male group which emphasises the acquisition of specific identifiable skills and measurable standards of performance and a predominantly female group which emphasises the process of learning, attitudinal outcomes and/or discourses that value expressive activities such as dance. This debate is generally expressed not only in what should be taught but particularly how assessment should take place.

Although female sports and games have been part of the physical education curriculum since the days of Ella Gormley, their position in the discourses and practices of the schools reflects and maintains their place in Australian culture as a whole. They are inferior to men's sports because they are perceived to be less physically demanding, less skilled, less exciting, in essence a watered-down version of the male forms. On the other hand, because the female tradition in physical education had strong roots in gymnastics and dance, the curriculum for girls has in practice been more broadly based. It was the female teachers who, in their practice, appeared most ready to accept a positioning in the 'through education' discourse as nurturers of the whole child, concerned to develop attitudes (and later self-esteem) rather than specific skills. For instance, Pat Webb, from Lismore High, wrote the following in response to an article by Frank Henry (Executive member of the Physical Education Branch management team and later Inspector of Schools) which argued for the similarities between physical education and other academic subjects in order to establish parity with them:

There is a tendency to emphasise the similarities of P.E. with other subjects in the curriculum while lightly passing over the great differences that exist. P.E.
treats the individual mostly in his (sic) relation to other people. The teacher of P.E. enlists the aid of games and physical skills to lead the boy or girl to conduct him or herself in a fitting manner, both individually and as a member of a group, and to respond even under great stress, with courage and action and charity to others. Thus, for example, a teacher who has taught a class to perform perfect handsprings or any other single skill, without improving their conduct and bearing, has missed a great opportunity. Should he through these very activities, have caused the class or some individuals in the class to regress in character development then he has been guilty of a great wrong...

Who is the better teacher - the one who achieves moderate success in developing physical prowess and produces the finest characters, or another who has the highest success in the physical. (Pat Webb, *Physical Education Training Bulletin*, No. 16, 1953)

There are several possible explanations for the female teachers' concern with character development, none of which are mutually exclusive. The female tradition in Britain produced teachers who were imbued with a commitment to physical education of almost evangelical dimensions (Fletcher, 1984). Female students in Australia were also inculcated with a responsibility for the development of the whole child including their moral character, by their lecturers who were either British trained or profoundly influenced by the British tradition. A second explanation, deduced both from the experience of the British tradition and from the characteristics of Australian teachers in general would suggest that female physical education teachers were likely to be drawn primarily from the middle class or the skilled working class, a group most likely to share the values of the middle class. The British tradition was very much a middle class tradition. Madame Bergman-Osterberg created her colleges to provide careers as teachers in private girls' schools, for the daughters of the wealthy middle class. When games were introduced into the curriculum they continued to be associated with some of those character building attributes - such as fair play and group loyalty - with which they were associated in the boys' private schools. For female physical education students in Australia, entry requirements were demanding and competitive, with consideration given "to posture, movement and voice, record in games and swimming, previous training in gymnastics and dancing, knowledge of biology and music, and evidence of responsibility as shown by the holding of office in school or in national fitness camps, etc." (Swain, 1988: p.45). Sports and games have always been more likely to be associated with the
development of character, by middle class Australians than the working class, for whom sport has more usually been associated with entertainment and income (Stoddard, 1986). The middle class in the twentieth century have also been more tolerant of women's participation in sport as compared to the working class, for whom sport, in the form of traditional team games, has been much more exclusively a male domain.

In contrast to the characteristics of female specialist students, male students, at least for the period immediately after the war, were usually ex-servicemen. It is likely that many were also had working class origins, looking for upward mobility through the teaching profession in an area that accorded with their sense of themselves as male. Their interests were therefore more likely to lie in the direction of sports. It is not surprising then that despite equal amounts of time being accorded in the syllabus to gymnastics, dance and games, school physical education for boys was constituted predominantly of traditional male games and sports. As Swain pointed out, this aspect of physical activity was already accepted in the school and in the fight to gain parity and recognition: "it was easier for a young and inexperienced physical education teacher to concentrate on this part of his work (organising sport) than to fight for a more balanced programme especially when the Australian male was so horrified by the thought of doing anything as effeminate as dancing, and some headmasters forbade its teaching in their schools" (Swain, 1970: p. 5). And as one teacher says of her experiences at the time:

... they were ex-servicemen who'd done their phys ed course as ex-servicemen and went into the schools with a real ocker attitude. He (the physical education teacher at her school) would let the boys dance but (there were) others at the time who would not have let their boys dance because it was not a male thing to do. (Rees Interview, 1989)

The dominance of sport and sports' values is a situation which continues into the 1990's, as most male and even the majority of female physical education students come to training colleges and later to universities with a history of achievements in sport, but a minimal experience of gymnastics or dance. Generally, their experiences of gymnastics and dance
in these institutions is insufficient to change their commitment to the centrality of sports and games to the curriculum. This together with a move to co-educational physical education in some New South Wales, and the continuing absence of suitable indoor facilities has often meant the virtual exclusion of all expressive activities in the practice of school physical education practice.9

3.5 The contemporary trends: humanistic physical education and health-related fitness

In the 1960's and 1970's, at least for some writers and teachers, physical education broadened to include the social, emotional (and for some the spiritual), as well as the physical aspects of health. This broadening was translated to a claim that of all areas of the curriculum, physical education was pre-eminently suited for the education of the whole child. Building on the earlier discourse of 'education through the physical' and influenced by the human relations school of psychology, originally developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor in the United States, many male (and also female) physical educationists argued for an emphasis on the process of physical education rather than the product; that is, on methods of teaching which concentrated on personal development, the growth of self-esteem and interpersonal communication, rather than on specific skills and achievement in comparison to others or to objective standards. Physical education thus became integral to the mental and emotional well-being of each child through opportunities for self-awareness, cooperation and sensitivity to others by engaging in group activities, physical exploration and problem-solving. This is, of course, very close to what the female movement educators had been saying in Britain and Australia for years. For instance, in 1957, Marjorie Swain argued that

... the implementation of even a well-balanced programme of physical activities is not necessarily physical education. If the teacher's aim is merely

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9 This situation was evidenced in the practices of the schools in this study and has generally been a cause for concern for those interested in a broader based curriculum, including members of the current syllabus committee and lecturers in dance and gymnastics at the University of Wollongong.
to improve physical performance that is all he (sic) will probably do. It is only when teaching is brought into line with aim of general education and physical activity is used as a means of personality development that it can claim to be physical education. (1957: p.7)

However in 1970 in New South Wales, Swain (1970) was still asking how far physical education had developed from this earlier equation with sport.

'Humanistic physical education' as it was termed by some proponents was, like movement education, vehemently contested by those who argued for excellence, standards and specific training for fitness and skill. Generally the arguments on both sides were informed by the discursive positions which characterised the Back to Basics Debate, between those who aligned themselves with a child-centred 'progressivist' position (the humanistic position in physical education) and the skills-based 'fundamentalist' position (the fitness and skill acquisition position in physical education) which was taking place in the larger education community (Wright, 1978). A special edition of the ACHPER National Journal in December, 1977 was devoted to the humanistic position, with clear editorial support. This taken-for-granted position - no oppositional views appear to have been invited to contribute to the edition - was scathingly contested in a later edition by Bert Willee (March, 1978) who was at that time the influential Director of Physical Education at the University of Melbourne. Concurrent with these developments, research connecting the risk of heart disease with sedentary occupations, together with youth surveys that appeared to demonstrate the poor physical fitness of young people, provided the impetus for major changes in school physical education programmes towards an increase in fitness activities and an emphasis on life-long habits of exercise.

As well as the more obvious function of social control and regulation through ritual and surveillance of proper behaviour, from the 1960's physical education has concentrated at least in terms of its rhetoric on self-regulation and self-responsibility. Sparkes (1989), in particular of recent writers from a critical curriculum perspective, has pointed to the dominance in physical education discourse and practice of an ethos of individualism that
places all responsibility for health and physical well-being with the self-determining and personally responsible individual agent. In recent years physical education and health in the context of schooling, always closely intertwined (though with different meanings and implications in different historical and discursive contexts), have become virtually synonymous (for example, the 1989/90 K-12 Draft Syllabus in New South where Health Studies included human movement and fitness). In this process, as Tinning and Fitzclarence (1990) have pointed out, physical education has become dominated by a biophysical discourse that argues for personal responsibility for preventing degenerative diseases, and so equates physical education with teaching for personal physical fitness. For young men fitness is construed as strength and endurance; for young women, however, it is more likely to be associated with a slim body shape and physical attractiveness.

3.6 The 1980/5 Syllabus in New South Wales

In November 1980, a Physical Education Syllabus Years 7-10 was approved by the New South Wales Secondary Schools Board for "optional implementation", with full implementation from 1985. This replaced a syllabus that had been in place since 1965. A separate Health Education Syllabus was designed for the schools which were or intended teaching this subject. In 1991, following the New South Wales report on curriculum reform, *Excellence and Equity*, (arising out of the Carrick Report,), a new syllabus will be implemented combining Personal Development, Health Education and Physical Education in the one Key Learning Area.

The language of the 1980/5 Physical Education Syllabus indicates a shift in the discourse to link physical education with a 'holistic' view of health which has as its purpose the improvement through behaviour change of the individual's 'quality of life'. Physical education, it is claimed, makes a unique contribution through its capacity to influence the
"individual's optimum physical development" while at the same time making a substantial contribution to "the social, emotional, and intellectual growth of the child" (p.1-2).

The discrepancies between the various discursive fields of movement education, sports and fitness pursuits are partially reconciled by their embedding in a progressivist, child-centred instructional discourse that takes as its organizing principle the personal development of the individual through attitudinal and behavioural change. Thus, instrumental and expressive purposes are combined; the themes of movement education are incorporated into dance and gymnastics and these are juxtaposed with the skill acquisition areas of team games, aquatics, and daily activities which includes aerobics and fitness testing. However, the distinction made between movement education and skill acquisition areas in the 1980/5 Syllabus through the language used to describe their content, does nothing to break down the opposition of dance and gymnastics to sports.

As has been pointed out earlier, humanistic education has implicit as its object the ordering of individuals to their specific cultural and social environment. The purpose of this syllabus is explicitly to "advance the (individual's) quality of life". The student will have opportunities to develop "desirable personal/social attitudes and understanding so that the individual's self-concept is one which is secure and confident and his/her relationship with others is sensitive and co-operative" (New South Wales Syllabus in Physical Education, 1980: p.2). Absent from this syllabus is any recognition of the effect of social and cultural forces in determining individuals' self-perceptions and in constraining their choices.

The 1980/5 Syllabus was the one from which the schools in this study were working. They differed in the degree to which the influence of Syllabus aims were evident in their practices. The physical education faculty at Baden, for instance, had self-consciously foregrounded the social development of students in their aims. The degree to which this was implemented by individual teachers depended very much on the teachers' own
positionings in the pedagogic discourses of physical education and in other relevant discourses circulating in the wider culture. What is evident from observations and analyses of the lessons recorded for this study is the predetermining effect of the physical education lesson as a genre. One of the most distinctive feature of the lessons was their similarity in structure, the broad grammatical choices in language and the social relations assumed by teachers and students. In Chapter 6 and 7, it is the variations between and within lessons which are of most interest. However, in terms of the dominance of certain traditions, their similarities point to a long established and prescriptive form within which all the teachers shaped their lessons.

3.7  *The ‘traditional physical education lesson’*

Despite the shifts in the dominance of the various discourses which have informed physical education debate in academic journals, the curriculum genre that developed as a response to the dominant educational and scientific discourses of the 1950’s has remained the curriculum model for all physical education, including creative dance. The content, organisation and planning of secondary school physical education programs, although very loosely described at the syllabus level, are taught prescriptively in tertiary institutions in the form developed in North American institutions. The American notion of a ‘unit of work’ was introduced into the secondary schools in the late forties and early fifties.

This was a series of lessons based on track and field athletics, swimming, apparatus gymnastics, dance or a popular major game. In the games units the lessons comprised instructions and practice in the skills and team plays of the game. (Gray, 1985: p.28)

By the 1950’s, American publications were available that had preplanned units of work. Many Australians who trained in North America and were familiar with this way of working were employed in teacher training institutions teaching new generations of physical education teachers. As a consequence these models of lesson planning became widespread (Gray, 1985b). The dominance of the North American influence meant that,
in practice, this particular model became the prescribed way of planning and teaching physical education. The widespread institutionalisation of this form was consolidated in the 1950's with the American publication of method textbooks that included examples of 'units of work' and lesson plans. The schematic structure of these lessons takes a form for which the games lesson can be regarded as the idealised model. In most tertiary institutions in New South Wales, physical education students will either have been provided with this model as the model within which they should plan their lessons for assignments and practice teaching and/or have been exposed to this model through the teaching practices of their games, gymnastics and dance lecturers.

The model (see Appendix I for a lesson plan given to tertiary students as a model to follow for their practicum) consists essentially of three basic stages: a warm up, followed by a skill acquisition section, both of which in the traditional lesson are highly teacher-directed; followed by a game or modified game, apparatus work in gymnastics or the execution of a dance or dance sequence in dance. Because girls' physical education often includes more dance and because the female tradition of creativity and problem-solving still lingers in contemporary gym and dance, the final section for girls may sometimes include the opportunity to create their own jazz sequence or gymnastic routine. Experienced teachers often collapse the various stages or vary the sequence slightly. At my own institution, student teachers would be expected to teach to the prescribed lesson plan and would not be judged to have taught an effective lesson if their plan deviated too far from the norm.

3.8 Conclusion: physical education, sport and social control

Education has long been acknowledged as one of the major sites of hegemonic production (Althusser, 1971). Physical education possesses characteristics that make it a particularly potent site within education for the naturalisation of discourses that maintain capitalist values of individual achievement through aggressive competition, within a context of male
dominance as the normative standard. In prescribing how the body should appear and behave, physical education has an enormous power to regulate, to set and enforce standards that reproduce the dominant ideology. The highly ritualised form of physical education and sport enables a controlled ordering of space and time to regulate behaviour and social relations along narrowly prescribed lines (Deleuze, 1988). This was explicitly the case in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when regulation and control through military drill was external and intended to discipline a uniformity of bodies. In 1950’s with changes in the structures of contemporary capitalism, Foucault suggests that there has been a dramatic transformation of the operation of power from an external subjection of the body to a more individualistic and less obvious regime of corporeal control (Kirk and Tinning, 1990). In the 1950’s, physical education followed other social formations in western society, to develop a pedagogic discourse and practice that were intended to produce a self-regulating individual who had internalised the precepts and practices that constituted the dominant discourses of the time (Kirk and Tinning, 1990).

However, as Hargreaves points out:

... even when the discourse is ostensibly otherwise, the sub-text is concerned to a very large extent with the theme of socialisation and social control. The subject is conceived overwhelmingly as providing opportunities for the monitoring and influencing pupils' social behaviour, for them to experience role-play and for learning to adjust to the 'demands of society'. (Hargreaves, 1986: p.164)

In no other area of the school curriculum is the student so exposed to the 'gaze of authority'; in no other area of the curriculum are they so vulnerable to a scrutiny that asks constantly if they are up to standard. Standards of behaviour to which students must conform extend to all aspects of appearance, including cleanliness, neatness and body shape, appropriate execution of skills, and demonstrations of proper attitude, particularly of effort. Women were, and remain, particularly vulnerable to this regulation - women's subjectivity is intimately bound up with the appearance of their bodies in a way that seems
to be peculiarly problematic. Constituted as they are in heterosexual discourse as the object of male desire (Buchbinder and Milech, 1989), conformity to current norms of physical attractiveness becomes a preoccupying concern. Physical education uniforms are experienced by many girls as leaving them embarrassingly exposed to the evaluating gaze of their female and male peers and their teachers. From observations in schools and interviews with students it would seem that both male and female physical education teachers are not adverse to passing derogatory comments on the girls' appearances particularly in relation to their body shape.

Another consequence of the centrality of the body in physical education discourse is its ability to naturalise female and male differences in performance and attitudes to physical activity. Male superiority in the traditional team games of football and cricket, for instance, is seen as incontrovertible evidence of their superior strength and capability in physical endeavours generally (at least those that count in Australian society). Further, the outcomes of sports performance have been used to support hegemonic patriarchal notions of masculinity and femininity. For many, it is not difficult to carry the metaphor of sport over to life and to confirm a view of women as the weaker sex. The relationship between sport and the recontextualisation of gender relations will be explored further in Chapter 4, in relation to the representation of athletes and their performances by the print and visual media.

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This is not to deny male subject are not concerned with their bodies. Rather, as Buchbinder and Milech, (1989) male homoerotic narratives "often explicitly and openly address matters of physical attraction, penis size, frequency of intercourse, frequency of sexual encounter, what is erotically exciting, impotence and premature ejaculation" (p.26). The point here is that these are also likely to be concerns of heterosexual males but remain private, emerging only in the heavily masked exchanges of "locker room exaggeration" or "clinical speculation". I would also suggest that the consumer society (Featherstone, 1991), middle class men are increasingly becoming involved in body maintenance to achieve as culturally prescribed 'look'. However, women and girls are positioned and position themselves as the objects of male desire, so that appearance rather than performance becomes the primary criterion for evaluation. Men and boys are constituted by the same heterosexual discourse as desiring, as sexual agents and as such, the ability and physiognomy to perform is likely to have more importance than their general appearance.
For most of the history of physical education since World War II physical education for boys (and often for girls) has been virtually synonymous with sport. Certainly, the discourses and social relations which are constituted and reproduced through the practice of sport have to a large extent been those that have informed, or following Bernstein (1986), have been recontextualised, in the practice of physical education in the schools. These include discourses that maintain hegemonic notions of masculinity and femininity. In physical education, the differences in male and female performances and attitudes are taken as natural. Although some physical educationists are aware of the sex-role literature and appear to subscribe to a social theory that argues for the effect of environmental influences on male and female characteristics, in most cases there remains a profound conviction that differences are innate and unchangeable and indeed desirable (Scraton, 1986). The following quote from a male lecturer in physical education confirms this:

I feel that the things that women are good at as far as grace and form and whatever ... Precision of movement and that should be things that society's prepared to accept and if one looks at gymnastics again, then why is it becoming more necessary for women to show, well, say strength exercises in their floor routines. Let's try and get away from that. The things that were reknowned about women's gymnastics were their grace and fluidity ... let's emphasise the things that they're really good at and for society to be educated enough to accept those as being brilliant in their own right. (Interview Wilsmore, 1989)

Boys' preferences for rough and tumble games like football, and their apparent desire to display daring over the vaulting box, are taken for granted as natural. Girls' preferences for, and superior performances in, dance and expressive activities and their apparent reticence to participate in physical education is again attributed to their natural passivity and lack of aggressiveness and competitive spirit. The psychological, sociological and physiological research that has compared men's and women's performances has done little to dispel these assumptions.

As well as providing the impetus for new practices in physical education, the disciplines of exercise physiology and, later, psychology were responsible for establishing a
scientific basis for differences in male and female performance. That is, they provided research evidence that women's performance was inferior to men's for irrefutable measurable or objective reasons. This helped to confirm the notion of sport and games as a male domain. Women were seen to be good at expressive activities and skills that required grace and rhythm such as those utilised in dance and gymnastics. The catch was that these were the areas of the curriculum that were unsupported in terms of resources and recognition, generally marginalised and rarely taught.

The dominance of a male tradition in physical education that has been primarily developed for and by men means that there is an absence of a recognisable women's tradition with which female physical educators in Australia can identify and draw on to meet the needs and experiences of their female students. Thus the question of girls interests and needs is usually framed in terms of equity or a 'fairer' share of the resources and opportunities available to the boys. In practice, this means a fairer share of a masculine tradition of physical education and sport, without questioning the assumptions on which the practices of this tradition are based; nor questioning the contribution these practices themselves make to girls' disaffection with physical education.
Chapter 4

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT: IMAGES OF THE BODY

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, subjects and subjectivities are constituted in and through the intersection of cultural discourses, including those that take femininity and masculinity as their objects of concern. This thesis is particularly concerned with the ways in which subjectivities are formed in and through the discourses which constitute the genre of the physical education lesson. As was demonstrated in Chapter 3 the knowledge, beliefs and social relations associated with organised sport are recontextualised and reproduced in the pedagogic discourse and practices of contemporary physical education. As a discourse that takes the body and its activities as a main focus, sports discourse and particularly its instantiations in the texts produced by the print and electronic media are centrally implicated in producing images of women and men which support hegemonic notions of femininity and masculinity. Teachers and students are likely to be profoundly influenced in their expectations of appropriate female and male behaviour by the images of active bodies produced, in particular, by the visual media.

The first part of this chapter will discuss the relationship between bodies, sexuality and the media. The remainder of the chapter will take as a particular example the case of elite
artistic gymnastics (olympic gymnastics) and the representations of male and female gymnasts in the media. Gymnastics has been chosen as a case study because it exemplifies both the immediate operation of technologies of power-knowledge in shaping bodies to a particular cultural purpose and because male and female gymnasts are represented and present themselves in media texts in explicitly oppositional ways. As a sport in which both men and women participate, its internal forms remain clearly differentiated in relation to men's and women's activities and qualities of performance. Furthermore, it is ideally located to investigate the production of gendered representations of the body because it is a sport in which individual bodies, their behaviour, shape and style are central. It follows then that of all the activities that constitute the curriculum area of physical education, gymnastics more than any other area takes body image as its focus and thereby contributes to the defining of bodies and their movements as male or female.

Gymnastics has also been chosen as a case study because the knowledge, practices and social relations of artistic gymnastics rather than educational gymnastics are those which are recontextualised and reproduced in the teaching of gymnastics in most New South Wales schools. Artistic gymnastics as a pedagogic discourse has more in common with the skill acquisition, product-oriented approach of traditional games teaching than does movement education. It is also the mode of gymnastics in which tertiary students have had most of their training. In Chapter 6 it will be demonstrated how teachers by incorporating the discourses and practices of artistic gymnastics into their teaching also reproduce the gender relations constituting and constituted by the elite.

4.1 Bodies and sexuality

In this chapter, following Foucault (1981) and current feminist theory that draws on both Foucault and psychoanalysis (see, for instance, Bartky, 1988; Gatens, 1989; Grosz, 1987) bodies are not taken as neutral or natural or as biologically determined. Rather bodies are conceived as shaped, regulated and inscribed with meanings which are specific
to a particular cultural and historical moment. The metaphor of 'inscription' provides the means to understand bodies and their movement (as is the case for a dance or a gymnastics performance) as texts, the location of signifying practices which may like written and visual texts be read and interpreted. However the metaphor should be taken to go beyond an understanding of inscription as taking place only on the surface of bodies. Cultural and historically specific meanings are written into the very structure and functioning of bodies; they are not simply different ways of speaking about bodies. This process takes place through the work done on bodies. This can include dieting, exercise, the shaping of bodies through corsets or other forms of clothing. In dance and sport it takes place through the selection and training of bodies to meet the requirements of the form.

Social and political values are not simply placed or grafted onto a neutral body - object like so many old or new clothes. On the contrary, ideologies are systematically deposited and constructed on an anatomical plane, i.e. in the neuromusculature of the dancer's body and a precise reading of this body can only proceed if the reader/spectator's gaze is not deflected by, but penetrates beneath, the brilliance of the body's surface. (Dempster, 1988: p.37)

Thus bodies are inscribed with meanings that reflect and reproduce cultural discourses, particularly in western culture the discourses of masculinity and femininity. The systems of beliefs, knowledge and practice in which sport are located contribute to this process as the bodies of male and female athletes become potent sites of discursive (re)production through their wide circulation as representations in the media.

Featherstone (1991) argues that in today's consumer culture "the body is proclaimed as a vehicle of pleasure: its desirable and desiring and the closer the actual body approximates to the idealised images of youth, health, fitness and beauty the higher its exchange value" (p.177). The maintenance of the ideal female body (and increasingly the ideal male body) requires denial and hard work, the submission of the body to an ascetic regime of exercise and diet. Ironically the disciplining of the body, the maintenance of body shape, provides the vehicle in and through the expressive qualities of the body are released. The
'look' that is the reward of denial and discipline is the prerequisite for sexual attraction and the expression of desire.

The media is the purveyor and (re)producer of idealised images of the body through advertising, through fashion and cosmetics, through the selection of television presenters, through film and through images of healthy active young men and women involved in sport. Contemporary physical education in western developed countries is also increasingly implicated in the reproduction of images of the body that connect health and fitness with slimness. This connection between health, fitness and slimness is further located in a discourse of health education that describes health as the responsibility of individual citizens and ignores the involvement of the state and the culture in determining an individual's wellbeing (Sparkes, 1989). Health within this discourse is described in term of fitness or body maintenance to prevent cardiovascular disease. In practice, this is recontextualised by teachers, particularly in relation to female students, to link fitness with a slim body image (Tinning, 1985). The images of women in sport are particularly salient in this context as symbols of ideal embodied subjectivities - not only do they demonstrate the outcomes of self-discipline, hard work and commitment in their achievements, but they are also trim, taut and feminine in appearance.

An article in Vogue magazine, makes this very point. The article, called *Images of Power*, by Diana Bagnall (1989), is essentially about the conflict women are reported to experience between being female and being successful in sport. The main thesis, however, is a message about the body in consumer culture described by Featherstone (1991) above. Bagnall argues that images of femininity have changed, that the display of muscular strength is no longer unacceptable, and indeed, is attractive. Bagnall concludes from this that women are thus liberated from the strictures of social norms. Her examples, however, confirm that female sexuality is still defined as looking 'good', even though what that means has shifted to a more 'athletic' image. It may be that strength is now acceptable, but it is the trim, lean look, muscle tone rather than muscle bulk, that is
desirable and attractive. As Bagnall herself writes "the trim, muscular shape of a sportswoman epitomises a new and legitimate feminine look" (p.123). Rather than challenging the images of hegemonic femininity, representations of the female athletes by Bagnall and her photographers are located centrally in a discourse that links desire, sexuality and female attractiveness with the well-maintained body. As Jane Flemming, the Australian champion heptathlete, says: "If you ask nine out of ten guys where they see the best female bodies, I'm sure they would say the female sporting arena" (p.124).

The production and reproduction of discourses is not a unitary or simple process. The body is the site of contesting discourses, that is, the site of contesting systems of values and beliefs about what is normal and desirable - for instance, what is normal and desirable femininity. For many women how they look and how they measure up to standards of sexual attractiveness is a preoccupying concern. However, for some women achieving in sport, in business, in art is also very important and in demonstrating their abilities in these and other culturally valued areas they are pushing the limits of definitions of what it is to be woman. This does not, necessarily, mean challenging the prevailing definitions of women's sexuality or of their relations with men. As Gatens (1989) suggests, the maintenance of hegemonic or normative masculinity relies on hegemonic femininity as its reverse image: "Each gender is at once the antithesis of and the complement to the other" (p.39). Thus are women and men complicit in maintaining a phallocentric culture that oppresses them both. Sport is ideally placed to legitimate and reproduce sexual differences which construct the male as the antithesis of female: male as strong, female as weak; male as aggressor and aggressive; female as object of aggression, passive.

In his account of images of the body, Featherstone (1991) makes no special distinction between the experience of men and women in a consumer society, nor does he make a distinction between people from different socioeconomic groups. In considering the actual constituents of a particular 'look', the leisure to pursue it and the appeal of one
cluster of appearance and behaviour characteristics rather than another, both class and sex, indeed sexual preference may need to be taken into account. For instance, Buchbinder and Milech (1989) describe the recent emphasis on "a strong, sharply-defined, muscular male physique" by homosexual men. A physique, they point out, "whose signs have been traditionally understood and presented as active and masculine" and, in Australian culture, one which is usually associated with working class men (p.26).

Bourdieu (1984), in the context of the French population, points to different orientations to physical activity and the body linked to class origin. For instance, he found the working class more likely to take up an instrumental relation to their bodies and to pursue sports which demanded "a high investment of energy, effort or even pain ... and which sometimes even endanger the body itself" (p. 213). The middle classes and particularly middle class women, on the other hand, were more likely to be concerned with the cultivation of the healthy body. While the differences may not be quite so clearly drawn in Australia and age must also be taken into account, class differences in orientations to bodily appearance and activity must be recognised. These orientations will also be important in determining the way readers and viewers interpret the images of other bodies in the print and electronic media.

4.2 The media and representations of the body in sport

Television creates images, produces a reality in which particular knowledge, values and beliefs are constructed as natural, "in ways that encourage the viewer to receive and uncritically accept the messages and meanings which it communicates" (Bassett: 1990: p.2). Visual representations of organised competitive sport are particularly well placed to naturalise sexual differences because they take the body as the object of their attention. Physical performances provide seemingly incontrovertible evidence of the superiority of the male, so obviously and publicly stronger, more powerful and aggressive than the
female in the areas that count whether it be football, tennis, athletics, swimming or any other valued physical activity in Australian culture. Representations of male and female differences in physical ability appear natural because they are associated with bodily activity, and through television coverage they become accessible for all to see and interpret as an apparently transparent, unmediated version of reality. However commentary, camera angles and editing techniques construct the viewing experience in ways which regularly position female athletes (and spectators and supporters) as the objects of a male gaze and male pleasure and male athletes as the subjects of action and achievement. The male sports commentators who are most prone to position women in this way, are also those most vehement in their resistance to criticisms of their conservative and chauvinistic approaches. In New South Wales ex-Rugby League coach and journalist, Roy Masters and journalist and Olympic commentator, Mike Gibson are two notable examples of this approach. Following his experiences as the object of criticism at a recent media and sport seminar associated with the Commonwealth sponsored, *Equity in Sport* Conference, Masters scathingly condemned the women at the seminar as a "colony of vipers" (Masters, 1991). Similarly Gibson has hotly defended his right to make comments about the sexual attractiveness of female athletes. The reaction of commentators like Gibson and Masters becomes comprehensible when one takes into account that the masculinity they so strongly espouse has as its context the continuing hegemony of patriarchal masculinity in sport.

Images of women in sport are virtually absent in both the print media and television. Studies in the United States and Australia confirm both the absence of women and the differences in treatment (Hilliard, 1984; Working Group on Women and Sport (WGWS), 1985; Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988; Wright, 1989). In a study which compared six weeks of televised coverage of top men's and women's basketball and tennis and sports

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1 In 1989 for instance, following wide condemnation by feminists of his sexist comments in his commmentation of Katherine de Witt's performance in the 1988 Winter Olympics, he publicly defended his right to make such comments in a televised debate with sociologist and feminist, Libby Darlington.
newscast from a top rating station in Los Angeles, Duncan et al (1990) found important qualitative and quantitative differences in the coverage of women's as compared to men's sports:

1. In sports news women were significantly absent from reports with men receiving 92% of air time, women's sports 5% and gender neutral topics 3%.

2. Television sports news rarely focused on women athletes but did focus on women (for instance in the stands) as comical targets of the newscaster's jokes and/or as sexual objects.

3. There was a significant difference in the quality of the technical production of men's sports as compared to women's sports with a tendency to trivialize women's games and glorify those of men.

4. In tennis and basketball, women players were constantly "marked" visually and verbally as well as being verbally infantilized. For instance, women were frequently called "girls" while men were never called "boys" and women were more often called by their first names. Similarly there were differences in the attribution of "strength" and "weakness" that were consistent with gender stereotyping.

5. There was less overt gender stereotyping in the tennis and basketball commentary when compared with past studies. (p.2-4).

As with the North American study, Australian studies that take a quantitative approach (WGWS, 1985) also demonstrate the paucity of coverage for women athletes. In an Australia wide survey in 1980, 2 per cent of all available sports space in capital city newspapers was given to women's sport. There were four times as many men's as women's sports featured in the results section and twelve times as many graphics. A further survey in 1984, indicated that rather than improving, the situation has deteriorated with 1.3 per cent of newspaper space devoted to women's sport and five times as many men's as women's sports covered in the results section (WGWS, 1985: p.9). When
women do feature, their coverage is different from that of male participants in a number of significant ways. The emphasis is less on the action of the game or achievement of the athlete than on her femaleness, her physical appearance, her dress and her relationships - that is, her femininity or lack of it. This can be demonstrated by looking at most newspaper and television coverage, although some writers are more subtle than others and their ideological bias is not immediately obvious. For instance from Ron Reed in the *Melbourne Herald*:

> Tears flowed like spring rain as the elfin Australian realised that she had become the country's first track and field medallist for 16 years ... There were women athletes at the Olympics who were distinguished by moustaches and physiques that would alarm Dean Lukin, and it is enough to say that Glynis Nunn was not one of them. She was an athlete of undiminished femininity, who smiled warmly and spoke softly, who ran lightly and threw with grace, who triumphed with modesty and who accepted her hour of happiness in the time-honoured woman's way, she cried. That is why the world applauded. (October, 1984: p.36)

Ron Reed's description of Glynis Nunn, after her 1984 Olympic win, has many sexist and arguably jingoistic messages, scarcely hidden in the subtext. He manages to insult the women in the Olympics who did not come up to his notions of femininity by obliquely suggesting that they were on steroids, "distinguished by moustaches and physiques that would alarm Dean Lukin"; he trivialises Nunn's own achievements by devoting most of the paragraph to her female attributes, including her emotionality and finally the *coup de grace*, "the world applauds" not for her achievements but because "she cried".

Representations that are clearly located within a patriarchal discourse of femininity include the explicitly critical images of women who transgress the acceptable boundaries of femininity, such as Martina Navratilova in tennis and Bev Francis in weightlifting, or images of women which foreground their feminine qualities and ignore their sporting achievements. However even those articles in the popular media which appeared to take a feminist stance, in their representations of women do not seriously challenge normative expectations of femininity (Wright, 1991). An article in the government funded,
Women's Sport Foundation Unit publication, *Active* (Spring, 1990), for instance, provides images of the Supermums of sport, who spend long hours training while at the same time caring for their young children and yet remain on top of it all.

Justifications of the different amounts of coverage accorded women's sport, from the male editors and journalists that dominate the field, are usually in terms of the inferior skill, excitement and aggression of women's sport. This explanation can be and has been contested in its own terms (see Dyer, 1982). Marilyn Waring, however, suggests that:

> It is because boys' games reinforce all the patriarchy's power ethos. Their direct analogy with war is a paramount part of this activity, through which boys learn that aggression is acceptable, and something that they can practise and applaud. They celebrate the complex team organisation and strategy, the forceful male contact, the dramatisation of conflict between male roles and the propulsion of objects over space. (Waring, 1985: p. 88)

For many female participants the pleasure they derive from sport may have more to do with feeling powerful and in control of their bodies, as they achieve in ways that they have never experienced before. The sense of pleasure need not always centre around besting an opponent nor need it be about being better (or worse) than men. Clearly at this stage these statements about women's pleasure and physical activity are speculative and an important starting point for further research. What is more certain is that what is culturally valued about sport is who is better than whom. These differences in performance in turn help to confirm or legitimate the dominant version of gender relations. Women are not as strong/powerful/exciting/fast/aggressive as men therefore they are weaker/inferior not only in biological terms but in social terms as well. Thus sport would seem to be ideally placed, in the terms of the French feminist writer, Luce Irigaray's to "construct the male body as virile, full, unified and the female body as passive, castrated or lacking as the necessary precondition of patriarchal social relations, 'naturalising' and rationalising the historical domination of women by men" (Gross 1986: 142).
In comparison with other sports, artistic gymnastics is constituted in ways which make it difficult for women to contest the patriarchal values by their participation in the sport. From its beginnings as a competitive activity, it has provided separate and different spheres of activity for women and men. International and National Federations are divided into Women's Artistic Gymnastics (WAG), Men's Artistic Gymnastics (MAG), Rhythmic Sportive Gymnastics and a recent addition is General Gymnastics. The introduction of General Gymnastics provides some liberatory potential with its emphasis on participation for all ages and sexes for pleasure rather than competition. WAG and MAG have separate technical committees, male and female judging panels and different expectations for their performers in terms of equipment and style of performance.

4.3 *Representations of gymnastics and gymnasts in the media*

Images are constructed through words as well as visual representations. An interpretation of visual images is mediated by verbal commentary as well as other production devices. The performances of Olympic gymnasts, for instance, are interpreted in and through the commentators' and the spectators' positioning in discourses relating to age, sexuality, ethnicity and other social categories salient to Australian culture. These are mapped onto the practices and techniques that select and shape the gymnasts' bodies to be what they are, and to perform as they do.

The texts to be examined, and I include here visual as well as written texts, are produced in and through their creators' location in the discourses, the systems of knowledge, beliefs and values, of the culture. None of the texts to be examined are written from a critical perspective - that is, they are written 'unreflectively' and they are written for the mass market. As such they are likely to encode hegemonic social relations of class, gender, ethnicity and age in the context of the beliefs and values associated with sport in Australian society, rather than radical discourses that might challenge the existing hegemony.
In the remainder of the chapter, I will be discussing two main themes which emerged from an analysis of representations of gymnasts in the media: the first is the construction of provocative sexuality in images of child-women; the second, the construction of the idealised child/adolescent. The first theme also provides images that confirm the naturalness of male and female differences. Gymnastics is the sport in which male and female differences are most clearly comparable and most clearly marked, with the attributes of strength and daring associated with male gymnasts and grace and style for women. Moreover, these are docile bodies, demonstrating in their demeanor and in their very constitution the internalisation of regimes of discipline to which they have been subjected. These regimes both select and shape bodies that are opposed - fragile-looking, tiny and prepubescent female bodies and stocky, muscular and mature male bodies.

The themes described above have been identified through an analysis and interpretation of media texts drawn from the television coverage of artistic gymnastics performances at the Seoul Olympics, and from 43 articles on gymnastics collected by the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS) archives from Australian newspapers including The Canberra Times, The Sydney Morning Herald, The Age and The Courier Mail. A partially critical voice was introduced through The Australian Magazine article, "Perfect Tens: Is the Price too High?" and from The National Times, "Conflict over AIS Training for Gymnasts". The articles were analysed for linguistic and non-linguistic constructions of images in both the written text and the photographs that accompanied these. The analysis was informed by a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis which argues for a detailed mapping of the ways in which certain objects and social relations are constructed in and through language, but also through other social practices (Foucault, 1977, 1984). Kress and Van Leeuwen's Reading Images (1991) provided ways to interpret the visual images in the newspaper articles. The Executive Director of the Australian Gymnastics Federation (AGF), Peggy Browne, one of the few internationally accredited Australian judges in Women's Artistic Gymnastics, Kim Morris, and the National Coaching Adviser
Gymnastics), Gene Schembri, were interviewed to provide a context in and from which to interpret the media texts.

4.3.1 The Seoul Olympics: sexuality and sexual difference

The strongest contrast in gymnastics is that between male and female bodies. Differences in equipment, judging and style prescribe differences in performances that are further emphasised in television commentary. The similar demands of extraordinary strength, flexibility, elegance and control which characterise both men’s and women’s routines are rarely commented upon. The enduring images of female Olympic performers are of graceful bodies posed in hyperextended positions, demonstrating super flexibility, or of tiny bodies performing amazing feats of agility, somersaulting through the air in their floor, beam, vault or bar routines.

Of all the requirements in gymnastics the dance components of the beam and floor are most implicated in defining women’s gymnastics as different from men’s. Because both men and women perform on the floor, it is here that the most interesting comparisons can be made. The women’s floor exercise is performed to music which must fit the ‘personality of the gymnast’; it is thus expected to be an expressive performance where for the top performers judgement will be made as much on the grace, beauty and individuality of the performance as on the degree of difficulty. It is explicitly designed to appeal to an audience; the movements are to be watched and interpreted by others.

While men’s performance must also flow from one movement to another, the linking movements are pared down to the essential. Balances are angular, with arms and hands extended in one line and fingers together and straight. Movements such as a push to handstand must be held to show static strength for at least two seconds. The held positions on the floor and particularly the exceptionally demanding suspensions on the rings provide images of neck and shoulder muscles bulging and contorted. The two
Australian commentators, for the Australian coverage of the Olympics, Frances Crampton and Peter Dowdell, frequently commented on the "magnificent strength" and the "amazing static strength of these gymnasts".

Where strength is expected of the male gymnasts, exhibitions of strength are rejected for the women, "even the most difficult exercises must appear as joyful play" (Haug, 1987: p.178). Balances are barely held beyond the demonstration of competence, and are completed by curved arm movements with hyperextended wrists and elegantly angled fingers. Poses are accompanied by isolations of the hips, shoulders and/or body waves. These movements provide an additional aesthetic element that is perceived to signify individual creativity and personality. It is with these movements that the feeling within is perceived to be made visible to the beholder, but it is also these dance elements that most overtly signify sexuality. The 1988 Olympic floor exercises of the Russian gold medallist, Elena Shushunova and the silver medallist, Svetlana Boginskaya provide useful examples. The commentators described both as very dramatic. The drama being enacted by their dance movements is unambiguously sexual, created through movements such as a body wave accompanied by the slow outlining of the body by the hands, fingers splayed, or a feline-like creep across the floor. The frivolity and playfulness of the younger and smaller, Daniela Silivas and Aurelia Dobre are no less sexually marked. The hyper-arched backs of their standing poses and the light and playful isolations of shoulders and fingers, as well as their flashing smiles, potentially signify the coquetishness of these little girls cum sexualised women to an adoring audience. In the men's performance there is no expectation that they should express their personalities through their movements or win the audience. The men do not dance to music, they do not smile, their appeal lies in their feats of daring and strength, rather than their sexual appeal to the audience.

The clothing worn by the gymnasts further emphasises difference and accentuates the sexuality of the female bodies. The mandatory long sleeve leotard worn by the women
clings to the body. While it hides the musculature of the arms and upper body, the high curve of the leotard around the hips lengthens the appearance of the legs and emphasizes the pubic area. The men wear long trousers or shorts and singlet tops that emphasize the muscular development of their shoulders and chests. "Their trousers, by contrast (to the women), are not tight to the body; but are held taut with straps and braces, allowing the genitals to remain invisible" (Haug, 1987: 176).

Jeff Wells, writing in *The National Times*, confirms the potential of gymnastics to be viewed from a position of voyeur, embedded as his message is in a discourse of ethnocentrism:

> There is no doubt in this writer that gymnastics deserves a lift in Australia - and not just because of the four yearly TV orgasm when the world gathers around the box to ogle the new Olgas, Nadias, and other prancing products of the eastern bloc assembly line, or the American Mitchs, Mary Lous and other limber advertisements for free enterprise and orthodontics. (1985, p.66)

The most striking conclusion from the above analysis is that the gymnasts are represented and position themselves as subjects of a discourse of heterosexuality which positions female bodies as the objects of the male gaze. A positioning which is particularly problematic when the performers are also represented as children. The current trends in women's artistic gymnastics appears to make these representations more pronounced. As coaches (both male and female) introduce new and more difficult and dangerous skills, often taken from the male repertoire, in their quest for gold medals, the female International Technical Committee are fighting to maintain what they perceive to be the uniquely feminine qualities of the sport by allocating more points for the dance movements and the expressive elements of the floor exercise (Interview with Kim Morris, International WAG Judge, 1989).

This conflict is indicative of the contradictions inherent in women's gymnastics as a sport which foregrounds the appearance of the feminine while at the same time demanding
physical capacities associated in western cultures with patriarchal masculinity, such as strength and daring. These contradictions are exemplified in the attitudes of Peggy Browne, the current AGF Executive Director who is very critical of what she sees as the appropriation by Eastern Bloc female performers of male skills together with the redefinition of their body shape (to be more like that of the male) to be able to perform these skills. At the same time, she argues that women's gymnastics can never match the quality of men's gymnastics because they have fewer pieces of apparatus on which to perform and because she perceives men's gymnastics to be inherently and appropriately so much more difficult. Furthermore, she positions the female gymnasts as the objects of a desiring male gaze:

I have no problems selling our sport because it's physically attractive or even men like to watch it, it doesn't worry me, how they sell it. As long as we get the facts right. If the facts are correct it doesn't matter to me, how they sell it. (Interview, 1990)

Browne's patriarchal positioning is echoed by journalist Ron Reed writing about Ken Meredith, the top Australian male gymnast (now retired) after he won Australia's first gold medals in an international competition:

Australia will send a team of three to Seoul, the other two being Monique Allen, 16, of Sydney and Leanne Rycroft, from South Australia. The girls were also on the recent swing through Europe and Allen especially demonstrated a lot of potential, picking up a couple of bronze medals.

But it's Meredith who will carry the flag - and that is itself a minor victory. When you think of gymnastics, you think of Nadia Comeneci and Olga Korbut. It's a girls' game, at least in terms of image. But the reality is that the men's disciplines are tougher and it's just bad luck that they can't match it in the glamour stakes. (Melbourne Herald, 1988, p.27)

It would seem, then, that contemporary gymnastics continues to be consistent with its original conception as a sport developed specifically to provide women with opportunities to display talents that are uniquely feminine (Ackroyd, 1982; Ryan, 1977). It was at its inception and continues to be valued by proponents as the ideal women's sport because it is particularly marked for sexual difference. However since Olga Korbut, media interest
has contributed to the production of the performances of elite female gymnastics as spectacle, the appeal of which rests at least partly, on the representations of the gymnasts and their movements as sexually appealing.

4.3.2 Child-women: the docile body

Female gymnasts are generally represented as enigmas by opposing the appearance of the gymnasts as childlike, with their maturity of behaviour, experience and attitudes. A further common opposition is that of grace as compared to strength and fortitude. Both these oppositions can be located in a discourse that positions women and girls as small, graceful and dependent in contrast to the large size, strength and independence of men. These oppositions, however, are represented in the media as situated in the embodied subjectivities of the top female gymnasts. It seems no coincidence that the statue outside the Australian Institute of Sport gymnasium is that of a petite female child, long hair caught back in a pony tail, balancing, both feet on the beam, arms extended gracefully. This can be compared to the image of male sport embodied in another statue at the AIS, of two soccer players, closely entwined in a representation of vigorous and aggressive action.

In no other sports are the participants so pervasively represented as "little" or "tiny". Regular references are made to their height and weight, usually with some indication of amazement on the part of the writer. The 'little darling' theme, so pervasive in the coverage of the Olympics penetrates descriptions of the aspiring gymnasts in the developmental programmes. In The National Times, the Junior New South Wales champion is referred to "as winsome a green-eyed shrimp as you could net" (Wells, 1985: p.66) and, in The Australian Magazine, other aspiring Olympians are described as "playful energetic, elfin, children" (Sleeman, 1991: p.29). The gymnasts with whom these attributes are associated are children whose ages range from nine to twelve, but they too are described as committed and hard working.
Both Wells and Sleeman writing for their respective papers make problematic the child/work, dependence/independence oppositions. Wells asks whether such young children should be rested from their families to be exposed to "sports scientists, with their calipers and gadgets poking and typecasting our primary school moppets, and (bussed) off to State sports camps to be trained like performing seals?" (Wells, p. 66). Wells chooses to relate the experiences of the children he observed to a normative discourse of childhood that conceives of children as innocents, dependent on the family for protection, in this case protection from "facing puberty without them as a sacrifice to the national ego" and from the inhumanity of the scientific approach (p.66).

Sleeman, however, although initially appearing to concur with this position, by the conclusion of his article appears to be sufficiently convinced by the perceptions of the parents and coaches that it is the children themselves who are totally dedicated and who have freely chosen their position in gymnastics. That is, he adopts a position that accords more closely with the pro-gymnastics discourse of less critical articles, where children are represented as actually less dependent than they seem. Rather they are mature beyond their years and capable of making mature decisions - that is, in the direction of choosing a future in the difficult and demanding discipline of gymnastics. They are not represented as 'normal' children but as 'supernormal' or ideal children who put up with pain and injury for long term goals, while still retaining their delightfulness, sense of fun but also their vulnerability. In the Sleeman article, this last is conveyed particularly through a shot from high above of a very slight and pale faced child, body buried in a seas of foam chunks, face turned upward to the viewer. This is Karinda Whitewell, whom we learn from the caption "has spent only 50 per cent of the last year free of injury" (p.31). "People don't understand. They are special kids" says one gymnast's mother, and from their coach at the Homebush Centre:

When you talk to the kids they say they wish they could train all day and not go to school. But at school they are all making top grades. Gymnastics
teaches them discipline and to be good time managers. As long as the children are happy, this regime is okay. Look at them. They can’t stop giggling. (Sleeman, 1991: p.30)

Monique Allen, as Australia’s first real contender for an international gold medal, if not an Olympic gold medal, receives proportionable most of the press coverage. Monique Allen, is not a child, but she, too, is described as "petite and powerful" (Evans, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1988: p.58) and "the diminutive Allen" (Brown, *Age*, 1988 : p.50). In an article in *The Australian*, titled, "Why our pony-tailed pixie is making the elite take notice", the oppositions of carefree child/mature toughness, overt (appearance)/covert (character) are clearly discernible. The article begins by explicitly signalling an overt/covert opposition through the metaphor of a swan gliding across a lake, juxtaposing visible grace with invisible strength. This is an opposition that underpins the other categories identified. The feminine attributes of gracefulness, slightness and fragility are there to be read from the bodies of the gymnasts - this is how they appear and this is what makes them so appealing. Beneath the surface, available from inference rather than direct observation are the attributes of physical strength, dedication and self-discipline. Their hidden physical strength in the following quote provides a metaphor for the hidden moral strengths - the effort and discipline that they must put into their work:

The effortlessness of a top gymnast is rather like that of a swan gliding across the a lake - both are paddling like crazy beneath the surface.

The entrancing child-women - signified by Olympic stars Olga Korbut, Nadia Comaneci and Mary Lou Rhetton - who leap, tumble and balance their way into the public imagination require both the grace of a ballerina and the toughness of a front-row forward. (Jeffrey, 1988: p.39)

The article goes on to describe Monique Allen, one of Australia’s top female gymnasts, who "does not look her 16 years" as "156cm tall" and "just 45kgs",

but you can see the strength in her tiny frame at the wrists, calves and thighs. Her soft voice, blonde ponytail and pixie-like face disguise the steel that is needed to succeed in international competition. (Jeffrey, 1988: p.39)
The oppositions of appearance/character, overt/covert are carried through to a photograph which accompanies the article. What we see is Monique Allen in a held position of the beam, leg gracefully pointing forward to the beam, arms extended, fingers curved and separated, her face side on to the viewer. The photograph is taken from below giving an appearance of aloofness, the image is offered for our consumption and appreciation. The caption however points to a different reality, to what Allen must do to survive in the world of competition: "Monique Allen ... 'the first thing you learn is how to fight for the apparatus" (p.39).

Other visual images accompanying the newspaper articles contribute to the overt/covert opposition. The oblique angle of many of the action photographs conveys a sense of aloofness - power is incorporated in the female gymnasts' bodies through distance and low angle. In male bodies their power is more directly represented through close-ups of their muscularity as evidence of their physical strength. It is important that the female gymnasts as national symbols be endowed with some power but in order not to contradict their impact as feminine ideals, this is not encoded directly into their physical images but encoded indirectly via the art of the photographer and in the written text. Through camera angles that invite us to look up to them, both male and female gymnasts are offered in the visual and written texts for our admiration. They are special people, but they are also constructed as objects or national symbols with whom we can identify in their achievements and struggles. As elite athletes representing Australia in international competition, they are 'Australia's own Monique Allen and Ken Meredith'. They provide models for the many girls and fewer boys in gym clubs across Australia who aspire to elite gymnastics. The image of the female gymnasts become particularly salient for emulation because they converge with the ideal, fashionable image of the female in a culture that values a body that demonstrates evidence of the work done to maintain a slim, adolescent shape.
The importance of the overt/covert opposition lies in its relation to a patriarchal discourse of heterosexuality that posits masculinity and femininity as binary opposites. Such a discourse associates the feminine with the body, and so with expressive qualities and the masculine with the mind and so with intellect, thought and reason. The female gymnasts are represented as having both qualities, but their 'masculine' qualities of determination, strength and self-discipline are not the qualities that they themselves foreground in their bodies or in their performances. These qualities must be skilfully hidden beneath an appearance of fragility and innocence combined with the grace and style of visually appealing movements.

Allen and the other "pixies" and "imps" described above, are universally represented as totally dedicated to their sport, to the exclusion of all other interests. Several articles draw attention to the demanding regime of the gymnasts' daily timetable. Monique Allen "doesn't have time to go out out after she goes to school, does her homework and does 40 hours of gymnastics training a week" (Taylor, 1987: p.7). Gymnastics is represented as a powerful site for the regulation and production of docile bodies (Foucault, 1977). In the first instance, elite gymnasts are selected through the employment of strict criteria that accept some bodies and reject others. The Australian national coach, Ju-Ping Tian, is described as choosing one member of the squad to train with her for the Atlanta Olympics for her "excellent coordination, strength, the ability to learn quickly, an understanding of human movement, toughness, plus the fact that she and her parents were shorter than the community average" (Sleeman, 1991: p.30). Other hopefuls were eliminated because they were too tall.

The gymnasts are represented as being compliant and grateful in the context of a close surveillance and control of their daily existence. They train with their coaches for up to 40 hours a week and when not at school, their rest and diet is controlled by coaches and parents. In particular, the diet of the AIS gymnasts is carefully regulated to delay puberty and to maintain the small tight knit body necessary for many of the skills. (Interview
Browne, 1990). They lead a "cloistered existence" and are subjected to the stern "tutelage" of Ju-Ping, a strict disciplinarian. They are represented as caring and obedient children and charges. The children at the New South Wales State Sport Centre at Homebush all line up "in perfect formation from the tallest to the shortest" when called in to meet a journalist. "They all nod dutifully then rush off to resume their training." (Sleeman, 1991: p.)

There are regular references to the discipline and commitment of the gymnasts, to the constraints on their lifestyles, the total control exerted by their coaches over the way they use their bodies in time and space that goes beyond specific practice of skills. The top female gymnasts have the appeal of delightful and very well behaved/docile children, but they are adolescents and as such they become idealised representations of the antithesis of today's problem youth.

Although they may seem like children, it's because of the height that they have attained. Like Monique Allen will be 19 very shortly, but she only stands 5'3". She has one of the fresh innocent faces, because they haven't been socially hardened if you want a better word. None of our gymnasts at the competitive elite level are socially hardened. Even Ken Meredith at 27 years of age isn't socially hardened, because they don't have an opportunity to go out with their mates and do these sorts of things, so they retain that innocence and people look at them and say "oh gosh they're children". They're not, they're voting, driving adults that are actually very responsible, but because of the other component don't come across that way. (Interview Browne, 1990)

My point here is that these allusions to family, to a regulated life, to the self-discipline and determination of the gymnasts, to their effort in the face of adversity, constructs an image of the disciplined bodies of the ideal child or teenager (and their families) of a capitalist patriarchal state - compliant, appropriately gendered and striving to achieve through hard work. Thus they are the antithesis of other constructions of teenagehood constituted in and through the images of troubled adolescents and children, to be found on other pages of the newspaper, or in television documentaries, soap operas and so on. Their very differences in dress mark an apparent difference in body and culture; the natural and the
constructed. The gymnasts wear a uniform, which appears in its simplicity to leave the body undisguised. Their individuality must come through in performance and in their expressiveness, their's are 'natural' bodies as compared to those of various teenage groups that are more obviously constructed through the elaboration and adornment that helps to mark their separation and rebellion from the dominant adult world and values.

The images of elite female (and in different ways male) gymnasts produced in and through the media are implicated in instructing readers and viewers to particular views of the ideal citizen and in particular the ideal gendered young citizen. The images of the gymnasts healthy, lithe and active bodies, achieved through physical effort and dietary maintenance contribute to the reproduction of hegemonic discourses that equate health and fitness with body shape. A recurrent theme that appears in the newspaper representations of gymnastics and the elite gymnasts is one of long term goals; the achievement of which demand extended effort and sacrifice in the face of almost overwhelming odds. These goals are couched in terms of success in international competition against the representatives of the major nations. Thus, the cluster of attributes associated with both male and female athletes provides a ideal model of desirable behaviour, moral character and social relations in a patriarchal capitalist state.

4.4 Conclusion

Through the images that are selected by the media, sport is equated with youth, health and vitality, freedom from disability, and a supernormality that leaves out the bodies of anyone over 25 (a somewhat arbitrary figure and likely to be slightly older for men), or any one who is disabled or who does not fit the consumer culture ideal of health and fitness. There are close parallels between these images and the ideal images of physical education and physical educators. As Hargreaves (1986) points out the preferred body shape in physical education is the mesomorph, devaluing the ectomorphic ('skinny') and the endomorphic ('fat') body shapes.
The preferred recruit to the profession, for example, is a physically adept performer, and notions of physical competence are strongly associated with a preference for the mesomorphic body type, i.e. a muscular torso and limbs, small waist and broad shoulders in the case of the males, a less pronounced musculature, yet well-built and well-proportioned frame, with a more rounded contoured shape, in the case of females. (p.170)

He argues further that "PE teachers and the more physically competent, attractive-looking pupils inadvertently collude through the PE ritual in the construction of individual identities and the pattern of social relationships" (p.170). Female students, in particular as a group are less likely to demonstrate either the appropriate body shape or the competencies expected of them in high school physical education, coming as they do from primary school, peer and family experiences which have are less likely to have included opportunities for physical activity as compared to the boys (Dyer, 1986). Moreover the images of sport that they are exposed to in the mass media virtually exclude images of women in sport. The images of women that are provided are ambivalent at best. Some do contest hegemonic notions of femininity by representing women as strong, capable and successful, but these are themselves, often rendered less powerful contestations by contradictory messages. For instance, messages that juxtapose images of strong and successful bodies in action with a written or verbal text that positions women in traditional relations to femininity as supermums, objects of male desire or as children yet to mature to full womanhood.

If as many contemporary writers suggest (for instance Hinkson, 1991) the media is increasingly replacing both families and formal schooling as a source of cultural meaning and an agent of social integration, then the discourses circulating via the media are centrally to the constitution of subjectivities. The images of women and men in physical activity, together with bodily representations of men and women, girls and boys in other media texts contribute to the production and reproduction of embodied subjectivities that are inscribed and disciplined in a normative relation to patriarchal masculinity and femininity. By mapping these discourses in the media some predictions can be made
about the subjectivities that teachers and students bring to physical education lessons. One would expect evidences of these discourses to emerge in interviews with teachers and students and in physical education lessons themselves.
Chapter 5

DISCURSIVE BIOGRAPHIES: TEACHER AND STUDENT SUBJECTIVITIES

5.1 Introduction

Teachers and students, in and through their interactions with each other, together produce a text that becomes an instantiation of the genre of the physical education lesson. They bring to that production their experiences of other texts, other institutions, other genres and other cultural activities. In creating such texts, through their use of language and of space, gesture, dress, touch and so on, teachers and students reproduce specific discourses, social relations and practices of the culture. The script for this new text is partly determined by those particular regulative and instructional discourses that circumscribe what can be done and said in a 'normal' physical education lesson - that is, in the terms used in Chapter 3, a lesson that complies with the schematic structure, purpose and pedagogic discourses that characterise the physical education lesson as a curriculum genre in Australian schools.

This thesis is premised on the assumption that individual subjectivity is constituted discursively. However a notion of the subject as totally determined by hegemonic
discourses over which s/he has no control is resisted. Each person in any one utterance, speaks from a particular relation to the discourse(s) in and through which they make meaning. This relation is determined by her/his unique history and experience of previous positionings in a multiplicity of discourses; discourses which themselves will have been characterised by both internal contradictions and contradictions with other systems of knowledge and values. Thus subjects bring to any exchange, to any coherent set of utterances or speech genres (Bakhtin, 1986) their own biographies, their own cultural and historical baggage, their positioning at the intersection of multiple texts past and present, which will mediate their understanding and their response to the discursive subjectivities of those with whom they interact. Parallels may be drawn between subject's responses in dynamic interpersonal exchanges both verbal and non-verbal, and readers and viewers interactions with written, aural and visual texts, such that, as Morley (1980) argues,

the moment of reading ... (acknowledges) the constant intervention of other texts and other discourses, which also position the subject. At the moment of textual encounter other discourses are always in play besides those of the particular text in focus - discourses which depend on other discursive formations, brought into play through 'the subject's' placing in other practices - cultural, educational, institutional. And these other discourses will set some of the terms in which any particular text is engaged and evaluated. (p.163)

If the subjectivities of students and teachers are taken to be constituted discursively and intertextually then a deterministic position that sees the students as the objects of the reproductive practices of the teachers can be avoided. Rather, students and teachers acceptance or rejection of positionings made available through the interactions in a physical education lesson depend on their previous engagement with many other "personal, cultural and global 'conversations'" (Kelly, 1990: p.41). Thus in endeavouring to investigate the production and reproduction of subjectivities in and through physical education, the biographies that both teachers and students bring to those lessons must be taken into account. This process involves examining how students' and teachers' own discursive histories concur or conflict with the pedagogic discourses that have been identified in Chapter 3 as normative to physical education as curriculum genre;
and how they concur or conflict with those discourses identified in Chapter 4 which describe the body in consumer culture and the gendered and classed body in sport and physical activity.

This chapter, then, is concerned to develop some understanding of what it means to be a male or female adolescent in contemporary Australian society and, in particular, how this is mediated in and through physical activity and the relation of male and female subjects to their bodies. As the study developed from beginnings relying substantially on ethnography and grounded theory, it became clear that an approach drawing on a feminist poststructuralist and semiotic theories would provide significantly more explanatory power. This meant that the interviews were designed with a different purpose (that is, eliciting information about participation) and from a different beginning. A slightly different approach to elicit broader biographical material would have been used in hindsight. As it is, the interview data still provides important insights into students' relations to their bodies, to physical activity and to each other and this will be examined in detail here. Other studies of adolescent male and female sub-cultures such as those of Scraton (1987a) Connell (1982) and Walker (1988) will be drawn upon to map the main discourses, practices and social relations that contribute to the constitution of the adolescent female and male subject in contemporary western society.

The main concern of traditional social science literature with the interview has been with the role of the interviewer in contaminating the respondents' replies and thus biasing results (Brenner, 1985; Brown and Canter, 1985). Contemporary feminist and ethnomethodological writers are critical of this single-minded appeal to scientific objectivity and draw attention to the complexity of the interview and to the importance of treating the context and the social relations of those involved, as relevant to an understanding of the interview process (Briggs, 1986; Oakley, 1981). The methods employed in both the collection and analysis of data in this chapter follow that feminist tradition. As has been pointed out by ethnomethodologists the successful interviewer
enters the culture of the interviewee particularly the metacommunicative repertoire of the interviewee (Briggs 1986). This is likely to be made more difficult when there is a marked age and, at times, sex difference, and where the interviewer may also be regarded as identified with the institution of the school. However, the questions were open-ended and I encouraged a conversational approach in order to elicit a broader discussion of the topic.

5.2 The physical and social contexts of the interviews

Forty nine female students and thirty two male students from Years 7, 8, 9, and 10 were interviewed from the three schools. All students in these classes were given permission notes to be signed by parents. Although the percentage of returns for some classes was fairly low, more children returned their notes overall, than were interviewed. Most students were withdrawn from physical education and health education classes; a few were interviewed during a period when a teacher from another faculty was unavailable. Some students were interviewed because they were not participating in the lesson and therefore had some free time, but most became interviewees through volunteering, sometimes with encouragement from the teacher. Because they tended to volunteer in pairs rather than being coupled by the teacher they were often friends. In one instance, one student from Year 9 was specifically selected for interview because of a teacher’s recommendation. It should be emphasised here that interviewing large numbers of children in pairs for over half an hour requires a good deal of cooperation and good will on the part of both teachers and students. Under these conditions, it was inappropriate to impose any highly structured system whereby students were randomly selected. Moreover, while the interviews are important to the study they are not central, they complement other findings rather than standing on their own.

The distribution of students across years, schools and genders is set out in Appendix II. Variations across schools partly reflect the amount of time I spent in the various schools
but also reflect the degree to which interviewing was facilitated in these schools. Some of the interviews were held in the cramped unattended offices of the physical education staff, some in empty classrooms, some in the playground and some sitting on the floor of a space between an occupied classroom and the outside door. The discomfort (at least for the interviewer) of such interviewing environments made ambiguous or blurred the power invested in the researcher.

Students were interviewed in pairs for a number of reasons. Firstly, I believed that they would feel more comfortable facing an adult interviewer with another student rather than alone and that they might encourage each other to speak. This happened some of the time but not frequently. Sometimes a friend would give a different point of view about an interviewee's perception of their own abilities or participation; sometimes a student learnt something about the friend's attitudes to physical activity and physical education that were a surprise. It is also likely that some things were not said because another student was present and that some students allowed others to speak for them. Secondly, students were interviewed in pairs because I could interview more students with fewer multiple disruptions to the class by withdrawing two students at a time.

Of all the students interviewed, the tendency was for them to have been active participants in team and individual pursuits outside school hours, rather than to have been inactive. Most students enjoyed physical education, although some had specific dislikes. Dance, in particular, was disliked by most of the boys, but enjoyed by most of the girls. Similarly gymnastics was generally more frequently liked by the girls than the boys, although this seemed partly to be a response to one male teacher's overly serious approach.

In the remainder of the chapter I will discuss the main themes identified in the interviews with the students (see Appendix III for the interview schedule). These themes will be discussed in relation to students' responses, the relevant literature on adolescent
preoccupations and expectations and also in relation to how the teachers in the study perceived the students.

5.3 Sexual relations: the construction of female incompetence and male superiority

Male and female teachers and students described male and female attitudes to and involvement in physical activity as though these were antithetical. In general the attributes and behaviours ascribed to the male and female students were consistent with those associated with the dominant expectations of masculinity and femininity outlined in other contemporary writing on the subject (Connell, 1982; Scraton, 1986, 1990; Young, 1980). However, contestations and contradictions to hegemonic positionings were evident from both male and female students in relation to their perceptions of their own sex as well as the other. These contradictions, however, were themselves largely constrained within and by the more powerful discourses of hegemonic heteronormative relations. For instance, Michael in Year 7 at Baden, quoted below, articulates the difficulties that some boys have in a culture which equates manliness with toughness and the ability to withstand pain. He begins by taking what might be described as a liberal feminist position in arguing that girls should be given a choice to participate in male sports such as cricket, but he also argues that once the girls had been subjected to fast bowling they would choose to be exempt from "sports that use a hard ball". On the other hand, he is much more ambivalent as to whether boys should have a choice, wrestling with the recognition that boys are expected to be more courageous while at the same time acknowledging that boys, too, get hurt and experience pain in the same way that girls do.

Mike: Like um boys, um girls should have the choice whether they wanna do it or not because they know they're gonna get hurt in some way. But um you know boys should be more courageous and not be able to have a choice. But I think some boys should have a choice as well. Like because some boys they don't like playing cricket. They know they're gonna get hurt because they've probably had experience from um out of school games. And then like both of them should have the choice.

Jan: But isn't it a harder choice for boys because of the way they're supposed to be courageous. It's a bit hard to say "look I don't want to play cricket because um I don't want to get hurt".
Mike: Yeah because the boys..., most of the boys think they're tough and they hang around big guys but they're all, most of them are little and they're not that tough. And when they, (small pause) when the choice comes along they think, "Oh I have to do this otherwise if I don't everybody will think I'm a wimp and everything". But the girls you know they're sorta like in a team and they don't, they're not as mean and as stupid as boys.

Mike and his companion Mark spoke from a very even-handed position throughout the interview. Another theme reiterated in their interview was a belief in effort and trying rather than standing around and becoming frustrated and "wrecking" the game or the lesson for everyone else. While they did suggest that the female students in their class were sometimes responsible for this behaviour, they also pointed out that just as often there were boys who stood around and who "wanna crack jokes and be stupid all the time". Their own experiences of disappointment in competition, their memories of their own embarrassing moments in gymnastics when female students demonstrated superior skills, as well as their experiences as members of families in which female siblings were also active, may have contributed to their more 'liberal' positioning.

5.3.1 'Problem students': the teachers' perceptions of female students

In other interviews with male teachers and students, the general opposition of female incompetence against male competence, toughness and superior ability, came through more clearly. In many cases, the teachers were less likely to recognise the girls' skills in gymnastics and dance and for most of the teachers, female students were regarded as a problem in physical education. They were perceived to be far less enthusiastic than the boys, much harder to motivate, slower to change, far less skilled and more resistant to being positioned by the discourses and practices of physical education. This perception was also shared by three out of the five female teachers interviewed. Julie at Holy Spirit, for instance, watched the boys' lessons with some envy.

(T)he girls have to be virtually dragged over. I've got to drag the gear myself, and they, they're so happy to race off at the end ... they can't get away quick enough.
She identified the characteristics of her "problem students", mostly in Year 8 and 9, in ways similar to those used by Scraton (1987a) to describe resistors to physical education in an English study of girls' subcultures. She describes them as very negative and easily influenced by "the girls (who) seem to want to wear makeup, ... and not to get sweaty, and not to run around ..."; they whinge and,

They'd be quite happy, yeah if I said every lesson, 'let's sit down on the beach' or 'let's sit somewhere', not even to walk anywhere or to run is a big effort. But we have tried in the last two years to make sure that they try and run at least part of every lesson.

She compares this behaviour to that of the boys who

run, they run everywhere. They run to get the equipment. They run to take it out. They quickly set things up. They don't hardly need to be instructed, and that's, I mean I don't teach the boys, but I look over and watch them sometimes.

Julie herself is very committed to the 'good' of activity for fitness and well-being. Her statements locate her centrally in relation to a Health Based Physical Education discourse (Sparkes, 1989 and see Chapter 3), mediated by a discourse of femininity that equates activity with both looking and feeling good - a strong moral position. To not be enthusiastic about activity is to be morally wanting, and easily influenced by the wrong kind of leaders. This position intersects with a sports discourse in which achievement is linked with hard work and practice. Julie is again at odds with many of her female students who from her point of view "don't recognise the importance of practice". In other words they will not accept a positioning in the pedagogic discourse of physical education and sport to which their teacher subscribes - they will not put in the effort, they will not practice, they do not like it and they do not realise how good physical activity is for you.

For Don, who would much prefer to teach boys-only classes, female students are polarised between those few who are keen and talented and worth taking some time with, and a group who "won't make that real maximum effort", who will not "put in full
effort". Referring to his experience at a previous school, he spoke with some enthusiasm about a group of girls who were keen and quite talented ..in everything they did, they just competed with the boys ... We could see that in the girls' lessons this group of girls were just getting nowhere. They were just getting dragged down with the rest of the group, you know, with girls who were really apathetic and didn't want to do it, who didn't want to get changed, and wouldn't try and that sort of thing. They were always the same group of girls that'd get in and run, always the same girls that, you know, willing to get involved, and we thought it just wasn't fair for them to be dragged down by the rest of the crew so we decided to grade them.

He has a problem understanding the girls' motivations or rather lack of them, "they seem to have different reasons (from the boys)". He believes that they regard physical education as a burden, whereas the boys see it as a chance to be active, to play a game, "as a break between classes .. as an organised form of recess or lunch". He explains the particular problem posed by Year 9 female students in terms of a move into ultrafeminine attitudes and behaviours.

I think at that stage when they're moving into puberty, and they're becoming a lot more conscious of how they present themselves to other people and they probably get the concept of getting out and getting all hot and sweaty looks unladylike and offensive to people, so they don't want to do it. That's because they spray, you know, put the hairspray in the hair and they want to make everything to look nice and neat and sharp. They see what people look like after exercise and stuff, and they think I don't want that, they don't want to be uncomfortable, because they don't want to sweat. They don't want to smell and that sort of thing. So that's one of the main reasons I think. Plus (pause) I don't know, I don't think they're into pain, or they don't like feeling tired, you know. Once they start to work a bit and it starts to hurt they don't like it, they can't, I don't know, I suppose they can tolerate it, but they just don't like that feeling of being exhausted or having to try harder or to overwork themselves, I think that's the problem.

Although he may be quite accurate in describing some of the girls' attitudes, he represents the girls resistance entirely in relation to a concern with appearance and inability to withstand fatigue and pain. Examined grammatically, his use of language associates the students, as subjects, with mental processes (verbs) of affect and cognition. Their desires are most often constructed in the negative, for instance, "they don't want to smell", "they don't want to be uncomfortable", and "they don't like feeling tired". In the few instances when they are positioned as actors in relation to material processes (verbs of 'doing/acting'), the actions are not those likely to be valued in a patriarchal culture - for
instance, "present" which has to do with concern for appearance and image construction, and "spray" another process linked to work on appearance and very gender specific.

The particular bias of Mark's explanation for the resistance of the Year 9 female students to physical activity is more easily recognised when compared to explanations given by female and male students and some of the other teachers. The majority of students suggest that the students who drop out of physical activity in Year 9 do so because they are making other choices - that is, they are choosing to go shopping with female peers or to spend more time with boys. Some students also suggested that they might have jobs on Saturdays. Others interviewees, including one of the female teachers, explained their marked change in participation as having achieved all they needed to achieve; the activities that they enjoyed when they were younger no longer served their needs and interests. Although insufficient evidence was available from the interviews, I would expect that for many older female students their interests shift to those activities perceived to be instrumental in shaping the body. The connection between fitness and an attractive body shape will be taken up later in the chapter. Suffice to say at this point, that of the twenty one Year 9 and six Year 10 students interviewed nine and five students respectively reported attending aerobics classes, hydrogym or weight training at commercial gyms.

Most of the teachers explained male and female differences in competence and behaviour as influenced by social forces, but at the same time characterised the differences as so closely tied to male and female subjectivity as to be unchangeable. Jean, at Baden, has no compunction in attributing male and female sexuality to biological factors.

The girls have a problem about showing their nickers and the boys have a problem about looking at them ... Boys have got too many hormones and girls are convinced that everyone's looking at them.
On the other hand, she is firmly committed to "normalising the behaviour between male and female students" through the more "natural" environment of co-educational physical education.

I think it helps relationships throughout school doing P.E. together, um. (small pause) They learn to interact together physically without sort of, there's no sexuality, there's no sort of background of, there's no sex involved, you know, sort of different sex or any sort of sexuality questions involved at all. Um, and as I say it's only the, it really is only the bottom half, bottom end of the school that sort of worry about knickers and you know sort of things like opening your legs on the trampoline and things, you know.

'Normal' behaviour for boys and girls in the lesson means that they should think of and treat each other as non-sexualised bodies, as she perceives herself to do - "I don't even think of them as boys and girls". Jean attempts to resolve the contradictions posed by juxtaposing statements about biological inevitability with those about behaviour change by attributing the deviant, overtly sexual behaviour to the lower, less bright streams in the school who are less amenable to the 'normalising' influence of co-educational classes. In a further contradiction, Jean says that she prefers to teach boys because they are not only more competent, but more responsive, in comparison to the girls.

Jean: I find it really stimulating, um, because it's, boys, the results you get from boys lets be honest are, are much more obvious. I think that, as far as I'm concerned the effort the girls put in is just as great as the boys, but the results you get from boys because of the basic training they've had in primary school is more obvious and more rewarding.

Jan: Mm.

Jean: And because of that I get a real buzz. I've achieved something, which with an all girls class I always found it very frustrating because I never felt that I was achieving very much. The throwing and catching never improved from the time they came into high school till the time they left.

and later in the interview

Hockey's my favourite sport, I've played it internationally before in England, and I've never ever taught it to a girls class. I did, and I just couldn't bear it, I just couldn't. I just could not bear what was happening to that little white ball (laughter - small pause). And um, I just found it personally so frustrating that um, I didn't want to teach it in mixed classes, and then as I said, but with mixed classes not only do you get the boys who are able to er transfer skills into hockey from they've already done in other sports, but the girls are carried along with them, and the girls ... want to keep up with the boys, and I think a lot's got to do with the teacher ... but I've always seen personally, I can't think of an instance where it hasn't happened where the girls have really tried to keep up
with the boys. I've always encouraged them on a little bit initially, and er, the overall result is more satisfying for them, and for me as a teacher. I think the level of skills and the level of games play improves over a unit, and I've gotta say, if the boys are doing the unit on their own, the level of their skills would probably improve, would actually be greater. In some respects they are disadvantaged (small pause). But again you look, what do you really teach them in two periods a week? Are we really disadvantaging them, er sort of, when we look at what we can offer in two periods a week.

To characterise the teachers' representations of the female students as examples of sexist stereotyping would be far too simplistic. Observations of classes, to some extent, confirm the teachers' descriptions of female behaviour. However, female students were less likely to be reticent in gymnastics and dance lessons (particularly jazz dance lessons). In these lessons female students stayed behind after class to practice and worked independently creating their own sequences. It seems that it is in lessons involving skill acquisition for traditional competitive games or in lessons that involve running that the girls are most resistant. These are activities which in the public sphere are constructed around those values of competition and/or comparison with specific standards of skill and which are most likely to be associated with a hegemonic masculine discourse and practice of sport. Moreover, these are areas of the curriculum, as was repeatedly pointed out by the teachers (often with an exasperated sigh), in which the boys pick up skills from families and peers, as well as from their primary schools, before they reach high school physical education classes. It has been well documented that the acquisition of hand-eye and foot-eye skills through play with parents or peers is far less likely to be the experience of girls (Dyer, 1986).

The other two female teachers, Jill at Redhead High and Barbara at Baden, both of whom have strong dance and gymnastics backgrounds located the female and male students in a different but not inferior/superior relation to physical activity. They linked the girls enjoyment and skill to dance and gymnastics and the boys' enjoyment and skill to competitive team sports. As Jill saw it:

... I find that girls really enjoy any activities that deal with general movement um such as dance, or gymnastics. Girls seem to love gymnastics, they just thrive on it ... Whereas I think boys, ummm whether it be because of social upbringing or you know roles and
things, they tend to enjoy the contact sports and aggressiveness and things like that, you know. Like they love to go out and play hockey. I mean they get a hockey stick in their hands and it's like a weapon.

While Jill still polarises female and male relations to their bodies and physical activity, both she and Barbara were less likely to talk about the girls in ways that represented them as inadequate. In comparison most of the other teachers, represented the female students as generally lacking or inadequate in comparison to the boys. They were described as lacking the same skills as the boys, the same, positive attitudes and as requiring extra attention which is often grudgingly given. At best it seems that they are patronised as possessing deficiencies over which they have no control and which might be partially made up with plenty of encouragement and cajoling.

5.3.2 Playing with the boys: female students' perceptions

Most of the female students who were interviewed described a variety of physical activities which they enjoyed, trained and competed in outside of school hours. For many it was taken for granted that a person needed to do some kind of activity, "it's just better than sitting down". This may signal that the interviewees were a select group; their self characterisations do not fit neatly with those described for them by the teachers. However, despite what appears to be a reasonably high level of competence, these same students expresses some uncertainty when it came to participating in physical education or sport with boys. When asked whether they preferred co-educational or single-sex physical education they were rarely definite in their answers. While it was difficult to elicit an unambivalent preference, their responses said much more about how they saw themselves and their male peers in relation to their (female) bodies and physical activity.

The students' ambivalence was expressed as reservations usually based on perceptions of the boys' superior skills and rougher style of play and the problems arising from these differences for the girls. Even those who quite liked the idea of having some classes with
the boys explained their preference in terms of the boys superior ability and experience and the ensuing advantages of having a standard to work towards. Others, like Anna, saw it as an opportunity to learn directly from the boys: "If you don't know how to do (games) ... some of the boys could show you". The majority of the female students, however, saw the boys superiority at games as a disadvantage and as the source of considerable embarrassment and harassment.

Verbal and physical harassment by boys was commonly reported by female students particularly those from co-educational physical education classes. When asked if they would like to have co-educational physical education, girls from single-sex classes at Redhead and Newman expected to feel embarrassed because of bodily exposure in gymnastics ("they all perv at you") or because of laughter and ridicule at their lack of competence in boys' games. Swimming was cited several times as an activity which the girls would prefer to do without the boys because "(they) jump on you and things like that" and "the boys see you with your swimmers on and that" and "they stare at you and if you're fat they call you 'fat'".

The boys were also reported to have made fun of and/or to have disrupted the activities perceived as the girls' domain. For instance, Kelly describes the behaviour of several boys who joined the aerobics group for sport.

The first week we did it no boys (came). Oh it was so good all the girls and that. And then the boys came, like we do star jumps and all they wanted to do was muck around and they wouldn't do it properly. They were too tough to sort of dance and er really stupid and they all got kicked out, thank goodness.

The threat of embarrassment and rough contact either body to body or through hard throws or bowls in cricket, along with comments that ridicule the girls' perceived lack of skill keeps the girls out of the boys' domain. Similar effects have been documented in relation to girls in science classrooms and other classes in schools (Mahoney, 1985). In schools where single-sex physical education is the norm, protecting the girls from mental
and physical harm is often given as a reason for maintaining segregation and also for limiting the girls' activities to non-contact games. In these schools harassment is enacted either outside classes or as passing comments to and from classes. For instance, an all girls' jazz ballet class at Redhead was suddenly curtailed by the eruption of the boys' class into the canteen areas where they were working. The female teacher and the girls, as one, spontaneously ended the class at the first sound of the boys' return from the playing fields.

In the co-educational physical education lessons at Baden, girls and boys were often formed into separate groups within the class. When this was not the case, some girls dealt with their marginalisation, as girls in male style games, by exaggerating that marginalisation through their behaviour in lessons. This was accomplished by participating minimally in the lesson through a variety of strategies, such as finding frequent opportunities to change their equipment, avoiding their turn at bat, playing so far in the the outfield that the ball never reached them or engaging the teacher in talk that was outside the bounds of the normative discourse in a physical education lesson (see for instance, Don's case study in Chapter 6).

In lessons and in the playground the boys, through their superior physical strength and skills, used their control of physical space to assert their dominance over the girls. Fear of intimidation kept the girls off the grass and out of the boys' games (see also Askew and Ross, 1988; Holly, 1985; Mahony, 1985). As Shilling (1991) argues the arrangement of space in schools is important in "the formation of gender identities and educational differentiation" (p.9). School playgrounds for instance, are structured into various areas divided formally or informally by boundaries which permit certain kinds of activities and exclude others. It follows, then, that they are also tied inextricably to the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups of people. For instance, the large grassed playing fields in most schools are the preserve of male students playing football style games - games that require large amounts of space for wide ranging and often rough play. The asphalted
areas which are usually smaller and broken up into still smaller areas by seats, the corners of buildings, bubblers and other encumbrances are the domain of the less vigorously active players of games such as handball and of the completely sedentary chatters. In most Australian schools including the schools in this study, this last group is usually made up of female students with a smattering of males, while the handballers may consist of co-educational or single-sexed groups but more often of predominantly male players.

Of specific interest was the opposing representations which some of the boys made of indoor activities being those in which girls were skilled and outdoor ones being those in which boys were superior. The dichotomy of indoor/outdoor, private/public, is a pervasive preoccupation of many contemporary feminist writings including those concerned with early female and male socialisation. Lewis (1990), for instance, argues that "(s)ocial biases constructed around gender differences push girls into the less visible interior spaces, into what McRobbie and Garber label, "bedroom culture"(p.90). The girls' superior skill and the preference expressed by many of them for the indoor activities of gymnastics and dance should not be taken as a natural phenomenon. Rather, it is at least partly a consequence of practices, images and social relations that construct the 'inside', the domestic and the world of inner feeling as the proper places for the female and the feminine. Thus the female students are permitted superior skills in the 'inside' activities because firstly, this is perceived to be their proper sphere and secondly, because for most boys, the value of physical education lies in the opportunity it provides to take them out of the classroom into the freer and more expansive spaces of the outside playing areas. Further, in masculine sports discourse, those activities that the girls do inside, gymnastics and dance, are of lesser value in comparison to the outdoor activities of competitive team games. For the girls, the enclosed areas of the halls and gymnasiums provide freedom from the gaze of the male Other together with an opportunity to participate in activities that allow them self-expression and creativity.
In this study, gymnastics and dance also provided some of the female students with the rare opportunity for revenge. At one school in particular, the boys were perceived not only to be less able at gymnastics but quite awkward, and this was a source of some delight to several different pairs of girls (that is, they seemed to have shared the joke around the female peer group).

It's good just watching them 'cause they do sort of funny things when they do somersaults or something, like they go in an awkward way an' that. You get a good laugh out of it.

The boys' lack of skill provided the girls with one small opportunity for retribution in the face of the far more widespread harassment of the girls by the boys. However, such retribution was unlikely to change the boys' attitudes to girls, or to change the more persistent and pervasive sports discourse that represented the girls as inferior and inadequate in comparison to the boys.

5.3.3 Playing with the girls: male students' perceptions of female students

For most of the boys in the study, the girls were far less competent at games than they were, less able to take rough play and less likely to put any effort into playing. The boys reacted to this understanding of what the girls were like in relation to physical activity in either one of two main ways. One group said that they would prefer that the girls did not participate in their lessons and games at all, because they would hold the boys up and/or because they would have to curb their play so as not to hurt the girls. As Shane says, "It takes up time teaching girls" and from Don, "All the boys will get frustrated 'cause the girls just wouldn't care and wouldn't like to train and play softball and they'd just stand in a mob and talk, and all the boys would get frustrated because they weren't trying enough". The other group said that having lessons with the girls would be acceptable if they put in enough effort.
The boys who were active themselves (and this meant the majority of the boys) said that they preferred girls who were also active and competent. They were far less tolerant of girls "who sit around all day" or who "wreck" games through their lack of skill or indifferent attitudes to playing. The girls were welcomed as companions and as playmates as long as they had attitudes and skills similar to the boys. There are, however, limits to emulating the behaviour of the boys. Although some boys said that they would have no problems with a girl being better than them, others were less certain. Weight training was all right for girls only if they did not develop big muscles and football was all right provided it was touch rather than tackle football. Boys who were less active themselves expressed more negative comments about girls who were active or trained hard.

Danny: Um. Be good to have one that wanted to play sport. They could come along and get into the sport on the weekend and that.
Jan: Come along and watch or come along and play?
Danny: Oh they can play if they want.
Jan: Would you like a girl that could play rugby league?
Danny: No I wouldn't.
Jan: No (laughing) Why?
Danny: Probably be big in the shoulders.
Jan: She'd be big and strong (laugh). That'd turn you off would it?
Danny: Yeah.
Jan: You're afraid she might be a bit bigger and stronger than you.
Danny: Yeah.
Jan: So she can be active but she shouldn't be um too tough?
Danny: Yeah.
Jan: What about you Grant?
Grant: Aw, I like a girl that's in between.
Jan: Right.
Grant: Likes all sport and sometimes and sometimes doesn't.
Jan: She's not super good?
Grant: Nah. Yeah.

When it came to participating with girls in co-educational physical education lessons the boys' responses were as ambivalent and contradictory as the girls' responses to the same question. Some were able to describe times when they had enjoyed playing with the girls. However, these same boys would also describe their frustration and annoyance on other occasions when the girls had spoiled their play. Simon, for instance, enthusiastically described an informal basketball games with the girls as "a blowout". At the same time, he has strong reservations about playing soccer with girls, citing an experience when he
was playing in a mixed team: "You'll find, it's like you'll kick the ball and there'll just be a group of girls looking at each other's hair and that and it's bounce off them and that, and they just run and that" and later "Look I hate it 'cause you're scared you're going to be too hard on them".

When asked whether they preferred co-educational to single-sex physical education, most of the boys were in favour of lessons with the female students. Their reasons for this preference were not always obvious and were hedged with reservations. These reservations were consistent with the reasons given by the boys who preferred not to participate with the girls and were always concerned with the girls' lack of skill, their unwillingness to try and the modifications that the boys would have to make to their own play to accommodate the girls' differences in abilities and attitudes. The following quote from David and Justin in Year 10 at Baden, demonstrates an ambivalence typical of many of the male students' attitudes. It also demonstrates a recognition common to some of the boys that the negative behaviours and attitudes they ascribe to the girls are also associated with some of their male peers. It also demonstrates the tightrope girls walk between appropriate behaviour in relation to physical activity and the boys' perceptions of appropriate femininity.

Justin: Sometimes um, I think some of the girls, like, say we were to do cricket, well a lot of the girls don't like cricket, and that could sort of um sorta wreck it a bit with the girls complaining about it, but when we have something like netball, all the boys are complaining about that. So that sorta wrecks it a bit.

David: Yeah, and when the girls play cricket, you usually see them behind us go off into the outfield and just talk to each other as well.

Justin: Yeah, sorta they're not really interested in playing it and just lose it for themselves so, everyone gets a bit annoyed if um,

and later in the same interview

Jan: So what you're saying, just come back to that, that you don't find girls all that attractive if they're sort of hanging off bars and throwing balls around.

David: Yeah if they do a somersault off a trampoline and land on their heads (laughing).

Jan: You mean it's okay if they're really good at it?

David: Yeah but,

Jan: But not, if they're not.

David: They look strange if they're trying to do something that no one else does.
Justin: But then again a lot of the boys look pretty strange when they don't know what they're doing. So I can't really see why that would look less attractive, just you know, I can't see why ( ).

Jan: But what if, but what if um the girl is actually very good say at um touch footy or soccer or athletics. How does that affect her attractiveness? Do you, just David first (unclear)

David: Um, I don't think they look bad at all if they're good at the sport. But if they try to do it and wreck things up or things like that, turns people off.

Justin: I think cause a lot of the males think, like in say touch footy for instance. They sorts think that its their sport, and really the girls are better than the males in sport and that puts them off a bit.

My relation with the boys as a female interviewer may need to be taken into account in evaluating the reasonableness and even-handedness of some of the answers from the boys (and the girls); that is, there is a risk that some internal contradictions were induced rather than being indicative of the attitudes and beliefs of the male students. On the other hand, for some of the boys their first hand experiences of participating with girls in areas such as netball, in which the girls were skilled and interested, may have contributed to a broader perception of the girls' abilities. Further it may be that a more liberal sports discourse which allows a place for female participation has penetrated the attitudes and practices of school based physical activity in ways which elicit a more sympathetic response from the boys in at least their attitudes towards playing with the girls.

Although most of the boys expressed their appreciation for girls who were skilled and who participated with as much energy and effort as boys, there were limits. For some boys, particularly those who were not so skilled themselves, girls should not be better than boys nor should their participation lead to a body shape which exceeded the bounds of the appropriate feminine form through excessive muscularity. However, no matter what the response, whether positively disposed towards the female students or totally denying them access to the boys activities, the boys characterisation of the girls remained located in a discourse which describes women and girls as more fragile, physically weaker and less physically skilled in the areas that count, such as competitive team and individual activities. These are the boys' games in contrast to netball and gymnastics and dance, the 'indoor' activities, which were 'owned' by the girls.
The female students were not entirely compliant to being positioned as inferior. They responded by asserting their own definitions of competence and by representing the boys hassling as immature, attacking back, ("we yell back at them") or by laughing the comments off. Moreover, it is clear that for many of the girls their enjoyment of their chosen activities and their feelings of competence and achievement helped them to be independent of masculinist definitions of female inferiority and provided sufficient resistance to the boys' jibes. Further, the boys who were themselves highly active and skilled generally respected and enjoyed the company of girls who were also active and skilled. Most girls in Australian schools, however, are less likely to have the confidence or the skills to resist being positioned as inferior. It is these girls who are locked into subjectivities and social relations that leave them feeling inadequate about their bodies and their capacities. Not that being an elite athlete guarantees security and a resistant relation to hegemonic discourses of femininity. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, even top athletes like Lisa Martin continue to be preoccupied by their appearance as desirable to men.

5.4 Activity=fitness=sexual attractiveness

My argument throughout this thesis has been that bodies and desires as constitutive of subjectivities are culturally produced and reproduced. Subjects previous experiences with other texts, genres, institutions and activity patterns predetermine their interaction with new texts. Thus the enjoyment that students derive from participating in physical activity is at least partially constituted in and through their experiences of physical activity in other times and locations. These experiences themselves will have been influenced by the subjects positioning at the intersections of other discourses including those that regulate gender, age and class orientations to the body and to the value of physical activity. The implication here is that the kinaesthetic interpretation of experience is as culturally determined as an interpretation mediated by the visual, oral or aural fields. For instance, while two children might both actively participate in the same game, on the same side, and both come off sweaty, exhausted, and sore, for one of them these signify elation,
excitement and joy, whereas for the other they may elicit a reaction signifying discomfort, dislike but perhaps a sense of virtue in having worked hard. Thus meanings associated with physical activity, indeed, the attribution of meanings to the bodily experience of movement are not necessarily universal or 'natural'.

5.4.1 \textit{Activity = fitness = moral good}

Differences in orientations to activity and to the body were evident in students' and teachers' transcripts of interview. When the students were asked why they participated in physical activity outside of school hours, responses included those documented in the traditional motivation literature such as playing with friends, personal achievement and winning. For many of the students the enjoyment that they experienced from vigorous physical activity was expressed simply in statements such as "I just like the movement of it", in relation to skiing, "I enjoy just (word) going to the beach and do like running along the sand and that". A more pervasive theme, however, was one which linked the enjoyment of activity to the alternative of being sedentary and bored at home- for instance, from the female students:

"I, you know, always like to do something"
"It keeps you from getting bored when there is nothing to do"
"... like you have to do some kind of sport (throughout your life)"
"... it's better than sitting around doing nothing I suppose"
"... cause if you don't (be active), you just sit down and you be lazy and you won't know how to do anything, and expect everyone to do everything for you, can't do nothing for yourself."
"Well it's hard getting there but once you've done it you feel a lot better".

Several of the boys make similar comments:

"I just like kinda sports because I like being active and that. Like when you're lazy and that you're sort of a slob like, but when you're active you sort of... you're active through the day and then you sleep and then ya all again through the next day."
"I just hate staying at home, doing nothing just sitting down to boring...you feel fitter and that"
The equation of activity and effort with being virtuous as opposed to the equation of inactivity with laziness, with being 'a slob' was not specifically marked for gender. It seems to belong to a wider cultural work ethic discourse that equates activity with worthwhile effort. The visible evidence of such work is the body - thus, 'fatness' = laziness and lack of willpower. For instance, Kelly who feels guilty if she does not do work on and for her body.

Kelly: ... if I don't train I feel guilty. I feel as though I'm not doing anything for myself.
Claudia: Mmm, me too.
Kelly: Doing horse riding, that doesn't do much except just tighten the muscles in your legs, that's about it. So, I'm gonna train a coupla years yet.
Jan: What's really this feeling of being guilty? What do you mean guilty about?
Kelly: That I'm not doing my body any good. I'm cheating myself. Cause I've been doing it for I don't know how many years, and I feel as though if I don't I'll just be unfit, and I don't like being unfit.
Jan: You don't like the feeling of being unfit? You said you'd feel guilty too.
Kelly: Yeah. Er, you know, you're trying to get somewhere and when you have one night off you think, you know "Oh I'm a bit tired" and then when you know the next day you think "Oh I should've gone last night, I would've had fun, wouldn't have (had) a boring time at home" and you think "Oh geez I'm not goin to get anywhere if I keep saying "I'm too tired, I'm too tired"... This is willpower when you're tired.

Kelly appears to be speaking from and within a discourse that has a closer relation to the ethos of competitive sport and a wider work ethic than it does to femininity. However, Kelly like many of the other female students takes the equation of activity and fitness a step further to include specific work on the body to make it more attractive. In her comment about horse riding (underlined) she assesses the value of a particular activity in shaping her body to a desirable form. It seems that for Kelly fitness is also connected to physical attractiveness.

The equation of activity with body shape and specifically being slim and "toned" was common among many of the female students. As Chernin (1983) and others (Tinning, 1985) have pointed out, for women in contemporary western culture this is part of the tyranny of slenderness, the preoccupying concern with diet and exercise in the quest for the ideal body shape, one which resembles that of a prepubescent adolescent rather than
that of a mature woman and which is far thinner than the bodies of most women. "We have entered an era of cultural life when everyone is preoccupied with a woman's body but where few women, whether fat or thin feel comfortable living inside the body they possess." (Cherin, 1983: p.35)

5.4.2 Physical activity, body image and sexual attractiveness

As was pointed out above, for both boys and girls who were interviewed, the absence of activity/exercise was equated with being lazy. This was often taken a step further either by the girls themselves or by the boys in relation to the girls, to be equated with fatness. For instance, in the following quote, although Simon admits that his sister is not "really fat", future fatness is likely to be outcome of her inappropriate inactivity.

Simon: I've got a sister older than me.
Jan: Is she very active?
Simon: No (laughs) She just lays around and does nothing.
Jan: (laughs)
Simon: Gets fat.
Jan: Is she really?
Simon: She doesn't really play sport no.
Jan: Is she really fat.
Simon: No, she's not really fat (laughs) She's not fat as in fat, she's just ...

Clare is glad that her mother pressures her to participate because if she did not, she "wouldn't be skinny ... cause I like to eat a lot". Kate says she's "gotta start jogging soon" and her friend Jo says it's because "she thinks she's fat". Others feel guilty if they do not do some kind of activity. In the following quote, Deanne and Lisa describe their desire to be slimmer.

Jan: Do you see yourself as being as active as the boys that you know?
Deanne: No.
Lisa: No.
Deanne: (unclear) race down to Kiama and back and up to Mount Keira.
Lisa: Like Ronnie goes up to, goes up the freeway on his bike every Sunday or something.
Deanne: Even if we do a lot we don't, look like it. (laughs)
Jan: You mean your body doesn't reflect it, their bodies sort of develops in some way and your body, but you don't want to look, I mean, do you want to look like they look when they do a lot? Is that what you want to look like?
Deanne: I want to be skinnier (laughs)
Jan: You want to be skinnier, and you're, they're skinny or they've got muscles.
Deanne: (word) body's toned.
Jan: Really toned, really tight, yeah.
Deanne: Yeah.
Jan: And you're saying that doesn't happen for you, and that's what you want.
Deanne: Yeah (laughs)

Both these students describe activity patterns that would rate well above the average, but they are still not satisfied. In this exchange the girls describe their desire to look slimmer and fitter, a desire that is located in the fitness/slimness discourse of the consumer culture. However they define their ideal body, not so much in terms of female models but in terms of the toned, slim bodies of their male friends - that is bodies that are stripped of all the curves of femaleness, that are "toned" and "tight", bodies that show the evidence of the work that has been done on them.

Their desire and the practices they pursue to attempt to change their body shape are indicative of subjectivities that are positioned in a discourse of femininity which links activity with a notion of fitness that is expressed through slimness; not to be active is to be lazy, morally weak and fat. This discourse intersects with and reinforces other discourses of femininity that describe the female body as the object of male desire. Images of beauty and sexual attractiveness in magazines, advertisements and other sites of textual production have been centrally implicated in the production and reproduction of a contemporary discourse of patriarchal 'femininity' (Coward, 1984; Smith, D., 1988; Brownmiller, 1986). As Dorothy Smith (1988) has pointed out what stands out about these instructive texts on femininity is the pervasiveness of a sense of inadequacy or lack in not measuring up: "Viewed from the standpoint of the discursive image, women's bodies are always imperfect. They always need fixing" (p.47). Corresponding to this is the emphasis on the importance of the knowledge, the skills and practices necessary to do the work on the body needed to bring it closer to the ideal image.

The location of students in health and fitness discourse that constructs and instructs women in how their bodies should look was particularly evident in the transcripts of the
Year 9 and 10 interviews, like that quoted above. The older female students, in particular, looked to forms of physical activity which were specifically designed to reshape their bodies and which left them feeling the effects of hard work. Some Year 9 and 10 students thus looked beyond the expressive activities of the school program to commercial gyms with their aerobic classes, fitness circuits and weight training.

5.5 Rough and tumble: male machismo and physical education

In his study of male youth culture in an inner city Sydney school, Walker (1988) demonstrates the importance of sport or rather a particular sport in determining and confirming the status of boys amongst their peers in the school. A hierarchy that ranked downwards from the primarily Anglo-Saxon-Celtic (ASC) "legends" of rugby union, through the Greek soccer players, to the Asian handballers served to encode ethnic, race and sexual relations in the school. Although it was an all boys' school, those boys in the study who showed no inclination to participate in the tough and manly game of rugby or even in soccer were regarded suspiciously in terms of their sexual preference. Membership of the dominant footballer culture in the school meant adopting or positioning oneself in relation to a set of discourses, practices and social relations that were ethnocentric, homophobic and associated with hypermasculinity. These were characterised by real and postured aggression and quick and casual sexual encounters, either real or boasted about, with women. Rather like the boys in co-educational playgrounds described earlier, dominance was asserted through the occupation of the large amounts of space needed to play 'touch' football.

Such hypermasculinity was not particularly evident in the three schools which participated in this study. That does not mean it did not exist. The co-educational environment, however, did set up a different and perhaps more complex hierarchy in which the girls' groups also had their place. The scope of this study precluded a more detailed examination of this phenomenon. What was evident however was the association of
physical education and sport with the opportunity to express aggression and toughness through the rough and tumble of contact sports and through activities specifically designed by one teacher to allow this to happen. Many of the boys were opposed to the girls' participating in their games because it would mean curbing the aggressiveness of their play - that is, they would not be able to throw the ball as hard in cricket and they would have difficulty playing league because they would feel hesitant about tackling the girls. More interesting was the reporting from different groups of boys at Redhead High about the attitudes and activities encouraged by their male teacher. They described the way they enjoyed playing recreational soccer in the mud - "we pummel each other in the mud" - and how the "teacher stays out of things" or encouraged aggressive play, "he just says beat each other up". The same teacher provided other opportunities for the boys to be physically aggressive through what one set of boys called "class bashing" or "rumbles". Various groups of boys in Years 7, 9 and 10 at Redhead High described the way in which they would pull a crash mat into the centre of the hall and then the boys would "all pile in and throw each other (off)".

Pain is also part of the experience of being male. Allan described in graphic detail the "scary feeling" of riding his skateboard down a steep hill and "stacking" or coming off.

It's alright, you get a good feeling when you try something new and you hurt yourself, cause you know when you hurt yourself and that you know you don't do that again, and you do it some other way.

Not all boys are comfortable with a masculinity that expects them to be aggressive and tough in the face of pain. For these boys, including girls in physical activities is one way of militating against these practices and attitudes. The usual punch ups were less likely to happen and there would be "a friendly atmosphere".
5.6 Female as the antithesis of male

As has been argued earlier in this chapter the girls represented themselves and were represented by the boys and the teachers as lacking, in particular as lacking the skills, moral qualities of toughness and courage, ability to withstand pain and lacking the desire to 'get in and have a go'. These were all in relation to a very specific form of physical activity - that of traditional team sports and competitive endurance activities - in which the girls were compared to boys. Unlike most of the teachers, many of the boys did acknowledge the girls' superior achievements and skills in areas such as gymnastics and dance. Dance in particular, however, was not regarded by some of the boys as appropriate to physical education because it is not active enough or because it belongs to a social sphere outside of school. It seems, then, that physical education becomes another location in and through which bodies are inscribed with gender differences and in which both males and female teachers and students are complicit in maintaining oppositions that inscribe the female body as lacking those qualities associated with the active male body in sport. Drawing on the Lacanian notion of "doubling", Moira Gatens (1988) argues that both men and women have an investment in maintaining themselves as the antithesis and complement of the other; each gender/sex "sees" only those qualities in the other that are the antithesis of itself.

Each (gender) projects (and so predictably finds) those qualities antithetical to itself, to its 'ideal image', onto its double. Each therefore becomes the indispensable complement to the other. Each is deeply complicit in maintaining not only her or his own body-image, but also that which it assumes: the body image of the other. Aggression requires submission, independence requires dependence, and sadism requires its masochistic counterpart. Each only 'sees' what it is antithetical to it, that which complements it, and this 'seeing' is itself socially constructed. (p.39)

As Gatens goes on to argue, the mutual complicity and the reciprocity involved in maintaining such definitions or "interdefinitions" makes the relations between the sexes appear "natural, necessary and immutable" (p.39). The interview transcripts provide convincing evidence of this process. Physical education and sport seem to be powerful
sites for the visible demonstration of male and female differences as the antithesis of one another. Despite the high levels of skill of many of the girls, as a group, they are seen to be, and see themselves to be, the antithesis of the boys: fragile in comparison to the boys' toughness; preoccupied with physical attractiveness in comparison to the complete absence of statements about appearance in talk by and about the boys: less capable of effort and less skilled. It is not simply an antithetical image but an image that leaves the girls as lesser beings, as locked into an opposition which forces them to compare themselves to a male standard of skill in activities valued within patriarchal discourses of sport.

5.7 Conclusions

From an analysis of the interviews, it would seem that male and female students are positioned and position themselves at the intersections of discourses which describe male and female bodies and masculine and feminine relations to physical activity as antithetical. Thus, where the male students were expected and were encouraged to be tough, skilled and aggressive, the female students were expected to be physically inadequate and unwilling. For the female students, their interest in physical activity was mediated by a preoccupation with slimness and 'looking good'. For the male students, activity was also equated with fitness, but as an alternative to being bored and sedentary, or as a prerequisite for competition, rather than to improve their appearance. Most of the teachers appeared to share these expectation of feminine and masculine subjectivities and to speak in and from normative relations to discourses that inform the practices and social relations associated with physical activity and male and female bodies. This does not deny the possibility, indeed the probability, of resistant positionings. However, as will be demonstrated in Chapters 6 and 7, resistance by the female students often compounded rather than challenged patriarchal gender relations and reduced rather than enhanced the girls' opportunities for becoming more skilled and more confident.
The analysis of the teachers' and students' interviews provides some insights into the subjectivities that the participants bring to their interactions with one another in physical education lessons. Thus the interviews provide the basis for predicting reader/listener positionings in relation to these interactions; they make a further contribution to the mosaic of meanings which constitute the context within which the lessons take place.
Chapter 6

THE CASE STUDIES

The following two chapters describe, analyse and interpret the material gathered in the three schools that were the focus of this study. This first chapter will introduce the schools and the teachers and their lessons as case studies. The second chapter will provide a theoretical analysis that links an interpretation of these cases with the cultural discourses and genres discussed in the chapters on the media and the history of physical education.

6.1 The schools: contexts of situation

The main variables considered when selecting the schools were the nature of the physical education classes - co-educational or single-sexed - and the nature of the schools - state or independent. In the choice of actual schools, while ethnicity was not deliberately chosen as a constant, in all three schools the student population was substantially Anglo-Saxon-Celtic or from established families of southern European backgrounds. Ethnicity did not emerge as a substantial variable in the data, either in the lessons or in the student interviews. In terms of socio-economic background, there was again no substantial variation between schools. The independent Catholic college drew most children from the
surrounding Catholic primary schools and these were located in both middle and lower socio-economic areas. One of the state high schools drew students from established, although far from wealthy, rural families as well as students from new estates. The other was located in a suburban lower middle class area and was also attended by students from a government housing estate.

6.1.1 Baden: co-educational physical education

Baden is a state co-educational school in a semi-rural area. It is a relatively new school that has developed a strong ethos of pastoral care and staff cohesion. Since my intention was to focus on classroom interactions rather than the school ethos as a whole, the following is a general discussion of the features of the school pertinent to understanding the context in which these interactions took place. This context was constructed from interviews and informal discussions with the physical education staff, observations in the staff common room and from the discipline and care policies of the school.

Physical education seemed to have won a respected place in Baden partly, if not mostly, because of the contribution it was perceived to make to the welfare and personal development of the students. Although not a large school there were six specialists teaching at the time of the study. The physical education faculty and one female teacher, in particular, played a major role in student welfare. The two physical education teachers who had been at the school since its foundation were both Form Patrons, with Jean creating a strong nurturing relationship with her young First Formers which she appeared to maintain as they grew older. Another teacher was responsible for organising the Duke of Edinburgh Awards and several of the teachers organised outdoor education trips with students. The pastoral care/family ethos was further reinforced by the fact that Jean and Sam, the Head teacher, were wife and husband and had a son at the school, while Barbara, the other female teacher, had a daughter at the school. Three of the five teachers lived in the local area and knew many of the children and their families out of school.
When Jean and Greg first began teaching at Baden imbalances in numbers of male and female students meant that they had three choices in the organisation of physical education classes. They could teach very unevenly sized single-sex classes, they could involve non-specialist teachers or they could combine classes and then divide the mixed group evenly between them. They chose the latter solution. Although it was initially a pragmatic solution to a problem of class sizes, Jean and Greg, have become committed to co-educational physical education and this has had a profound influence on ensuing physical education policy. Both were convinced that co-educational physical education was more 'natural' and developed more appropriate attitudes between males and females than did single-sex physical education. However, they also believed that co-educational classes were not always the best context for the development of skill. They believed that boys, in particular, often missed out as teachers taught to the needs of the less skilled who, in most cases, they perceived to be the girls. The former considerations, however, outweighed the latter and co-educational classes were the rule in the school because as Greg said:

I see (that) we don't really achieve excellence by any means in P.E. We don't achieve great skill development in the high school by the time they get there. And we don't gain a great deal of achievements in actually developing their skills further down the chain. And they virtually do that for their own greater development and from the basic skills, their motor functions they've learned as a young child. So I see more of them developing a social skill. And P.E. is an ideal opportunity for them to socially work together and learn to be able to cope with boys and girls together. There's not a lot of discipline like maths where you're going in there and you're working for an aggregate mark or something like that. There's going to be no-one at the end of the day whose going to measure how many lay ups I can do in basketball without missing ... So I saw it from that idea, not so much from a score point of view of how good they're going to be at the end of the day in physical education.

New staff members, who generally came from single-sex backgrounds were inducted into these beliefs with more or less success. For the most part, the teachers expressed their conviction that co-educational physical education was more 'natural' and therefore better, although Barbara expressed some reservations concerning girls and gymnastics. A new teacher, Don, was quite vehement in his preference for single-sex, preferably male
classes. As a newly appointed teacher to the school, with a lengthy experience in another system, Don was quite critical of the attitudes and the programming he had experienced at Baden. Don was seen as something of a problem by the other teachers but there were hopes expressed of bringing him round.

Historically, single-sex classes in physical education have been the norm in New South Wales schools and tertiary institutions, so that physical education specialists are unlikely to have had any first hand experience of co-educational classes in their own schooling. Moreover, method lessons in their tertiary training would not have dealt with, or framed as problematic, classes in which boys and girls would be taught together. In other words, the teachers at Baden had no formal or informal experiences to draw on. As far as I could discern there was nothing in the policy or programming at Baden which confronted the issues which might arise from co-educational physical education classes; nor was there evidence of development of strategies by which to address these issues. As a result the various approaches used by the teachers in the study appeared haphazard to an observer and at times completely contradictory to the espoused aims. For instance, a co-educational class would be organised into single-sex groups or teams. These teams would either play against the same sex group, so that in effect there was segregation within a co-ed class; or play against the opposite sex, engendering rivalry and emphasising differences.

Both Jean and Greg, when interviewed said that in their lessons boys and girls were treated the same: "I think that's something that I try to instil in their P.E. that they're all the same". However Greg's practices on his own admission belie this.

But I do have expectations in some areas where I think the girls can't possibly do things because of strength and because of the fact that they feel uncomfortable doing certain things and I don't wish to force any issues like that. Like the girl says she hasn't got fibs (lycra sports briefs); she doesn't want to do gymnastics. Well I'll accept that straight away. I won't say get out there and do it, er for that reason.
One strategy that appeared to be generally employed for any activities which might have involved the girls sitting on the ground and opening their legs, was that of dividing the class into two single groups and organising them spatially so that the girls and boys were either back to back (in a single class) or the boys were behind the girls. This, the teachers explained, was to avoid the disturbances caused by expressions of the girls' embarrassment if the boys were in positions where they could see up their skirts. There are a number of comments that might be made in response to this practice. The first concerns the practical problem of the girls' uniform. Many of the students interviewed in all three schools had problems with their physical education uniform. These problems varied from disliking the colour of the uniform to the discomfort arising from the exposure afforded by short skirts and clinging T-shirts. For the boys, uniform was rarely a problem; they wore shorts and T-shirts not unlike those they would ordinarily wear outside school. Very few girls would wear their physical education uniforms by their own choice outside school hours. Other studies (Dyer, 1986; Scraton, 1987a) have found that uniform is a major issue for female students and one of the main sites of resistance. The second comment concerns the potential of such practices to reproduce a heterosexual discourse that positions the boys as voyeurs and the girls as the objects of their gaze. Rather than address the problem in ways that minimise heterosexual relations that are oppressive to the female students, the regular division and organisation of the students in the ways described above, maintain and institutionalise such relations.

6.1.2 Newman: single-sex physical education at a Catholic college

Newman is a co-educational Catholic college that has recently been formed out of the amalgamation of a girls' college and a boys' college. The boys' college had a strong reputation in sports, particularly rugby league. In the foyer of the co-educational school the boys' sporting trophies dominate, while there was not a girls' sporting trophy to be seen. Philip, the most experienced specialist member of the physical education staff, who used to teach at the boys' college before amalgamation, said that the schools were
"worlds apart" in their attitudes to sport. His perception was that at the girls' school, students who were keen on sports did physical activity while the others did needlecraft. The school has extensive playing fields and the physical education classes have some use of the hall in between examinations, school assemblies and other happenings that have first call on the space.

At the time of the first lesson recordings in 1987, the girls had no change rooms. All of the teachers and most of the students preferred this to remain the situation, with the girls wearing their physical education uniforms to school. The teachers preferred it because changing took too much time off the lesson and the male teachers believed that they would have difficulty getting the girls out of the changerooms. The perception that girls took an inordinate amount of time to change were echoed by teachers at other schools. When asked if any of the girls had complained because they were sweaty after physical education, only one teacher had any experience of this. The three other teachers present, including the only female teacher on staff, suggested that the girls never raised a sweat because they stopped or slowed down before they reached this point. Not having change rooms did seem to mean, however, that most girls were changed for physical education. In the second year of the study, the girls had been given changerooms but nobody seemed to appreciate it, especially the students, many of whom mentioned it as the one dislike they had in physical education.

Of the five specialist teachers at Newman, the one female teacher, Julie, and two male teachers, Marc and Matt, were recorded for this study. All three had trained at Wollongong College of Advanced education, so that at one time or another I had been their lecturer. We had always got on well and this meant that it was easy to ask them to wear a microphone and have their lessons recorded. I do believe, however, that their lessons may have come closer to the 'ideal', particularly in their structure, because I was there (for instance Matt went through all the steps of warm-up and skill practice despite the protestations from the students that they always just played the game). I do not believe
that the style of the teachers' interactions with students changed very much because of my presence, except to avoid any overtly sexist comments. Moreover, since I was interested in the linguistic choices made at the unconscious level rather than simple lexical choices that might have had sexist connotations, our previous relationship as student and teacher did not present a problem.

During the time of the study the classes were relatively small compared to those in the state schools, with often no more than sixteen students. This, however, had not always been the case. When Julie first arrived, as the only female specialist on staff, she taught all the female students, which sometimes meant classes of over thirty, while the men taught smaller groups of under twenty-five. The inequities of this situation had been resolved by dividing the girls' classes into two with a male teacher teaching one and the female teacher teaching the other. The classes would swap teachers so that the female teacher taught areas that were perceived to be specifically within 'her expertise' - for instance, gymnastics, dance and netball; the male teachers taught soccer, touch and other games. According to one report, some of the male teachers tossed a coin in front of the classes to see who would teach the girls. Not all the male teachers were so reluctant; eventually Marc and Matt took the girls classes for soccer, volleyball and other games.

At the time of recording it was known that neither Julie nor Marc would be teaching in the following year. Julie was very pregnant with her first child and Marc was leaving the school to take up a position in a tertiary institution. This left the school with the possibility of redressing the male/female balance and employing two female teachers. Despite the recommendation of the male head physical education teacher, one female (a first year graduate) and one male teacher (an experienced graduate) were employed to replace the two leaving. This was particularly disappointing and annoying to the teachers because the female principal had called the physical education faculty sexist. Moreover, Julie described how 'impossible' it had been to get male teachers to take girls' sport so that all the extracurricular girls activity had fallen to her, whereas the boys activities could
be shared between four males as well as other members of the staff who took teams. Scraton reports on similar difficulties experienced by female teachers in her studies in the United Kingdom and how this relates "directly to girls' restricted opportunities, the lower profile of girls' physical activity in the school and the pressures on the time and activities of the female staff who have to take on extra-curricular work" (Scraton, 1990: p.23).

6.1.3 Redhead: single-sex physical education in a state high school

Redhead is a state secondary school with a strong and committed physical education faculty. At the time of recording, there were two full time male teachers, Paul and John, the first of whom was a specialist head teacher, one full time female specialist, Robyn, and one other female specialist, Jill, who also taught science. Physical education classes up to Year 10 were organised on a single-sex basis except for social dance in Years 7-10 and cross-country running in Year 7. There was a recreational unit in Year 10 which, in allowing for choice of activity, provided opportunities for co-educational groups. In practice however, the groups ended up being primarily of one sex.

After watching one game of indoor hockey in this unit, I can understand why single-sex groups might be the norm. The lesson was taught by the male teacher very much to the boys' interests and needs. In the warm-up before the game, the boys were encouraged in their piggyback races by the exhortation, "This time if you bump anyone on the way it's a bonus". Two girls came in to watch, perhaps to see if they could join in, but after a minute or so left. Two other girls came in a little later and without any fuss joined a team and participated energetically in the game with no more and no less skill than the boys. The first two girls came back in and tentatively joined the game, staying on the sidelines and only hitting the ball when it came near them. The game was extremely vigorous, with the hockey puck flying in all directions and with minimal intervention from the male teacher as referee. The alternative game on offer was softball taken by a female teacher. This was chosen by the remainder of the girls and no boys.
The area designated for most of the indoor activity was the covered concrete space, bordered by the school canteen on one side and the entrances to the female and male changerooms on two other sides. The last side was covered by open mesh and fencing pipe with two large gates made of the same material opening onto the asphalt playground. The school hall was also available but frequently, as is the case with most schools with similar facilities, was being used or prepared for other school activities such as exams, assemblies and so on. This meant that dance and gymnastics, as well as games activities during wet weather, were held in the canteen area. It also meant that all lessons were exposed to the scrutiny of any students or teachers coming to the canteen or to the toilet during lessons. Female students in particular were affected by this. Dance lessons, for instance, came to an abrupt halt, no matter how involved the girls were in the lesson, when the boys ran in to change after their lessons outside.

The school has a strong non-sexist committee consisting predominantly of English and Social Science teachers and has held staff development days devoted to sexism. This committee had been critical of the practices in physical education and of some of the teachers. The physical education teachers resented this and believed firstly, that their practices were not sexist and secondly, that they had initiated activities and strategies to encourage the participation of girls. For instance, they described how they had organised a co-educational touch competition at lunchtime which had teams captained by both boys and girls and they had introduced rules which they believed encouraged the full participation of girls in the game. The copy of the rules, reproduced below, is indicative of the contradictions and confusion concerning non-sexist practice which seemed to exist for physical education staff in all three schools. Unfortunately an unintended consequence of modifying the rules to allow for more active participation by female students has been to single the female students out for special treatment in ways which construct them as deficient in comparison to the 'normal' competency of the boys..
Cricket, soccer and touch had also been introduced into the girls' curriculum although one female teacher expressed some concern over her competence to teach games in which she had no expertise. Both female teachers were very committed to promoting the participation of girls in physical activity, but as shall be demonstrated later, their practices sometimes worked counter to their conscious intentions.

At Redhead, some time was spent observing students' activities in the playground during recess and lunch. At one end of the school there was a large grassed area consisting of a hockey/football field, several netball courts and an asphalted area with two fenced basketball courts. On every occasion, except for one, when I was at Redhead, a boys-only group was playing a football-style game on the large grassed area. Female students at times watched from the periphery or on one occasion a small group of Year 7 students performed handstands and cartwheels on the edge of the grassed area, every now and then fielding a stray ball and tossing it back to the boys. Several times a mixed group was observed playing half-court basketball on the asphalt courts, always boys versus the girls. The boys' team was generally far more skilled than the girls' team, but rather than forming more evenly skilled mixed teams, the boys frequently gave the girls the ball so that the girls were not always in defense. At another time, several boys were observed
joining a small group of Year 7 or 8 female students who were throwing goals at one end of a netball court. These boys took their turn at throwing goals, but when their turn came, they mimicked the guarding and shooting positions of netball with exaggerated postures.

Although more time was spent observing playground behaviour at Redhead, from casual observations at other schools and from reports of playground behaviour in both primary and secondary schools in Australia and the United Kingdom (Evans, 1988; Shilling, 1991), it would seem that there is very little variation in this general pattern of playground use. Male students tend to appropriate large amounts of space with their wide-ranging, vigorous and often body contact games, whereas female students tend to sit in friendship groups or play more restricted, spatially constrained and physically constraining games.

6.2 The teachers and the lessons

Not all the teachers at the three schools were recorded. Some did not want to be part of the study, some were not teaching Year 7-10 classes and some were only appointed to the school temporarily. Of the eleven teachers who were recorded, selected lessons of six of these will be the subject of detailed descriptions and analysis. Selection of lessons was made on the basis of technical quality of the audio and video recording, the variety of the lessons, possibilities for comparison in the content of the lessons and intrinsic interest and appropriateness to the theme of the study. Evidence from the other lessons and teachers will be used to illustrate particular points.

Following the register variables identified by Michael Halliday (1978; Halliday and Hasan, 1985), I will describe for each lesson grammatical features that realise meanings associated with field (content) and particularly tenor (interpersonal relations). Field is expressed grammatically primarily through transitivity patterns constituted by choices of processes (verbs), participants and circumstances. The interpersonal relations are expressed chiefly (although not only) through linguistic choices made in terms of speech
function and mood (see Appendix IV), forms of address, modality and modulation (see Appendix V) and other less specific categories such as joking, apologies, expressions signalling empathy and so on. For the purposes of this study the register variable of field can at least approximately be equated with the statements of knowledge and belief that constitute a discourse; the register variable of tenor with the social relations and regulatory practices that follow from the translation of discourses into the activities of everyday life. Inevitably as will be described in some detail in the next chapter, these practices and social relations will be expressed as coherent wholes of social activity or genres. For the purposes of this chapter, however, the analysis will focus primarily on the ways in which social relations and the discourses of physical education and sexuality have or have not been encoded in the lessons under scrutiny.

While some lessons have been specifically used for comparative purposes and this has been made explicit in the text, it is not intended that these case studies constitute a comparative study one with another; rather each lesson can stand alone as an instantiation of the culture. The purpose, then, is to examine how the teachers employ the linguistic resources available to them from the culture to position themselves and their students in particular ways in relation to discourses of masculinity and femininity.

6.2.1 Julie: an exemplary teacher

Julie was the sole female physical education teacher at Newman College. This was her first appointment as a teacher after graduating from the local College of Advanced Education with a Bachelor of Education (Physical and Health Education). I knew Julie as an ex-student with whom I was on very friendly terms. As a student she was extremely competent and conscientious, one of the better students in her year. This had carried through to her practice as a teacher. She had been teaching for three years and at the time I visited the school and recorded her lessons was, as indicated earlier, very pregnant with her first child. Both classes participating in the lessons described below were small,
thirteen in the hockey lesson and sixteen in the softball lesson. The structure, organisation and mode of teaching were of textbook quality - not just because I was there but because Julie would always teach to her own very high standards. She has very high, almost perfectionist standards of herself, but as shall be demonstrated in the lessons below, this aspect of her subjectivity co-existed with language use that discounted herself, her abilities and her field of competence. Her self-deprecation was also evidenced in my interview with her, when critical statements of attitude (particularly of her husband's behaviour) were followed by a little discounting laugh. The high expectations she had of herself were also reflected in the expectations that she had of the students. For instance, even if students brought notes to excuse them from activity while they were menstruating, she would expect them to participate or to go to sickbay. She always participated where possible herself and even when seven months pregnant went with the class on the warm-up run around the oval.

As a very fit and active person herself, she believed strongly in the 'good' of physical activity, particularly of the vigorous kind where extreme effort was required. She would appear to be centrally positioned in relation to discourses and practices of sport and physical education. Her skills, exhibited in demonstrations (and admired by some of the students), as well as the attitudes expressed explicitly in her interview and implicitly throughout her lessons were further indications of this. Her own central positioning in relation to sport is not one that she believed was shared by the majority of her students. Neither, as will be argued below, was it quite so free from ambivalence on her part although it may have seemed that way on the surface.

In her interview Julie seemed to be resigned to the inevitability of female students' resistance - that is their lack of enthusiasm, their lower degree of skill, experience and assertiveness in many of the games that are now in the syllabus such as touch and soccer. While attributing their attitudes and skill levels primarily to environmental factors, she seemed to be almost overwhelmed by the problem: "It happens from very early on ...
you're surrounded by it". She talked with regret of looking across at the boys' classes and watching the enthusiasm with which the boys appeared to be participating. However, she was very sympathetic with the girls' lack of confidence and provided several different but parallel examples from her own experience that demonstrated her identification with the girls' feelings in situations where they were not as competent as their male peers. She believed that co-educational classes would disadvantage the girls who would feel too embarrassed to participate fully and would not advance their skills, whereas the boys would take advantage of the situation and play harder and more aggressively or else ignore the girls.

6.2.1.1 Julie's lessons: Year 7 hockey and Year 8 softball

The two lessons to be described are a Year 7 hockey lesson and a Year 8 softball lesson. They both lasted for about 70 minutes and followed the following structure: warm-up ^ skill development ^ skill application (game)\(^1\). The lessons were sufficiently similar in their organisation, structure, content and method of teaching to be treated together for the purpose of this analysis.

The Warm-up

The warm-ups began with a jog around the field, in part because Julie believed that whatever else the students learned or did not learn in the lesson, at least they would be involved in some vigorous exercise if they all went for a run. As was the case with most warm-ups, the predominance of imperatives indicated directions to perform various stretching activities and other exercises. Of particular interest here, however, is the one question in the hockey lesson. Julie asks the students if they can "feel" the effects of a particular activity; that is, she suggests that they become aware of the kinaesthetic effect

\(^1\) ^ signifies 'followed by'.

of their movement, a suggestion which would appear to have as its intention the development of body awareness rather than the automatic performance of the task.

<table>
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<th>Speech function/mood realisation</th>
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<th>Softball Lesson</th>
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</table>

Table 6.1: Girls' Hockey and Softball Warm-ups: Speech functions and mood

The large number of statements (see Table 6.1) in the softball warm-up as compared to the hockey lesson (and other lessons below) may be explained by the use of a skill practice as part of the warm-up. Julie had the students put on their softball mits and practise throwing and catching while they were running up and down the field. This means that explanatory statements were required to organise the activity. So while the usual command/imperative choices pertained for the stretching and running activities, the explanations were characterised by the use of modulated declaratives (obligation): "Well you've got to get used to using them and having them on all the time" and "In fact, it's really important that you practice that, because that's what you should be doing as the ball comes, you should snatch it". Some of the explanations were in response to students' comments or questions. Thus Julie's warm-ups was used for teaching as well as for the mechanical completion of exercises. Other declaratives are realisations of a more social rather than task-oriented exchange; that is realising either personal disclosure or joking:

Student: (unclear)
Julie: Oh he fell off his bike, (unclear)
Student: He wouldn't tell us what happened.
Julie: Push up.
Student: He goes oh I had an accident (unclear)
Julie: Yeah, push up, no he went in a triathlon yesterday,
Student: Oh
Julie: And some one pulled out ahead of him, so he went over the handlebars.
and at another point in the lesson, "if I can bend over my stomach, you can bend over your little ones" and again when she has told the students to bend over and touch the tops of their socks with their fingers, "You're lucky if you wore long socks today, but it doesn't look like many of you did".

**Skill Development (orientation^ practice)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Hockey Lesson</th>
<th>Softball Lesson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Command/Imperative</td>
<td>16 23%</td>
<td>7 30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement/Declarative</td>
<td>47 67%</td>
<td>13 57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command/Statement</td>
<td>3 4%</td>
<td>3 13% (2 x I want you to..)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question/Interrogative</td>
<td>2 3%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tags</td>
<td>2 3%</td>
<td>0 (&quot;isn't it?&quot; &quot;doesn't it?&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>Hockey Lesson</th>
<th>Softball Lesson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C/Im</td>
<td>22 39%</td>
<td>38 48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/D</td>
<td>28 50%</td>
<td>36 45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C/D</td>
<td>2 4%</td>
<td>3 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q/In</td>
<td>3 5%</td>
<td>2 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tags</td>
<td>1 2%</td>
<td>1 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Girls' Hockey and Softball Skill Development: Speech functions and mood

The two practices selected were the first out of eight in the hockey lesson and the second out of six in the softball lesson (the first in the softball lesson was a very brief throwing and catching activity that developed immediately out of the warm-up). The function of the orientation section of a lesson is to organise and explain the activity to follow. For the most part, the commands served to organise the students and the statements filled out the content. Table 6.2 indicates how the distribution of commands to statements is reversed in the skill development segment of Julie's lesson as compared to the warm-up. This reversal is the case for all the lessons analysed in this chapter.
In this lesson, the declarative realisations were often modulated and took the form of extended clause complexes, that described what to do, how to do it and in Julie's case often why an activity or movement needed to be done in this way. The following is a fairly representative example of the long sequences of hypotactic (dependent) and paratactic (independent) clauses that characterised Julie's explanations throughout the lesson:

Now there's two sides.
If you have a look at your stick,
there's two sides,
now one's flat
and the other is curved.
Obviously if we were to hit it with that side, the curved side,
it's awfully difficult,
cause it could hit at any angle and go off.
So we use the flat side.
In fact if you start using the other side
you'll get pulled up for obstruction,
so you're not allowed to use that side there.
Okay so you always use that side.
So you might say
well what happens
if you're left handed
and (if) you like to have it, you know hold it that way
and hit it there.
What you have to do is turn the head of the stick over.

The choice of mood tags (for example, "isn't it?" and "doesn't?") and declarative realisations of commands will be dealt with later in relation to more general points about social relations.

Skill application (orientation^ game)

The game stage of the lessons, took up approximately half to a third of the time and is too extensive for any quantitative analysis in terms of speech functions and mood. It too began with an orientation section to explain the game and organise teams. In the softball game the strategy of 'tagging' was introduced, through a lengthy series of declaratives, some again with complex paratactic and hypotactic clause structures. The strategy was illustrated by a possible scenario, with Julie as the protagonist, so that rather than using
the impersonal third person pronoun you or one she chooses instead to use the first person I: "If I was batting ... and I was racing to first base, the girl on first base stands on first base, and someone passes it to her and before I get there, then I'm out".

During the game itself, Julie took on the role of umpire, calling balls and strikes and keeping score, but she continued in her instructional or coaching role by providing detailed explanations, advice and praise. There were very few pauses in what is primarily a monologue, the students were immersed, as it were, in and by her talk.

6.2.1.2 Constructing female subjects

Julie is committed to fitness and physical activity. The length and style of her explanations seems to suggest a concern that learning occur not only through executing activities but also through an understanding and kinaesthetic awareness of that execution. Many times through the lessons, she makes statements to do with effort that could be glossed as the moral imperative 'practice makes perfect' - that is, that 'all difficulties can be overcome through hard work'. There is also an element here of reassurance - 'it doesn't matter how difficult it may seem at the beginning, with practice/effort you will improve', and in the second quote below 'look you have already begun to improve, see it wasn't that difficult, was it?'

So by doing that you need to practice all the time a bit of ball control so you've got to learn a few ball skills and then once it comes to the game after you've practiced, of course a lot of times, rather than just one day like today, makes it a lot easier.

Who improved from when they very first started, when you first tried that tapping? Right, all of you, I know you did, cause some could only do it once or twice and you were all getting a few extra times. You can imagine if you practised that every day you'd probably be able to sit there watching TV without even looking at it, just get the feel of it, like you do bouncing a ball or if you practise walking every day, it's just a skill that you just need to practice.

The combination of statements that derive from the moral imperatives of sport and the reassurance apparent in these quotes, exemplifies the central contradictions of Julie's
subjectivity as expressed in these lessons and the contradictory positionings/subjectivities that she provides for students. One one hand she teaches a model lesson, she demonstrates and explains the field of knowledge expertly, on the other hand she surrounds the students with talk. They spend a considerable part of the lesson either stationary and listening and watching or performing under close direction. There is very little space for independent action and initiative, even in the game.

There is a further element that is exemplified by the interpersonal relations that Julie's language choices attempt to create in the lesson. Through mood choices, modality, jokes and other means of personalising the interaction by reducing the social distance between herself and the students, she demonstrates her identification with their positioning and in doing so acknowledges the contradictions in her own positioning in relation to what are essentially the masculine practices of sport. Some examples of this have been already mentioned above - disclosure of personal information, joking about the size of her abdomen and the personalising of examples, by using I - but also through mood choices such as the frequent use of tags and through modality. The function of tags seems to be to invite involvement, to invite a response or comment and to check out the validity of a statement that has been made. In these functions it may be expressing uncertainty on the part of the speaker and thus a way of seeking agreement and reassurance. For instance, "I wouldn't run with it obviously on my left, cause that feels awkward having my arms across my body, doesn't it?"; "Shoulder width's about that far apart, isn't it?"; "Oh difficult, isn't it?" and "... because that feels more comfortable, doesn't it?"

One of the functions of modality is to provide the speaker with grammatical forms to avoid being definite. It is the expression of the intermediate degree between yes and no; the various kinds of indeterminancy ... like sometimes or maybe (Halliday 1985, p.86). As well as being expressed through modal auxiliaries such as can, might, could, will and should, and modal adjuncts such as possibly, probably, only, certainly and always, modality can be expressed metaphorically as in I think it is so ... which may be translated
as it may be so ... Julie uses the modalised forms that suggest probability and usualy frequently. For instance "It could hit at any angle" and "You might say ... ". However, the most outstanding use of modality in both lessons, but particularly the hockey lesson, is the recurring use of the modal adjunct just and other modal adjuncts of intensity such as only and sort of. It is as though the teacher is reacting to or anticipates an implicit resistance from the girls which may be real or which may have actually arisen from her expectations. She responds in a way that seems to function to encourage, to cajole, to hold the lesson and the students on track by promising that 'if they bear with it/me we'll get through' ("just listen quietly and we'll get through"), 'although it's difficult, try it and it won't be too bad' ("we're only going to put it across a little space") and 'after all it's not that important' ("it's just to loosen your ankles" and "it's just a skill").

This can be compared with one male teacher's use of just. The recurrent use of just in Paul's lesson occurred when he was encouraging or persuading a very hesitant boy to perform a skill over the vaulting box.

Paul: That's it, now all you have to do is you stop yourself, you put your hands here, it's a matter of just putting your hands there, and it's just a long leap frog. If old blokes like me can do it anybody can do it.

Student: (unclear)

Paul: No, yes, now just do a leap frog off. Yeah, that's it, leap frog off, yeah, no but legs apart, leap frog, one side, one on one side, one on the other. Come over here Jason, show us. Do what you just did. Yes, watch Jason, up hands there, leg over the side, now the only problem is that both of you want to put your hands here, instead of just putting your hands there and just leap frog. You won't hurt yourselves or anything. Okay. Next time you'll have to do it.

The meaning of this text can be glossed in the same way - 'it's all right, you won't get hurt, just try'. What happens for one reticent boy in the gymnastics lesson is used as the general form for all the girls in the hockey lesson. Where one boy is the exception (and it is after all a gymnastic lesson), all girls are addressed as though they are less willing/less skilled/less able.
There are contradictory messages here for the female students. On one hand, sport and games and hockey skills are to be valued in the context of education; it is important that they are practised and learnt. The teacher makes every effort to teach a good lesson. She demonstrates her skill and reinforces the achievement of skill with frequent praise. At the same time, some of her linguistic choices construct meanings that undermine this - that is, that skills are unimportant and the class needs to go through the motions to get to the end of the lesson (or perhaps to get to the game). In the context of the close relationship between the dominant discourses of sport and the reproduction of hegemonic masculinity, there is a tension between what girls have already learned to mean by 'being female' and the expectation to participate in gross motor activity that involves a great deal of effort and competition. Many girls are therefore quite resistant to physical education and sport and this can emerge in different forms depending on the degree of power they have in a situation. In the lessons described above, resistance is anticipated and countered by the constant reiteration of the discourse and by the interpersonal features of the grammar that serve to persuade the class to accept the situation.

6.2.2 Matt: the effect of context

Matt is one of the male teachers at Newman and has taught there for the last three years. He has a Bachelor of Education (Physical Education) and was also known to me as a student. I would describe him as an easy going person, with a wide experience of occupations which have not always included teaching and a strong interest in surfing and following the wave, that has been somewhat circumvented by his marriage and recent status as a parent. His prior teaching experience at a rural school included co-educational physical education classes, although boys and girls were separated for gymnastics and boys did football while the girls did netball. The success of these co-educational classes, he believed, was contingent on the attitudes of girls and boys to sport in rural areas: "They really got in together, and there didn't seem as much sort of distinction between boys and girls out there".
He says that he doesn't mind taking the girls classes but perceives them as harder to motivate, particularly year 9 girls.

When I hit Year 9, beginning of Year 9, I don't know what they do, er then they go into the 'Well I don't want to do this anymore' virtually, a lot of them. The reasons for that, I don't know whether they're going through a change or whether that comes from ( ). They can see I think that good sportswomen are keen, but I think the other girls then see er them at their level and they think 'well I'm not as good as that so I'm not even gonna worry about it'. 'Sport and P.E.'s not for me ' so that it. ... They get to a stage and then they see well the ones that are good and they think worthwhile, and they go off and have a go and things like that, but the others are pretty well Tm never gonna be at the same level as that so what do I get out of it'. That's all they can do.

Matt's observations are born out in the example, described below, of a Year 9 class of female students to whom he attempts to teach volleyball skills. These are in large part the same students to whom Julie taught softball, the year before. There is about six months between the lessons. The two lessons below are of particular interest because they provide the means to compare the same teacher teaching in one instance, a group of female students and in the other, a group of male students. Moreover the boys' lesson is a Year 8 baseball lesson and so provides a reasonable comparison with the softball lesson described above. Because the two lessons are so different they will be treated separately. Both lessons are outside, take a double period and are approximately 70 minutes in duration.

6.2.2.1 Year 9 Girls' Volleyball: male teacher and female students

There were two year 8 girls' classes out at this time. One was being taken for jazz dance by the female teacher who replaced Julie, while the class that was recorded was taken for volleyball by Matt. The class was small with only 18 students. This was the first time that Matt had taken this class for some time, however he was sufficiently familiar with the girls to know their names. The lesson was the first that most of the girls had had in volleyball, although they had played newcombe (a game over a net that allows catching) before. The day was cold and wet and the ground was very muddy. From the beginning
of the lesson it was clear that many of the girls did not want to be there. Groans greeted
the news that they would be doing volleyball for a double period and the wet and muddy
conditions did not make it any more attractive. Complaints about mud were a constant
theme in the lesson and were used as a semi-legitimate reason for contesting the authority
of the teacher. He would be to blame, several students suggested, if they went back to
class dirty: "Miss Cleal's gonna know why we're so dirty and we're going to blame it all
on you".

One student in particular, Julie, constantly contested the teacher's control through
regularly failing to comply with instructions and through involving herself and other
students in backchat which positioned the teacher and themselves in a heterosexual
discourse that bordered on a kind of 'pay-off' flirting, in doing so positioning themselves
and each other as objects of Matt's gaze.

Student: Look at her bum (laughing)
Student: Oh, hah, does he have to Jules (laughing)
Teacher: Right, other leg.
Student: He doesn't wanna look at that. (laughing)

Julie spent most of the lesson regaling other students with her experiences of modelling
and describing the ideal body shape - that is, one with no bumps - that was needed to be a
model. Under a white, mud spattered sweat shirt, Julie was wearing a red ribbed singlet
top and black tights which she revealed when demonstrating how her body shaped up to
the ideal. Julie's skill level was fairly low and her behaviour seemed devoted to attracting
most of the attention in the class, both from the teacher and the students, and to avoiding
participation in the skill practice or the game - that is, avoiding displaying her lack of
competence in this area. As Scraton (1987a) points out in her study of girls' subcultures,
female students' resistance to physical education is often through a recourse to patriarchal
expressions of femininity. Julie's choice of behaviour is particularly interesting in that it
is a form of resistance which may not have been as effective in a class taught by a female
teacher. Julie deliberately attempted to shift the discourse and social relations away from
physical education and a teacher-student relationship to a relationship based on sexual difference, in which she was taking the initiative and in which the teacher as teacher entered at his peril. In another lesson at another site where co-educational physical education lessons were the norm, female students employed the same strategies of resistance (see Don) with more success. Matt did not enter into the exchange and generally laughed it off, thus appearing to acknowledge the strategy but not to take up the corresponding positioning that it sets up.

Matt's frustration at student backchat emerged at times in comments to individual students ("Shuddup, Kim!") and his frustration at the low performance levels led to comments such as: "Now you complain that you can't play the game, you've just practised skills, and then you all see the ball coming you start squealing and yelling". This kind of comment however, was infrequent. As will be demonstrated later, Matt dealt with the students' actual and perceived reticence in other ways. Generally he remained reasonably composed and positive towards the students throughout the lesson.

The lesson took the usual form of the games lesson genre except for the slight modification of a minor game to complete the warm-up. It began with a roll-call, followed by a warm-up, with the usual jog, in this case only around the tennis courts rather than around the oval, followed by stretches and then a minor game of corner spry. Several skill practices of volleyball passes provided the middle or development of the lesson, which was followed by a game of volleyball. The performance level in the game was so low that the teacher interrupted it to reconstitute a group practice of the serve and rallies with the net. A final less structured game completed the lesson. The schematic structure of the lesson took the following form: roll call ^ warm up ^ minor game ^ skill practice 1 ^ skill practice 2 ^ game ^ skill practice 3 ^ game.
Warm-up

As is usual in this segment of a physical education lesson, commands far outnumbered statements (see Table 6.3). The statements that were used often related to the girls' compliance, or lack of it, with the teacher's instructions - for instance, "Girls, the rest of them are waiting for you" (followed by the command "Hurry up!") and "At least you're into it this time, Julie". Other statements described the manner of performing an activity or the reason for performing it but these were infrequent (5/20). Explanations of activities in this stage of the lesson were brief and rare. Of the two questions, one was task-related ("Whose got one (exercise) for that?") and the other discipline-related ("What's wrong with you?").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech functions</th>
<th>76</th>
<th>77%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Command/Imperative</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement/Declarative</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command/Declarative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%  (&quot;Well you walk around .... get going!&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question/Interrogative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Girls' Volleyball Warm-up: Speech functions and mood

Matt frequently set a minimum rather than a maximum standard of performance: "Fairly quickly, not too slow, jogging the whole way"; "just a few stretches"; "Don't just go straight down and up, but down and hold"; "As far as is comfortable but feel it stretch. Keep it there, keep it there. Right now up slowly. Other leg, just nice and easy girls. Its fairly cold. Need to be warmed up" and "And now just one more for the legs". This can be compared to the directions to the boys who were expected to repeat an exercise until they did it correctly and were instructed to stretch until they could feel it.

Matt began this stage of the lesson by rationalising the choice of volleyball because of the students' lack of experience and the need to extend the skills in newcomer.
As a few of you have said that you haven't done much volleyball or the skills of volleyball, (S: Yes we have.) when it's, That's good. What are you asking to do, newcomers ball and things like that? We've done that in Years 7 and 8. Now you've developed the skills a little bit and that's what we'll spend a few minutes on now.

This can be glossed as 'You've actually got some of these skills, though you may not realise it, so it won't be too difficult and we'll spend a short time developing them further. It won't hurt too much.'

The shift from the third person pronoun to the first personal plural we is also of interest here. It allows the students ownership of the skills 'you have possession of the skills' but 'we are all in together as a class when it comes to practising of these'. The statements also suggest that Matt has taken the girls' protests into consideration, that he has listened to them and remembered what they said. The explanation of the practice has surprisingly little modulation for this stage of the lesson. Rather there are sequences of relational processes in the present tense with clauses as subjects and predicates.

The best way is to just cradle one hand in the other. And it's not hitting it with your fist or your hand. Where you hit is on the wrist.

On the other hand, there is frequent use of modality, including just. This use of modality, together with the persuasive and empathetic language described above, function to cajole and encourage the female students as though anticipating their reluctance to perform the activities in ways that are similar to the language choices made by Julie with her students.

Modality is also used in constructions that anticipate or remark on the students' lack of skill. In the statement "you don't just stand there and hit it", the you could be construed as the generalised you of a statement of rule, but as well it could be taken to apply to the students and the likelihood of their doing that very thing, standing and waiting for the ball
to come to them. As such, Matt appears to anticipate their lack of competence and/or their lack of confidence. A similar purpose seems to be served by the statement: "Now a lot of people have trouble how to hold their hands together" These kinds of constructions are not found in Matt's language in the boys' lesson, rather the boys were positioned as overly confident and competent. They were instructed not to throw balls too far over their partners' heads and "not to belt the ball" when batting.

The tenor of these utterances was carried through to the practice itself, where declaratives were frequently used to function as commands. Rather than make direct and unambiguous commands to perform activities in particular ways, Matt chose to couch these as suggestions, some of which are made even more conditional by the addition of dependent clauses beginning with if: "if one just throws it, it's better" and "Girls, it's better if just one person throws while one person tries to do it". Taken with other realisations which appear to encourage and reassure and the low incidence of modulation, as well as apologetic statements like "Girls! I know you're not doing it, but just keep the ball still please", it would appear that Matt was taking it very delicately with this group; he was not going to push them, either in terms of the task or of discipline. This could be partly explained by his judgment that the girls so lack confidence that he could 'lose' them altogether. Such a judgment contributes to the positioning of the female students as marginal to the discourses of physical activity, in the same way that Julie does, but there is more going on than this. Any explanation also needs to take into account Matt's maleness just as the interpretation of Julie's lesson took into account her positioning as female.

Matt as a physically skilled male speaks comfortably and with confidence from a sport/physical education discourse whereas many of the girls were unwilling participants in this discourse. Their resistance was expressed in terms of their sexuality and this is a dangerous area for a male teacher. Outright confrontation threatened throughout the lesson. Julie in particular, challenged the teacher's patience and, as far as possible,
avoided all the tasks set. However, Matt had to avoid acknowledging and responding in kind, if he was to avoid losing control. He had to get through the lesson in a way that did not disturb his equilibrium or his subjectivity as a reasonable and easygoing person. The fact that his behaviour was being observed and recorded should also be considered when trying to account for these language choices rather than others.

The Game

The game stage of the lesson continued in the same vein. There was more modulation as Matt describes the rules and organisation of the game, but some uncertainty was expressed over the students' readiness to play the game because they had not practised the serve: "We might have to stop and practice the serve ... we'll see how we go" (S: "No way") The game began with a good deal of screaming and laughing and not much contact with ball. Matt's patience and self-control appeared to have been worn rather thin. He stopped the girls and took them to task:

Hold it. Righto girls stop and listen. Girls! Now you complain. Kim! Shuddup! Now you complain that you can't play the game, you've just practised the skills, and then you see a ball, coming you start squealing and yelling...

The game was something of a fiasco and Matt eventually organised a modified game of rallies over the net as practice, followed by a return to the game proper with somewhat flexible rules. Matt acted as umpire but also played on one team. The girls eventually participated with some enthusiasm in the game, except for Julie, who finally left the field of play with a parting shot: "It's the stupidest game".

6.2.2.2 Year 8 Boys' Baseball: male teacher with male students

Typically for Newman this was a small class of fewer than twenty boys. Several boys were not participating. Matt later told me that these were boys with emotional and
intellectual disabilities who had come into the class as part of the school integration program. (Two of these boys were picking on a third in such a cruel way that I felt so disturbed that I turned the video on them to try to get them to stop.) The rest of the class was very enthusiastic, and very rowdy.

The lesson took the form: warm up ^ skill practice (orientation ^ practice ^ reorientation ^ practice) ^ game (orientation ^ team selection, organisation ^ practice ^ play)

**Warm-up**

Following a run around the field the boys were organized along the goal line for sprints, first with sit-ups and then burpees each time they returned to the line. These were quite physically demanding. There were frequent grunts and groans but these were intended as physical responses to the exercises, not responses to the necessity of doing them. On the contrary, the boys were keen to start, taking off for the sprint before the teacher gave the word to go: "Only three, boys, three quick ones. Out to me. oy, oy, oy ooy, get back (laugh). Keen." (Student: "We're enthusiastic"). The boys often began their practice before the teacher had finished his explanation and they had to be restrained from playing with the equipment before the instructions were completed.


Generally it seemed that they were in their element, they wanted to be there and they could not wait to play. Their expectations, however, were somewhat different from the actuality of the lesson that Matt had planned. Perhaps because I was there and I wanted to tape a lesson, Matt taught a model games lesson with a number of different skill practices before the game. From the boys' comments, this was not their usual lesson in which
instead they would have moved very quickly into playing a game without the preamble of skill practice.

During the exercises the words "correct" or "correctly" were used six times in relation to three different activities - for instance, the burpees had to be repeated correctly before the boys could go on to the next activity. For these male students there appeared to be maximum standards ("Make sure you feel it") for which they must aim rather than the minimum that the same teacher sets for the girls. There were few concessions for the boys, they were expected to stretch themselves, to measure up to the standards of performance set by the teacher (and, in another sense, set by the discourse) and to 'tough it out'.

It was not that Matt was short on exhortative language. He had to encourage the boys to keep stretching long enough to have some effect and he did use modality ("a few stretches", "down a little bit further") but in the context of the whole warm-up, it was as though the boys needed the encouragement to concentrate on the task at hand, 'to get through these boring bits' (that is, the warm up) and to do them correctly so that they had some effect. This is in comparison to the female students, where the teacher's language use encouraged and cajoled them for minimal participation.

**Skill Development (Orientation ^ Practice(s))**

During the skill practices the boys used the technical language of the game with assurance, at times using terms that had not been mentioned previously by the teacher in this lesson. Although "fly ball" was mentioned only once by the teacher in relation to high balls, much later in the lesson a student could generalise the terminology to another skill practice involving batting ("No we're still doing a flyball, sir"). In this example, the student also intended something of a challenge by being smart in his use of technical language, because the teacher immediately before this had instructed the group to come closer to one another and had also requested that the batter keep the ball low. The
comment "We're doing outfield catches now" was a similar use of terminology to challenge the teacher and also to show off, justifying long hard returns from the batter when they have been asked to keep in close and hit it down - that is 'we know what we're doing even if it's not what you asked us to do'. The boys' challenges to the teacher's authority do not transgress the normative discourse of the lesson. Rather by positioning themselves as both skilled and daring, they are ideal subjects. In both cases the teacher did not pursue the exchange.

There were lengthy pauses in the lesson where the boys were left to get on with their tasks with a minimum of interference from the teacher. Orientation sections were short, running straight into the practices themselves and the boys had started before Matt had finished. When Matt said "take it easy" or "nice easy throws", it was a restraint on the exuberance of the boys for safety reasons and to control the practice; it was not for encouragement or motivation (for instance, the direction."take it easy otherwise you're going to collect someone"). Where Matt did use encouraging or motivational statements, these were used to justify another skill practice rather than following the boys' desire to move on to a game.

The questions in this stage of the lesson were all organisational queries. The two of the declaratives in the orientation segment described the practice to follow and, of the declaratives in the practice segment, two were statements of praise directed at individual students ("That's better"). The remaining two were concerned with sorting out a partner for one student. Again the boys were encouraged not to make "it too easy", to "put more pace into it".

6.2.2.3 Constructing male and female subjects

The differences in the percentages of statements and commands used by Matt in the warm-up stage of the girls' and the boys' lessons is insignificant. In both lessons
commands far outnumbered statements (77% of the clauses in the girls’ lesson functioned as commands and 82% in the boys lesson). However, it is in the skill development stage that a more interesting comparison can be made (see Table 6.4). Taking all statements used in this stage of the lesson, there is a marked difference in the percentages of statements used by the teacher in the lesson with the female students (55.9%) as compared to those used with the male students (9.6%). The proportions of declaratives to imperatives used with the female students comes much closer to the proportions in both of Julie's lessons (59.5% and 61.3%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Command/Imperative</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement/Declarative</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command/Declarative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question/Interrogative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
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<tr>
<td>Command/Imperative</td>
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<td>47%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Statement/Declarative</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Command/Declarative</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question/Interrogative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 6.4: Comparison of Girls' & Boys' Baseball Skill Development: Speech functions and mood

In comparing Matt's lessons one needs to take into account that this was the first lesson for these girls in volleyball, whereas the boys had at least one lesson beforehand. However, comparisons between the boys' baseball lesson and the girls' softball lesson still point to a quite different ethos at work. There were more similarities between Matt’s lesson for the female students and Julie’s lessons, than there were with his lessons for the boys. The similarities included choices of speech function, use of modality and the
general amount of talk. It is not simply that Julie as female teacher positions the students in a particular way; rather that female students contribute to their positioning by eliciting particular patterns of language choices on the part of their teachers. This of course is only part of the explanation. It could also be suggested that both Julie and Matt, positioned as they are in relation to hegemonic discourses of sport and physical activity, expect female students to be a problem, to be 'slack', poorly skilled, lacking in confidence and generally in need of a particular kind of approach. Unfortunately I was not able to record a female teacher teaching male students, except in co-educational classes, in order to examine the logical extension of this thesis. However, the next case study does offer an interesting example of what one male teacher does when faced with both boys and girls in his class.

6.2.3 Don: male machismo

Until his appointment at Baden, Don had taught at a state co-educational high school with single-sex classes. He had taught some girls' classes but stated that he preferred to teach male students. In his previous school, the physical education staff had graded the top four classes in Year 8 on ability, so that "there were only about four or five girls in each of the boys classes, probably fifteen to twenty boys, but they fitted in somehow". He also suggested that with the best girls in another class, the other girls, in classes which now also included a few less skilled boys, improved as they had a less demanding standard to compete with.

He is somewhat at odds with the philosophy of the core physical education group at Baden. Whereas they are committed to co-educational physical education, he is sceptical and antagonistic. They perceive him as uncommitted, a problem; he sees them as unfriendly and disorganised compared to the strong team feeling and sharing that he experienced at his previous school. His is a strong hegemonic masculinity compared to the strong maternal style of leadership exerted by Jean, and the more muted masculinity
of Jean's husband, Mick, and Greg, the other male teacher. Neither of these two men were ever seen engaging in heterosexual banter with the female students, whereas this was one of the ways in which Don related to the girls - and from this lesson one of the central ways. While I did not tape a lesson with Don teaching an older class, there was evidence from other teachers that, as the girls became older, the banter would become more explicitly flirtatious on both the part of the teacher and the female students.

6.2.3.1 Co-educational Year 7 Basic Skills Lesson: male teacher with male and female students

Because of a problem with the microphone, the recording stopped towards the beginning of the warm-up in this lesson and did not begin again until the end of the game orientation. The skill practice sessions and the explanation of the game were therefore not recorded on audio-tape. However they were recorded on video, and sketchy audio recordings could be made from these. The structure of the lesson is as follows: roll call ^ warm-up (tag game ^ stretching ^ jog) ^ skill practices ^ skill application (game). Two major skill groups were practised in the one period so that the practice ^ game sequence was repeated, followed by a final practice of the first game.

The lesson began with a roll call where each student answered with a score out of ten for their uniform, followed by "sir". Two female students (Jodie and Belinda) who omitted the "sir", were pulled up; no male students failed to use the prescribed form of address. Most of the students scored ten and all twenty eight students participated. The class was fairly evenly divided into girls (13) and boys (15).

The warm-up commenced with a tag game where one person chased his/her partner's shadow. This seemed to be enjoyed immensely by all students with much squealing and laughing. There was one boy and girl together and the remainder were single-sex pairs. In the explanation section and throughout the remainder of the lesson the grammatical
participants were always "he" or "his". (The one exception occurred when he referred to the two catchers as "his" or "her". This was recorded on the video and not on the segments transcribed.)

While the students were playing the tag game, Don made several comments to individual students. The first example below is with a female student, the second with a male student.

**Example 1**

Don: Righto, number 1  
Girl: Caught her.  
Don: You like this one do ya?  
Girl: Yeah,  
Don: It's a good game (Laughing)

**Example 2**

Don: Rodney, can't you catch her yet?  
Boy: No.  
Don: You'll never catch her, she's too smart for ya, she's staying away.

The female participant in the teacher's question "You like this one do ya?" is subject of the mental process of feeling "like". Some sense of solidarity with the female student was expressed here through a shared liking for the game. However, there also seemed to be something in Don's response, particular when his final statement was accompanied by a laugh, of the indulgence expressed by an adult for a child's enjoyment of a childish pastime. Perhaps there was also some surprise that a female student should be so physically involved in a vigorous activity.

In the exchange with the male student the male participant is the subject of the material process "catch" with the female participant as goal. The joke is that the male student cannot catch the female student, which turns the normal chain of events on its head, but in doing so reinforces the 'natural' rule that males are faster than females. In the exchange with the male student, it is their mutual understanding of a patriarchal sexual discourse
where boys are superior to girls which constitutes their solidarity relationship - that is, the joke is part of the male-to-male practice of 'ribbing'. Note also that the girl eludes Rodney not because she is faster or more agile but because she is smarter, a characteristic that does not challenge Rodney's masculinity, particularly in the context of a physical education lesson, where physical superiority is the standard of achievement.

Because there were so many students and so much activity and because the teacher was often addressing students who were some distance from him he usually addressed students by name. This made it possible to single out the interactions between individual students and the teacher for analysis. It is likely that some interactions were missed, but I believe that for the most part they and their participants have been identified. The more difficult task was to identify when exchanges with a particular student began and ended and, in some cases, where participants were not clearly identified, whether the students involved were male or female. In these cases, the transcriber made the first decision and I confirmed or changed the designation as I listened to the tapes while organising the material for analysis.

There were quite clear differences in the choices of language made by the teacher and the female students in their interactions as compared to the choices made by the same teacher and the male students. These differences in language encoded differences both in social relations and in the discourses that constituted the content of the exchanges. The exchanges with the female students were often extended interactions, characterised by an initiating instruction from the teacher which was challenged and then rechallenged by a female student. In contrast, the exchanges with male students were usually very short, often one task-related instruction by the teacher, followed up with the appropriate action on the part of the student. The male students rarely spoke to the teacher and when they did it related to the task at hand or, in isolated instances, to the behaviour of the girls.
The boys were praised more often than the girls. During the game segment of the lesson there were six clear examples of praise to the boys (for example, "good catch", "well done") and only one to a girl. On the other hand the girls were more likely to be subject of "out", and "bad luck". To a large extent, this is because the boys were positioned more favourably by the nature of the activity to warrant praise. They were more likely to be involved in the game, they did not get 'out' as often as the girls and they demonstrated far superior skills than most of the girls. Individual boys were the subject of three discipline remarks. Two of these were short and to the point, the third was a longer reprimand on the use of inappropriate language.

Well we can do without that type of language here too thanks. I don't care what you used to at home, the way you speak at home or around your friends, but you're not gonna speak like that in front of me.

None of these remarks were contested by the recipients. Discipline comments to the girls were frequent and were often part of a longer exchange. Where a boy was pulled up sharply for inappropriate language, jokes were made about the girls swearing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material processes (as negatives)</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72.7%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17.5%)</td>
<td>(7.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental processes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cognitive</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceptive</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>11.8%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural processes</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3.6%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modulation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tags</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

Table 6.5: Processes used with male and female subjects
Table 6.5 describes the uses of all processes (verbs) used with you (singular) for male and female subjects. In other words, it describes how often the male teacher associated male or female students with action (material processes), with thinking, feeling, sensing (mental processes), with particular attributes or identities (relational processes), with human behaviour such as looking, talking, laughing (behavioural processes) and with questioning, saying, explaining (verbal processes).

Both male and female students were the subject of proportionally similar percentages of material processes. However, for many of the female subjects these were instructional statements or commands modified by the negative - that is, directions on how or what not to do ("Jenny don't stand there and look at that. It's not going to come to you if you don't chase the ball"). Far fewer negatives were used with the male students and three of these were used to prohibit behaviour in relation to female students (for example, "Don't listen to her"). Individual female students were also subject to more modulation (language expressing obligation - you must do ...), primarily because they required more individual help to perform the skills.

Whereas the numbers of mental processes are, in total proportionally similar, it was with the female students that the two processes of feeling were used ("like" as in you "like this game") and with the boys that the two process of perception were used ("see" as in "see it there"). Similarly it is in the kinds of behavioural processes, rather than the proportions, that the differences are apparent. The male subjects were instructed to "watch", "look" and not to "listen to" (a girl); the female students were subjects of "don't look at", "watch", "talking" and "talk". These last are significant when taken with the number of verbal processes associated the female students. These were mostly used to describe activity in relation to the teacher, often as a response to a challenge from a female student as in "Don't ask me again" or "I don't need you to tell me". The teacher also makes direct
reference to girls who talk too much and addresses a female student several times as "motor mouth".

The female students were constructed as talkers by the teacher's language and they did talk, at least to the teacher, far more than did the boys. But the teacher also invited it. He used tags only twice with the boys and these were in an interaction with one boy who has been winded by a blow to the abdomen with a ball: "Just kicked you in the stomach, did it mate?" and "Just sting a bit, did it?". These tags invite a minimal response, preferably a positive one in both cases. They serve to demonstrate concern, but the use of "just" also serves to signal to the student that too much should not be made of this incident, particularly in the context of the teacher's next statement, "You'll handle it". On the other hand, two out of the three tags with the female students were provocative, challenging the students to contradict the statement that is tagged: "Well if you put the mitt in front of your face its not gonna hit you in the face, is it?" and "It will work cause it has been working, hasn't it?". In both cases the challenge is taken up.

Relational processes or 'processes of being' can be either identifying where one entity is identified in terms of another or attributive where an attribute is ascribed to an entity (Halliday 1985: p.113). All relational processes chosen by the teacher in this text are attributive except for one. This is the confirmation of a female student's identification of herself as Dolly Parton. While there are some differences in the proportion of relational processes it is the attributes ascribed to the students by the relational that are of most interest. For the female students these are in order of use: "happy" (facetious), "a bit too clever for me" (sarcasm), "ready", "ready", "dead right", "out", "ready", "up", "a genius" (facetious), "out", "so skilful" (facetious), "out"; for the male students they are "(got) a partner", "alright", "right", "tough", "ready", "right", "home" (as compared to "out"), "ready", "not very successful", "quick", "right", "laughin" (that is, 'there easily') and "ready'. The remainder of the relational processes used with male subjects are accounted for by questions, such as, "Where's Scott?")
Close reading and rereading of this lesson began to suggest that the teacher in his interactions with individual students was operating within two quite distinct discourses. With many, if not all of the girls, the discourse was only marginally related to the physical activity tasks and, instead, foregrounded the interpersonal. With the boys on the other hand, the talk was more likely to be related to the skills - that is, to take the form of instructions to complete specific activities. Because of the nature of the lesson the girls could not avoid being positioned by the teacher and the boys in some relation to the normative discourses and genre of the physical education lesson (although a number of the girls did everything they could to do so). For most of them, however, their positioning was quite different from the boys or at least most of the boys. The marked differences in ball and batting skills meant that the female students participated only marginally in the games and for many of them in the practices as well. One female student, for instance, spent most of the softball passing practice travelling to and fro from the box of gloves to her partner, never quite finding the perfect mit. Most of the girls threw the balls with very little power, while the boys moved further and further away from their partners so that they ended up throwing the ball a considerable distance and still with plenty of force. In the run around the oval several boys were way ahead of the first girls and the last stragglers were girls.

In the Aussie Rules Softball game, the skills and strategies which involved long passes over a wide area, running with the ball and tackling were alien to most of the girls but familiar to the boys. Permission to tackle meant that at least some girls would have avoided contact with the ball in order to avoid being tackled by other players. As one girl said, "I don't want to be tackled by a boy". At least five of the girls spent this game hovering around the middle of the field or clustered around the male teacher.

Although not obvious in this lesson it is important to take into account those boys who for whatever reasons are themselves positioned marginally or in opposition to hegemonic masculinity.
Although the softball style game was less unfamiliar and everyone had a turn at bat, due to a strategy of boy/girl/boy/girl, the girls had to face the ignominy of failing to hit the ball or being 'out' in front of the whole class as well as 'letting their team down'. From my position, videoing next to the batting team, I observed the attempts of various female students to avoid their turn at bat and the enthusiasm with which male students volunteered to replace them. The captains of both teams were male and the goal keepers in the passing game were male. Except for one reference to "he or she", all references to the participants in the games were male. The female students were marginalised and marginalised themselves from the discourse and material practices that were central to the purpose of the lesson. This is a discourse that describes and prescribes practices that regulate physical activity and sport and in which the boys and the male teacher are comfortably positioned, albeit frustrated, with the intrusion of the girls in this domain. In relation to this discourse and to those reproducing its practices and social relations, the female students had very little in the way of power.

Some of the girls were not entirely submissive to this process. Their resistance, however, did not contest their positioning in relation to the dominant discourse and genre of the lesson. It is hard to see how in the circumstances this would have been possible. Instead their resistance should be seen as an attempt to subvert the genre of the lesson through the insertion of a male to female flirtation genre from social life outside the school. This is a genre with which the female students were very familiar and in which they have more control over the discourses and social relations that it realises. Although, with these Year 7 students, the discourse and social relations were not as explicitly sexual as they can become with older female students, it was still characterised by a kind of exchange that I believe relies for its effectiveness on one or more interactants being female and younger and the other male and older. It is a discourse in which the knowledge base is embedded firmly in popular culture, particularly in the culture of adolescent girls. Therein lies their power and their motivation for positioning the older male teacher as a participant in this discourse, as the male Other. If he accepts this positioning he cannot win; he will have
great difficulty in maintaining his authority relationship with the female students who so engage him.

The exchanges quoted below, are not about the giving and receiving of information but about scoring points, about challenging social relations and defending positions that are attacked. The authority of the teacher is attacked through reciprocating and initiating familiarity and by directly challenging the teacher as information source/primary knower until he 'cracks' - that is, in defending his position as authoritative and competent, he succumbs and is complicit in shifting the discourse from the task-oriented to the interpersonal. The students themselves regularly respond personally/interpersonally to what began as a task-oriented exchange.

Example 1

Don: Righto, who doesn't understand the game?
Girl: Me.
Don: Why don't you understand the game Bec?
Girl: Cause you didn't understand it.
Don: I understood. I explained it properly. I can understand it. I explained it well enough that other people understood it
Girl: (Unclear)
Don: D'you understand.
Girl: Yes.
(Two people talking together)
Don: Look, the main reasons why people don't understand this, people at the moment like Corinne and Jenny are talking while I'm trying to explain the things, and they get out there and they think 'What's going on'.
Girl: We know what's going on Sir.
Girl: Excuse me sir, with the two balls and that, like just say, like just say one team gets the ball, are we supposed to get the two balls into the same thing.
Don: No, its just that, its just that we're playing with two balls. So two games are going on at the one time.
Girl: Oh God. What happens if you get, you go to catch a ball and the other ball comes and hits you on the head.

Example 2

Don: Safe at home. Batter up. Here we go motor mouth. (Pause) Start at the other end Bec you'll find it easier. You won't knock the other ones over otherwise. You start, then work your way down, you don't knock em over as you go back.
Bec: Sorry.
Don: Because you're swinging right handed, right. So you go whack, whack, whack. Cause if you start there you've gotta go whack, then you've gotta step back to hit it.
Bec: Then you've gotta run further.
Don: How've you gotta run further?
Bec: (Unclear)
Don: Oh God. Is it gonna make any difference to you?
Bec: Yeah.
Don: You being so skilful.
Bec: Yeah.
Don: Righto, bore in.
St: She's skilful.
Don: She's a genius.
Bec: Yep, I'm a genius am I?
Don: Too late you're out.

Example 3

Don: Move it that way.
Girl: That's how it was.
Don: Oh Rebecca, I'll give you a clip round the earhole in a minute.
Bec: It is sir.
Don: Look, I'll set it wherever I like, and I don't need you to tell me where to put it.
Girl: Sir it was (unclear)

In this last extract the exchange begins with a direction from the teacher which is challenged by the student. The teacher's response indicates that he has recognised or at least interpreted her comment as a challenge to his authority, to his right to be the 'knower' in this situation. He does not respond as though this is a debate about the positioning of the ball, that is, a debate about knowledge, but responds in a way that foregrounds the interpersonal dimension of power, reasserting his authority symbolically by demonstrating that he has the right to punish. It is of course an empty threat and they both know it, because he does not have the right to punish her in this way at all, and she re-challenges. He responds by defending his authority to know and do, but in doing so raises her status, he doesn't need her to tell him, but he does not disallow her the right to tell him. There is something of the petulant child in his outburst. She continues to challenge, unperturbed.

In contrast to Matt who was not drawn in, Don took up the positioning and even at times, initiated the interpersonal banter or 'paying off' that characterises this discourse. He seemed to expect to interact with the girls within the interpersonal mode - at times he seemed to facilitate it, even in some ways to encourage it. This is in contrast to the
discouragement they receive in relation to their task performance. Through these interactions he developed a relationship with the girls in the class that was quite different from that which he developed with the boys. With the boys the relationship was one of solidarity - shared understanding of the meanings and attitudes to do with playing the game and, in this lesson, a shared frustration with the girls' obstructiveness ("Women, Colin, women!"), apparent lack of skill and passivity in playing the game. With the girls, on one hand, there was much more of a struggle for authority through reciprocity of sarcasm, direct verbal challenges by students to instructions that then shift the discourse. On the other hand, there were also language choices that suggest intimacy, such as the shortened forms of names, pejorative terms, insults, sarcasm. Many of the girls also spent more of the lesson physically close to the teacher, clustering around him at changes from one lesson stage to another, sitting in the front of lines or the class group when listening to instructions and hovering around him during the passing game. The boys were too busy getting on with the game to be involved in these interpersonal kinds of interactions. When two boys did briefly initiate chat with the teacher it was about the sport that they did outside school. And while the girls were being sarcastic to the point of rudeness they were never taken directly to task. However, when a boy made reference to another boy being hit in his keg (which I believe to be slang for testicles), he was immediately pulled up and disciplined.

In this lesson, Don foregrounded his subjectivity as male and, particularly, as a male who positions women in two ways in relation to physical activity. If women or girls demonstrate a high level of skill, fitness and physical assertiveness, he will accept them and relate to them as de facto males in the context of physical activity. If they do not measure up to this standard, particularly if they do not even try, he assigns them, and allows them to assign themselves, a feminine subjectivity which is outside the world of sport and physical activity, and with which relations are established through a heterosexual discourse that assumes intimacy through joking, banter and flirtatious intercourse.
There are many Dons teaching in physical education and when co-educational classes are taken by such teachers, lessons like this seem only to exacerbate and highlight skill differences. In doing so they maintain the expectations of difference in male and female behaviour that reinforce hegemonic masculinity and femininity. Many of the girls come into the lesson reticent and it would seem leave the lesson both confirmed in their negative attitudes to physical education lessons, perhaps physical activity in general, and with certainly no more skill than that which they had at the beginning of the lesson. There is certainly no substantial evidence from this lesson to offer support to the claim that co-educational groups facilitate better attitudes.

6.2.4  Greg: a 'baseline' example

Greg is an experienced teacher who has been at Baden since 1976. With Jean he was responsible for instituting co-educational physical education as a more 'natural' form of organisation. He is committed to this approach and has thought through many of its implications and the strategies required to accomplish the aims that he perceives to be important. These tend to foreground social rather than performance outcomes. He believes that once students arrive in high school class sizes, limited resources and the policy of combining boys and girls makes it difficult to achieve major changes in skill development. The Lifestyle classes of Year 10 provide the only exception to this where students elect to do the subject, work towards an examination and are of sufficiently small numbers for real gains in performance levels to occur.

Greg is aware of the potential for subversion that exists for female students in lessons taught by male teachers.

I know for a fact that some of my Year 10 girls with Lifestyle have had a lend of me on the occasion that they haven't really felt like doing it and sort of use their femininity to try and you know to get over it. But I think that
generally speaking there's a good relationship therefore they don't do it. Um, so you try and work on that. That starts at a young age.

He recognises a difference between his own attitude and behaviour and that of Don whom he suggests has a more social attitude to the female students - that is, Don is very friendly towards the girls, but he expects them to perform at the same level as the boys and if they do not "he ... either has nothing to do with them or he gets stuck right into them ... boots and all". Of all the teachers interviewed Greg was most able to identify strategies that he used to provide more equitable treatment (if not experiences) for the girls in his classes.

In the lessons recorded, Greg's organisation and presentation of the lesson left little space for the intrusion of discourses or genres other than those one would expect to find in the traditional physical education genre. This despite his assertion that the behaviour of the group was not up to their normal standard. Discipline comments were directed at both boys and girls and were predominantly used to restrain off-task behaviour; behaviour, however, which was still related to the equipment and the physical activities of the lesson. For instance, students had to be repeatedly asked not to bounce the balls while the teacher was speaking.

Female students elicited more encouraging behaviour, particularly in relation to the long run at the end of the lesson. It was also in the context of the run that female students were most explicitly resistant, but through non-compliance with the task rather than through attempting to shift the discourse or the genre as was the case with Don.

6.2.5 Barbara: a maternal approach

Barbara is an experienced physical education specialist who has been teaching for about 20 years. Her special area of interest is gymnastics and she has been involved in administering and judging competitions for most of her teaching life. As a physical education student she attended classes at Sydney Teachers' College taught by female
teachers who had been profoundly influenced by 'movement education' practices and philosophies. As was discussed in Chapter 3, in theory, and in its most pure form in practice, this is a child-centred progressivist educational tradition, emphasising the creative, expressive and individualistic dimensions of movement. An important feature of the approach has been the engagement of the child cognitively as well as physically in activity (Kirk, 1988). The influences of this tradition filter through Barbara's lessons and are important in locating the pedagogic practices of this teacher within a discourse that has been constituted and practised primarily by female physical educators.

She has taught at Baden for four years and before that her only experience was with single-sex physical education classes, mostly girls' classes. In her interview, she acknowledged the disadvantage that girls might experience in co-educational classes and described a number of strategies that she employs to provide both boys and girls with what she believes to be the experiences that they need - for instance, dividing the class into boys' and girls' groups and teaching what amounts to two separate lessons. She organised separate gymnastics lessons for Year 9 girls because she believed that they were inhibited in this area of performance by the presence of boys. She also mentioned that she has to change her mode of teaching gymnastics when there are boys in the class. For instance, she avoids demonstrating in case the boys will ridicule her and be turned off by the emphasis on style and elegance that she thinks is an important part of gymnastics for girls.

You know I have to be very careful about hand position and stuff like this or you'd see all the boys go up you know and sorta down like a ballerina. They'd think, you know, so you become very experienced.

She admits to being daunted by the boys desire to do daring stunts that "they are not ready for" and which she would have to spot.
Barbara identifies a number of differences that she perceives in girls' behaviour and attitudes as compared to that of boys: girls respond better to goals to do with style in gymnastics while boys want to do acrobatics; boys are more competitive and better at positional and strategic play because of their experience with large field games such as football and cricket. Whereas the girls might have reasonable ball-handling skills, experiences with the restrictions of netball play has left them playing an individual game in other game contexts (like "bees to a honey pot").

Barbara emphasises effort rather than winning. She quotes herself as saying to the girls:

I don't want you all to be necessarily terrific, you're not all here to represent Australia but you're here to work at your own level as best you can and to consider what you can do and make the most of your good points. Um, try to improve yourself with determination.

Her lessons have frequent references to appropriate behaviour and attitudes and moral dicta like "working today, not socialising" and "no criticising other people, that's not the way we behave" are common. At the end of a basic skills lesson with a co-educational group of lower stream Year 7 students, after a series of reprimands to male students about their criticisms of female students' performance and to female students about accusations of cheating, Barbara sat the class down for a chat.

Barbara: Very disappointed today 7B. Very disappointed in the attitude of some people. Let's get things in the right perspective, let's understand that we are here in P.E. doing physical activity and learning skills. Fun is something that's very important. Winning is something that is not so important. No sheep stations, not giving away Tasmania like Mr Unsworth at the moment for the elections tomorrow. Give you this and give you that, and give you this and give you that. No prizes for winning in P.E. You do your best and everybody else does their best. I'm not ever again going to hear people in this class calling other people cheats. There was one referee or umpire in that game, you, you, you.

Student: That's right and it was me, and what I let go, gets pulled up, and nobody else. If you have any complaints about that you see me in your own time at recess or lunchtime and I'll be quite happy to talk to you about it. I'm not having people unhappy and snarly about the rules of what goes in P.E. You're not perfect with your skills by any means. If you consider that there's an umpire that's not perfect you just have to change and play your game accordingly. Now I was very happy with your skills early on, but very disappointed with your attitude towards the end of that game, particularly when I said that you people on the batting team can now go out
and field, make it a little bit harder for the people yet to bat, we ended up with two people who didn't get their second bat, and it was those who did get their second bat that were causing all the strife. And that's pretty selfish as far as I'm concerned. You learn to think about other people before you think about yourself. We're not gonna have that sort of attitude again.

The regulatory potential of physical education is apparent from this quote. The centrality of the rules of the game, the inviolability of the umpire and the desirability of personal achievement through effort are all tenets precious to sport and transformed through the teacher's appropriation to a pedagogic discourse that inculcates appropriate moral characteristics. In this process, effort and personal achievement are emphasised in contrast to winning. Barbara's particular interpretation of the discourse of physical education, which foregrounds its regulatory aspects, is related to two factors. The first is the general cultural ethos of physical education at Baden where moral and social development of students are prized above the development of skill, and the second is her own subjectivity, her positioning in relation to values and beliefs that conflate the teacher with the parent.

It is apparent from an analysis of both lessons which Barbara recorded, that she speaks both from a position of teacher and metaphorically as parent. As teacher, she has the information and the skill, and as parent/teacher she is responsible for the shaping of attitudes and appropriate social behaviour. Language choices that encode intimacy co-exist and are in conflict with the prosodic realisations of the regulatory discourse. The contradictions between the regulatory behaviour of the teacher/parent and the intimacy that is also part of the parent subjectivity are particularly evidenced in the following example from the year 7 basic skills class.

Oh my goodness we need some jumping practice, don't we? Lots of thuds on the ground. I thought it was elephants at the zoo.

Teachers often use the collective we, usually with the future tense, as in "We will be going over the box today" when they really mean you (the students) will be performing the activity. This form can function to enlist solidarity as in "What do we need to do for a
warm-up?". It can reduce social distance but it may also imply condescension. The *we* in the example quoted above comes closer in meaning to the "playful, condescending 'we' referring to the hearer" (Leech and Svartvik, 1975) than it does to one of solidarity. This use of *we* is more likely to be heard addressed to very small children by their teachers or by nurses to their patients. In a debriefing interview, Barbara herself acknowledged this latter use of *we* and suggested that it was a carry-over from her experience as a teacher of small children. It would seem, then, that in a basic skills lesson in Year 7 (and in a gymnastics lesson in Year 9) *we* still serves to mark relational differences that have to do with age and status. If this *we* is most likely to be used by nurses and small children's teachers, then it also positions Barbara in a gendered discourse of nurturance and maternalism. In this particular context with a lower stream Year 7 class, it positions the students as less intelligent, lacking in physical ability and control, who need to be approached obliquely, rather than by directly telling them that their jumps were too heavy or whatever. On other hand, it could also be interpreted as a not very successful attempt to establish rapport through humour and imagery while, at the same time, inappropriately choosing particular linguistic choices that imply condescension. Perhaps that's why the students didn't laugh. The joke does not work in its own terms and taking the relations created in the lesson as a whole, the students are unlikely to take such attempts at intimacy seriously because of the pervasiveness of regulatory moral statements and the predominance of directives in the lesson. Thus "we need some jumping practice, don't we? ... " is more likely to be interpreted as another if indirect regulatory message.

6.2.6 Barbara and Paul: a comparison of two gymnastics lessons

Barbara's Year 9 gymnastics lesson will be examined in some detail because as well as also evidencing the characteristics of parent/teacher described above, it elaborates in a different way, on the potential, alluded to in relation to Julie's lesson, for lessons with female students and female teachers to be implicated in the reproduction of patriarchal
femininity. A boys' gymnastics lesson, taught at Redhead High School by Paul, will be used as a comparison of alternative linguistic choices that constitute a different reality.

The female students' experiences prior to this lesson had been in co-educational classes. The classes were segregated on Barbara's suggestion because she (and other staff members) saw Year 9 as a difficult year for female pupils. Staff perceived these girls as becoming harder to manage and to motivate especially when there were boys present. Barbara believed that the girls would benefit from single-sex classes, especially in gymnastics. In this lesson they would be on their own, but in future lessons the boys, doing their own gymnastics, would work in the other half of the hall. The lesson lasted for about 70 minutes.

The boys' lesson was a Year 8 gymnastics class at the co-educational government school, Redhead High, taught by an experienced male teacher, Paul, who has a three year diploma. His tertiary training in gymnastics emphasised the acquisition and polished performance of specific skills and the valuing of gymnastics for its contribution to the development of strength, endurance and flexibility. The school generally has single-sex classes although there may be some co-educational activities in Year 7 and in the elective classes in Years 10, 11 and 12. The class consists of about 20 boys and the lesson is about 35 minutes long.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Commands</th>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
<td>Imperatives</td>
<td>Declaratives</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F 473(51.4%)</td>
<td>379(41.2%)</td>
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<td>M108(35.6%)</td>
<td>179(59.1%)</td>
<td>5(1.7%)</td>
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Table 6.6: Mood Realisations

In both lessons there is a high proportion of commands as compared to the other three speech functions of offer, statement and question, however, close analysis shows it is
here that the differences begin to emerge (Table 6.10). In the boys' lesson, commands far outnumber statements and are expressed most frequently as imperatives (the exception, being the 'I want' usage, discussed below). Questions, except for a few polar interrogatives (yes/no questions), are almost absent. In contrast, although the ratio of commands to statements is still high in the girls' gymnastics lesson, the relationship is reversed with statements predominating. Commands are again most likely to be expressed as imperatives, but are also found as declaratives and interrogatives ("Would you show us please, Samantha?"). It is as though Barbara is choosing mood realizations that are less overtly authoritarian and that serve to reduce the social distance between herself and the students. A further interpretation must include the possibility that Barbara, while not actually changing the real nature of the power relations between herself and the students, feels uncomfortable in an environment where her power is explicit, so she makes choices in her language that disguise the naked display of authority.

Other interpersonal features of the text seemed to work in a similar way, such as her use of mood tags, apologies and childish lexis. Barbara's use of tags in both her lessons seems to be inviting involvement and hence solidarity with her way of seeing things. For example: "... 'cause basically you're trying to become like a ball, aren't you?"; "What's happening to her legs? They're coming off her chest, aren't they?" and "If you broke your neck you'd be in hospital, wouldn't you?". Tags are completely absent from the boys' lesson.

Barbara apologized several times and made frequent jokes such as "We might do some hard things today so take the opportunity of this position (she presses her palms together). Pray" or "All these people without arms doing gymnastics". She also used words that one would tend to expect adults to use in interactions with very young children, such as "run out of puff" and "blobs on the ends of your legs". Paul made no apologies or used anything remotely like childish lexis. The two instances of joking in the lesson were both used for the same purpose - to encourage a very reticent boy over the
vaulting box. "If old blokes like me can do it, anybody can do it". and "Geez, if (name) can do it, anybody can. Me inclusive". Although the jokes indicate a certain intimacy/solidarity between teachers and students and so work to maintain this relationship, it seems that Paul's primary purpose in using them was to encourage the student and not to reduce social distance. Barbara's use was more ambiguous. She appeared to intend to be humorous, in order to be more intimate.

The more personal approach is also evidenced in the use of the personal pronouns I and we in the two lessons (see Appendix VI for all instances of the use of I by both teachers). Barbara again uses the condescending we with the Year 9 students in "We'll have our usual partners please". An even more marked contrast is found in function of I in the texts (see Table 6.7) and in the way in which the teacher has positioned himself or herself in power relationship with the students. Paul, for instance, most frequently uses I as the subject of clauses beginning "I want". Although this is not the usual imperative form of a command, there is no ambiguity about the speaker's purpose in this context. The meaning is clearly a command for certain activities to be performed - or performed in a particular way. The teacher is speaking explicitly from a position of authority qua the teacher, the one who is in control of the knowledge and the activities that constitute this lesson.

Paul's exceptions to the "I want" usage support, rather than detract from, the sense of the teacher speaking as authority. In the sentence "When I say 'stop' I mean it", there can be little argument that the I of authority is speaking, an interpretation confirmed by the teacher's tone. However, even in the sentence beginning "I don't care whether you've done this skill five, fifteen, five hundred times", not only is there an authority speaking, there is also a grammatical denial of feelings (with the negation of a verb signifying affect). In other words, while it might be something of a surprise to have a male teacher positioning himself as the subject of the the verb "care", it is less surprising when this is placed in a negative context.
Table 6.7: The use if "I" in Barbara's and Paul's gymnastics lessons

The use of "I" by Barbara is rather different and far more diverse. There is still the "I" of authority but "I" is also commonly juxtaposed with mental processes; with relational processes, attributing certain characteristics to herself; with modality, signifying uncertainty; and with the negative. For instance, the teacher expresses empathy and understanding with "I" plus the mental process know, which may be glossed as 'I understand your problem'. She expresses uncertainty with the modality of "I might have to see that again" or "I'll just stop you for a moment" and with "I think you're running out of puff" and "I didn't think you could get so much spring out of that one". Barbara also uses several negatives, such as "I don't mind if you work on something different" and "I can't be in three places at once". Such use might be construed as undermining herself as actor in a culture that values decisiveness and positive action. So, Barbara, although certainly not abdicating her position of authority, does make choices in language
that project her as sympathetic, non-authoritarian and friendly. These choices work to reduce or make ambiguous the distance between the students and herself.

Barbara's choices in language that create and reflect the social relations operating in her lessons parallel those described above for the other female teacher, Julie. In the presentation of content many of her constructions are also similar, emphasising an understanding of the process involved in performing the activity, rather than assuming that learning takes places through performance. Lengthy clause complexes of dependent and independent clauses also characterise her teaching. These set up conditions for, or consequences arising from, certain activities.

> Last week, when we did back arches I explained how your stomach muscles were really being stretched much more than they probably had been (small pause) since the last time you did back arches, and that you were compressing this area here, and you would end up with a little bit of soreness, muscle soreness the same as when we start cross country running and you know that you can't get down the stairs after Maths or whatever else, because your legs are sore; its the same type of thing.

In the boys' gymnastics lesson, the statements appeared more often as a series of independent single clause structures; that is, there was a series of propositions with little explanation or contextualising.

> Before you start, make sure that your area is smooth. Secondly, make sure that your spotter's in the correct position before you start. There were a number of guys yesterday who were going through and saying 'oh where's the padder after they've vaulted?'. Your padder has to be in position first. Safety is most important all the time. I don't care whether you've done the skill five, fifteen, a hundred times; you always have a padder there first!

While extended clause complexes were not totally absent from the boys' lesson they are mostly to be found in one introductory task orientation segment and they have to do with safety and the placement of mats, rather than the form of activities or the students' experiences of those activities. The clause complexes in the boys' lesson were interspersed by curt single clause, rule-like statements such as "safety is important" and "you aim for perfection".
The linguistic choices made by Barbara constantly place the expected product - the performance - in a context. Information and explanation about process take up a large proportion of the lesson, usually with the girls sitting down listening and watching. In the boys' lesson, after a brief orientation, the boys did not sit down again. This dichotomy of process and product seems to typify the differences in approach of many male and female teachers, particularly in gymnastics where the framing (the sum of the choices available to the teacher) is potentially more fluid. Male teachers, according to Paul during a debriefing interview, are more concerned with the boys doing the activities and doing them as many times as possible, in any way they can, within the bounds of safety. Female teachers, he suggested, often seem more concerned with how the activities are performed than with the number of opportunities to perform them.

The dichotomy of process and product has historical connections with the separate development of boys' and girls' physical education, although the difference is not so strong in Australia because of the decision to break with the syllabus in England and to write an Australian version that looked to North America as exemplar. As discussed in Chapter 3 in the early twentieth century, the philosophy and practices of movement education which emphasised a child-centred, problem-solving, expressive approach were influential in primary physical education and in the training of female physical educators. The practice of boys' physical education has stronger links with a rationalist, scientific approach. In more recent teacher education programmes this difference is less marked as all students are subject to the scientific approach to physical activity with the privileging of subjects such as exercise physiology and biomechanics. There remains, however, a clear distinction between the teaching and performance of men's and women's gymnastics. While both demand strength, agility and endurance from participants (at least in their competitive aspect) what is foregrounded for female participants are the attributes of grace, flexibility, rhythm and flow. Barbara demonstrated this:
Form, how we do things in gymnastics is important. ... Let's now start to get legs together if they're supposed to be together; straight if they're supposed to be straight. Think about your feet, and instead of having this big blob on the end of your leg, right, your foot becomes the same line as your leg. Start to look at how you're doing things.

The influence of both women's gymnastics and movement education were discernible in Barbara's lesson, although there was little of the philosophy of the latter in the highly teacher-centered, directed teaching method adopted. Barbara did encourage a degree of creativity and body awareness (although extremely limited) by suggesting that the girls might think of ways of changing a roll. There was also the intimation, more as a response to a request from the girls themselves, that they would be able to make up their own routines. She also used some educational gymnastics terminology such as 'changing levels' and 'taking weight' and engages students in a problem-solving activity by posing questions such as "The only way you can change a roll is by changing what part of your body?" and "What are the things to be remembered about a backward roll?". In this lesson such questions were expected to be answered verbally, in contrast to the problem-solving-through-movement approach of educational gymnastics. However, as in the educational gymnastics approach, Barbara's attention to process did seem to be directed towards involving students cognitively as well as physically in the lesson.

The boys lesson was also very directed and very teacher-centred, but there were no discernible elements that corresponded to a movement education approach. The one reference to form seems to have more to do with successful achievement of the skill than gracefulness.

You aim for perfection. Alright, straight legs, toes pointed. Over on this one here, try and glide through the air and get your hands right to the very end, because in this one here, we're aiming to get distance on the box because there'll be other skills that unless you get distance, you're going to have problems with them.

The boys were given instructions as to what they have to do and then they do it, with the teacher providing individual assistance and coaching. Student demonstration was used to indicate principles of performance.
Just watch Carl's going through, he gets a lot of height and a lot of distance and remember he's a smaller fella so it's going to be harder for him to glide through the distance than some of the taller people. Let's have a look at his. Good, and try to land still at the end.

The few questions asked were either rhetorical, "will we fit?" or organisational "where do you go?" They were not designed to involve students in thinking about their activities. In Paul's lesson it is the absence of intervention that is more noticeable; what the boys were allowed to do, rather than what they were not allowed to do. There was a considerable amount of talk about safety, but once these parameters were established, the activities to be practised required the boys to take risks - long flies over the box, dive rolls over kneeling bodies and somersaults onto crash mats. While Paul moved from group to group assisting, he also stood back and watched without intervening in the activities.

The strongest influence in Barbara's teaching, however, comes from women's Olympic gymnastics, a form with which she is very familiar and which serves to position the female participants in traditionally feminine ways, by emphasizing grace, rhythm and the aesthetic form of movements. This concern with form, with 'how you're doing things', also contributes to the development of self-consciousness. The awareness of the body as an object of assessment, which of course, implies the assessment of others. Barbara reminded the students that they must be aware of how they look as they performed their activities, most often in terms of keeping large body parts contained/close to the body or small parts such as fingers and toes gracefully extended. The positioning of the boys as voyeurs and the girls as objects of their gaze was made explicit at the beginning of the lesson when Barbara explained why they had been segregated:

With the 9B 2 girls you weren't with us last week, but what we've decided very briefly is with Year 9's we're separating you for gymnastics from the boys in your class, as I explained, whereas you normally do co-ed P.E. Doing that particularly in gym because of skirts, and you'll see that the girls who were here last week have been told that they're able to wear light pants, um tights, something suitable they consider to gymnastics.

So what we're particularly aiming at is you people being more conscious of what your doing instead of who's looking at you doing it.
Later, even when the boys are absent, she commented:

Alright and sitting down in straddle. Remember those skirts. You don't have to worry if you've got tights on.

In Paul's lesson the boys were actors. There is no sense of their being made the object of another's gaze; there is no mention of dress. For the boys in this lesson, and for boys generally, uniform seems to be unproblematic (and interviews confirm this). They wear T-shirts and shorts, clothes that they would be quite comfortable wearing outside school hours. On the other hand, the girls' uniform, of a short pleated skirt (or in this lesson, tights) and T-shirt is not one they would wear by choice - for some, either in or out of school.

The girls in this lesson were encouraged to perform a physical activity yet they were often simultaneously restrained and constrained by the manner in which they must perform it. The girls were encouraged to be conscious of their appearance; they were enjoined to be careful, to limit their back arches, their jumps over the box; and they were limited in the number of rolls they had to do.

The boys were limited at the commencement of the lesson by injunctions about safety. The lesson itself was structured by activities described on cards and, after a brief orientation session, they were off. Teacher control was explicit and powerful - the tone was set at the beginning of the lesson when a recalcitrant student was abruptly punished: "Chris Lowes do twenty push ups." There was no ambiguity about task expectations or interpersonal relationships.

For the girls there was ambiguity with both aspects, an outcome of the contradictory discourses to which they and their teacher have been exposed. On one hand, they are being constructed by patriarchal discourses of femininity which work to constrain and
restrain their behaviour, while on the other hand, in the context of physical education, they are expected to be active, competitive and achievement-oriented. In one sense, this kind of ambiguity may be seen to offer the advantage of choice, by comparison with the boys. However, the boys are positioned by the more powerful and consistent discourses of masculinity and sport - with their common emphases on individualism, aggression, toughness, competition and achievement. As these are the attributes of the more dominant discourses in the society within which they live, empowerment is more available to those who choose to comply.

The constraining influence of the discourse of femininity, from the evidence of these texts, appears to undermine those of activity, achievement and effort. The emphasis on surface appearance and self-consciousness, on nurturance and intimacy and on process as opposed to product, does not place the girls or the teacher in a relationship of power to the dominant discourses. It rather reinforces, reproduces the gender relationships of the wider social structure.

6.2.7 Paul, Jill and John: social dance at Redhead High

Just as the discourses and practices of sport are recontextualised to constitute the instructional and regulative discourses of games lessons, so are the discourses of dance reconstituted in the practices associated with dance in physical education, including those that reproduce normative gender relations. Although dance is generally perceived to be the province of women and girls, once inserted in the discourse, male subjects assume positions that parallel their positioning in the larger patriarchal society (Dempster, 1986).

Social dance, rather than ballet, constitutes most of the dance taught in schools in New South Wales, particularly for male students. Social dance includes ballroom dancing, latin american dance, old-time dance, bushdance and folkdance. The practices associated with ballroom dancing, latin american dance and old-time dance, in particular, reproduce
relations of power that privilege men. In these dances, men traditionally choose their partners while women wait passively, men hold and women are held, men lead and women follow, men are expected to look out for danger and to steer a safe course. The physical arrangement of bodies in ballroom dancing and latin american dance allows men to manipulate and dominate women's bodies.

In most schools, ballroom dance and latin american dance are left until Years 9 and 10, presumably until the close mingling, the face to face contact, required for these dances is more appealing to the students. The younger students are usually taught folk dance, bush dance and oldtime dance. Bushdance is particularly popular in schools because the style of dance is vigorous, strongly rhythmical and because it does not require contact, other than hand contact between partners.

The lessons to be discussed were both taught to Year 7 students at Redhead High School. In one lesson a co-educational group of students from the lowest academic ('General Activity') stream were taught the Barn Dance, the Canadian Three Step and the Mambo by Paul. This was as a precursor to three Year 7 classes combining on the following day to learn the same dances. Although alternative ways of forming pairs were often used in social dance lessons, in these two lessons the boys were instructed to choose a partner. In the single class group this was difficult because there were only two girls amongst seven boys. As Paul says "it's not going to be easy dancing boys with boys but (St: "Yuck") just do, make the best of it okay?" In this and many of the utterances that follow the girls are the object in language and the subject of dance discourse that positions them as object of the boys intentions and attentions.

Get a partner, get a partner, the smart ones will get the girls first. Not so smart. Oh look at all these guys going for girls.

The structure of the Barn Dance and the other dances that the class practised reinforces this positioning. In the Barn Dance the male leads and the female follows. In its
progressive form the female participant is passed from man to man after each figure. Paul
made their role in the dance quite clear to the boys. "Who's the boss, the guy or the girl?
(St: "The man"). Right, you've got to lead her." This exchange was repeated several
more times in the lesson.

The boys without a female partner danced very reluctantly with other boys, avoiding
touching them as much as possible. The girls were also reticent about touching the boys,
but compromised by pulling the sleeve of their sloppy joes over their hands or by
discontinuing contact whenever not actually dancing. When the male students attempted
to disrupt the lesson by talking, causing collisions and generally being obstructive, they
were threatened with public exposure: "There's a number of people who are set on
making a mess of this, we can go in the canteen if you like." By two thirds of the way
through the lesson,

alright, that's it, I've had enough now, Allan's got everybody back at recess.
In the middle of the canteen. ..I'm going to lock the gates and nobody's going
to come in the canteen. Now there's only one way, do you want to know if
there's a way to get out of it? (St: Yes please.) Are you sure? (St: Yeah.)
There is only one way one chance, and that's to do it properly now without
talking. Are you ready?

It was obvious that most of the male students in this class did not want to participate in
this lesson; they did not want to learn these dances which appeared to have little
connection with their interests and needs and which compromised their masculinity. They
complied because they were threatened with public disgrace if they did not. The girls
were more quietly compliant. Apart from demonstrating their dislike at being physically
close to the boys, they learnt the steps quickly and and passively endured the antics of the
boys.

The description of the second lesson is derived entirely from the video recording; the
audio system failed to work for this lesson. The combined year 7 lesson began with the
boys lined up, their backs touching a side wall. The girls were more loosely grouped on
the opposite wall. The male teachers, Paul and John patrolled the boys' line. The boys were called in to John and huddled around him as though receiving last minute instructions, they then moved off to choose a partner. In a private conversation, Paul has revealed his strategy for expediting this process. It goes something like this. He tells the boys that there are three types of guy - the bright, the not so bright and the really dumb.

The brightest guys rush over first and get the really attractive birds (sic) ("and there are usually two or three really attractive girls in each class"); the not-so-bright are not so fast and get the rest and then 'if you are really slow, you have to dance with the boys and you don't want to do that do you - only queers dance with boys- and you're not queers are you?" 3 "I just say this on the first day or two and then no problems after that. They rush over to ask the girls." In contrast, before her dance lessons, Robyn, another female teacher on the same staff reported that she talks to the girls "about feelings and how they know that their feelings have been hurt other times" and "we just can't do that to the boys". She said she consoles the girls with the suggestion that if they don't get their ideal man/boy then to remember that the dance will be progressive and that they will only be with their partner for a short time.

Most of the boys, without taking their hands out of their pockets, moved over to the opposite wall and signalled in some imperceptible way to the girls, who arms folded, followed their partner to form a circle. Since there were considerably more girls than boys, a number of boys missed out and in this lesson were allowed to sit out, until they were rotated with the boys that had been dancing. The girls placed themselves on the outside of the circle, the boys on the inside. In the centre of the circle Paul demonstrated the dance with a female student.

3 This wording is a close paraphrase of what Paul told me he said to the boys. It was written down directly after a conversation between Paul and I when I had asked him about his "secrets of dance". A female colleague had used this phrase to describe the way Paul encouraged the boys to ask the girls to dance but had suggested I ask Paul for an elaboration. Paul's version of his method was corroborated by the male students at the school.
The circle formation lends itself to efficient and constant surveillance. And this is what in effect happened. Once the students began to practise the dance, one male teacher stood inside the circle and watched the students while the other one, in this case Paul, stood outside. Having introduced the dance Paul detached himself from the instructional role and with his hands behind his back either stood watching the dancers or walked around the outside of the circle. The two male teachers appeared to take on a policing function while the female teacher moved around the inside of the circle, going through the movements with individual couples and constantly calling the steps over the music. Paul stepped in again as instructor to initiate a new dance, demonstrating once more with a female student. Jill again offered help and specific advice to those having difficulties learning the steps.

There was a little more enthusiasm in this lesson than in the earlier one. Although some of the girls still had their sleeves over their hands, they chatted and laughed with each other and with some of the boys. Other boys, however, looked like they were enduring rather than enjoying. They did not talk to their partner or anyone else around them, they went through the motions with no enthusiasm whatsoever.

Not all dance lessons are participated in with so little enthusiasm. In one Year 9 bushdance lesson that was recorded, both boys and girls seemed to be enjoying themselves. However the boys still did the choosing: it was "gentlemen and your partners". In a dance called the Drongo, the boys had the main figure while the girls looked on; the girls were the haven to which the boys ran to save them from becoming the drongo. I was assured that the roles in this dance were rotated so that the girls did have the opportunity to take the more active part. However, whether boys of girls were the haven or the drongo, the dance was still clearly divided into roles for two groups - one male and one female. Bushdance does have the potential to be less sexist but it seems that the hegemonic gender traditions of the 'courteous behaviour' of ballroom dancing permeate the social dance practices in most Australian schools. Teachers value this
tradition for its contribution to the social development of students. However, the practices and values associated with tradition contribute to the placing of women in a passive and dependent relation to men and as the object of their desire. Ironically, it is usually female students who are the most skilled at dance and enjoy it the most. It is also the female student students who are enjoined to be sensitive and caring in relation to the boys, who are in their turn encouraged to be predatory and competitive.

6.3 Teacher talk and the production of gendered subjectivities

The lessons recorded and transcribed for this study were first and foremost recognisable instantiations of typical physical education lessons drawing on those discourses and practices associated with the masculine, directed activity, skill acquisition approach described in Chapter 3. With some slight variations, the lessons followed the schematic structure of this genre and were characterised overwhelmingly by directions concerning the manner, and location of the performance of specific skills and/or exercises. Grammatically, the lessons were dominated by imperatives and modulated rule like statements functioning as commands. Questions, other than those intended as disciplinary measure were rare, and most rare, in the lessons taught by male teachers. Task-related questions in several lessons signaled the intrusion of a movement education genre and discourse. However, such questions were rarely accompanied by the problem-solving through movement practices which are fundamental to the movement education genres, rather, the questions anticipated verbal answers.

The predominance of a command-style approach and the very limited opportunity for student choice in these lessons would seem to indicate that the personal development discourse of the syllabus statements of aims has penetrated only so far. Although most of the teachers would express some concern for the personal development of students and for the need to be plan for individual differences, this concern only emerges tangentially to the practices that constitute their lessons. The female teachers, for instance, did engage
in linguistic practices which seemed to be intended to reduce the social distance or unequal relations of power between themselves and the students, and they were also more likely to move around amongst practising groups and individuals, providing assistance and encouragement. However, they, as well as the male teachers, provided few, if any, opportunities for student choice of activity and the nature of the activities, the specific skills that made up the content of the lessons by their nature allowed for few deviations. In their very purpose and techniques of training the teachers took as their task the regulation and disciplining of students bodies in narrowly prescribed ways theoretically aimed at achieving a standard of skill, which for the most part were the standards associated with the masculine practice of sport. The female teachers also incorporated appeals to appropriate attitudes to playing, to each other and for the girls specifically, in the case of dance, to the boys, in ways that are not present in the interactions between male teachers and their students.

In the context of a masculine discourse, constituted by a power/knowledge relation that values competitive achievement, the exhibition of strength, power and toughness and the technical knowledge and strategies of specific team sports, the female students are positioned by the discourse and by their own practices as marginal and inadequate in comparison to the male standard. In contrast, they are constructed by male and female teachers as talkers and as the recipients of talk. They are allowed, and appropriate for themselves, the verbal and the interpersonal as their sphere of competence. The students subvert the purpose of the lessons through their employment of familiar interpersonal and heterosexual genres in which their competence lies in their ability to play subtle verbal games.

The female teachers, too, demonstrate a propensity to talk more and to use a wider variety of linguistic meaning-making practices from those used by the male teachers; in doing so, they seem to construct a different reality and different social relations. Bernstein's (1971) distinction between elaborated and restricted code is helpful as one way of theorising the
different orientations to social relations and social control that the male and female teachers had towards their students. Although an association between the two linguistic codes and social class appears to be more common and also more controversial (Atkinson, 1985), of more interest here is the relationship between the nature of the codes and social orientations to others in an exchange. For instance, according to Bernstein (1971), the major function of the restricted code is to "define and reinforce the form of the social relationship by restricting the verbal signalling of individual experience" (p.150). In contrast, elaborated code facilitates the expression of individual dissimilarity and personalized meanings.

As has been pointed out above, in the analysis of individual lessons, the female teachers not only talk more to their students but they also make different linguistic choices, in particular choices in the realisation of logical relations. The verbal explicitness of their talk has striking similarities to that described by Bernstein for the elaborated code.

The preparation and delivery of relatively explicit meaning is the major function of this code....The code will facilitate the verbal transmission and elaboration of the individual's unique experience. The condition of the listener unlike that in the case of a restricted code, will not be taken for granted, as the speaker is likely to modify his (sic) speech in the light of the special conditions and attributes of the listener. (p:150)

On the other hand restricted code, is primarily characterised by predictability,

The intent of the person is likely to be taken for granted. The meanings are likely to be concrete, descriptive or narrative rather than analytical or abstract. In certain areas meanings will be highly condensed. The speech in these social relations is likely to be fast and fluent, articulatory clues are reduced; some meanings are likely to be dislocated, condensed and local; there will be a low level of vocabulary and syntactic selection; the unique meaning of the individual is likely to be implicit. (p:150)

This description comes remarkably close to the style of the interactions between male teachers and their students. This is not at all surprising if, as Bernstein argues restricted
code is predicated on an assumption of solidarity in the form of shared knowledge, values and attitudes of the parties involved (Atkinson, 1985).

By drawing on the concepts of elaborated and restricted codes, and the social relations they anticipate and construct between participants in exchanges, it is possible to link the language of the teachers with differences in their relationships with their students and, in particular, the differences apparent between the female students and their teachers, both male and female. Taking a case of female students with their male teacher, Matt, as an example, it would seem that Matt's increased talk with the female students is not only concerned with cajoling and 'talking' them into the lesson, but is also an anticipation of a different point of view, a recognition that the girls do not share his knowledge and particularly, do not share his orientation to physical activity and sport. As such he needs to make his intentions more explicit, than he is required to do for the boys. He cannot assume their position in relation to the discourse, rather he can and does anticipate a range of positionings, some compliant and others contestive.

It would seem that the girls behaviour brings the interpersonal to the foreground of the lesson at the expense of the task-orientation purpose of the lesson. In the boys lessons, it seems to be less important as to whom the teacher is dealing with in comparison to what is being taught. The ritualised discourse/restricted code of skill instruction, coaching, refereeing and so on can then be more easily employed. With the female students with whom the teacher is dealing becomes far more important and far less predictable as twenty to thirty subjectivities with varying orientations to the discourses and practices of the lesson need to be taken into account. In the orientation segments of his lesson with the female students, Matt attempted to be more explicit, but the lengthy dependency clauses realising causal connections are still far fewer in number in his explanations, when compared to those of the female teachers. Moreover, his explanations are not easily understood due to the frequent ellipsis of grammatical and lexical items. Perhaps it is the
male teacher's inexperience with the elaborated code in the context of a physical education lesson which renders his attempts less coherent.

The female teachers, on the other hand, appear to be far more practised in 'switching' codes. Bernstein suggest "(t)he ability to switch codes controls the ability to switch roles" (1971: p.151). Put another way, the ability to switch codes indicated both the ability and the desire to call on other discourses and genres in order to shift the social relations in the lesson. For instance, Julie shifts frequently from the ritualised, highly predictable exchanges of the pedagogic discourse and genre which establish her as the authoritative teacher to other discourses that assert her own subjective positioning in discourses drawn from a reality separate from that of the school. Although using both codes, Julie and the other female teachers are more likely to shift to elaborated code than are the male teachers. This is of most interest if we understand these codes as expressing orientations to social relationships that distinguish between verbal predictability based on shared identifications with the content and/or form of a message (restricted code) and low predictability where the intentions of the other person cannot be taken for granted. It follows then that the male teachers more frequent use of the restricted code may be associated with their solidarity with the male students; an expression of "a social relationship based upon a common, extensive set of closely shared identifications and expectations self-consciously held by the members" (Bernstein, 1971: p.149). In contrast, the female teachers use of elaborated code may signal both their own desire to resist the highly ritualised masculine form of the genre and thus encode more diverse aspects of their own subjectivity, as well as encoding a social relationship with the students that recognises their diversity of interests and their non-solidarity with the discourses of games and sport.
Chapter 7

THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION LESSON AS GENRE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with instantiations of the physical education lesson as genre and the ways in which the practices of teachers and students in these lessons position the participants in relations to hegemonic expectations of masculinity and femininity. To analyse and to understand how this happens, I need to briefly reiterate and elaborate the notion of genre discussed in earlier chapters. In Chapter 2, following Bakhtin (1981), the term 'genre' was used to categorise discreet utterances or series of utterances that have a particular social purpose and that function to constrain and limit the multiplicity of discourses (heteroglossia) and social relations that are possible. Any particular genre is likely to be characterised by the dominance of certain discourses and as an institutionalised form within a specific culture these are likely to be the dominant forms of those discourses. According to Kress and Threadgold,

genre is one crucial category in the transmission of culture, ideology, the structurings of power, the formation of individual subjects, and the construction and transmission of hegemonic structures. (1988: p.241)
An analysis or deconstruction of genres, thus provides a means to understand the way social life is patterned and reproduced.

Historically the term 'genre' has been used in both literary and linguistic contexts. As a literary category it has been employed in the context of twentieth century traditional literary criticism as a formal convention through which to characterise and evaluate texts, in terms of their conformity to certain prescriptive forms (such as that of the novel, the sonnet and so on). Following this approach each literary text was taken to be the example of one genre; multigenricity or texts including traces of other genres were taken to be aberrations (Cranny-Francis, in press). In linguistics, 'genre' has been extended to classify text-types of a non-literary kind, including spoken genres such as mother-child interactions (Hasan, 1985), doctor-patient interviews (Cowling, 1989) service encounters (Ventola, 1984) and casual conversation (Eggins, 1991; Horvath and Eggins, 1986; Slade 1990) as well as short written texts produced and reproduced in educational and other institutional contexts (Martin, 1984; 1985). Sociolinguists such as Hymes (1974) and Labov (1972) have been particularly influential.

In the field of systemic linguistics, Martin (1984; 1985; forthcoming) has been a major figure in categorising and analysing the schematic structure and lexico-grammatical characteristics of particular institutionally based written genres such as those employed and constructed by teachers and students in educational contexts. Martin's work has thus been important in informing the specific analysis of the structure and linguistic characteristics of the physical education lessons in this chapter. However, although Martin has located his analysis of texts-types within a social and cultural context, his concern seems to be primarily with the description of specific generic forms as homogeneous metastructures that realise a particular social purpose. Martin in not allowing for the heteroglossic nature of texts/genre, does not provide for contesting voices in a text and the consequent opportunity for resistance and change. He appears to
prefer to account for shifts in the ideational (field or content aspects), interpersonal (tenor) or mode (textual) aspects of a text as being characteristics of shifts in the schematic structure of an overarching genre which maintains the texts coherence (Martin, forthcoming). In contrast to the texts studied for this thesis, the texts that Martin most often uses for analysis are very short, rarely more than one or two pages, and as such internal coherence is more likely. Lengthy texts, particularly spoken texts which are the instantiation of a dynamic exchange between a number of participants with different discursive histories and different purposes are far more likely to be constructed with a mix of genres. Thus other theories of genre which allow for the multigeneric and intertextual construction of texts were sort to interpret the lengthy texts arising from transcripts of physical education lessons.

Threadgold and Kress (1988) writing from a social semiotic approach\(^1\) rather than a linguistic perspective, argue for the possibility of a multiplicity of genres, as well as discourses, constrained in any one text (or superordinate genre). The superordinate genre and its overarching purpose, in turn, provides the means to make sense of the multiplicity of genres and discourses (heteroglossia) from which it is constituted. Central to Threadgold's and Kress' understanding of genres is Bakhtin's notion of dialogism - the means in and through which texts are constituted as the interaction of "the many incompatible 'voices' of the culture" (p.217). Any text, carries within it the traces of many other texts. Genres are thus constituted intertextually (through a dialogic with other texts or 'voices' in the culture), drawing and reconstituting resources drawn from other genres and discourses. Dialogism therefore is not intended to simply suggest verbal exchanges between conversationalists in everyday speech or in plays or novels but the cultural/social dialogue of different world views, ideological positions, subjectivities, which are realised in any exchange. One purpose of this chapter, for instance, will be to demonstrate how female students, in particular, bring contestive 'voices' to the normative

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\(^1\) Social semiotics takes as its focus a concern with meaning-making practices of the culture as socially and politically motivated (Hodge and Kress, 1988).
genre - 'voices' which are preoccupied with interpersonal relationships, in contrast to the orientations to the task and to the instrumental purpose of the lesson shared by the male teachers and their male students.

From the evidence of the texts collected for this study, a need for a model of genre that went beyond the possibilities of a heteroglossia constituted solely by different discourses became apparent. Certainly it was possible to trace the intertextual links of statements that constituted discourses that were normative and non-normative to the physical education lesson as genre. However, it became clear that structures of interactions/the mode of articulation also changed within the lesson in ways that introduced new social relations and sites of interaction. It was not simply that new discourses were introduced but new forms with quite different social purposes. I have found the Kress and Threadgold (1988) model of genre to be helpful in providing a means to begin to understand and analyse these aberrant intrusions. The notion of a superordinate genre with an identifiable structure and demonstrable field, tenor and mode characteristics throws into powerful relief utterances that contrast with both the social purpose and the characteristics of the normative form. Further this model makes it is possible to trace the processes by which the normative genre and pedagogic discourses have been produced by drawing on, recontextualising and reproducing cultural discourses and practices relevant to its social purpose.

Actual instantiations of a genre, particularly a spoken genre like a lesson, which is mutually constructed in and through the interactions of participating subjectivities, depend firstly on the nature of the superordinate genre, its flexibility/rigidity and the control exerted over the discourses and social relations that are possible; and secondly, on the subjectivities, the intertextual resources that participants bring to their enactment of the genre. While genres constrain meaning, make probable what can be meant, participants bring possibilities of variation, contestation and hence change. However, participants are themselves constrained firstly, in their anticipation or expectations of generic constraints -
that is, in their knowledge and understanding of the genre and its power as social process
to induce particular power/knowledge relations - and secondly, by and through their
positionings as subjects in relation to other cultural discourses that are or become salient
in the lesson. For instance, they are constrained by their positionings as male/female,
skilled/unskilled, child/adolescent/ adult (positionings rather than age), parent/child and
so on. Although class and ethnic relations may also play a part in determining exchanges,
these factors were not obvious in the lessons observed.

For the purpose of the analysis that follows, I have followed Bakhtin (1986) in assuming
firstly, that all language is organised into speech genres: "We speak only in definite
speech genres, that is, all our utterances have definite and relatively stable typical forms
of construction of the whole" (Bakhtin 1986: p.78, italics in the original); and secondly,
that the first and foremost criteria for the designation of a sequence of utterances as a
genre is its recognisability as such by members of the culture who are in a position to
know - that is, who have previously experienced the genre as a discrete segment. This
last point needs some elaboration. In the same way as a child begins to recognise that a
particular group of phonemes constitute a meaningful sign (word) so do individuals
recognise that a particular set of utterances or utterance-types constitutes a genre. As with
the lexico-grammar, not all members of the culture have access to the same resources due
to the limits of their prior experiences of these resources. Command of genres is
developed in the same way.

The forms of language and the typical forms of utterances, that is, speech
genres, enter our experience and our consciousness together, and in close
connection with one another. To learn to speak means to learn to construct
utterances (because we speak in utterances and not in individual sentences,
and of course not in individual words). Speech genres organize our speech in
almost the same way as grammatical (syntactical) forms do. We learn to cast
our speech in generic forms and when hearing others speech, we guess its
genre from the very first words; we predict a certain length ... and a certain
compositional structure; we foresee the end; that is, from the very beginning
we have a sense of the speech whole, which is later differentiated during the
speech process. (Bakhtin, 1986: p.78-79)
My point here is that, although some spoken genres have been identified and analysed for their generic characteristics by linguists (see Eggins, 1991; Slade, 1990; Ventola, 1984 and for classroom genres, Christie, 1985; 1990) the multiplicity of spoken genres has yet to be categorised and described in this way. I will therefore be making particular claims concerning the intrusion of genres other than those normative to the genre of the physical education lesson that are based on my recognition of these genres as a member of a particular culture who has experienced them before. While I may not always be able to identify the original location of these genres in social intercourse, my experience as a physical education teacher, tertiary supervisor of lessons and analyst of the 19 lessons for this study enables me to identify what is not normative to a traditional physical education lesson. The difficulty then is naming and locating the intrusive genres (and also discourses) in terms of other spheres of activity. All interpretations will be supported by argument and examples so that other readers may judge for themselves. Further my case does not rest on one example alone but the reiteration of genres and discourses in and across lessons that contribute to the positioning of subjects in relation to patriarchal discourses of masculinity and femininity.

The specific purpose of this chapter, then, is to examine in more detail the potential heteroglossia that are constrained by the particular genre of the physical education lesson and the social purposes that it serves within the culture - that is, the specific discourses, schematic structure and social relations that characterise physical education lessons in Australian schools. In particular, it will identify the intrusion of genres from other areas of social life. It will examine the ways in which the normative and non-normative genres and the discursive positionings made available by their use contribute to the reproduction of hegemonic masculinity and femininity. Also of interest are the spaces made possible within the lessons for resistance and subversion - the potentiality of and in physical education for change.
7.2 *The physical education lesson as curriculum genre.*

Each lesson is unique, the outcome of negotiations of meanings by teachers over content, interpersonal relations and even the generic structure of the lesson. In physical education lessons many of the negotiations over meanings that have to do with field or content - that is, how and what movements are to be performed - are carried out verbally by the teachers but nonverbally by students. However, as has already been pointed out in previous chapters, the content, social relations, the organisation and structure of interactions are largely predetermined by the historical and cultural conditions, the discourses and institutional practices that constitute a physical education lesson in schools in Britain, North America and Australia. Teachers and students do have some freedom to choose within a range of discursive positionings and practices, including alternative practices to those that would be deemed normative, but there are limits on these possibilities if the manifestation of their interactions is still to be recognisable as the typical lesson. For instance, one of the lessons recorded for this study provides an example where the boundaries of the genre are stretched to their limit. By the end of the lesson, initially, as a consequence of the behaviour of the teacher and finally, of the 'out-of-control' behaviour of the students, there is some doubt as to whether the limits have been breached. The teacher's recognition of this 'disordering' is expressed by an abrupt termination of the lesson followed by a long beration of the students.

As was discussed in Chapter 3, the dominant and most popular curriculum area with students (certainly the male students) and teachers is games. In all schools studied the games area took up a substantial section of the programme, certainly more than the third that it was allotted by the syllabus. Thus, the two discursive fields that provide the framing for the physical education lesson are those of education - the systems of knowledge and belief that govern the social relations and practices of teaching and learning - and sport - the systems of knowledge and belief that inform the practices and social relations of organised, competitive physical activity. This despite the inclusion of
gymnastics and dance in the syllabus. As was pointed out in Chapter 3 physical education teachers usually have strong backgrounds and commitments to sport rather than dance or gymnastics. Moreover, artistic rather than educational gymnastics is the model for school gymnastics and, in its public form, this is a competitive sport. Ballroom dancing, folk dance and square dance usually predominate in the dance section of the programme and these are valued, at least by the teacher, for their contribution to social development. As has been argued in Chapter 6 in relation to specific lessons, these forms of dance do little to challenge patriarchal relations of masculinity or femininity. My point here is that there is generally little in contemporary physical education to challenge the dominance of discourses derived from the wider cultural practices associated with sport - an instrumental activity legitimated in terms of its wider social and cultural functions, compared to the more expressive activities of dance and educational gymnastics. As has been pointed out in Chapter 3 and 4 these discourses and practices make a substantial contribution to the reproduction of systems of knowledge, values and beliefs associated with a capitalist, patriarchal society.

There are opportunities for resistance and subversion and for challenging the dominance of these discourses on the part both of teachers and students. However, as shall be demonstrated later, female students' resistance to physical education often positions them more centrally as feminine and denies them access to skill and the power that pertains from this (see also Scraton, 1987a). Dance may provide both teachers and students with the means to follow activity that fits more closely with their needs and interests and the dance eisteddfods provide some recognition for this, as well as encouraging and providing a forum for those male students who wish to pursue more expressive activities (on the other hand the casting and choreography of such performances may mirror the practices of popular dance and rock music neither of which do much to challenge patriarchal positionings of men and women). As some schools in New South Wales and other states move towards co-educational physical education, jazz dance and creative dance are often one of the first areas to drop out of the program because of the perceived
lack of appeal to boys and the attendant difficulty in teaching them to boys. Instead 'aerobic dance' may take up its space on the program, justified not only because it is 'dance' without the boys realising it, but also because it fits in with the move towards fitness and health as central legitimations for physical education in the curriculum. The lack of an indoor space also inhibits the teaching of gymnastics and dance.

7.2.1 The schematic structure of the lesson

Because the traditional physical education lesson has such clearly recognisable stages the remainder of the chapter has been organised to go through these stages. The ordering of the chapter in this way will provide the means to discuss the normative realisations of the lesson genre and to examine, through particular examples, instances where other discourses and/or genres are evident together with the implications of these intrusions. Specific case studies in the last chapter provide elaborations on the interpretations discussed here.

Genres are characterised by certain compositional features that may be described by particular structural and grammatical realisations. Pre-eminently a genre has a beginning and an end and usually various stages that may be identified by their grammatical and sometimes lexical (content/field) features. For instance, in Christie's (1990) analysis of a writing planning genre common in primary English classes, thematic structure and transitivity patterns and mood were the main indicator of generic stages. Control of (interpersonal) theme was also an important indicator of relations of power. Christie's lessons were primarily concerned with the exchange of information so that statements and questions dominated the exchanges between teacher and student. In the physical education lessons analysed for this study, the purpose is rather the acquisition and performance of specific skills so that commands dominate and there is very little verbal exchange between teachers and students. Speech functions and mood were the main indicators of shifts from one stage to another in the genre. Moreover, each stage had a
clearly different purpose within the more general purpose of the whole lesson and like all lessons in secondary schools in New South Wales, the physical education lessons had clear beginnings and endings because they are allotted a specified time in which to take place. As pointed out in Chapter 3, there is also a traditional lesson plan that is reproduced in textbooks, syllabus materials and tertiary training institutions to which most lessons more or less comply.

The schematic structure of the lesson usually follows the form: roll call ^ warm-up ^ skill development (1-n) ^ skill application (1-n). These categories are deliberately broad to allow for a general characterisation of the structure of physical education lesson across the various sub-curriculum areas of gymnastics, dance and games. I have included roll-call because this segment of the lesson often provides an important location for regulatory practices that centre around correct uniform and modes of address, thus establishing expectations about the social relations that will obtain in the lesson. Unfortunately this part of the lesson was not always able to be recorded because of practical factors.

In all of the areas that comprise physical education the activities or field components that make up each of the stages in the lesson will differ and will be suited to what follows. The greatest variation is at the skill application stage. In a games lesson, the skill application stage will take the form of a minor or traditional game or in individual activities such as track and field, it may take the form of group practices rotating from one field activity to another. In gymnastics, it may take the form of apparatus work again rotating from one type of apparatus to another or it may involve the creation and practice of routine. In dance the practice of specific dances or in creative dance or jazz, the opportunity to create a dance sequence for performance purposes may complete the lesson. Fitness and outdoor education have lately emerged as additional areas to those that have been traditionally designated in the syllabus and in teachers' programmes. Lessons in these areas may have developed their own schematic structures, which are more likely to be influenced by practices outside schools such as aerobics and circuit and
weighttraining. None of the lessons recorded for this study diverged (or at least were intended to diverge) from the traditional format, although in some lesson some stages were more truncated or extended than in others.

7.3 The warm-up: establishing authority and control

The warm-up usually consists of an activity involving extended locomotor movement such as a running, a tag game or leaping, skipping, jumping and so on in dance or gymnastics, followed or preceded by stretches and/or exercises for flexibility, strength, and agility. The teacher does most if not all the talking, generally as a series of ellipsed commands realised by material processes and circumstances of place or manner, or in many cases, ellipsed to the point that only circumstances remain ("up", "across to the bench", "quickly"). The teachers' talk accompanies the activity of the students, some teachers join in activities such as the stretches while they talk. Some teachers may include explanations concerning the purpose of the activities. The physical organisation and the predominance of commands in the warm-up provides an optimum environment for creating relations of authority and control. Divergences from the appropriate execution of the activity provide the means for the assertion of the teacher's authority and their right in this lesson to regulate all behaviour pertaining to the body. Students are physically organised to facilitate surveillance by the teacher. They face the teacher, sometimes on a line or in lines, and the pace of the instructions means that all students have to be paying attention so that they are performing the activities at the same time as the rest of the class.

The practice here is often not unlike those of Swedish gymnastics described in earlier chapters. The aerobic dance warm-ups used at one school come even closer to this comparison. Over one hundred children at any one time would be lined up (more or less) to copy the exercises being performed by a teacher on a raised podium at the front of the class. Admittedly unison was far less successfully maintained but the intention and form of the activity were very similar. The mass performance of the activity allowed the other
teachers to circulate and discipline non-compliant behaviour. As Fitz Clarence (1987) pointed out, after watching similar practices in schools in Victoria:

It was with a strong sense of déjà vu that I watched a drill lesson of the eighties: children in rows, performing the same movement and modelling the teacher, who was positioned at the front of the class. The lesson was of course simply aerobics; the children were dressed in far more colourful attire and they performed to the backdrop of the ubiquitous 'ghetto blaster', but these were only superficial differences. (p.16)

Of all the segments of the lesson the warm-up would have to provide the most potential for the expression of the regulatory practices and technology of training that Foucault (1977) describes in relation to the disciplining of bodies in army training. Whether it takes the form of aerobics or the more conventional run and stretches, it echoes systematic attention to body parts and control of student activity that characterised the early practices of drill and Swedish gymnastics. However, the discourses underpinning the practices which constitute this segment of the physical education lesson genre have changed, informed as they are by contemporary developments in exercise physiology. In one sense this change is only superficial since both the discourses of Swedish gymnastics and exercise physiology are concerned with scientific and systematic exercises based on anatomical principles which will produce changes in the body. Whereas Swedish gymnastics (as practised in England) was primarily concerned with posture and functional health (for instance, for childbearing), the exercise physiology discourse that informs the warm-ups described in this study is concerned primarily with describing ways to prepare the body for other activities, that is, by preventing injury. Another related medical discourse linking activity with fitness and the prevention of heart disease justifies more vigorous activities such as the 'jog around the oval'. Thus this discourse is evident in the language used in commands that take as their object parts of the body (associated with joints and muscles) which must warmed up through aerobic activity (a run) and then stretched. Teachers with a stronger background in exercise physiology and/or more commitment to teaching about the body as well as exercising it, may use technical terms
such as "hamstring" or "quadricep muscles" and include physiological explanations for exercises (see Example 1 below).

The recent introduction of aerobics into physical education program signals the salience of instructional discourses from sources outside the productive contexts of education. Physical education teachers draw on their experiences in commercial gyms and health clubs or rely on mass produced audio tapes in the style (or genre) of the Richard Simmons tapes used at Baden for their instructional content and method. The instructional genres found at these commercial sites are themselves informed by a fitness/slimness discourse which has been recontextualised and commodified by the health and fitness industry and the media. Thus the genres of the physical education lesson and the aerobics session provide examples of different institutional realisations of the same discourses - that is, those concerned with health, fitness and body image.

From my observations, the aerobics genre was appropriated and incorporated uncritically into the repertoire of teachers both for mass warm-ups and for whole lessons. Outside the school, aerobics classes are voluntary activities for which one pays so that the social relations operating in the commercial aerobics class are likely to be quite different from those operating in a school. In physical education lessons, the content of commercially produced aerobics is recontextualised to incorporate the social relations, knowledge and values that constitute the pedagogic discourse of traditional physical education. At Baden, according to one Year 10 female student who enjoyed training at a commercial gym, this meant the imposition of a form of regulation and control that prevented the possibility of individual variations to the exercises.

... you have to follow the rules (in PE), the strictest rules and you can't make any alterations or something to make a (word) ... It just feels like a chore or something like that. Well like the aerobics that's going on out there. If you try and make some small modifications to them you get called back and have to do it a second period.
The following example is that of a typical warm-up. It begins with a jog, some other locomotor activities specific to the skills to be practised, followed by stretches. The few declaratives used by the teacher are expected to be interpreted as commands ("I want you to jog forward"). Students were continually active with the teachers language providing instructions and the rare teaching point. Just as typical in this section of the lesson is the regular but curt encouragement encoded in "C'mon". In this segment the teacher's authority is often reinforced by the use of a whistle to condense and replace further verbal commands. This also serves to distance the teacher, to introduce a more impersonal touch to the relations between teacher and students. The language used in this segment serves to efficiently produce particular procedures on the part of the students; at the same time, it allows the teacher close control and easy surveillance of student behaviour - that is surveillance of the degree to which their performance complies with instructions.

Example 1: a typical warm-up

Greg: Okay, right. Okay let's get started please, I want you all over to the wall area quick.
(Pause- everyone moving off, talking)
Righto, quickly. We'll start heading off around the courts, around the outside, slow jog, off we go please quickly. Just walk please, let's go, slow jog. Watch out for the dirt on the corner, that's it. (Pause - sounds of class talking and laughing while jogging)
Righto spread out along the yellow line please. Right along the yellow line about an arms distance apart. Righto, remember last week we were talking about the pivot foot, the first foot to hit the ground when you receive the ball. I want you to jog forward, when I blow the whistle. I want you to turn around on the first foot to hit the ground after the whistle goes. Jog forward.
(Sound of whistle)
Spin right a little, get your arms up high, don't go back, just spin around on it. Right jogging come back to me.
(Sound of whistle)
Spin around, right let's go this way, let's go this way, c'mon,
(Sound of whistle)
Spin right around, go this way, c'mon, keep that one foot down on the ground.
(Sound of whistle)
Spin around, right jog back the other way, let's go.
(class jogging - sound of whistle)
Okay, steady facing me please. Right standing still, I want you to stand up on your toes, just rock around and get your ankles warmed up, warm those ankles right up. Everyone, up and down, try and maintain your balance, maintain the balance. Righto keeping your toes facing forward put your right foot back, put your left foot forward, bend your left knee, keep your heel down on your right leg. Stretch it, toes facing forward Joe, you stretch the calf muscles right, don't bounce it. Hold it, hold it, hold it, change legs, bend it back. Fiona,

Girl: Wow, shivers.
Teachers who chose to deviate from this highly regulative form, would seem to be signalling an intention to create, at the least, less skewed power relations in their lesson and/or a different purpose to the lesson. In the lessons recorded this latter was more likely to be the case with the youngest classes (Year 7), where the teacher's purpose was less focused on skill acquisition or a serious educational purpose - that is, rather it was focused on enjoyment or fun. In this case a tag game, a genre often found in primary school playground activities was often included in the warm-up. Another form of deviation was the inclusions of brief generic interludes of a social nature (for example, those underlined in the examples below), usually initiated by students but allowed by the teacher. The nature of these inclusions and the teachers tolerance and responses to them contributed to the creation of certain interpersonal relations that would typically be developed through the rest of the lesson. The nature, purposes and consequences of these inclusions differed from one teacher to another. In the typical warm-up quoted above they were absent. Two other alternatives are quoted below:

Example 2

Don: Its just gonna be from here where we are, see the hockey net over there, around that, around this hockey net, (Rebecca corrects him) hockey goal there. Sorry, (with heavy sarcasm) Rebecca, my mistake for being wrong. That hockey net there, and back here to me.
Example 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Girl:</th>
<th>(unclear)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Julie:</td>
<td>Oh he fell off his bike. (unclear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl:</td>
<td>He wouldn't tell us what happened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie:</td>
<td>Push up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl:</td>
<td>He goes oh I had an accident (unclear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie:</td>
<td>Yeah, push up, no he went in a triathlon yesterday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl:</td>
<td>Oh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie:</td>
<td>And some one pulled out ahead of him, so he went over the handlebars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl:</td>
<td>(unclear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie:</td>
<td>Yeah. Okay to the other side</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Example 2, the teacher chooses to respond to a challenge by a female student with a further challenge. It is a negative evaluative response to the speaker and subject of the last utterance. While he has control of the talk at this point in the lesson and returns to the normative form of the lesson, Don has allowed for the possibility of further insertions, in a similar vein, in a way that was picked up by students in the remainder of the lesson. The consequences of this and similar interactions with several of the female students in this lesson has been covered in more detail in the previous chapter (see Don's lesson in Chapter 6). Suffice to say here, that the teacher and the student in this example have inserted a speech genre at this point in the lesson which constructs a relationship of power quite different from that evidenced in other more typical interactions in the educational genre within which it is contained. This brief exchange is indicative of a genre that one is more likely to find in the context of the intimate if somewhat negative social interactions between older brothers and their sisters, or between male and female peers. However this 'private' genre is not in fact separate from the public enactment of the educational genre; nor are the heterosexual relations encoded in this genre separate from the social relations of the lesson. That this genre is possible in this lesson, signals the importance of heterosexual relations as a determining factor in how the educational genre and pedagogic discourses of the lesson will be received, reproduced, read and resisted by the female students. As was described in Chapter 5, heterosexual relations are also embodied in the students use of space: for instance, in the female students' frequent proximity to the male teacher in comparison to the distance between the male students and the teacher. As
demonstrated by Pringle (1988) in her analysis of the social relations between secretaries and their bosses, sexuality is also an important, but usually ignored factor, in determining practices in bureaucracies and in organisations generally.

In Example 3, the female teacher chooses to respond to a request for information from a female student (in an all female class) about an event concerning a male teacher at the school (quite likely her husband), a male teacher who would not tell the girls what happened. This also signals a shift towards a more intimate level of social relations than is allowed through the normative interactions of the warm-up. The teacher is willing to share information about the tribulations of another teacher, perhaps her husband, with the students. Thus there is an implied acceptance of the student speaker as worthy of the teacher's disclosure. The male teacher in question chose not to tell the students what happened, so in that sense it is insider information that is being shared and this enhances the sense of intimacy and solidarity between the students and the teacher. Again the intimacy implied in this exchange spills over to the social relations thus possible in the lesson generally. By allowing this exchange to take place, by making it possible, the teacher and the students signal the probability of more solidary and intimate relations throughout the lesson and this is indeed the case as indicated by other discursive features described in Julie's lessons in Chapter 6.

7.4 Skill practices: establishing the discourse

The schematic structure of the skill practice stage of the lesson typically takes the following form (with further multiples possible): orientation ^ practice

7.4.1 Orientation

The skill practice begins either with the organisation of students and equipment and/or an explanation of the task to be executed. The organisation part of the orientation is
characterised by commands realised as imperatives and the explanation, by statements realised as declaratives. These declaratives are usually in the form of requirements or rule-like statements realised grammatically by modulation - that is by modal auxiliaries such as have to, must, got to, should, as in "you have to follow your partner" and "you've got to be ready to catch the ball". In the lessons recorded, the students were usually brought in to form a group in front of the teacher for the explanation or, if they were inside, they sat down to listen where they were. Again the teacher did most of the talking, but students also had some opportunities for clarification questions. Some teachers also asked questions of the students about their understanding of skills; these were most often revision questions and rarely probed for problem-solving answers. This segment could be as short as one or two sentences that consisted of explanations of what the class was going to do or could be extended to a lengthy exposition of how and why these particular practices were to be executed.

In one sense, it is in the explanation section of the lesson that the instructional discourse seems to dominate over the regulatory aspect of pedagogic discourse, except of course for the odd explicit discipline statement or command. However, in practice, this is not the case. In the traditional form of the genre, the frequent references to rules and obligatory behaviour means that rather than statements about the world, propositions that are debatable, the language chosen is usually in the form of modulated declaratives, proposals that encode obligatory behaviour regulating subsequent activity.

Where propositions do occur they often encode statements that constitute the knowledges and beliefs of the normative discourses of sport and physical education: for instance, statements about effort, quality of performance and safety which are reiterated throughout the other stages of the lesson - statements such as "You aim for perfection", "Form is important" and utterances that realise the common moral imperative 'practice makes perfect'.

The following provides a typical example of a skill practice orientation - that is, it is typical in terms of the realisation of its purpose as a section of the lesson and in terms of its broad structure and linguistics features such as speech functions and mood. However, the teacher in constructing the content of this orientation draws on a movement education discourse which by its use appears to indicate idiosyncratic social relations in the lesson which can be linked to the teacher's subjectivity and her positioning of the students.

**Example 4: a movement education discourse**

Barbara: Alright, listening carefully. Going to take your weight on your hands again. Without any equipment, on the floor, but definitely in a wide space of your own, we're going to be practising those handstands. Before you move, who can tell me some of the points that you have to remember?

Student: (unclear)

Barbara: Right, before you start you have to put your foot out. You take a step and take your weight on one foot and kick up one foot at a time. You can kick up two feet at a time in a handstand, but it becomes much harder. We might get up to that when we've got mats, cause often your nose lands on the floor. Its better if it lands on a mat. Right, so one foot at a time. What do I have to do with these? Show me everyone. Show me what you have to do with your arms in a handstand. Where you are. You can do it sitting down. Thank you. Arms have to come up like this. What word should I use in my mind to tell my hands what to do.

Student: Straight.

Barbara: Straight. Thank you. All right Daniel what goes from there. I've got one foot out in front, hands are straight.

Daniel: Your front foot forward.

Barbara: Yes got that.

Student: (unclear)

Barbara: Right kicking up one leg at a time. And what do you have to remember in the air about your feet and your knees? They ..

Student: They stay straight.

Barbara: They stay straight and?

Student: Together.

Barbara: What did you say?

Student: Even.

Barbara: Even

Student: Together.

Barbara: Together. Make sure your knees and your feet are together in the air. Find a space and sit down. We'll check your spacing first of all.

Example 4 has been taken from a Year 7 (lower stream) co-educational gymnastics class taught by a female teacher. The programme for Year 7 gymnastics at the school where this lesson took place, has been influenced by an educational gymnastics (movement education) discourse. This is particularly evidenced in the warm-up section of this lesson where the children are asked to travel in different directions taking their weight on their hands and their feet. In the segment of the lesson quoted above, it is reflected in the
references, "take your weight", 'in a wide space of your own' and in the eliciting of evidence of understanding (and memory) from the students through questions about how the activity needs to be performed to be successful.

As was pointed out in Chapter 3, movement education has most acceptance in Australia within the primary syllabus. This is why if one finds evidence of this discourse at all in the secondary school it is more likely to be with the younger classes. As well as the statements from a movement education discourse, the teacher makes other linguistic choices which transfer the age relations of the primary school into a non-primary context: for instance, Barbara's questions "What do I have to do with these?" to which the students have to respond by raising their hands above their heads and "What word should I use in my mind to tell my hands what to do?". This style of question and answer echoes interactions between small children and their parents or their primary teachers. This whole segment with its references to noses landing on the floor and the clause "we might get up to that" (that is, something more difficult) suggests the penetration of a primary school genre and discourses into the normative genre, discourses and practices of a secondary physical education lesson. The students, fresh out of primary school are familiar with this genre and respond appropriately. It should also be said that the students' age and their positioning in the lower academic streams contributes also to the choice of this genre by the teacher. On the other hand, the teacher has taught in the primary school and is a parent so that adult-child genres of this kind are ones with which she is also very familiar.

Example 5: learning by telling

Julie: Right stop, hold the balls on that person over there please. Person over there's got the ball. A lot of the times, unfortunately we don't throw always the best of passes, so if you throw a pretty rotten pass it's called a ground ball, so let's say I was trying to quickly pick it up and it slips up my hand, you've got to still be ready to catch that ball, even though it might be bouncing along the ground. And especially if a girl bats a ball, if I was batting it, the best way to bat it is hard and down, obviously not in the air, and it's harder to catch on the full. So can the girls over here I want you to throw a ground ball to the girls here, you've got to get under it. If it's rolling on the ground, the idea is to get the fingers of the glove on the ground, so it won't go underneath. If you stand here like this, chances are it'll go straight through, so you get your fingers under, unless it's bouncing at you. You've got to estimate if it's going to bounce up, and you've got to get your glove
Example 5 is the orientation to a skill practice that has followed several other catching and throwing activities with softballs and mits. The lesson was taught by a female teacher to a small Year 8 class of about 16 girls. This example was chosen because it exemplifies a characteristic of the explanations of the three out of the four female teachers recorded for this study - the use of extended orientations that explain how and what to do, but particularly why to do it. These expectations take the form of extended clause complexes with dependent conditional clauses beginning with if, because, so (that) or paratactic extensions beginning with (and) so.

This example also illustrates other characteristics that were more likely to be associated with the female rather than the male teachers. Julie asks the students to be involved in cognitive activity ("to estimate"). She anticipates possible problems and real responses (poor passes) and her use of we ("We don't always throw the best passes") identifies her with the students and the problems accompanying their low levels of skill. She creates a scenario where she is a participant by the use of the first person in "so let's say I was trying ...", shifting from the authority I to the personal I that again identifies her with the girls in the class ("if I was doing the activity ...”). She has a particular credibility in doing this because, where possible, she does indeed accompany the students in performing the activity as well as demonstrating it. Her scenarios and explanations that make causal connections between the manner and consequences of executing a skill, anticipate firstly lack of knowledge and experience, but also that learning and understanding can come through listening and understanding as well as performing activities. This is not to say that explanations, constituted by clause complexes with hypotactic (dependent) extensions are not found in the lessons taught by the male teachers. Rather they are less likely to be found and are more abbreviated when they do occur. Male teachers with male students concentrated less on talking about tasks and more on their performance.
Example 6: learning by doing

Greg: Righto, hold the ball. (Pause), hold the ball. Thanks. (Pause) There are a couple of people who are still, I asked you to use two hands, and passing with two hands. Look at the person you're passing to, look at their chest. Danny. I want you to now try and do the bounce pass. Bounce the ball so it's about two thirds away across to the other person. Not in the middle. If I do it here, it's going to bounce too high. If I do it here, it's at his feet and it could hurt him. So two thirds like bounce is up to waist high to chest high. The same actions used before. Right off you go.

In this example the description of what the students will do is realised by commands expressed as imperatives, beginning with "look at", "bounce", or declaratives beginning "I want you to". The teacher does provide a brief explanation (underlined), accompanied by a demonstration (glossed as, 'if I do this, look this will happen'), but this are short and to the point. The conditional clauses are not part of long paratactic or hypotactic sequences as above, but are part of shorter sentences containing no more that two or at the most three clauses. The teacher is not settling into a long explanation, rather 'this is what you do next, now get on with it'. The expectation here seems to be firstly, that the students have some prior knowledge that will fill in the gaps and secondly, that they will learn by watching and doing rather than listening and understanding.

From the examples above it seems that the female teachers in their enactment of the genre spend more time in the lesson on explicit explanations of skills and making connections between activity and its consequences - they include an expectation of cognitive activity not directly linked to the execution of skills. The male teachers describe and expect the students to learn through their execution of the skills. This observation was almost universal in the lessons recorded for the study. This next example is an interesting exception.

Example 7: an exception to the rule

Matt: Alright listening. In a moment we're going to just break up into pairs. As a few of you have said that you haven't done much volleyball or the skills at volleyball when it's that good..., what are you asking to do newcomers and things like that, we've done that in Year 7 Year 8. Now you've developed the skills a little bit and that's what we'll spend a few minutes on now. The two basic shots in volleyball, the overhead set shot which is where the ball's high you play the shot and the dig where it's low, and we'll practise...
those two in a moment. The overhead if the ball's up high. So ideally you always try and get under it. Girls! I know your not doing it but just keep that ball still please. You try and get underneath it if possible. Always get two hands to the ball so the set shots or the overhead shots, all shots in volleyball, particularly those you're using the fingertips. It's not coming down and going smack on the hands, it's a push with the fingertips. The shape or the best way to do it is not just over this way, you've gotta get right underneath the ball, and the hand and fingers spread. Just try it and have a look up and you should see a spade shape. One of them cards with your fingers spread up. That's the actual action. And you don't just stand there and hit it. It's getting down low and you use your knees and a push. So in your pairs in a moment you'll be going over. One person can just throw it up, and the other person can just push it back to them, and then you can swap roles. The other one I want you to practise is the dig, which is down low for any low balls you've gotta get down to it. Now a lot of people have trouble how to hold their hands together. The best way is to just cradle one hand in the other. And it's not hitting it with your fist or your hand, where you hit is on the wrist. So you should be making a sort of a cradle. Put your arms together it's no use out here like that the balls going to go through. Hands together and that's where it's hitting. So if Kim throws the ball to me, right, it's actually hitting the wrist. And again it's just not a bash, it's getting the legs down and just lifting the body up, not moving the hands much at all. Right in your pairs try and find a dry spot not too far away, practise the overhead and the dig. I'll come round to each group in a moment.

This last example is interesting because it involves a lengthy explanation but, at the same time, is produced by a male teacher. The difference, however, between this and other lessons taught by male teachers is that this class consists entirely of female students. This raises the tantalising question as to whether it is the female teachers personal characteristics, their subjectivity, which determines the explanation mode described above or is it the subjects with whom they are interacting. In other words, is it something about the female students that elicits these detailed expositions? The answer seems to be that both are the case. The male teacher above was recorded twice - once teaching a volleyball lesson to female students and once teaching a baseball lesson to male students and he did spend much more time explaining skill practices to the girls than the boys. This seemed to be primarily explicable by the lack of experience, skill and enthusiasm of the girls and the contrasting enthusiasm and desire to get on with the activity of the boys. On the other hand an analysis of his explanation to the female students reveals interesting differences (and similarities) from that of the female teachers quoted above. Firstly, Example 7 is actually the explanation for two skill practices - the overhead set shot and the dig - hence the length. Secondly, rather than a series of clause complexes characterised by hypotactic
(dependency) relations, the explanation consists of a long series of independent clauses that elaborate on one another:

It's not coming down and going smack on the hands, it's a push with the fingertips. The shape or the best way to do it is not just over this way, you've gotta get right underneath the ball, and the hand and fingers spread.

These are not explanations why but descriptions of how to do the skills. They are stated as undebatable propositions about how things are. Where there are possibilities that the description could be expressed in ways that make reasons for doing a particular movement more explicit, appropriate conjunctions are ellipsed, so that the clauses appear to stand independently of one another. For instance:

The other one (I want you to practise) is the dig, which is down low. For any low balls you've gotta get down to it. Now a lot of people have trouble how to hold their hands together. The best way is to just cradle one hand in the other. And it's not hitting it with your fist or your hand, where you hit is on the wrist. So you should be making a sort of a cradle.

Neither is "So if Kim throws the ball to me", a conditional clause explaining causality. Rather it is a very indirect request for Kim to throw the ball to the teacher so that he can demonstrate the dig.

In such a lengthy orientation the low incidence of modulation is also surprising. Other forms of expression that seem to perform the rule-like function of modulation are used, such as "the best way to do...". What is more apparent are the frequent incidences of modality - that is, expressions of uncertainty or lack of definiteness, such as are expressed grammatically by the modal adjuncts just, only, ideally and in the modal auxiliaries can and should as in "you should see a spade shape". I would argue that expressions such as "try and get underneath" in the context of this example, also serve to imply an approximation rather than a definite achievement of a goal. As has been argued elsewhere, in relation to a female teacher teaching female students, the use of modality in this context is used to encourage or cajole anticipated (and actual) reluctant students. This also fits with the first few lines of this example, where the teacher, by referring to the
students past experience and their existing competencies, appears to be reassuring them that this lesson will not be difficult but will extend skills that they already have.

The use of modality may also be accounted for in part by the possibility of the teacher's uncertainty or un-ease in anticipating the potential foregrounding of heterosexual relations in ways that might challenge his control of the lesson. In the lessons recorded for this study, male teachers teaching female students seem always to be at risk in this regard. In their relation to students as teachers, explicitly sexual exchanges initiated by female students generally appear to leave the male teacher at a disadvantage. If as teacher, he asserts his control by attempting to return the talk to more task-oriented matters he may lose out in the context of male/female relations. On the other hand, accepting a positioning in a heterosexual discourse means bringing into play genres likely to be disruptive to the purposes of the lesson and in which his authority as teacher is less salient. In other words it means exposing himself to the risk of losing authority as teacher, by accepting a relationship as sexual adversary in an exchange over which he may have little control. Moreover, where the student initiates the shift in genre he may well be positioned by her use of heterosexual discourses as object rather than subject - that is, she may well interpellate him into the discourse as sexual object, as was the case with Don, a machismo male vulnerable to teasing about his ability and power. Matt generally chose the former option by reasserting his position as teacher, often with a short laugh as he did so - there seemed to be some consciousness of the delicacy and risk involved.

7.4.2 Practice: freedom, resistance and regulation

The commencement of the practice segment is usually signalled by a directive to begin practising the activities outlined in the orientation. The teacher talk shifts from addressing the whole class, to providing encouragement and advice to one individual or group as the teacher circulates amongst the students practising the skill. For some teachers in the lessons recorded, this entailed very minimal interaction and the students were left to
practise with little teacher intervention; other teachers moved from group to group monitoring behaviour and providing continuous feedback. The physical organisation of the class was much more fluid in this segment, although sometimes pairs of students were lined up along two lines of a sports field.

The practice segment allows for more independent student behaviour because the organisational arrangements tend to allow students more freedom from direct teacher surveillance. Because the teacher is talking to one group or one student at a time, the remaining students can talk to each other or if they are far enough away from the teachers' gaze and, if they so desire, can stop practising altogether. Thus this segment provides some opportunities for independent resistance or, in some instances, student creativity - anything from throwing the ball half way across the field when they have been told to stay close together to the creativity possible in gymnastics and dance. In the traditionally 'effective' physical educational lesson, of course, illegitimate student creativity and resistance will be minimised by the teacher's skill at surveillance under these less easily regulated arrangements. On the other hand, the release from whole class instruction means that the teacher can attend to individual students' behaviour which means s/he can both regulate and monitor what individual bodies are doing - that is, ensuring that individual students perform tasks that they may be very reluctant to do, such as vaulting over a box or a backward roll. Furthermore, it provides the teacher with the opportunity to make evaluative comments on students' performances - for the most part these are likely to be positive but in some cases, students may come under a scrutiny which elicits negative evaluations from the teacher.

Grammatically the practice segment is expressed primarily by commands realised as imperatives. Many of the statements/declaratives function as feedback and praise.

Example 8: male teacher with male students

Matt: You guys can start. Work out right hand left hand. Once you've got a glove and a ball move up and start going. Alright the rest of you, (short pause)
Play! Righto (in response to boys comments that they wouldn't normally be doing anything more than the game)
You guys right? Watch your heads. Who hasn't got a partner?
(long pause)
Alright don't forget both hands, alright use the other one to follow it in. Let's go. That's better. Just keep the other one to hold it in there. Don't snatch at it Warren, let it just go in. Where's your partner?
Student: Went ( ) to get the ball.
Student: I haven't got a partner sir.
Matt: You haven't? Get a glove. What did you do with the ( )?² Get a glove and join Steven. Just form a group of three, take it in turns, right? So at least you're having a few hits. Patrick, you've got Matthew in your group as well.
Matt: Oh, don't snatch.
Student: See that, see that, see that?
Matt: Oh brilliant Marco. (pause) Tim, straighten the arm out. Move in Phil.
(long pause)
Alright (whistle) hold it there boys.

Example 8 comes from a baseball lesson taught to a small group of male Year 8 students by a male teacher. The boys were lined up along two widely spaced lines on a football field, so that the teacher could easily walk up and down and patrol the class. Much of the talk was directed towards sorting out problems of partnership and equipment. The coaching points were brief and in the form of commands expressed as imperatives. The teacher moved quickly from one pair to another along the line. The boys' talk to the teacher was about their performance, except for some comments at the beginning of this example that seem to indicate that the boys would not normally participate in any extended skill practice but go right into the game. This segment is characteristic of all skill practices in this lesson.

Example 9: female teacher with female students

Barbara: (to whole class) Alright, try to change those. Whose having problems with backward rolls? Put your hand up. Okay. (Girls talking in background) We'll keep on them for a few minutes.
(to individual students) Go, tuck down, hands at the back. Yes, keep your knees to your chest. Go. (pause) What's the problem with that? The only thing you did was hold your head, instead of leaving your hands flat on the floor. Right, the palms of your hands have to go, otherwise you can't push up. You're not going to push round your head, to come up (laughing), right you've gotta push off the mat. (Pause) Anyone else with problems with backward rolls. Corinne!, c'mon keep it going. (Pause) Very good. C'mon, ready and (pause). Right now, what's happening to her legs? They're coming off her chest, aren't they and going up in the air. If you put them down you'll roll.
(Pause- laughing and talking in background).

² Underlining here signifies loudness.
Girl: I'm having problems.
Barbara: You're having problems? Alright show me. Turn around, tuck down. You've got no speed. Oh look you can do that, you just need a bit of speed to get over, some momentum. If you start sitting down you've got nothing to push back, if you start on your feet and you tip back, and then you've got the speed to go over. No it won't, not if you keep tucked and keep your knees to your chest.

Girl: This is the way, you do it like that?
Barbara: Yes. Alright sitting down girls.

Example 9 is taken from a girls' Year 9 gymnastic lesson. The teacher spends most of her time in this segment giving concentrated advice to one or two students who need help in performing the skill successfully. She analyses the problem then provides a solution. At one stage she enlists another student in her observation and analysis. Instructions are expressed as modulated declaratives - that is, what you have to do to - with explanations of why you have to do it this way. Again there are echoes here of a movement education approach, a concern to develop an understanding of movement practices, that is, a broader educational and cognitive purpose that is made explicit through language, rather than assuming that an understanding will be learned solely through doing.

Example 10: male teacher with female students

Matt: Right in your pairs try and find a dry spot not too far away, practise the overhead and the dig. I'll come round to each group in a moment. (small pause) Right, Kim, what you're doing, you're kept sort of virtually catching it at the fingertips. Right, just if one just throws it it's better, up. You just hit it back Tane. So you throw it, you throw it to Kim. Don't worry about you doing it. You just throw it to her so she can practise, right you catch it, yeah, that's the idea.

Student: I thought you were supposed to do that.
Matt: No, don't punch it, always fingertips sort of, nice and soft. Do a few more to her then swap over and you do it. Girls it's better if just one person throws while one person tries to do it. No don't catch it, up nice and high, fingertips. Up high that's it. Fingertips. That's the idea keep it going. (wind interference) Alright. Yeah, just stop here. Remember the spade shape the fingers are up there ready, right, so it's a push with the fingertips. That's a bit better. So hands together, try and get that spade shape so you're watching the ball coming down. Right so push it back up. Yeah, good! Yeah, that's alright, you have to leave the ground. Right make sure it flows up fairly high as well. Girls rather than just standing there you could grab a ball as well.

Student: (unclear)
Student: Its dirty.
Matt: Oh don't worry about dirt you can wash your hands. The three of you can do it, do it in three. One of you throw it and one of you do it. Thats it throw it up, yeah. The throws gotta be up, up fairly high, alright if you go to do a dig. Fine.

Girl: (unclear)
Matt: No always up on the roof. Good. Alright girls try the dig now, you've done a few of that. The dig! If you throw it to me, right, just nice and soft like that.
So you're using your legs, I'm not just hitting the arms I'm just virtually keeping them straight. Good, so you're controlling the ball. Throw it up a big higher so it's coming from over the net. Its alright, what's the (rest unclear) (girls talking in background) Alright, try and get it on the wrist, so bend down.

Girl: Miss Cleal's gonna know why're we so dirty and we're gonna blame it all on you.

Matt: Aw that's alright.

Girl: We got in trouble last time.

Matt: Put your hands together, cradle your hands, right. Cradle your hands up. (scream) How's it going. Alright? Girls move over here where there's no water, be a lot easier. C'mon keep going

Girl: See I've gone all red.

Paul: You'll be right.

Girl: Aw yeah.

(Pause)

Paul: Where's your partner gone Julie?

Girl: He's got a hot body eh? (a comment about a male student crossing the field)

Paul: Where's your partner gone?

Julie: Huh?

Paul: Where's your partner?

Girl: We're lookin at somethin else.

Paul: (laugh) Kim! Alright girls just bring em in with your groups. Girls, hold the volleyballs still just come back in quickly please.

Examples 8, 9 and 10 all have indications of pauses indicating the teacher's silence. The first example from Year 8 boys baseball lesson taught by a male teacher has much longer pauses than either of Example 9 from the gymnastic lesson. On one hand, this may be a function of the field of activity - games as compared to gymnastics - perhaps due to the comparative degree of difficulty and novelty of the skills for the students. However, this same male teacher has far fewer pauses when he was recorded teaching volleyball skills to a year 9 class of female students (Example 10). The talk, in this example, is much more constant, explaining and encouraging the students. Several times Matt chooses to use declarative forms to function as commands ("You just throw it to her") rather than imperatives. These describe the actions that the students needs to do to perform the skill more proficiently, so that in the declarative form they function more as suggestions rather than unambiguous commands. Some are made even more conditional by the addition of if as in "Girls, it's better if one just throws it while one person tries to do it". The modal adjunct just is also used frequently. As described in Chapter 6 for Matt's case study, this use of language together with other expressions of encouragement and reassurance (see the orientation section quoted above) and the constant talk that accompanies their participation, positions the students as reluctant participants not only in the activities but
in the pedagogic discourse of physical education. A positioning to which at least some of them contribute themselves. This seemed to be the case, for instance, with the reiteration of comments about the dirt and the mud that intersperse this segment of the volleyball lesson and in the comments about a passing male student. It would seem that, for both female and male teachers in this study, physical skills are perceived, and anticipated to be, always a novelty and difficult for female students.

Absent from the transcripts of lessons, except for brief segments when the student-student exchanges are close enough to be caught on tape were the genres and discourses that students employed in their interactions with one another. In Example 10, the comment from Julie to her friend Rebecca (underlined) makes it obvious that they are not speaking as subjects of a pedagogic/task-related discourse but rather from as participants in a 'girl-talk' genre which offers an instantiation of a heterosexual discourse. Thus they position themselves as subjects of a discourse which in this case positions males (in this case a male student) as the object of an evaluating female gaze. The teacher's attempt to interpellate them as subjects of a physical education discourse is resisted through a reference to activity that literally goes outside the spatial constraints of the lesson: "We're looking at something else".

In a further example, the girls in a softball lesson, seated near the researcher while waiting their turn to bat, were overheard discussing with some expertise the best shampoo to use. It becomes quite clear from these two examples alone that the transcripts are very limited representations of the lessons. They provide some indication of the construction of genres by the teacher and students in and through their talk with each other but omit the multiplicity and variety of the discourses and genres constructed and reproduced by the activity of students with each other. From the little that was overheard, I have a strong sense that the female students were more likely to employ private/social genres which had little to do with the tasks or the discourses of the physical education lesson than were the male students. As one female teacher suggested, physical education
lessons provide the female students with an opportunity outside the restriction of the classroom to engage in more social exchanges.

Example 11:

Don: Righto, one at a time using the length. (unclear) you guys one at a time using the length of the mat. (pause) Good boy. Mark! one at a time using the length of the mat. A little bit too heavy at the moment mate, you're not strong enough in the shoulders. You've just gotta keep practising it, you'll get it. Corinne don't worry about your skirt. How ya going? Control it. Keep your legs together. Thats not too bad. (pause) What's wrong? Hurt your wrist? (pause) (Name) show me. Whose your partner, use the arm. Show me Jenny, round the other way for a starter Jenny so you work the same way each time. Well put your head down here. Right now bring your toes into here. Bring your toes into there. Walk your toes in. Right, now push up with your toes so you've only got the mat. Right walk your toes into here. Right now lift your knee up onto there. Lift your other knee up onto your other arm. Lift your other knee up, that's it. Righto people sitting down.

This example comes from a co-educational Year 7 gymnastics lesson taught by a male teacher. The lesson also follows a school Year 7 program that has been influenced by movement education principles (as described above for Example 4). However there is little evidence of these principles in this excerpt. Rather the coaching points are clearly instructional, realised for the most part as one clause imperatives, such as "Walk your toes into here". The teacher's directed method of instruction is typical of the physical education lesson genre and he positions himself and his students (in this case a male student) centrally in relation to the traditional physical education discourse by his statement, "You've just gotta keep practising it, you'll get it".

This brief example is clearly indicative of the close relation between discourses of sexuality with the practices and operations of power in physical education. The teacher interpellates the male student in a discourse that recognises male solidarity by referring to him as mate and by sharing understandings about the development of male strength. Further he acknowledges the male student's capability to perform the skill and after a some encouraging words, leaves the student to get on with his task. On the other hand, one female student receives comments about her dress (which do not acknowledge the embarrassment she may be feeling at having to invert herself in front of the boys while
wearing a skirt), another is given detailed instructions, some physical assistance and faint praise. This is not to say that the female student may not have needed and, indeed, may have welcomed the assistance to perform the task. The point is, rather that discourses of sexuality permeate the genre. In doing so they not only reproduce patriarchal definitions of masculinity and femininity in the wider society but allow the relations of power that are incorporated in these discourses to underpin the social relations in physical education lessons. Thus girls are not only positioned as subordinate because they are students but, particularly, when taught by male teachers are also positioned as subordinate as female. This positioning is further exacerbated when the positioning of women in relation to the discourses of sport is taken into account.

Another example from the skill development stage of this lesson is worth including because it provides further indications of this teacher's subjectivity and the way in which he positions female and male students and himself in relation to discourses of masculinity and femininity. At a later point in the lesson the teacher indicated that the class was going to do another skill practice, "this time something that the girls will be a lot better at than the boys". The skill referred to was a bridge or back arch. The implication was that the boys were better at the handstands and strength activities but that there was something (one thing?) that the girls could do better. The teacher selected a female student to demonstrate her ability to help her partner up into the bridge, as

one of the best at it out of this whole group of spotting and using her strength. She's probably not as strong as half the boys but she can easily get it up because she gets in a good position. ... Watch how she lifts her up. There's hardly any effort at all when she does it properly. (from a male student: Bull )

Unfortunately the student did not manage to fulfil that promise and amid laughter and wolf whistles her partner collapsed. The teacher's response was scathing: "Why can't you do it right, you did it right five times in a row and then you do it in front of everyone and stuff it up". At this point the teacher in an aside to the student asked, "What time does the bell go?" It seems he has had enough. Perhaps the stress of having both myself and
the principal observing his lesson has been too much. This last episode in part seems to have been an attempt to demonstrate his even-handedness - he sets the girls up with an opportunity to succeed and they fail themselves.

7.5 *Skill Application: playing the game*

The schematic structure of the skill application stage of the lesson typically takes the following form: orientation ∧ application.

The orientation segment of this stage, like those in other stages is constituted by a predominance of commands, realised as imperatives when the teacher is organising the group and a predominance of statements, realised as declaratives, when the teacher is explaining the activity. This is often an extended segment that involves explaining the rules, the organisation and sometimes the strategies of the game. Because of this, the teachers usually ask whether what has been explained has been understood and students usually ask questions for clarification. This is often the most verbally interactive segment of the lesson, and one where students sometimes have the opportunity to take responsibility for the choosing of teams or groups and the organisation and placement of players.

The application segment of the lesson can take a variety of forms depending on the type of lesson. However, it generally extends the students' freedom to participate without supervision and even in games lessons increases opportunities to be creative and to take initiatives in performance of skills. Thus, in gymnastics lessons, students might work on tasks on the large apparatus; in games lessons, they are likely to play a traditional sport or a modified version of it; and in dance, students will perform a specific dance to music or create their own. The degree of freedom varies from area to area, and within areas, depending partially on the intentions of the teacher and the social relations that they choose to create in and through the lesson. The closer the lesson comes to the practices
and discourses of traditional physical education, the more restricted the opportunities for
the kinds of freedom described above. However, the analysis carried out for this study
also suggests that the intersection of gender with physical education areas may also have
some bearing on this. The close regulation and encouragement through constant teacher
talk that occurred in the girls' lessons, described so far, was also evident in the
monitoring of games, gymnastics and, by female teachers, in social dance. The boys
tended to be left to play their games, with the male teachers acting primarily as referees
and then only with minimal interventions. In gymnastics, the boys were left to their vaults
and somersaults with teacher intrusion only when a boy obviously needed help to execute
a skill or when intervention was needed for safety.

The playing of a game in the lesson calls upon a number of other genres and discourses
associated with sport, including interactions between referees and players, and those
between the coaches and players. The former would be more concerned with rules and
controlling the game, the latter with providing specific guidance to the team and
individuals in the team as to how they could improve their performance. In organised
competitions outside the school, these genres would normally be separate but in a
physical education lesson the teacher calls on these genres, shifting from one to the other
as the case demands.

The minimum of teacher talk therefore in this stage usually takes the form of calling the
score or infringements - talk characteristic of an umpire or referee - with occasional
coaching points (see Example 12 below) for individual students and evaluative comments
about performance, usually in the lessons recorded, in the form of praise. However,
some teachers, and from the teachers recorded it would seem to be primarily the female
teachers, continued to locate themselves and the students in a pedagogic discourse that
took as its object the new understandings that could be acquired through playing the
game, like strategic play or appropriate attitudes and conduct to the game.
Example 11: learning to play the game

Julie: Right first batter up, um and I'm going to umpire from here so I won't get hit.

Girl: (word)

Julie: You don't mind? Okay, off you go. (pause) Wide ball one. Take your time, stop it behind there Nada. (pause)

Girl: (unclear)

Julie: Strike one, ball one. Yeah move back a bit with me.

Girl: (unclear)

Julie: Sshh. Low strike one, ball two, come on, get it up a bit, not so hard till you get your eye in. (pause) Foul, strike two ball two, now get ready on first. Can we bring in the field here, and move over a bit there, and you come in closer here. Right. (pause) And, she's out. Girls just don't ever give up, let's just say she threw a rotten pass there Kim, then you know you should still try and run to first. One out two to go, good catching. Everyone get ready. (pause) And quick, out. Kim, ah Belinda you're standing on home plate, stand to the side of home plate, right, two out one to go, come on team. (pause) Went for it, strike one. Don't go for it unless it's a really good ball for you Lisa.

Girl: (unclear)

Julie: Ooh strike two. Don't worry come on just practice concentrate. Right that's the girl, let those go, strike two ball one.

Girl: (unclear)

Julie: Get ready, strike three, got to go, and she's safe on first. Now if she had have been caught behind, without the catcher dropping it she would have been out. Right, so you've got to get ready behind there catcher. High, ball one, get ready for big hits out there.

Girl: What?

Julie: Get ready there cause she's hitting big. (pause)

In this segment from a softball lesson with female Year 9 students, the female teacher is umpiring but she is also using the situation to continue teaching skills and particularly to develop an understanding of strategies. As was described above, the characteristic clause complexes are again evident, with several dependent and independent clauses establishing causal relations. The teacher continues to closely monitor and regulate behaviour both in terms of the whole group as she adjusts the field placements and in terms of individual performances ("Don't go for it unless it's a really good ball for you Lisa"). Further she attempts to regulate moral behaviour in ways that are particularly pertinent to the discourse of physical education. Her exhortation, "Girls, just don't ever give up, ... you know you should still try to run" encodes the ethic of effort and 'never say die' that is characteristic of competitive sport in the public arena.
In contrast Example 12 demonstrates a mix of umpiring and regulatory talk that is characteristic of most male teachers. This example has if anything more teaching or instructional content than was the case, for instance, in an indoor hockey game refereed by Paul. In this game Paul rarely interfered, even to call the score. The boys and the two girls who had also joined the game continued to play what was a fairly rough game, with considerable contact without the intervention of the teacher. In contrast, Paul described an incident where a female teacher at his school was concerned by the overly aggressive and competitive behaviour of some of her female students. He believed that such behaviour should be encouraged rather than discouraged. The girls should have been encouraged "to get in there and give (their) best" rather than "being calmer and more lady-like''.

In Example 12, the boys comments demonstrate their knowledgeable relation to the discourse of the game and the confidence that follows from this in being able to contest the umpire/teacher's decisions. Like the female teacher in Example 11, Matt also offers coaching points to individual students but is less likely to make a general teaching point to the whole class. He draws on the resources of a coaching genre that realises coaching or instructional discourses aimed at facilitating one person's performance through statements like, "Let it just go into your glove. Don't snatch at it, it'll fold up by itself". Julie also draws on the discourses associated with a coaching genre - that is, that are concerned with improving individual performance, but these are interspersed with recursions of a pedagogic discourse which both instructs the whole class in strategic play and also teaches appropriate attitudes to the game.

Example 12: playing the game

Matt: Alright batter up. (pause) Righto let's go, play ball. Ball!
Boy: Strike one! (laugh)
Matt: Ball one.
Boy: Carl! get another leather ball out of there please.
Boy: Sir you're distracting him.
Matt: Strike! strike one, ball one. Thank you. Righto. Bring it back. One to one. Ball! Too low, ball in. Don't worry about it. Stefan, Stefan! ball in. Do you want another one? Ball two. Strike! Strike two, ball two. Guys in the field, up on your feet. Could come straight at ya. Ball! That's ball three, strike
three. Ball in. Stefan! don't worry (if) ones go past you. Ball too low. First base. Next batter.

Boy: That's ball three.

Matt: I'm the umpire Marco, shut up. (Laugh)

Boy: Ball four, that was only ball three.

Boy: Shane let me have a few pitches.

Matt: Just go for accuracy Shane. Keep the speed down a bit, right? Just go over the plate. Let's go. Strike! (name) let it just go into your glove. Don't snatch at it, it'll fold up by itself. Ball! second base. Here it comes. Matthew, hit that one over here. Alright let's go. Strike! Strike two, ball one.

(long pause)

Ball!

(Pause)


Boy: Ball three.

Matt: Ball two. It's a foul.

Boy: Why?

Matt: Just touched. Just touched it.

Boy: Aww.

Matt: Still two two. Strike two ball two. Ball! off the plate. Strike two, ball two, ball three. Ball three, let's go. That's ball four, take a walk.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have endeavoured to demonstrate the ways in which the superordinate genre of the physical education lesson is constituted in and through genres and discourses drawn from sport, from health/fitness, from gymnastics and from movement education. These are genres and discourses that one would expect to find in contemporary physical education lessons given the history of physical education, the constitution of the Syllabus and the training and experiences of the teachers as skilled participators. As such the schematic structure, linguistic features, social and spatial relations of the lesson take a predictable or determining form which constrains what other discourses, social relations and genres are possible. All lessons described in this study are recognisably physical education lessons both visually through dress, use of specialised spaces and through the activities that students and teachers engage in, and linguistically, through tenor, field and mode realisations.

Such a description of the superordinate genre that forms the larger frame does not take into account the heteroglossia of discourses and genres that teachers and students as
diverse and often contesting subjectivities bring to bear on the dynamic exchanges that constitute the lessons. However as Threadgold and Kress (1988) point out the degree to which other genres are possible is a function of the social control exerted over the construction of the texts. The traditional lesson plan structure, the conservative nature of a skill acquisition discourse and the authoritative position of the teacher constrain diversity and dialogism in physical education lessons, so that as Hargreaves suggests they are "one of the most ritualised aspects of the school curriculum" (1986: p.166). Despite syllabus changes, the skill acquisition approach of the games tradition remains strong, colonising all areas of the curriculum including dance and gymnastics. In social dance and jazz dance, dances are broken down into constituent steps; in gymnastics, specific skills modified from artistic gymnastics are taught through approximations or lead-up activities. A directed teaching approach which establishes the teacher as authority, who imparts his/her knowledge through commands and instructional statements, prevails over other possible modes such as problem-solving or creative improvisation. Thus the practices associated with the normative genre reproduce discourses and power relations which invest control of knowledge and the disciplining of bodies with teachers. The control which physical education teachers have over students bodies is recognised by the school so that they are frequently given responsibility for controlling the student body on occasions when students have to be organised en masse.

The superordinate genre of the physical education lesson does not preclude the possibility of other genres and discourses. However, the degree to which dialogism was possible varied from lesson to lesson and in the lessons studied was more common in lessons taught by female teachers to female and co-educational classes and was more restricted in lessons taught to male students by male teachers. In the latter group of lessons, interactions rarely involved calling on genres other than those contributing to general purpose of skill acquisition and practice. Ironically, it was the male students who experienced physical education as a freedom from the physical constraints and cognitive demands of the classroom (see Chapter 5). For the boys, the ritual of physical education,
particularly games, was liberating in relation to the physical space it employed but also in its familiarity. As one male teacher suggested the boys do in physical education what they do in their leisure time at recess and lunch and outside school hours - physical education is more like play than school work. (This is also one of the reasons the boys object to dance - it does not fit with this notion of physical education; it belongs to another sphere of social activity and incorporates different practices and social relations with which they are far less comfortable.) What the boys enjoy about physical education is the opportunity for vigorous competitive play preferably involving some rough and tumble. As the sites of recontextualised sports discourses and practices their experiences in games lessons also accord with their understanding of themselves as male. Put another way, male students are already constituted as disciplined and knowing subjects of a masculine sports discourse in which they have been positioned through their interactions with family, peers and the media from a very early age. As compliant and enthusiastic subjects they are less likely to recognise the constraints of a genre and discourse in which they are so centrally positioned.

For female students, the normative discourses and practices of the physical education lesson are less congruent with their sense of themselves as female. While several female students also said that they enjoyed physical education for the freedom that it provided from the restrictions of the classroom, these were all highly skilled participators. For other female students, regulation through the enforcement of uniform rules and the compulsion to participate in activities for which they either had no liking or were simply afraid to do, interfered with their enjoyment of lessons. As has been described in this chapter and in Chapter 6, female teachers and the one male teacher recorded teaching female students were more likely to engage in linguistic practices which were very specific in their regulation of students' bodies and which served at the same time to encourage and to constrain the female students, than was the case for male teachers with male students.
It would seem that the ritual aspects of physical education as recontextualisations of the masculine practice of sport are not experienced as natural or habitual for many female students. Further their teachers in anticipating their resistance both encourage and attempt to regulate their dress, their attitudes and their bodies in ways that were inconsistent with the students own interests and needs/resires. In contrast to the positioning of most of the male teachers in a sports discourse which emphasised skill acquisition and competitive achievement, the female teachers were more likely to foreground the educational and personal development aims of physical education. As such, they were more concerned to situate skill acquisition within detailed explanations of how and why skills should be performed, as well as emphasising the harmonious social relations between students and proper attitudes to activity. Whereas the female teachers appeared in their language choices to be less authoritarian, more tolerant and even actively productive of more intimate and more solidary social relations, in anticipating student resistance and in their expectations of appropriate behaviour, they were in their practices more regulating of students' behaviour. While the male students were allowed to get on with with the tasks with some degree of independence, the female students were closely monitored, praised and instructed throughout the lesson. Female students were anticipated as requiring disciplining, as embodying physical illiteracy, and consequently as potentially resistant. The compliance of female students in dance and gymnastics and the resistance of male students to the same discourses seemed to go unremarked except by teachers who were themselves powerfully positioned in relation to these discourses and also by some male and female students.

Resistant practices on the part of the female student took many forms, varying from avoiding the lesson by leaving her uniform at home, to lying on the grass and looking up at the sky while the lesson went on around her, or, of more interest to the discussion in this chapter, by introducing non-normative genres to the lesson. As was pointed out above in the boys' lessons, the mix of genres accorded with what one would expect in a typical physical education lesson anywhere. However, in classes which included female
students, genres that constructed other social realities and subjects (Kress and Threadgold, 1986) appeared. Female students and more rarely female teachers were more likely to initiate what might be broadly termed interpersonal genres usually found in private interactions between same sex or different sex peers or with older friends. Invariably these genres, in some way shifted the social relations operating in the superordinate genre of the lesson towards more intimate or solidary relations that decreased the power/knowledge base of the teacher. For instance, the introduction of a genre that foregrounded heterosexual relations by female students in Don's lesson (see Chapter 6) allowed the students to take up a less compliant, more challenging relation as female to male which was less likely to put them at risk of punishment compared to the risk incurred if challenging the teacher from their positioning as students in relation to the superordinate pedagogic genre and discourse. Don's compliance with this genre signals the possibility for further exchanges of this kind throughout the lesson and in doing so establishes a relation with the students that goes beyond the intruding genres to the lesson as a whole. Thus sexual relations become important in regulating all of his interactions with the female students and by extension the male students - that is, students are first and foremost female or male.

In the context of the co-educational physical education lessons, the contestive 'voices' of the female students, intersecting with other practices, spatial relations and bodily practices such as avoiding tasks and participation in the game, contribute to the construction of girls as uninterested in physical activity, as incompetent or lacking in the skill and enthusiasm of the boys. In other words their 'voice', their subjectivity in relation to physical activity has no value in the context of the discourses and practices, the knowledge/power relations of a typical physical education lesson. Female students marginalise themselves through a resistance that reinforces their relation to the patriarchal discourses of heterosexual relations. Some male teachers are complicit in this positioning by recognising and engaging in exchanges that foreground sexual relations in ways that
allow them to ignore female students as subjects of pedagogic discourses and practices that take skill development as their object.
Chapter 8

THE MAIN ISSUES REVISITED: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The major thrust of this thesis has been to examine the contribution that teaching practices and particular linguistic practices in physical education lessons make to the production and reproduction of cultural discourses of masculinity and femininity and how these discourses intersect with other discourses associated with the practice of physical activity in Australian culture. Although the study was originally conceived within the parameters of ethnography, the development of a focus on the linguistic practices in the lessons necessitated a more focused approach drawing on specific theories that addressed the meaning-making function of language within a social and cultural context. More particularly, it required a theory or theories that linked language, consciousness and sexuality. It is with poststructuralism and particularly with feminist poststructuralist writers that these connections are most usefully made in terms of the data produced in and around the transcripts of teacher-pupil interactions collected for this study.

The ideas of Michel Foucault have informed the structure and much of the analysis that constitutes the argument of this thesis. In particular, the notion of discourses as historically and culturally produced systems of knowledge and values has made it
essential to examine the constitution of certain relevant discourses in order to understand the meanings made possible in and through the genre of the physical education lesson. Similarly, to interpret the meaning-making behaviour of teachers and students, it has been necessary to identify those positions in discourse from which they are most likely to speak as male or female. An analysis of the media's contribution to the circulation of discourses of masculinity and femininity, of sport and physical activity, and of the intersection of the two has also been important in understanding students' and teachers' relation to the dominant discourses of the physical education lesson genre.

8.1 The regulative nature of traditional physical education

Physical education is a powerful site for the regulation and inscription of bodies. Male and female bodies, their appearance, their state of wellness or disease, their competency in the performance of specific skills are the central concerns of the discourses and practices that constitute the genre of the physical education lesson. Contemporary discourses of health, as disease prevention through lifestyle change, have profoundly influenced the legitimation of physical education in the curriculum and as a result, practices in schools, by linking physical activity to fitness and well-being. For female students, the intersection of these discourses with a patriarchal discourse of femininity as sexual attractiveness has extended the meaning of fitness to incorporate the ideal female image as a slim, toned body shape. As Tinning (1985) has pointed out, physical educators, as well as the fashion industry, the media and the fitness industry are implicated in constructing an idealised feminine image that is unattainable but desired by most women. The public exposure that is part of participation in physical education, together with rituals that have the body as their object, facilitate the process in and through which bodies, social relations and subjectivities are constructed. Moreover the centrality of the body, the assumption of the body and physical ability as biologically constituted, in physical education naturalises this process.
What became most apparent even on a first reading of the transcripts of lessons recorded for this study were two interdependent phenomena. The most obvious was the overwhelming predominance of teacher talk and the minimal engagement of students in talk with the teacher. To a certain extent this is predictable given the physical and procedural nature of the lesson. The teacher talked and the students responded physically. What this means however is that the teachers have or expect to have complete control over what students do with their bodies and where, when and how they do it. In a traditionally 'effective' lesson, students' behaviour will be constantly under surveillance, not only from the teacher but also the adequacy or inadequacy of their performance will be open to the evaluation of their peers, and in mixed sex classes this particularly means opposite sex peers. This evaluation also extends to the students' body shape and its closeness of fit with the mesomorphic body shape preferred in physical education (Hargreaves, 1986).

Not only did the teachers talk more, but their talk primarily took the form of commands or modulated statements instructing students in what they must do. Differences between teachers in the amount and variety of speech functions will be dealt with below but their similarities were, in some ways, more striking than their differences. The schematic structure, speech functions, language choices in terms of content (field), and the physical organisation of the lessons, were extremely predictable both in comparison with each other and in comparison with those hundreds of other lessons that I, as teacher and university lecturer, have taught and observed. The physical education lesson genre is a powerful determiner of the practices that constitute it; it is a genre that is taught explicitly in tertiary institutions and which is reinforced by teachers experiences in schools.

Using Bernstein's (1971) concept of restricted code, the language of the lessons was predominantly both lexical and syntactically predictable, although there were important differences here in the ways female teachers were more likely to shift to and from elaborated and restricted codes than were male teachers. The rituals of physical education are thus realised through a restricted code which constitutes "a particularly effective non-
The discursive form of communication and therefore ... potentially a strong form of control" (p.166). The instructions for the warm-up exercises, in particular, provide excellent examples of syntactic and lexical predictability, indicating an assumption of shared understandings but also of close social control. As McLaren (1986) points out, ritual has a powerful normalising function and this together with its focus on the body makes physical education a central site for the naturalising of differences - from the perspective of this study gender differences but also class and racial differences in physical performance. (Cashmore, 1982, for instance, argues that assumptions about black superiority in games and athletics in the United Kingdom work against black students' opportunity for academic study; the same kinds of assumptions underpin assertions that lower stream students are compensated by their ability in sport).

On one hand, it may be argued that the teaching of physical skills demands a command-response approach (albeit that the commands may be couched in an indirect, more 'friendly' way). Such an assertion, however, assume a particular form of the genre and the discourses that it realises to be the only way. It fails to question the assumptions about learning and social relations on which the traditional genre is predicated. The acceptance of the traditional physical education genre and the highly directed styles of teaching that constitute it also ignores the contradictions between current stated aims of education and physical education and actual practices in programming, lesson organisation and teaching methods.

The central aim of secondary education as stated in the document, The Aims of Education (New South Wales Education Department) is "to guide individual development ... towards perceptive understanding, mature judgement, responsible self-direction and moral autonomy" (1977, p.11). The aims of the physical education faculties involved in this study expressed a similar preoccupation with personal development. Leaving aside a critique of the individualist ideology of healthism underlying these aims, traditional approaches to physical education which provide students with few opportunities for
decision-making, responsibility, problem-solving and initiative and instead emphasise social control and the acquisition of specific skills are unlikely to achieve the stated aims. This is particularly the case when the skills which make up the content of the programs are those valued in the context of a patriarchal British tradition of games and sports.

Student participation based on enjoyment of physical activity through confidence in, and a liking for, one's body is most likely to occur in the institutional setting of the schools if students have more opportunities for pursuing activities that go beyond the traditional curriculum. Furthermore students themselves need to be involved in the decisions about what activities will be taught, how these will be organised and how they will be taught. Such involvement would also include decisions about uniform.

Linguistic choices that marginally shift the power relations in lessons may make the relationships between teachers and pupils a little less authoritarian, and a little more 'friendly', but they do not challenge the underlying determinants of institutionalised social relations as they are expressed in and through the structure of the lessons and the positionings made available by the discourses that constitute it. Substantial changes in what we understand as schooling are necessary to bring about radical social change.

8.2 Physical education as a setting for the (re)production of complementarity

An analysis of the transcripts of lessons, and of open-ended interviews with teachers and students, together with observations of playground and lesson behaviour repeatedly demonstrated the ways in which the female students constructed themselves and were constructed as passive, lacking skill, strength, and enthusiasm - that is, as the antithesis of the male students who, in their behaviour and in their representations of themselves and in their representations by their teachers, were constructed as skilled, enthusiastic, tough, competitive and knowledgeable. In contrast, the female students and teachers demonstrated a greater competence and versatility in interpersonal discourses and
practices. The female teachers exhibited a greater propensity to employ both elaborated and restricted codes. Female students, in their interactions with each other and with the male teachers, demonstrated a greater control of personal genres and discourses which contributed to the production and maintenance of social relations of intimacy and heterosexuality, than did the male teachers and students in interactions with each other.

Central to much of the current writing on sexuality and bodies, particularly those writings which draw on a psychoanalytic perspective (Benjamin, 1988; Gatens, 1989) is the cultural construction of masculine and feminine subjectivities as complementary - that is, defined in opposition to one another and, more specifically, the male defined as all that is not female. Complementarity works through bodies, not as biological givens, but through meanings ascribed to differences and through the technologies of training which work on male and female bodies to construct those bodies as antithetical.

From the summary of evidence cited above, sport and its reproduction and recontextualisation in the pedagogic discourse of physical education is a powerful site for the demonstration and construction of sexual difference. The technologies of production of embodied difference written into the musculature, properties and surfaces of bodies has, however, begun a long time before these students reach high schools. From their earliest play experiences, male and female bodies have been disciplined in different ways. There is more than sufficient evidence to suggest the boys begin to learn the skills and the control over their bodies and space, which characterise patriarchal embodied masculinity, in their play with fathers and male peers before schools and through their participation in the competitive sports which constitute much of the leisure time activity of most young males in Australian society. Girls experiences are usually quite different. Their play is more sedentary and restricted in the space it occupies, it is more likely to be inside rather than outside and centre around interpersonal relationships. Where girls are actively involved in physical activity, this is more likely to be the consequence of a family interest
and encouragement in sport rather than a consequence of their experiences at school (Oldenhove, 1987).

Although some teachers in the study acknowledged differences in the opportunity to develop skill between girls and boys, differences in physical abilities such as strength and differences in attitudes were still taken as inevitable. The experiences of both male and female students in high schools are more likely to confirm and to reinforce the meanings constructed in and through bodies, which have already been profoundly inscribed as male and female, than to challenge them. In the context of physical activity, one is inscribed as powerful and skilled, the other as lacking in skill and fragile. As has been asserted above, these are not simply meanings attached to bodies but are meanings which shape bodies and determine the ways bodies occupy space and operate on space and the objects in it. For instance, patriarchal or hegemonic masculinity, according to Connell (1983) and others (for instance, Waring, 1985) is embodied as power over others and the environment through the control of space (force) and through physical skill. Wex (1979) has described how men and women use space differently, with men taking up more space, sitting in wide postures and walking with a more extended stride and swinging arms. Young (1980), in a very interesting phenomenological study extends this comparison to athletic activities.

The relatively untrained man ... engages in sport generally with more free motion and open reach than does his female counterpart. Not only is there a typical style of throwing like a girl, but there is a more or less typical style of running like a girl, climbing like a girl, swinging like a girl, hitting like a girl. They have in common, first that the whole body is not put into fluid and directed motion, but rather, in swinging and hitting, for example, the motion is concentrated on one body part; and second, that the women's motion tends not to reach, extend lean, stretch, and follow through in the direction of her intention.

For many women as they move in sport, a space surrounds them in imagination which we (sic) are not free to move beyond; the space available to our movement is a constricted space. (p.143)¹

¹ As Young is concerned to point out these descriptions of how women and men behave are cultural and historical phenomena, not natural difference.
She goes further to suggest that women are more tentative, more frightened of getting hurt and often experience their bodies as fragile encumbrances, rather than a medium "for the enactment of our aims" (p.144).

The consequences for girls and women of these different experiences of their bodies are not merely restricted to the enactment of sports and games. If we are to take the concept of embodied subjectivity seriously then bodies are central to our sense of ourselves and the location of our power in our relations with others and with the physical environment. As Caddick (1986) says "(w)e are our bodies and only in and through them do we know ourselves and our relationships with others" (p.76). If their bodies are inscribed as lacking or inadequate this must profoundly affect the confidence with which girls and women engage in the world. Thus a sense of physical fragility and inadequacy contribute to the continued location of women and girls in a patriarchal discourse of sexuality that situates them as naturally inferior and subordinate to men. Further, it situates them, as not only the objects of masculine desire, but vulnerable to male aggression. This leaves women and girls in the invidious position as both victims of, and dependents on, male patronage.

Such disempowering experiences as those described above are not the case for all girls in physical education. As has been pointed out in Chapter 2, discourses are not unitary but contain within them contradictions and alternative positionings that have the potential to challenge the status quo. It is the traditional practices of the games lessons that are the most determining in constructing female students as inadequate and this is exacerbated when direct comparisons with boys can be made, as is the case in co-educational classes. However, even in these lessons, girls can learn and practice skills and enjoy the activities immensely. What seems to count is whether they bring some pre-existing level of competence in traditional skills into the lesson, even if the skills are not specific to the lesson. It is rather an orientation to the body and skill in opposition to that described
above by Young, which would seem to affect the student's potential to engage with confidence in the lesson. However, an argument that takes the line that the behaviour and attitudes of female students must be changed so that they are more likely to acquire the skills made available in the traditional lesson blames the victims without addressing the institutional and discursive construction of their subjectivities. Such an argument accepts unquestioningly the 'good' in sport and accepts as unproblematic the practices of teachers and students in physical education lessons and the beliefs underpinning these. To give but one example: in taking up a compliant position to the pedagogic discourse of the lesson, which in the games lesson also means accepting a positioning in relation to the instructional discourse of sport, female students may be more likely to develop their skills and to enjoy the lesson, but in the long run they will have difficulty avoiding being positioned in relation to the male standard and must as a consequence, inevitably take second place. For example, one of the female teachers, Julie, an extremely fit, skilled and competent athlete described herself as not coming up to the standards of male acquaintances. This implies, of course, buying into the competitive/comparative practices that underpin masculine sports discourse and, in a culture where it is taken as the dominant discourse governing and legitimating physical activity, it is difficult to avoid.

Students may, and do, resist being positioned by the dominant discourses in physical education. Their resistance may take the form of avoiding participation by leaving their uniforms at home or less obviously through participating on the fringes of activities. They may also construct their own pleasure in the lesson by using the less restricted environment (as compared to the classroom) to catch up on social chat with their friends. In lessons with male teachers, female students engaged in a particular form of resistance which involved introducing conversational genres, which by their realisation of heterosexual discourses positioned the male teacher as the object of a flirtatious exchange. While this did enable the students to subvert the authority of the teacher (to a limited extent), it also provided the teacher with a context in which to describe these particular female students as 'talkers' rather than 'doers', and to foreground their sexuality as
female rather than their potential as performers. Thus, the students' resistance does enable them to introduce a power/knowledge relation in which they have some power, but this is illusory both in terms of empowerment through the development of bodily confidence and skill and through their inevitable positioning as sexual object in the patriarchal discourses of heterosexuality on which they draw.

8.3 Challenging the hegemony of games

The curriculum areas of dance and gymnastics do provide opportunities for boys and girls to develop different orientations to their bodies and to each other. However, the forms of dance and games that are most likely to be taught in schools are those that lend themselves to the directed activity, skill acquisition approach that characterises games lessons. Moreover the teaching of ballroom dancing is constituted by practices and social relations which reinforce patriarchal masculinity and femininity. On the other hand, single-sex classes of jazz dance, creative dance and gymnastics can afford students with opportunities to use their bodies in ways that are not determined by comparisons with a standard, that do not rely, to the same extent, on predetermined skills and that can allow through less directed teaching methods opportunities for the development of body awareness, confidence and creativity. The danger here is that of falling into an essentialism which asserts specificities of female behaviour that are unavailable to men in our culture or a humanist position that attributes body awareness and creativity to the self-determining meaning making subject.

Taking the last point first, this does not have to be the case. Although creativity in progressivist discourse, for instance, does seem to infer the initiation of new meanings as the expression of a unique personality, I intend the term to be taken as the ability and the desire to combine cultural forms, ideas, skills, bodily movements in ways which are new for a particular subject and thus allows some control and some awareness of the forms, skills that are being negotiated. Dance, gymnastics and other forms of physical
activity that are not traditionally categorised under the umbrella of the physical education curriculum provide alternative ways of thinking about and moving the body that do not recreate patriarchal social relations. This is an assertion that at this stage has been introduced to demonstrate that there are other possibilities, other discursive positions and practices in relation to physical activity that offer a challenge to those of sport. However, in Australian culture the discourses of sport are those legitimated in terms of their congruences with the dominant discourses that inform the economic, political life of the society - that is the systems of knowledge, values and beliefs associated with sport accord with those of a patriarchal, capitalist and increasingly corporatised society. Nevertheless the reconstruction, the challenge to oppressive patriarchal relations must take as a major site of struggle the physical activity practices of the culture.

Although I would argue for the original specificity of male and female bodies, I am also able to avoid an essentialist position which does not acknowledge the differential distribution of power in the culture in ways that position women as subordinate, by arguing that the masculinity constructed in and through physical education and sport is not only damaging for women but also for men. The sexuality defined in and through sports and games is far more restrictive for men than it is for women. For Australian men, according to Connell (1983), sport is "astonishingly important", in the embodiment of a patriarchal masculinity, a form of masculinity that is clearly defined and very prescriptive.

8.4 Women's meanings in movement?

An important motivation for the questions that have generated this thesis has been a concern to challenge the taken-for-granted practices of teachers in ways that provide a model for change. In particular the thesis aims to provide the means by which teachers can begin to examine how their linguistic practices contribute to the production and reproduction of patriarchal masculinity. A further question has haunted the study and in
this conclusion emerges as central to considerations of ways forward. This question concerns the ways in which change may be brought about without further emphasising male and female difference and to benefit both boys and girls.

It has become increasingly clear that the patriarchal discourses of sport that underpin so much of the traditional practices in physical education are alienating for many girls. These include not only and not necessarily the specific skills of traditional sports, but more particularly their dominance in the curriculum, the directed mode of teaching that denies students autonomy and is specifically designed to discipline bodies in narrowly prescribed ways, and which inscribes girls as inferior and inadequate. It should be said at this point that the practices of sport also discipline and inscribe male bodies in equally, if not more narrowly prescribed ways, in opposition to the patriarchal feminine. As described above, several writers have pointed to the restrictive and restricting masculinity celebrated in and through sport. The question then is what form(s) might physical activity take which fits with the needs and interests and is, at the same time, empowering of female students but which does not also deny the possibilities of access to male students. By this I am not using 'access' in terms of access to a location or a resource, rather I wish to avoid thinking about alternative modes of physical activity that challenge patriarchal purposes and social relations as only the preserve of women and girls.

What has been clearly identified by this study and by others such as those by Young (1980) and Scraton (1986) is the real lack of physical power and confidence that characterises many young women's experience of their bodies. Whatever activities might be offered, they need to include opportunities to provide girls and women with a sense of their bodies as enabling, as a centre of strength from which they can be assertive in their dealings with the world, including their relations with other women and men. It is no surprise that many women's community groups have self-defence classes as part of their offerings to women, not only to provide the specific means to defend against physical attack but also to develop confidence through a new sense of their bodies as powerful.
Insufficient research is available at this stage to fully appreciate the meanings that physical activity has for women. We do know that many mature women speak of their school experiences and physical education with deep dislike as disabling experiences that left them feeling alienated from physical activity and their bodies (see, for example Thomas, 1988). Many of these same women, however, have found for themselves as adults, other activities such as the martial arts, tai'chi, tap-dancing, aerobics, marathon running, in which they have developed a confidence in and liking for their bodies. But what they enjoy about these activities does not necessarily correspond with the simplistic motivational factors identified in the positivist factor analyses studies of traditional motivational studies of participation (see Watkin, 1977). There needs to be a further exploration of the meanings and the pleasure that movement has for women (and perhaps for many men).

The challenge, then, is to think beyond the boundaries set by patriarchal constructions of physical activity. This is no easy task since by definition just as our ways of thinking, seeing and feeling are constrained by the language we have learned as members of a particular culture so are our ways of moving and making sense of our movements. For instance, the value of competition is so deeply embedded in western capitalist discourses of sport that physical activity without some element of competition is almost unthinkable (and unplayable). As Paraschak (1991) has pointed out in her study of Canadian Aboriginal games, state funding organisations refused to recognise traditional Aboriginal activities that did not conform to Eurocanadian notions of sport as a competitive highly structured activity between groups defined by age. It is unclear at this point in time what a woman's tradition might look like, but there are alternative models of physical activity on which to draw (including Eastern practices which often seem to draw a strong female participation) as well as different ways of being involved in and constructing meanings about existing mainstream Australian activities.
The task, then, is to work towards the construction of experiences of physical activity which are pleasurable and which engage with girls' interests and needs, to explore new movement possibilities that contribute to redefinitions of individual female bodies as sites of personal power and control and which challenge patriarchal definitions of women as passive, dependent, fragile and physically incompetent.

8.5. Co-educational physical education

In any critique of girls' experiences in physical education, co-educational physical education must be high on the agenda. This study has demonstrated that the reproduction of patriarchal femininity and masculinity occurs in single-sex as well as mixed sex classes, however, that latter form of organisation was clearly the most overtly alienating environment for female students.

The question of co-educational education has been the subject of much debate. The argument for girls-only schooling points to evidence which suggests that female students (and female teachers) are the objects of pervasive harassment, both verbal and physical and that female students receive less access to resources, including teacher assistance, computers, technical equipment in science and mathematics laboratories. The argument for co-educational schooling primarily rests on the argument that having boys and girls together is a more normal state of affairs. Mixed schooling was also introduced to address the issue of equity - with boys and girls together they could more readily be offered the same and a wider variety of courses. Supporters of co-education also suggest that boys behave better when there are girls around.

In New South Wales, co-educational physical education was introduced in a somewhat ad hoc fashion by individual principals and teachers in response to a demand for equal opportunity for girls and boys. In some cases it was also motivated by pragmatic reasons. Classes were often mixed where imbalances in the numbers of boys and girls
participating in physical education classes at any one time made for large differences in class sizes if they were divided into single-sex groups. In other states such as South Australia and Victoria, co-educational physical education had been the practice for some time and in South Australia, for instance, it had been critically reviewed by schools involved in the Commonwealth Schools Commission Project, *Girls and Physical Activity* (Dyer, 1986). As a result of these reviews, many schools participating in the Project were experimenting with different organisational approaches to lessons including girls-only lessons, especially for Year 9.

In the one school in the study (Baden) which had co-educational physical education classes, these had been introduced for a combination of pragmatic and ideological reasons. In some classes, numbers of boys and girls differed do widely that it appeared to more sensible to combine groups and then divided them equally between the female and the male teachers. I would suggest that like many schools in New South Wales where co-educational physical education has been adopted, teachers brought to the teaching of co-educational classes their experiences and practices of teaching classes consisting of only boys or only girls. Tertiary physical education programs rarely address the issues which arise from teaching boys and girls together, nor do they often discuss the possibilities that different strategies and approaches to teaching might be required in the co-educational class as compared to the single-sex one.

The evidence from this study suggests that co-educational physical education should be considered as deeply problematic. I am not arguing particularly for or against co-educational physical education, primarily, because I am not intending to propose specific practices and secondly, because I do not believe the answer lies in simply adopting one form of organisation at a school rather than the other. However, if girls experience of, and participation in, physical activity is to change the issue must be addressed at all sites of practice, including the syllabus committees, tertiary institutions, physical education faculties in schools and teachers in their interactions with students. This study has
focused primarily on the latter, but in doing so it has also identified the sources of the discourses and genres on which students and teachers draw to constitute the lessons. The long term purpose of this study is to provide a model of analytical practice which may be developed to enable teachers more readily to reflect on their linguistic and non-linguistic practices and to take more responsibility for the ways in which their practices contributes to the positioning of students in relation to gender (but also by extension, race, class, ethnicity, physical competency and so on). However, I would also want to argue for a more reflective and critical practice on the part of lecturers in tertiary institutions and syllabus designers which takes account of their contribution to the production and reproduction of discourses which constitute embodied subjectivities in and through the practices of physical education.

8.6 Conclusion

In addressing the issues relating to girls and physical education, physical educators must eschew an approach that regards the female students themselves as the problem and examine their own assumptions about the 'good' of physical education and sport. Physical education is an historical and cultural construction conceived primarily within a masculine discourses of sport and the human movement sciences. Such a conception fails to meet the needs of many girls and also many boys. Moreover it is likely to contribute to forms of masculinity and femininity that disadvantage girls and construct them as lacking and inadequate, uncomfortable with their bodies and turned off physical activity for life.

If we are serious about changing the experiences of girls in physical education, then the equity solution of equal access is not sufficient. Rather, what must be challenged is the model of physical education that has been developed by men, for the needs and interests of boys. As a starting point we must challenge the dominance of sports and games skills in the curriculum. The draft New South Wales Syllabus (1991) begins to do this through a conceptual approach. However, until teachers are committed to a radical rethinking of
their own assumptions and ideologies and recognise the contribution their practices make to construction of gender relations, there will be little change.
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Sparks, R. (1990) Social practices, the bodily professions and the state. Sociology of Sport Journal, no.7, pp.72-82.


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<th>TEACHING POINTS</th>
<th>EQUIPMENT</th>
<th>FORMATION</th>
<th>SAFETY</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
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APPENDIX II

Distribution of female and male students in the three schools involved in the study

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Year 7</th>
<th>Year 8</th>
<th>Year 9</th>
<th>Year 10</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newman</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redhead</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
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<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>81</td>
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<table>
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<th>School</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baden</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newman</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redhead</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The Interview Schedule

The questions guiding the interviews were intended to be flexible and open-ended.

Student Interviews

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the interviews students will have described:

i. their perceptions of their physical ability and motivation for participation (or non-participation) in physical activity and physical education;
ii. their participation patterns in the past, present and perceived future; and
iii. the forces they perceive to be at work encouraging/discouraging girls/boys participation in physical activity and physical education.

Questions

1. What kinds of sport or physical activity have you been involved in/are involved in now outside of physical education lessons (e.g. after school, in the playground, on the weekend)?

2. How did you first become involved in physical activity or sport? Why do you continue to participate or why did you stop?

3. What do you enjoy about the physical activities that you are involved in?

4. How do you rate your ability in physical education and/or particular physical activities?

5. Is physical education a lesson you enjoy?

6. What in particular do you like/dislike about physical education?

6. Are there any changes you would like in the kinds of activities taught in physical education? Are there any changes you would like to make in the way physical education is organised and taught?

7. Would you prefer co-educational or single-sex physical education lessons? Are there particular activities that you would prefer to do with boys/girls only? Why?

8. Do you think girls enjoy P.E. more than boys/boys enjoy P.E. more than girls?

9. Are there any sports that you believe to be inappropriate for girls to play? Any sports that are inappropriate for boys?

10. Do you see yourself as being involved in some kind of activity after leaving school? What might get in the way of your continuing to participate?
11. Many of the studies indicate that girls' fitness levels drop after about 12 years of age whereas boys' levels continue to increase. How would you explain this?

12. It seems, after talking to some of your teachers that many girls who are quite good at sport stop training and competing around Year 9. Does this fit with your experience? Do you have any ideas why this may be so?

Questions for girls only:

13. What do you think boys think about girls' participation in sport and physical activity?

14. Do you think that boys find girls who are involved in sport less attractive?

Questions for boys only:

13. What do you think about girls' participation in sport?

14. Do you find girls who play lots of sport less attractive?

Teacher Interviews

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the interviews teachers will have described:

i. their observations and expectations of girls' and boys' behaviours and attitudes in relation to physical activity;

ii. the forces they perceive to be at work encouraging/discouraging girls' and boys' participation in physical activity and physical education.

iii. their attitudes to co-educational and single-sex physical education lessons;

iv. their attitudes to the anti-discrimination legislation and their assessment of ways in which it might be applied in the teaching and organisation of physical education and sport at their school; and

v. the strategies that have been used at their school to enhance the opportunities for girls in the areas of physical activity.

Questions

1. Who do you think enjoys P.E. most - boys or girls? Does this change if you take into account factors like age, academic level, ability level?

2. In what ways do you think boys benefit from physical activity? In what ways do girls benefit?

3. What sports/physical activities do you think are appropriate for girls/boys? Why?

4. Many of the studies that have been done indicate that girls' fitness levels drop after about 12 years of age whereas boys' levels continue to rise. How would you explain this?

5. What do you think are boys attitudes to girls' participation in sport? What do you believe to be girls perceptions of boys' attitudes to girls' participation?
6. What do you perceive to be boys/men attitudes to girls/women who are active in sport/particular sports?

7. What are your attitudes to co-educational physical education classes? Are there some activities which you would prefer to teach to girls only/boys only/ co-ed classes? Do you have any difficulties teaching opposite sex or co-ed classes?

8. Which do you think students prefer - mixed or same sex groupings?

9. What is your reaction to the Anti-discrimination legislation? In what ways, if any, do you perceive it to affect physical education and sport in your school?

10. Do you believe that there is a need for any special strategies to be implemented in your school to improve opportunities for the participation of girls? Are there any strategies already in place or being planned?
APPENDIX IV

*Speech Function and Grammatical Realisation*

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<th><strong>Speaker</strong></th>
<th><strong>Listener</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Usual</strong></td>
<td><strong>Alternative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offer</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>(Would you like...?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Go to the box.)</td>
<td>(I want you to jump)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Could you lift the mat?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>Acknowledgement/contradiction</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(We will use the box.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>Declarative + tag?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(How many vaults are there?)</td>
<td>(This is different, isn't it?)</td>
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(Adapted from Halliday, 1985)
## Modality and modulation

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<th>typical realization</th>
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<tr>
<td>statement,</td>
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<td>question</td>
<td>(possible /probable /certain)</td>
<td>operator modal Adjunct</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(both the above)</td>
<td>they certainly know</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td>finite modal</td>
<td>it must happen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(sometimes /usually /always)</td>
<td>operator modal Adjunct</td>
<td>it always happens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(both the above)</td>
<td>it must always happen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proposal:</td>
<td>obligation</td>
<td>finite modal</td>
<td>you must be patient!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>command</td>
<td>(allowed /supposed /required)</td>
<td>operator passive verb Predicator</td>
<td>you're required to be patient!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offer</td>
<td>inclination</td>
<td>finite modal</td>
<td>I must win!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(willing /anxious /determined)</td>
<td>operator adjective Predicator</td>
<td>I'm determined to win!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

from Halliday, 1985, p.87.
APPENDIX VI

All instances of Barbara’s use of 'I' in the girls gymnastics lesson

I won't be doing very much demonstrating this morning so that you will have to listen carefully to what I say.
... as I explained
No, I want this one in over here.
I know, lot's of people can't, don't think they can.
If I can have this one please.
Well I explained before what you're doing with that.
I'm going to see, both of you go through your routines one after the other, but I'm going to see one person on each mat
I might have to see that again.
... and some people I think I didn't see.
I'll give you the opportunity of making up your own.
I know you can do a handstand roll but just ...
I know, but try.
I explained ...
I don't mind if you work on something different.
I want you to search out the mats ... with the velcro
... and remember I said we were coming down the hall
I changed my mind because I am a woman and women are allowed to change their minds.
... so I'll put this one here as a bit of a stopper.
I haven't seen many tuck jumps
I think you're running out of puff.
I'll just stop you for a moment.
I can't be in three places places at once.
I didn't think you could get that much spring out of that one.
I think we've had four goes here.
I've not had many of you for gymnastics before so I don't know ...
Tell me which way your hands are going otherwise I get a foot in the face.
Tell me which way your hands are going, otherwise I can't help you.
I know practice that's all.

All instances of Paul's use of 'I' in the boys' gymnastics lesson

What I want the leader to do ...
I want you to make sure your mats are in the correct position.
I don't care whether you've done the skill five, fifteen, five hundred times ...
I want to see the padders underneath
What I want you to do is jump over him.
What I want you to do is you hop onto the box ...
I want one person to collect the card.
I want the rest of you to put those mats away neatly.
Over here, I want you over here
Over here I want height, and I want you to land on your hands.
Remember if I take that padded mat away, and I put these mats there you'll notice it.
I notice that most of the people are doing the skills.
When I say stop I mean it.