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**Educating bodies to be good citizens:  
The politics and practices of physical  
education in Australia and France**

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

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

from

**UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG**

**Lyndal Groom, Bachelor of Arts (Hons)  
Faculty of Education**

**2006**

## **CERTIFICATION**

I, Lyndal R. Groom, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Education, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Lyndal R. Groom  
18 September 2006

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## Acronyms

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACHPER	Australian Council for Health, Physical Education & Recreation
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
ARC	Australian Research Council
AS	Association Sportive
BO	Bulletin Officiel
BoS	Board of Studies New South Wales
CAPEPS	Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat d'Education Physique et Sportive
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
DAA	Dietitians Association of Australia
ENA	Ecole Nationale d'Administration
EPS	Education Physique et Sportive (Physical and Sport Education)
HPE	Health and Physical Education
INPES	Institut national de prévention et d'éducation pour la santé
INSEE	Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques
IUFM	Institut universitaire de formation de maîtres (University institute for teacher training)
KLA	Key Learning Area
NESB	Non-English Speaking Background
NSW	New South Wales
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDHPE	Personal Development, Health & Physical Education
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
RSL	Returned Services League
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SNEP	Syndicat National de l'Education Physique et Sportive (National EPS Union)
SNES	Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Secondaire (National Secondary Teachers' Union)
STAPS	Sciences et techniques des activités physiques et sportives
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
UFR	Unité de formation et de recherche (Research and training unit)
UNSS	Union Nationale de Sports Scolaires
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZEP	Zone d'éducation prioritaire

## Abstract

This thesis is a cross-cultural comparative analysis of the physical education taught in secondary schools in France and Australia. My study begins with an analysis of embodied citizenship. Embodied citizenship comprises both explicit and implicit forms of *habitus* as structured through government institutions and regulations, for example, the legal requirements of citizenship as well as the informal social constructs of citizenship such as belonging. While the formal rules of citizenship have been amended over the centuries to provide greater equality (for example between men and women), tacit and unspoken rules and beliefs and the marketplace maintain forms of exclusionary behaviour for citizens. This includes state instituted practices such as public commemorations, national and local celebrations and award ceremonies, particularly those related to the remembrance war and the founding of nation-states.

The second half of this study takes this theoretical framework to examine the politics and practices of physical education in schools. Physical education is an example of a state-instituted practice designed to help develop 'good' citizens, obedient and efficient. In order to do this, a Foucauldian network of expertise and skills has emerged to 'regulate' the discipline of physical education and draws upon intercalated discourses of health, morality, sport, and physical activity. While the politics of physical education, in the shape of the school curriculum, espouse a doctrine of equality of citizens, the practices incorporate forms of differentiated embodied citizenship that continue to privilege and reward particular hegemonic characteristics.

The value of cross-cultural analysis emerges with the comparison of political positioning of the French and NSW syllabi. As the later stages of my research shows, policy is one thing and classroom practices are often another. The personal engagement of teachers with discourses of physical culture is a major influence for implementing syllabi.

## **Acknowledgements**

For John, Rebecca and Laurent. I promise not to do another one.  
To everyone I've met along the way, thanks for being part of it all.

# Introduction

The little things, little things, they always hang around  
The little things, little things, they try to break me down  
The little things, little things, they just won't go away  
The little thing, little things, made me who I am today  
Good Charlotte, *Good Charlotte*, 2000

Yes it's f\*\*\*ing political  
Everything's political  
Skunk Anansie, *Stoosh*, 1996

Did you ever play the game of guessing where other people in an airport came from? Did you think you could tell which country they came from by how they looked, what they wore, or how they used their hands? Have you ever wondered why it is that French women wear scarves in a way that women in Australia rarely do? An Australian journalist, Sarah Turnbull describing her experience of living in France, wrote that quite apart from her non-French accent, her appearance constantly appeared to reveal that she was not French (Turnbull 2002). When asked how this happens, Turnbull's French partner summed up her physical differences as a combination of 'everything'.

'How do people know I'm not French if I haven't even said anything?'...

'Because you look Anglo-Saxon.'

'What do you mean?' I ask.

'Well, er, it's just that you could never be mistaken for French. I mean, you look less Anglo-Saxon than before. But you don't *look* French.'

'Why, though? Is it my clothes? My walk? My hair?'

'It's everything.' (Turnbull 2002, pp 294-295, original emphasis)

Turnbull goes on to provide day-to-day examples of how she is identified as 'not-being-French' and she realises it is never as simple as just her clothes or her hair. Behind each of the situations she describes—a dinner party, eating and drinking, walking the dog—there is a cultural matrix of politics, education, and society that shapes and influences a form of national *habitus* (Edensor 2002).

## ***Habitus* and body practices**

This idea that people somehow enact physical examples of cultures that constitute an embodied culture is not new. Such seemingly inconsequential tasks become woven into a broader fabric of cultural practice and politics. Indeed, the idea that we carry out everyday tasks in a culturally specific

fashion has been analysed by a range of theorists, from anthropologists to sociologists to philosophers who draw on a variety of situations and environments. Some of the earliest examples of these observations relate to behaviours such as nose wiping and vomiting as noted by Erasmus in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (Elias 1998). In 1934, when Marcel Mauss wrote about the ways that French soldiers used their bodies to dig trenches, and compared this to English soldiers' inability to use the French shovel, he used the term *habitus*, the Latin word encapsulating both physical bearing and character to explain his concept of 'body techniques' (Mauss 1950).<sup>1</sup> These techniques consist of the small, everyday, inconsequential, routine activities that we do, such as the way we kneel, hold our children, descend mountains, or make love. In observing different body techniques, Mauss (1950, p. 105) concluded that bodies were constructed 'not by [man] himself alone, but by his total education, by the whole society in which he belongs, and by the place he occupies in it'.

Norbert Elias (1998), also writing in the early 1930s, used *habitus* to describe those actions of 'second nature', learnt through social experience from birth as part of a civilising process. Similar to Mauss' concept, society also plays its part in shaping a person's *habitus*. *Habitus* could be learned and formed in social situations and it could also be differentiated by a variety of social and power structures (Mennell & Goudsblom 1998). According to Mennell and Goudsblom (1998, p. 15), a key argument of Elias' work is that there is 'a link between long-term structural development of societies and changes in people's social behaviour and *habitus*'.

In more recent times, *habitus* has come to be used as a more technical concept defined by Pierre Bourdieu in his work *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977). For Bourdieu (1977, p. 72) *habitus* is 'a system of durable, transposable dispositions'. These dispositions draw on the economic, social, cultural and physical capital of the individual, as ways of looking at the world and operating in it. In Bourdieu's understanding of dispositions, they go beyond body techniques as described by Mauss to more intangible

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<sup>1</sup> Mauss' term *habitus* has been translated as 'body techniques' [*techniques de corps*] in French texts, see for example *Sciences Humaines* 2002a and Detrez 2002.

activities and qualities such as taste or intellectual values (Bennett et al. 1999). Like Elias, Bourdieu looks at the links between social structures and people's *habitus*. Some of Bourdieu's most politically critical work uses *habitus* in the context of schooling to show how education intensifies and reinforces class differences (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu & Passeron 1990).

In brief, Mauss, Elias and Bourdieu use *habitus* to describe ways in which physical actions and habits are instilled, influenced and enacted with varying levels of complexity. My interest in drawing on the ideas of these theorists is to examine the politics of *habitus* to elucidate how body practices come into being as more or less valued in the context of a society and culture. For example, Elias' work (1998, p. 81) draws on historical change in practices as part of a process that he describes in the following terms: '[e]very particular characteristic that we attribute to [civilisation] — bears witness to a particular structure of human relations, to a particular social structure, and to the corresponding forms of behaviour'. Mauss (1950, p. 101) concludes that 'these 'habits' do not just vary with individuals and their imitations, they vary between societies, educations, proprieties, and fashions. In them we should see the techniques and work of collective and individual practical reason'. For Mauss (1950), the key to the learning of cultural practices is 'prestigious imitation' in which the child (and later, adult) imitates practices that they see performed by those around them and importantly those that have authority over them. For Bourdieu, it is institutionalised teaching, such as the teaching that occurs through formal schooling, which both instils body practice/s and simultaneously differentiates practices according to an individual's forms of capital (Bourdieu & Passeron 1964, 1990, Bourdieu 1996). All three theorists argue that social structures are part of the process that determines what is taught and learnt and how power relations within these structures differentiate and evaluate any given practice.

### **Questions and framework**

The overarching question for this thesis is to ask how and why particular *habitus* or body practices become politically and culturally valued. I will examine the notion that governments construct a national *habitus* through



displaying and encouraging idealised bodies and corporeal practices (Edensor 2002). For example, schools and their politics (including curriculum and assessment) are the media for the institutionalisation and inculcation of this embodiment through a range of specific physical practices such as physical education.

Physical education, including school sport, is the only state-institutionalised compulsory form of bodily training to be undertaken generally, across the developed world, by all people. Other physical practices are not formally 'legislated' through a required adherence to curriculum and assessment policies, but may be socially and institutionally regulated, such as government or media-driven encouragement of participation in sport, the promotion of healthy lifestyles or as participants in a consumer culture (Bourdieu 1978, 1984, Featherstone 1991). The structures and influences of these corporeal practices are perhaps more muted or simply more subtle in their effects. The required participation in physical education is neither muted nor subtle. It is there, in the school curriculum, and it is compulsory.

I will examine how bodies are socially constructed and schooled in two societies, France and Australia, with a particular focus on the Australian state of New South Wales (NSW), which is the largest school education jurisdiction in Australia, and explore by what measures these societies value and legitimate particular bodies and body practices in terms of being 'good citizens'. I will also examine how Australian and French physical education curricula configure definitions of 'legitimate bodies' and their legitimate uses (Bourdieu 1978). The two central questions asked in this thesis are:

- How is embodied citizenship framed within the cultural and political contexts of Australia and France?; and
- How do French and Australian physical education curricula and practices reflect the cultural values and ideals that structure embodied citizenship?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> In the case of Australia, I will be focusing on the New South Wales syllabus. Responsibility for curriculum is devolved to individual states in Australia whereas in France the curriculum is centralised at a national level.

## Research context

Bodies and citizenship, at the start of the new millennium, are two topical research issues. However, the two are rarely connected with each other in a substantial way (see for example the citizenship work of Young 1989, Turner 1996, Yuval-Davis 1997, Castles & Davidson 2000).<sup>3</sup> Although recent work by Bacchi and Beasley (2000, 2002) attempts to develop ways of thinking about 'citizen bodies', suggesting that the separation of theoretical work on citizenship and bodies 'reflects fundamental assumptions about social roles and meaning among citizenship theorists' in relation to discussions of active and passive citizenship, and of the rational and emotional (Bacchi & Beasley 2002, p. 328). This separation is equated with the 'tension that feminist political philosophers have identified in Western political philosophy between the universal/ public and the particularistic/ private – the world of men and the world of women' (Bacchi & Beasley 2002, pp. 328-329).

At the same time, social and political commentators and theorists such as Bourdieu (1998, 2001), Ulrich Beck (1992, Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2000), Francis Fukuyama (1999), Hugh Mackay (1993) and Alain Touraine (1992, 1999) suggest that the means of identity formation, from self to national, have become problematic due to the increasing speed and spread of forms and types of communication, with attendant and ensuing cultural diffusion. This communication comes in many forms, whether in terms of globalisation as discussed by Giddens and Hutton (2000), Toynbee's (2000, p. 191) more vivid metaphor of the 'American pink milkshake stain oozing across the world', or Bourdieu's (1998) economic 'structural violence' driven by Anglo-American capitalism. A common theme is a fear and resentment of American economic and cultural domination.

Similarly the notion of community for many theorists is undergoing transformation and reformulation in what Beck (1992, p. 87) describes as a 'social surge of individualization'. The debates associated with citizenship

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<sup>3</sup> It is of particular interest and relevance to note that Bryan Turner writes on both the sociology of the body (Turner 1991, 1996) and citizenship (Turner 1993, 1994) but has not directly combined both topics despite referring to the idea of embodied citizenship (1993, p. 2). Hudson and Kane (2000) have written one of the few political theory texts that talks about bodies within the context of citizenship.

and bodies are threaded with demands for the rights of identity and individual difference, both embodied and political (for example, Gilbert 1995, O'Brien & Howard 1998, Hudson & Kane 2000). I would argue that differentiated citizenship, as suggested by Young (1989, 1990), is about a legitimization of self and identity and both explicit and implicit resistance to hegemonic discourses of ethnicity, gender and nationalism. Whether described as social acceptance and belonging such as in the case of multiculturalism, or in terms of being able to claim and exercise political, civil and social rights, contested citizenship is concerned with the potential for multiple legitimated identities, which is often elaborated as resistance against dominant structures and normative cultures (Foucault 1983).

### **A model of embodied citizenship**

In this work I will develop a concept of *embodied citizenship* in which social and political belonging is legitimated and resisted through engagement with two constructs of citizenry: the *heroic citizen* and the *healthy citizen*. My use of the term 'embodiment' throughout this thesis is two-fold, incorporating an understanding of the abstract being given a bodily form, and as a process of investment in the corporeal. Citizenship as an abstract theory may thus be given a bodily form, for example, the citizen as described through the behaviour of a person. This is also reflected in the meaning that citizenship contains in one's comportment and *habitus* as a reflection of the social and political (Hudson 2000). The heroic and healthy citizens are similarly embodied in political, civil and social discourses.

The first of these models, the *heroic citizen*, is an historical concept, informed by Greco-Roman political traditions: to be male, to be able to carry out the duties and obligations of citizenship in defending one's country, to be able to vote and to have the right to stand for representation (Riesenberg 1992, Clarke 1994, Tilly 1996). However, over time, the Aristotelian and Enlightenment models of heroic citizen have been pushed aside by the claims for recognition from those designated as the 'other' to generate a more encompassing model of citizenship. This alienation has been primarily based on limitations established by the Greco-Roman, Judeo-

Christian models of citizenship, particularly to exclude women (Young 1989, Lupton 1995, Siim 2000).

The second of these models, the *healthy citizen*, I would argue, has been primarily constructed by governments responding to the politics and economics of globalisation and neo-liberal individualism as well as social demands for greater equality. While the healthy citizen has an historical basis within the health and beauty and physical education discourses from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, this model of the healthy citizen has come to the forefront in the past decade, intensified by politics and economic factors of globalisation and neo-liberal individualism (Turner 1994, 1996, Peterson & Lupton 1996, Beasley & Bacchi 2000, Bacchi & Beasley 2002).

The common link between the heroic citizen and the healthy citizen is the concept of an 'efficient citizen' based on the neo-liberal model of *homo economicus* (Anderson 2000, Lemke 2001). Thomas Lemke (2001, p. 200) describes *homo economicus* as the citizen for whom the 'social domain is encoded as a form of the economic domain and cost benefit calculations and market criteria can be applied to all decision-making processes'. The key to the efficient citizen by comparison is that these citizens inhabit an increasingly neo-liberal world where they make individualistic choices in terms of consumer activity. Touraine (1992) adopts Alvin Toffler's term of 'prosumer' to describe these citizens who not only operate the production system but supply it as well with themselves as consumers. Therefore the 'efficient citizen' is not only productive in terms of labour outputs but also as an active participant in consuming goods.

The increasing focus on the productive and healthy citizen as a discourse is exemplified by governments' recent focus on the increasing costs of lifestyle diseases in the developed world (WHO 1998, Colditz 1999).<sup>4</sup> Obesity in particular is measured as a medically expensive modern lifestyle

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<sup>4</sup> The term *lifestyle diseases* came into use for the medical community in the 1980s. These diseases primarily refer to obesity, non-insulin dependant diabetes (also known as Diabetes Type 2) and heart disease. The list of obesity co-morbidities is growing as organisations such as the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the American Medical Association gather evidence of additional 'preventable' diseases related to physical inactivity and energy dense diet. Notably a number of types of cancer have recently been included under the heading of obesity-related diseases (Grundy et al. 1999, IOTF 2002).

development that runs counter to capitalism's need for healthy and productive citizens, but at the same time creates a market for products to resist the onslaught of fat (Kimiecik & Lawson 1996, Stearn 1997). Despite the evolution of an embodied citizen from the heroic to the healthy, citizenship continues to bear the characteristics and values of an efficient citizen's capacity for productivity and rationality. In this way, even the more equitable forms of citizenship are still only fully accessed by those who can be 'productive' based on a model of hegemonic masculinity (Lupton 1995, Beasley & Bacchi 2000, Hudson & Kane 2000).

### **Educating citizens**

To return to my earlier discussion, the leitmotif regarding *habitus*, whether in terms of body practices, techniques or habits, relates to their being *taught* practices. While the teaching may vary from the informal processes occurring within the family to more structured social settings such as royal courts and schools, practices differ between cultures (Mauss 1950, Elias 1998). The place of schools as a bedrock for educating citizens has been unquestioned from the inception of formal schooling. Since the organisation of mass education in the early 1800s, the focus has been to develop a functional citizenry, albeit a differentiated functionality for different people (Barcan 1988, Albertini 1992, Gilbert 1995, Marginson 1997).

However, more recent work on the place of civics and citizenship education in schooling questions the political bases for this role of schools (Kennedy 1997, Saha 2000, Crémieux 2001, Meirieu & Le Bars 2001). Lawrence Saha (2000) argues that education systems mirror the power structures that exist in society and that the content of the curriculum reflects the dominant ideologies of a particular culture. In effect, the educated citizen is one that will suit government and will not necessarily be an 'active citizen' but more of an 'understanding' citizen as described by the French Government:

Le Bulletin officiel sur les initiatives citoyennes assigne à l'école trois missions:  
 «Transmettre des savoirs, apprendre à vivre ensemble, former à l'exercice plein et entier de la citoyenneté.» Trois objectifs sont ensuite fixés à cet apprentissage de la citoyenneté qui doit permettre d'apprendre à vivre ensemble :  
 «Comprendre que la vie en société nécessite des efforts et du travail, être

capable de donner le meilleur de soi-même et savoir choisir sa conduite individuelle et collective». (Crémieux 2001, p. 12)<sup>5</sup>

*The Official Bulletin on citizenship initiatives assigns three missions to schools : “To transmit knowledge, to learn to live together, to develop the full practice of citizenship”. There follows from this apprenticeship of citizenship, three objectives which must allow us to learn to live together: “To understand that life in society requires effort and work, to be capable of giving the best of oneself and to know how to behave as an individual and as a member of a collective”.*

Schools are institutions that measure citizens against benchmarks of competencies and skills required for productive citizenry. In the process of being socialised through education, people experience schooling very differently, and it is the nature of an individual's access to, and the institutional determination of their competencies, that leads to extensive debate. An individual's gender, socio-economic background, ethnicity, and/or physical capacity may affect their experience of schooling and schooling's effect on them (Arnot & Dillabough 2000). Simon Marginson writes that:

Education shapes people as citizens. There are also other institutions that do this – for example the family, work, the churches and consumption – but none of these sites are as open to governmental intervention and social change.

Through education people are endowed with certain *individual* potentials created by educational techniques that define and rank them (curriculum, examination, streaming, certification, specialized training). They are also formed as *social* beings in the social systems of education: the modes of inclusion and exclusion, the relations of equality and justice, the relations of power; the mono- and multi-cultures; the systems of value and its measurement. (Marginson 1997, p. 5, original emphasis)

A classic example of the debate regarding socio-economic class differentiation in schooling is Bourdieu and Passeron's work, *Les Héritiers* (1964), in which they describe how the school structure rewards those students whose higher economic, social, and cultural capital forms a *habitus* that provides the cognitive resources for scholastic success. Gramsci (quoted in Morrow & Torres 1995, p. 254) describes schooling as a

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<sup>5</sup> **Note regarding translations:** Many of the key theoretical texts that I use in this thesis – particularly in the case of Foucault, Bourdieu and Touraine – have been translated and published in English. I will quote translated versions of those texts. However, many of the other French texts used in this thesis have not been translated into English, particularly government policy documents such as curriculum and other teacher texts. In quoting from a non-translated French text, I will provide the French as well as my own translation (italicised below the original text). Any errors in translation, therefore, are my own.

'privileged instrument of socialization with teachers symbolically co-opting the subordinate classes by integrating them with the dominant hegemonic culture'. Similarly Arnot (2000) discusses how schools sustain a gender order that grant men privileged access to cultural and academic capital and hence to economic and political power. Bourdieu (1984, p. 387) takes this socialisation further to write that 'the educational system, an institutionalized classifier which is itself an objectified system classification reproducing the hierarchies of the social world in a transformed form...transforms social classifications into academic classifications, with every appearance of neutrality'. For Bourdieu and Passeron (1964, 1990) a person's social and symbolic capital and *habitus* determine their ability to succeed in the education system and thus economic and political inequality is guaranteed by an unequal ability to interpret and physically reproduce the codes and symbols of education.

In a more pragmatic sense I would argue that this is part of what Michael Apple (1979) and David Kirk (1992) refer to as 'hidden curriculum' based on covertly presented ideologies that legitimate hegemonic beliefs and practices. Education systems, schools and curriculum form a powerful trinity (Goodson 1988, Rothstein 1991, Morrow & Torres 1995, Marginson 1997). For Apple, the triumvirate of education as discussed in *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979) suggests that that we need to look at multiple aspects of education: the school as an institution; the forms of knowledge, for example the curriculum including hidden curriculum; and the teachers involved in schooling.

### **Curriculum as politics**

Curriculum as a state-sanctioned programme provides an opportunity to examine 'a structure of social presented knowledge' (Greene 1971 cited in Goodson 1988, p. 13). Ivor Goodson (1990, p. 299) writes that we need to understand how curriculum as a process of inventing tradition interrelates with pedagogy, economics, and in an even broader sense, society. He argues that it is not possible to analyse schooling without examining curriculum content and its historical context. Goodson suggests combining

both the historical context and ethnographic analysis in the study of curriculum, which he calls a 'social constructionist perspective'.

Education curriculum and schooling practices constitute a marriage of sorts between theory and practice where the tension between theory and grounded realities is contested terrain. For example, the notion of citizenship as an abstract form of identity, used only by politicians and academics, is in its practical form, thought of by most people only when arriving at international airports, holding their passports, choosing which line to stand in to enter the country of arrival (Hall et al. 1998). The point here is that individuals experience a grounded reality of contested theories when passing through border controls. Similarly, the focus of my research is to marry a theoretical framework of embodied citizenship with grounded research. There is little vision in conceptualising embodied citizenship if it serves only to further separate bodies from people.

Theories of embodiment have become more detailed in their empirical grounding, coming almost full circle since the Cartesian separation of mind and body. Yet according to Bryan Turner (1996), the sociology of the body still lacks depth. While in the past decade there has been a surge in theoretical writings on the body, the body as social practice, the body as a system of signs, the body as history, the body as a machine (for example, Falk 1994, Dutton 1995, Burkitt 1999), much of the focus of this work has been limited to representations of the body, gender, sex and sexuality, and medical issues.<sup>6</sup> Turner (1996, p. 32) suggests that a more imaginative perspective would centre on the potential to tell us something about human beings by exploring 'the systematic contradictions and ambiguities of the body as corporeality, sensibility and objectivity'. Joe Maguire (1991) provides a caveat to this perspective through using the example of the sports sciences and their complete focus on body performance, with humans considered as machines undertaking measurable scientific tasks.

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<sup>6</sup> Jodi O'Brien observes in the introduction to *Everyday Inequalities: Critical Inquiries* (1998), the difficulties of many of the authors in her text have in getting their papers published due to a perception of their choices of empirical work on bodies and body observations as 'trivial'. This is what Gramsci (as discussed in R. Williams 1976), Apple (1979), Bourdieu (1984) and Kirk (1992) describe as the most powerful forms of hegemonic ideologies, the everyday trivialities that go unquestioned and unchallenged.



For Maguire, in the rush to make bodies scientific, the theoretical aspects of bodies and corporeality have been subsumed to the cellular level. Both Turner and Maguire argue that researchers should outline how a given knowledge has developed historically, then place it within a social context, to consider how the knowledge functions in social space and 'how it contributes to the occupation of social space and interaction with others' (Turner 1996, pp. 33-34).

In discussing embodied citizenship I will outline the historical evolution of theories of citizenship as building blocks for the concepts of heroic and healthy citizenry. I will then look at how the construction of citizens is placed within political discourses and how ideologies are embedded in institutional programmes such as physical education in schools. The empirical work in Part Two will provide a microcosmic example of how current curricula, teachers and practices in France and Australia engage with the respective cultural discourses related to physical activity and physical culture.

### **Why compare France and Australia?**

Perhaps if the Count Jean-François de La Pérouse had sailed into Botany Bay somewhat earlier, it may not seem unusual to compare Australian and French practices. However, as history stands, Australia was a British colony and therefore has been touched by the historical and linguistic duality of France versus England and the Francophone versus the Anglophone (Malouf 2003).<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the purpose of cross-cultural research is not simply to look for commonalities or differences from some imagined checklist of national characteristics, but rather to look at how cultures have evolved and which historical forces shape their politics today.

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<sup>7</sup>The Count de La Pérouse was a French explorer who sailed into Botany Bay, New South Wales, on 26 January 1788; some eight days after Governor Arthur Phillip arrived to establish the first European settlement in Australia. French explorers like La Pérouse, Bruni d'Entrecasteux, Marion DuFresne, François de St Allouarn, Louis Bougainville, Louis de Freycinet and Nicolas Baudin did much of the early mapping and naming of Australia, leaving French name places throughout Australia (Molony 1987). David Malouf (2003) notes that French exploration indirectly led to two states out of seven being settled, primarily due to British concerns for French territorial claims in Tasmania. DuFresne laid claim to Tasmania for France in 1772.

There are intriguing points of similarity and difference between France and Australia. France is an old nation, Australia a new nation, yet both are countries of immigration and both are fearful of threats to national identities (however debated that identity may be) and cultures in the face of ongoing American/global cultural imperialism. Both Australia and France engage in debate regarding the impact of 'Americanisation' on their economic, political and cultural landscapes. An element of this debate is the cultural influence (for the most part seen as negative) in the lives of young people (Mackay 1993, Turner, G. 1994, Giroux 1997, Barker 1999, Judt 2003). One result is a call for a stronger form of national identity and to reject 'Americanisation' or in the French case, to reject endorsing American political inclinations (Revel 2002, Roger 2002, Judt 2003). It is notable that both France and Australia are working to create, maintain, and imagine cultural identities by addressing issues associated with immigration and globalisation.

One illustration of this cultural effort is the power struggles within sport over what is 'legitimate' (Bourdieu 1978). Viewing the debates of national identity through a sports lens, Australian national identity has historically always been heavily based on a sporting heroic citizen while France is modernising its identity through the sporting heroic citizen (Rowe & Lawrence 1990, *Hommes et Migrations* 2000). The fervour of post-1998 World Cup Football substantially assisted French national sporting identity (Dauncy & Hare 2000, *Hommes et Migrations* 2000). Abdallah (2000, p. 6) asked whether Zinedine Zidane (the hero of the World Cup and a global icon) is 'going to be part of the shining force of influence of [France] as were the Philosophers of the Enlightenment, our writers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the great intellectuals of the 20<sup>th</sup>?'.<sup>8</sup>

This emphasis on sport, however, is not a strongly embedded aspect of French identity, given the ephemeral and intransigent nature of sporting success, particularly in light of the poor performance of the French soccer team at the 2002 Football World Cup. Annick DAVISSE and Catherine LOUVEAU (1996, p. 269) note that 'despite the growth in sporting spectacles

and practices, doubt still persists in French society over the character of sport. It is less established and more open to change when compared to [French] artistic heritage'. These French doubts regarding the social and human capital drawn from sport are at complete odds with the Australian emphasis on sport as a cornerstone of all human values. That the French even debate whether sporting performances could be the equal of intellectual achievement is unimaginable in Australia where intellectual and artistic heritage is consistently overwhelmed by sport (Rowe & Lawrence 1990, Whitlock & Carter 1992, Tatz & Booth 2001). The values and ideals, morals and characteristics of Australian sportsmen and women are touted in every possible context as examples of idealised, gendered citizens.<sup>9</sup> In France, however, it is a new phenomenon, often linked with ethnic integration (Arnaud & Arnaud 1996, Fodimbi 2000, Mignon 2000).

In recent years, France has begun to invest in its sporting identity (Arnaud 2000a, Dauncy & Hare 2000). At a distance here in Australia we see the very public successes of the French in Davis Cup Tennis, World Cup Rugby and World Cup Football. Closer to home at the Sydney 2000 Olympics, France, like Australia, took home one of their highest ever tally of Olympic medals. One aspect of this thesis is to explore how sports cultures in Australia and France are influencing the practices of physical education. Sport is a global phenomenon, like media or music, yet it is also nationalised or even regionalised through politics and practices.

### **Globalisation: Cultural imperialism or osmosis?**

Despite different cultures, middle-class youth all over the world seem to live their lives as if in a parallel universe. They get up in the morning, put on their Levis and Nikes, grab their caps, backpacks, and Sony personal CD players, and head for school. (Lyndee Miller cited in Klein 2000, p. 133)

The 'parallel universe' of globalisation is described by Naomi Klein (2000, p. 134) as a marketing attempt to engineer 'a third nationality', one that is not

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<sup>8</sup> Zinedine Zidane is a long-time member of the French national soccer team and one of the highest scorers in the European football league where he played for Real Madrid. Zidane is also a *beur* – a Frenchman of Arabic origins and a Muslim.

<sup>9</sup> A couple of not uncommon recent examples of sportspeople as 'role models' have appeared in media statements made by the Prime Minister of Australia. In announcing the funding of scientific fellowships and Australian of the Year awards, he refers to granting recognition of other role models 'alongside our

American, not local, but a consumer nationality based on the notion of a global youth market. One of the fields that Klein highlights in this 'youth' nationality is sport, with companies such as Nike, Adidas and Reebok the key players. Cole and Hribar (1995) and Klein (2000) suggest that companies such as Nike no longer position themselves as manufacturing sporting products, but instead sell themselves as merchandisers of a lifestyle, with their products the means for consumers to access a seemingly globalised lifestyle.

According to Giddens and Hutton (2000, p. 2), globalisation is not a single set of changes but rather a group of overlapping trends comprised of three elements: firstly, the communications 'revolution'; secondly the 'weightless economy'; and thirdly, the political world beyond the fall of Communist bloc in 1989. More importantly globalisation refers 'to transformations happening on the level of everyday life'. While arguing that globalisation does not simply equate with American cultural imperialism, Giddens and Hutton (2000, p. 11) position American liberal capitalism as a key factor in anti-globalisation feelings, because of its 'very transformative character, its brashness and its promotion of vulgar commercial values'.

Given the multi-faceted effects of globalisation, national education is also not immune to its impacts (Burbules & Torres 2000, Arnove & Torres 2003). Dimmock and Walker (2000, p. 307) argue that in educational terms, globalisation is also primarily an exportation of theory, policy and practice from the Anglo-American world that presents 'challenges for the new host cultures' and many of the characteristics of this Anglo-American globalisation are not necessarily appealing or valid in the context of other societies. This view of globalisation as a form of American imperialism is important, as will be seen, particularly in the case of France. The increasingly global culture and commodification of lifestyles influence individual political and cultural practices. The extent to which the globalisation of lifestyle/s impinge on the specific practices of French and

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sporting men and women'. Sportspeople as role models is a constant reference in day-to-day media and images.

Australian *physical culture*,<sup>10</sup> particularly with regard to sporting practices, has an important impact in the field of physical education. Despite some scepticism (see Hargreaves 2002) in regards to globalisation as a political phenomenon, sport has become a vehicle for global lifestyle cultures, perhaps only second to electronic communication, in the ways it targets young people.

### **Nature of the research**

My thesis is, by the very nature of cross-cultural research, a fairly broad sweep across nation-state, culture, schooling and physical education. This research is modelled on two texts by Patricia Broadfoot (Broadfoot & Osborne 1993, Broadfoot 1996). Broadfoot's research compares primary schooling in France and England in relation to their respective concepts and practices of assessment. While I did not start out with the intention of writing a thesis in the field of comparative education *per se*, many of the justifications put forward for comparative education research answered some of my own questions. One key feature is the tendency of comparative education research to be highly multi-disciplinary and to draw on a wide range of theories and practices, as this thesis does. Kandel's quote below crystallises many of the topics touched on in my thesis.

The comparative approach demands first an appreciation of the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces which underline an education system; the forces and factors outside the school matter even more than what goes on inside it. Hence the comparative study of education must be founded on an analysis of the social and political ideas which the school reflects, for the school epitomizes these for transmission and for progress. In order to understand, appreciate and evaluate the real meaning of the educational system in a nation, it is essential to know something of its history and traditions, of the forces and attitudes governing its social organizations, of the political and economic conditions that determine its development. (Kandel 1933 quoted in Crossley 2000, p. 322)

These themes are taken up in an editorial by Broadfoot (2000) who writes that comparative education should be able to throw significant light on the complex interplay of factors—personal, social and structural—that influence

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<sup>10</sup> David Kirk (1999, pp. 65-66) defines physical culture as 'a range of practices concerned with the maintenance, representation and regulation of the body centred on three highly codified, institutionalised forms of physical activity—sport, physical recreation and exercise'.

young people's engagement with learning. Broadfoot also outlines a number of thematic strands for comparative education, two of which are key components for my thesis when examining the relationship between 'identity and its creation':

1. *The role of different pedagogic structures and practices*, particularly in terms of what these represent and how the different ideological and institutional traditions from which they are derived both represent and reinforce the culturally-specific character of particular institutional and systemic arrangements.
2. *Analytic structure for the cross-cutting discourses*, for example, public health policies and concerns, consumer culture and globalisation, as framed within the role of education and its programmes. (Broadfoot 2001, p. 265)

I was often asked in the process of this work, what I think we in Australia can possibly learn from looking at the French physical education curriculum, and judging by many of the editorials in *Compare* and *Comparative Education*, this is not an unusual occurrence for someone undertaking this sort of research (Watson 1999, Broadfoot 2000, Crossley 2000, Arnone 2001). This question often came from the physical education teachers that I interviewed in Australia. As I read texts from different disciplines and various journals, the text that helped me articulate a response is Michèle Lamont and Laurent Thévenot's text, *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology* (2000). In this work various authors grapple with comparing the USA and France in relation to issues ranging from journalism as a profession, to sexual harassment, to the role of the Rotary Club. In their conclusion, Lamont and Thévenot (2000a, p. 307) describe 'how various criteria of evaluation are typically combined and sometimes conflict, and how they are used to define the polity and maintain a political community in the two national settings'. By looking at a microcosm for analysis, they are able to draw out how the macroscopic institution, the polity or the state, both structures and is structured by the smaller 'field' (to use a Bourdieuan term).

In looking at French physical education curriculum and practices, my aim is to better comprehend what the polity/state institutions understand to be the focus of being 'Australian' and how this is legitimated. Of practical relevance to this is the question of why Australian physical education has taken up

such a substantial health component. By examining the French curriculum and its lack of specific discussion of health promotion, we have a point of comparison to shed light on how government in Australia presents the type of citizens it hopes will be produced in the school context.

### **Chapter outline**

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part One focuses on establishing a theoretical framework in three chapters, starting in Chapter One with an outline of theories of citizenship before moving on to discuss these in relationship to the concept of the heroic citizen, embodied citizenship and cultural belonging. In Chapter Two I develop a framework of the 'healthy citizen' using Michel Foucault's (1980, 1983, 1995) theories of discipline and governmentality, both in terms of discourses underpinning public health and the notion of an efficient citizen. In this section I also discuss the influences of *habitus*, lifestyles, consumer culture and sport, in terms of their roles within the discourses of 'healthisms' and socio-economic distinctions (Crawford 1980, Bourdieu 1984). Chapter Three introduces the role played by schooling in training young people to be citizens through physical education, as well as legitimating and enabling the productive, healthy citizen as a model for compliance and resistance.

Part Two contains three chapters and starts by examining recent French and NSW physical education curricula in Chapter Four and current debates regarding changes to the respective physical education programmes. Chapter Five presents the case studies of four secondary schools in Australia and France, drawing on a range of data that includes interviews undertaken with French and Australian physical education teachers and observations of their classes. These case studies provide microcosms from which to draw examples of both the compliance and variance between text and practice that is highlighted in Ivor Goodson's works (Goodson & Ball 1984, Goodson 1988, 1990). For all the intensity of curriculum analysis and citizenship theory, it is somewhat esoteric without living, breathing participants. What I learnt quickly from being an observer of education curriculum is that until you have seen the classes and talked to the teachers, a syllabus is a flat, one-dimensional product. As will unfold

throughout Part Two, the French and NSW syllabi have similar motivations and curriculum outcomes, yet are different programmes in practice and assessment methodologies.

The final part of this thesis will discuss the themes that emerge from examining physical education in practice and how these relate to the theoretics of Part One. The conclusion revisits the questions mentioned earlier, that is, what can we see and learn from looking at physical education in different environments, and what does it tell us about ourselves and the 'others'.

### **Autobiographical note**

This is how the 'personal becomes the political' to borrow Iris Marion Young's (1987) term and relates to a thesis! Not so long ago my then-seven year old son responded to my joking query of 'am I not the most perfect mother ever?' by looking me up and down and replying in total earnest, 'no, you're too thin, your hair's too purple and you've got too many earrings'. Model mother denied. How can he possibly 'know' that I am not the 'perfect' mother, based intriguingly enough on physical characteristics? What does he learn at school and in wider society that changes his world and knowledge of embodied motherhood so that I am no longer his only image of 'mother'? In some ways this is how it all began; watching and listening to my children and their worlds of learning about bodies and embodiment.

In keeping with this personal perspective, I need to explain my background in undertaking such a cross-cultural study. I was not educated in either the Australian (to any great length) or the French schooling systems. I was taught in nine schools across four continents, from kindergarten in Sweden to university in Thailand, and my lengthiest, if not my only, experience of physical education was for three years in high school in the USA. I am not trained as a teacher, but rather have a degree in Asian Studies and I hope this allows me an equity of distance and detachment from both the French and Australian systems of teacher training, teaching, and curriculum development.



So I will admit that my research not only comes as a result of being a curious mother but also a disparately schooled person. I have a personal vested interest in what makes people 'belong' in a culture and more importantly what makes us not belong. I have been the odd one at schools, not just in accent, but in practices. There have been many hours spent in airports playing 'can you guess which country they're from?', and while I tell people I am a global citizen at home anywhere, I wonder if it is really possible to be a global citizen. Or could it be that we are bound by and identifiable to a culture through our *habitus*?

With this question in mind, I would like to begin this work by looking at how the nation-state imagines and structures through institutions those individuals whom it would like to have as its citizens.

# **Part I    Theoretical Frames**

## Overview

In J.K. Rowling's (2000) well-known series of Harry Potter books, Harry's arch nemesis, Lord Voldemort, is unable to perform magic unless he inhabits a body and his ultimate return to power requires him to be re-embodied. The Australian and French Tombs of the Unknown Soldier were not considered complete by government officials until they contained a body. These are just two examples of the many ways in which cultural and social practices situate everyday uses of bodies from popular culture to political symbols.

Bodies and their representational ideologies may be politically, economically and socially very powerful (O'Neill 1985). Yet just as a single body can symbolise a nation and the nation be represented in body, in turn the body may also be a site of resistance. How does this happen, by what measures are bodies legitimated, who decides what kinds of bodies are valued, and how are they constructed? In developing a framework of embodied citizenship that draws on traditional representations of the *heroic citizen* and the more modern *healthy citizen*, I propose to examine how physical education applies institutionally structured definitions of 'legitimate bodies' and their legitimate uses (Bourdieu 1978).

The next three chapters will examine constructs of citizenship in political and social terms, and their embodiment as effected through ideological representations of the *heroic citizen* and the *healthy citizen* as the politically desirable, rational or 'efficient' citizen. This embodied citizen is inscribed through political and social structures and through health and physical culture values and ideals as viewed in wider society (Edensor 2002). In the modern era, the scientisation, mediatization and institutionalisation of physical culture through education inscribes a similar range of virtues and values (Carr 1991, Featherstone 1991, Pronger 2002).

Chapter One presents an analysis of the evolution of citizenship, from the earliest Hellenic virtues of citizenship, the Roman warrior, Christian morality to the rational, universal citizen of the Enlightenment. Through the impact

of feminist and economic demands the accrued multi-layered meanings of active and passive citizenship lead into more recent proposals of individualised differential citizenship and political participation (Young 1989, 1990, Hudson 2000). This chapter, drawing on Maurice Halbwachs' (Vromen 1995) theory of collective memory and commemoration, also provides examples of the ways in which embodied ideological representations of the heroic citizen are inscribed through public events and performances. These acts of commemoration establish a social and cultural rationality for the embodiment of idealised virtues, as epitomised by the heroic citizen (Nora 1984, Featherstone 1995, Vromen 1995, Edensor 2002).

In Chapter Two I will look at how discourses of health and physical culture are intermeshed within the politics of neo-liberalism to construct the healthy citizen and how these discourses function as a form of corporeal discipline described by Foucault's modes of power-knowledge and governmentality (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983). This chapter also draws on Beck's (1992) notion of a 'risk society' as a key to understanding governments' drive for healthy citizens and healthy lifestyles. The example of the obesity epidemic is used to provide insight into the Australian and French political and cultural responses to a global yet nationalised 'health-at-risk' discourse.

The focus of Chapter Three is to understand the role of the school in structuring the corporeal discourses of the healthy citizen, particularly through the 'disciplining of bodies' (Foucault 1995). While young people in Australia and France are not awarded the full rights of citizens until attaining the age of 18, they are educated within the structure of schools to become productive citizens. It is this end goal of a productive citizen for the state that brings us back to the concept of healthy citizenry as a hegemonic practice to legitimate an idealised embodied citizen (Lupton 1995). Chapter Three also continues with the theme of an 'at-risk' citizen, as the role of the school has not only been to provide learning to become a productive citizen, but it has also been charged with the role of identifying those at risk of not becoming this kind of citizen.

# Chapter One:    Embodying citizens

*Virtus est animi habitus naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus*  
Virtue is a disposition of spirit in harmony  
with the measure of nature and of reason.

Cicero, *De Inventione*, Book 2

The good citizen should know and have the capacity both to rule  
and be ruled, and this very thing is the virtue of a citizen.

Aristotle, *Politics*, Book 3

Choice is an illusion, created between those men with power and those without.

L. & A. Wachowski, *The Matrix Reloaded*, 2003

My research draws on a wide range of theories related to citizenship in order to discuss how the 'education of bodies' can be viewed as a form of embodied citizenship. Dean (1996) argues that citizenship is a means of studying both the characterisation of the subject and the construction of individualism as a practice of the work of government across time. To understand some of the debates about the politics and various cultural models of citizenship, we need to go back through history and identify the precepts and templates of the language and imagery of citizenship.

This chapter will look at a cross-section of political, social and cultural theories surrounding citizenship and the role of citizens as prescribed by citizenship through historical and theoretical analysis. Many of the values, characteristics and ideas pertaining to citizenship began with the Greeks, the Spartans and the Romans and were taken up again by the intellectuals and revolutionaries of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries to be enshrined in the legislation of emerging nation-states. With the rise of modern industrial capitalist society during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, citizenship became more contested (Heater 1990, Riesenbergs 1992, Clarke 1994, Turner, B. 1994).

Across history there consistently appears a differentiation in the general access to the rights and obligations of citizenship that is primarily based on the embodied characteristics of the ideal citizen. These characteristics include the requirements that one is male, able-bodied and of a particular ethnicity (Caucasian) which in turn enable class and gender differentiation and domination (Young 1990, Turner & Hamilton 1994, Castles 1997, Castles & Davidson 2000). The notion of citizenship evolved over the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly in terms of women and Indigenous peoples

gaining the right to vote. However many civil and social aspects of citizenship have neither evolved to demonstrate greater inclusiveness nor adapted to recognise and embrace difference. With the rise of the industrial society, the delineated public and private spheres (often described as masculine and feminine domains respectively) became contested sites of public policy and legislation. The feminist movement has been a key factor in identifying some of the institutionalised exclusivities of citizenship (Grieve & Burns 1994, Gatens & Mackinnon 1998). As we enter the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we find that instead of a global citizen as imagined by Turner (1993), with universal rights protected by supra-national organisations, the effects of globalisation and neo-liberal governments have constrained citizenship and actively constructed the 'Other' (Muetzfeldt & Smith 2002, Summers 2003).

If the codification of citizenship that occurs with the emergence of modern democracies and nation-states has created boundaries for domination, then the resistance of the dominated, according to Foucault, also enables universalising forms of citizenship to exist simultaneously. The reaction to contradictions in citizenship, or resistance to integration, is also an opportunity for powerful hegemonic discourses to be elaborated through 'relations of strategy' (Foucault 1983).

For a relationship of confrontation, from the moment it is not a struggle to the death, the fixing of a power relationship becomes a target—at one and the same time its fulfilment and its suspension. And in return the strategy of struggle also constitutes a frontier for the relationship of power, the line at which, instead of manipulating and inducing actions in a calculated manner, one must be content with reacting to them after the event. It would not be possible for power relations to exist without points of insubordination which, by definition, are means of escape. [...]

But what makes the domination of a group, a caste, or a class, together with the resistance and revolts which that domination comes up against, a central phenomenon in the history of societies is that they manifest in a massive and universalising form, at the level of the whole social body, the locking together of power relations with relations of strategy and the results proceeding from their interaction. (Foucault 1983, pp. 225-226)

Resistance requires the extension of a more diffuse, less direct, yet perhaps more pervasive network of power and control. In similar fashion, the direct

social demands to extend the meanings of citizenship effect the institutionalisation of the good citizen as a strategy of government.

### **Theories of citizenship: Belonging and exclusion**

In the Collins Dictionary (2000) a citizen is defined as 'a native registered or naturalized member of a state, nation or other political community'. The next line is quite telling: 'Compare alien'. From the earliest use of the word in Latin (*civitas*), citizenship meant that a person belonged to a city (*civium*). The title gave the bearer certain legal rights (Riesenberg 1992). It was also the earliest institutionalisation of the 'Other', for those who were not citizens therefore did not hold the same rights. Thus citizenship both identifies who are citizens and, as critically, those who are not. This is a key concept, as citizenship not only describes the characteristics of those people who fulfil both formal and informal criteria, but also establishes boundaries to deny others access to the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Through the works of the many theorists in the field of citizenship studies, we can trace a pattern of systematic redefinition of the application of the term 'citizenship' (Turner & Hamilton 1994, Hudson & Kane 2000). However, I would argue that the ideological representations, and even the political basis, of a good citizen have not evolved greatly since the early Athenian, Spartan, and Roman models. This is based not so much on the legal aspects of citizenship which Turner (1994, p. 1) refers to as that 'bundle of entitlements and obligations which constitute individuals as fully fledged members of a socio-political community', but on T.H. Marshall's (1977) view of the sense of social belonging and identification of oneself as a citizen with the ability to participate fully in every aspect of the community. Where it becomes problematic for individuals is at the point of identifying oneself as belonging to the constructed national citizenry, beyond the simple legal requirements. The images of idealised citizens, their behaviours, their achievements, their moral and physical virtues may be presented in such a way that alienates and obfuscates others from being recognised as fully belonging (Hudson & Kane 2000).

## Civic virtues

Virtūs, ūtis: feminine [vir], *manliness, manhood*, ie the sum of all the corporeal or mental excellences of man, *strength, vigor, bravery, courage, aptness, capacity, worth, moral excellence, virtue*, etc. (Cassell's Latin Dictionary 1984)

The historical importance granted to Athenian citizenship has been demonstrated by the many texts that detail Athenian political theories and philosophies, such as those by Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates.<sup>1</sup> These texts have provided Western civilisation with thoughts on the four virtues of a citizen—wisdom, temperance, justice and courage—and the process by which these virtues may be inculcated in individuals (Carr 1991, Arcodia 2002, Burchell 2003). Athenian politics established the importance of the public sphere over the private and the primacy of the intellectual and rational over the physical and emotional, although the early dualism of mind and body was not uncontested (Synnott 1992). It should be noted that these celebrated virtues of the good citizen, the elite male, excluded all others, in particular women. Citizenship was about being master of others and of oneself.

Status in the *polis* was therefore based upon status as the unlimited master of an *oikos* [household]. The reproduction of life, the labour of the slaves, and the service of women went on under the aegis of the master's domination; birth and death took place in its shadow; and the realm of necessity and transitoriness remained immersed in the obscurity of the private sphere. In contrast to it stood [...] the public sphere as a realm of freedom and permanence. Only in the light of the public sphere did that which existed become revealed, did everything become visible to all. (Habermas 1989, p. 83)

The moral characteristics of a citizen included an active interest and participation in public affairs which, for Aristotle, comprised 'the possession of knowledge and capacity requisite for ruling as well as being ruled', and the ability to perform military command, public communication and judicial judgment (Heater 1990, pp. 3-4). These tasks required the demonstration and mastery of two forms of skills - firstly the individual's intellectual capacity, to reason, to argue, and to judge, and secondly, the individual's ability to accept and display training, indoctrination, obedience and submission to government, and to defend the state through military

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<sup>1</sup> Plato wrote many pieces as conversations with Socrates, referred to as dialogues such as *Meno*, *Protagoras*, *Apology*, *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, but the text most referred is the *Republic*. Carr (1991, p. 35) refers to this work as 'undoubtedly the first of the very great works of Western social and political philosophy'. Aristotle's works include *Nichomachean Ethics*, and *De Anima*.



service (Carr 1991). All of these virtues were tested in the public sphere and only there did they receive recognition by the community.

The perpetuation of a moral narrative and a 'good life' based on ethical virtues is similar to the Athenian classical tradition, and continues to occur in contemporary life. David Burchell (2003) describes moral narrative as one in which the citizen is trained through childhood education, with a shared pattern of social life in which excellence in the accomplishment of any of a series of key practices in social and cultural life (for example, business, politics, sport or academia) is definable as an exercise of virtue. It is on this same classical project of ethical virtues that Foucault (1983a) bases his 'technologies of self' in which individuals strive to care for themselves as a moral project.

[Assembled techniques of a liberal art of government] frequently require and integrate within them ways in which individuals conduct themselves. That is to say, they involve governed individuals adopting particular practical relations to themselves in the exercise of their freedom in appropriate ways: the promotion in the governed population of specific techniques of the self around such questions as, for example, saving and providentialism, the acquisition of way of performing roles like father or mother, the development of habits of cleanliness, sobriety, fidelity, self-improvement, responsibility and so on. (Burchell, G. 1996, p. 26)

As discussed further on, the strategies of 'technologies of the self' have a greater significance with the emergence of neo-liberalism (Barry et al. 1996). The embodied virtues of citizenships most valued from the beginning of the Western political history of citizenship continue to be the pivotal virtues of today's good citizens.

According to Riesenbergh (1992) and Clarke (1994), the earliest formal attempts to codify citizenship began with Solon's changes to the political rights of Athenians (circa 630-560 BC). The cornerstones of citizenship for the Athenians were economic status, judicial power and military responsibility. Serving one's nation in the military was enshrined as a right, even an obligation, of citizens based on the Spartan and Athenian models of citizenship. It was given greater priority during the Roman Empire as economics also came to play a significant role as a privilege of citizenship.

The Romans made citizenship a sought after status for the economic benefits it could bring:

Full citizenship entailed six privileges. Four of these were public rights: service in the army, voting in the assembly, eligibility to public office and the legal right of action and appeal. The two others were the private rights of intermarriage and trade with other Roman citizens. The benefits could be considerable. Citizenship opened up the possibilities of careers for which a non-citizen would be ineligible. (Heater 1990, p. 16)<sup>2</sup>

In comparison to the Athenian model, Roman citizenship had greater stress on military service than judicial and political service. Rome offered tiers of citizenship, Roman and Latin, including *civitas sine suffragio* (citizenship without franchise) in which residents of other Latin towns could enjoy the private benefits of citizenship that were particularly important in the economic sphere of trade, but could not participate in the public political practices enjoyed by full Roman citizens (Heater 1990, Riesenbergs 1992).

### **Sedimentary layers of citizenship**

It is important to emphasise that citizenship has not necessarily followed a process of sequential development with one form logically and neatly replacing another. Instead, it has evolved more as a base set of ideas drawn primarily from the Athenian and Roman models, with particular characteristics or rights of the citizen competing for greater legitimacy or priority over time. Each 'new' emergence of ideas builds upon the 'sedimentary remnants of previous layers' (Walby 1996, p. 246). For example, the Romans listed moral virtues as civic qualities of a Roman male citizen. These included firmness, courage, religious reverence, self-restraint, dignity, prudence and justice (Heater 1990). Earlier Greek virtues were wisdom, temperance, justice and courage. These were transposed across time and empires to become Christian virtues. In every era following, similar virtues/values reappear whether described by Aristotle, Cicero,

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<sup>2</sup> This is still the case in Australia where it is not possible to be employed in the Australian Public Service without taking out Australian citizenship. Permanent residency is sufficient to be offered a position on the proviso that the incumbent will then take out citizenship. There is a multiplicity of examples of purchasing citizenship in order to gain economic benefits of 'belonging' rather than emotional. In the Australian case, there is the business migrant category, in which a person applies for permanent residency with the intention of establishing business ties/networks in Australia. To be eligible the applicant must purchase \$500,000 in government bonds. Rupert Murdoch (a member of one of Australia's wealthiest families) took out citizenship in the United States in order to maximise commercial market access (Davidson 1997). While nations deny access to citizenship for unskilled workers, it is very available to wealthier migrants (Castles & Davidson 2000).

Saint Paul or the Australian government of the 1990s (Miller 1993). Similarly, citizenship began as the right to identify oneself as a member of a city in a time of inter-city warring and trade development. It bestowed certain economic and political rights. Fundamentally that has never changed throughout almost three millennia. **Table 1.1** shows how the Athenian/Roman model of citizenship has been built upon in layers over time.

**Table 1.1 Evolutionary characteristics of Western citizenship<sup>3</sup>**

During the medieval era, despite the value of political citizenship being diminished and replaced by loyalty to kings and churches, the citizens of Judeo-Christianity established the use of the soul and codification of moral rules to supplement meanings of the body and the physical (Foucault 1989). In the same way that the Greeks had ruled that women and slaves were to

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<sup>3</sup>Based on Synnott 1992, Turner 1996, Table 1 in Davidson 1997, p. 5, and Table 1 in Muetzelfeldt & Smith 2002, p. 61.

be 'hidden' in the *oikos*, the church was established as a public sphere for 'masters' to be made visible through rules that excluded women from institutional power (Turner 1996). While the Greeks and Romans provided a foundation for the embodiment of citizenship by defining the physical requirements for a citizen, the moral virtues were given divine interpretation and human flesh became a means of 'ethical substance' (Dutton 1995, Foucault 1995). Asceticism—practising self-denial of 'pleasures'—was institutionalised as was guilt through application of ability to make choices between good and bad (Synnott 1992, Turner 1996). The power of the church lay in defining what was good and what was bad; the pleasures and sins of the flesh. This notion of 'choosing' is also an essential function of the rational individual under liberalism. This becomes an important consideration for the healthy citizen as discussed in the next chapter.

### **The modern citizen incarnate**

The next layer of sedimentation in the political evolution of citizenship occurs with the emergence of the nation-state through the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. For many theorists this is the beginning of the modern citizen and of a governmentality associated with the rise of nationalism, capitalism and the welfare state (Turner 1993, 1993a, 1994, Dean 1996, Tilly 1996). From the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, political debates would emerge from Britain, France and America that influence the constructs of citizenship into the modern day. These include the discussions of capitalism and individualism and the role of the state to legislate and govern on behalf of safeguarding its collective citizenry (Turner 1994, Lemke 2001).<sup>4</sup>

The French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens* enshrined many features of the Athenian/Spartan/Roman citizen, once again defining and identifying citizens and by exclusion, non-citizens.

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<sup>4</sup> Turner (1994) points out that there are different cultural 'traditions' related to citizenship debates. For the United Kingdom, the debate has centred on welfare and citizenship and social class (exemplified by T.H. Marshall's work); the North American tradition focuses on ethnicity and citizenship, while the European tradition has focused on relationships between the state and the citizen. I would argue that the Australian debate is more like the North American debate and focuses on the relations between ethnicity and the nation-state (Davidson 1997, Castles & Davidson 2000). While not a focus of my thesis, these differences appear to reflect the histories of the various nations and this is important

*Declaration of the rights of man and of citizens, 26 August 1789*

- I. Men are born, and remain, free and equal in respect of their rights. Social distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.
- II. The goal of all political association is the preservation of natural rights of man. The rights are liberty, property, security and freedom from oppression.
- III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; no individual or any body of men may exercise any authority which is not expressly derived from the nation. [...]
- VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight are equally eligible to all honours, places and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction that that created by their virtues and talents. (cited in Clarke 1994, pp 115-116 & Ministère de la Justice 2004)

It is at the point of the French Revolution that the citizen that I have termed the *heroic citizen* was enshrined in legislation. The creation of the French Republic and its universal citizen, according to Silverman (1999, p. 129), was also the first state-initiated separation of the private from the public individual—‘the civilian from the citizen’. Citizenship was to be bestowed upon all those who were eligible, and they would be afforded legal protection, the right to vote, to stand for election, and the right to hold property. In return, however, the citizens also had to contribute to the state for its protection, in both tax and in body. The establishment of a state meant that its citizens could be regulated and governed by rational norms rather than the irrational whims of monarchs and churches (Rose 1996).

This evolution in citizenship also marked the beginning of the formal separation of the private sphere from the public—to the detriment of women who lost their opportunity for formal participation in the public sphere. Despite great argument and impassioned pleas from spokeswomen during the Revolution, the Declaration, language and symbols of the Revolution ensured that women remained sidelined and assigned a domestic maternal role to support the state (Applewhite & Levy 1984, Gutwirth 1992). The need to create a nation required a series of concepts that citizens could accept: liberty, fraternity, equality, justice. Yet as feminists have noted it was the ‘fraternity’ that guaranteed women were not equal

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background context when considering French political identity which is often explicitly positioned against the English and the Anglo tradition of liberalism.

(Gaspard 1992, Schor 1995, Siim 2000). French colonialism also heightened aspects of the 'brotherhood', as those of different ethnicity and race, despite being born on French soil, were subjects rather than citizens (Balibar 1984, Castles 1997).<sup>5</sup> In summing up the Enlightenment's universal citizen, Silverman (1996, p. 133) describes it as 'the abstract product of bourgeois individualism and Western patriarchy'.

### Layers of liberalism

When we survey the wretched condition of man, under the monarchical and hereditary systems of government, dragged from his home by one power, or driven by another, and impoverished by taxes more than by enemies, it becomes evident that those systems are bad, and that a general revolution in the principle and constructions of government is necessary. What is government more than that management of the affairs of a nation? [...] When men think of what government is, they necessarily suppose it to possess a knowledge of all the objects and matters upon which its authority is to be exercised. (Thomas Paine 1791, cited in Clarke 1994, p. 123)

During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, there was a tension within contemporary citizenship that generated debates about how to govern citizens and the extent to which governments were responsible for their citizens. The development of liberalism may be seen to underpin the government of the modern citizen, particularly in terms of labour economics and the provision of government services (Norman 1992, Lemke 2001, Turner 2002). Key political philosophy texts produced by Englishmen such as Adam Smith, John Stuart Mills, David Hume, Jeremy Bentham and Thomas Paine have meant that classical liberalism is particularly associated with English politics (Eccleshall 1984, Heilbroner 1986, Rose & Miller 1992).<sup>6</sup> Classical liberalism concerns the liberation of individuals from the constraints of traditional political subordination. During the liberal period of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, intellectual recognition of the exploitation of people required an elaboration of the 'rights of men' [sic] as well as public administration

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<sup>5</sup> The importance of citizenship models based on *ius sanguinis* (born of blood) or *ius soli* (born of soil) must be considered when discussing the roles of women as reproductive citizens, particularly in terms of ethnicity and right to citizenship in colonised territories (Yuval-Davis & Anthias 1989, Castles 1997, Yuval-Davis 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Liberalism in its English political ideology emerged from battles of constitutional, monarch and Church monopolies in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In Europe similar debates emerged against monarchies and religious during the Enlightenment. Both schools of thought argued that people had rights that could not be abrogated by the unbridled use of power such as that wielded by monarchs or churches. One difference between the European Enlightenment and English/Scottish liberalism was the belief that science and

and finance (Burchell 1998). By establishing the rights of individuals, particularly the rights to freedom and non-interference, the next political development was to proscribe the functions and responsibilities of governments to protect those rights, both socially and financially. However, liberalism, too, has evolved over time to become an ideology linked to notions of minimal government, individualisation of responsibility and free market forces as economic principles (Eccleshall 1984, Dean & Hindess 1998). One of the difficulties in the transformation of political subjects into citizens is the re-conceptualisation of the activities of government in controlling the people. The 'governable subject' needs to be able to exercise the liberty and freedom intrinsic to democracy without undermining or placing the sovereign state at risk of collapse (Donzelot 1991, Rose 1996).

During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, new forms of social government came into being through knowledge, expertise, and technical qualifications, and with them evolved new techniques of government (Dean 1996, Rose 1996, Davidson 1997). One of these new forms of government, developed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is known as the welfare state, with a focus on equality for all citizens through mechanisms provided by the state:

What matters is that there is a general reduction of the concrete substance of civilised life, a general reduction of risk and insecurity, an equalisation between the healthy and the sick, the employed and the unemployed, the old and the active, the bachelor and the father of a large family. Equalisation is not so much between the classes as between individuals within a population which is now treated for this purpose as though it were one class [...] Equality of status is more important than equality of income. (Marshall 1950 cited in Davidson 1997, p. 31)

The welfare state was generated by a desire to create 'equality of status' through a state provision of services on the basis of the rights of citizens. One of the most important modern theorists of citizenship, T.H. Marshall, is renowned for his writings on the contradiction between formal political equality and ongoing economic and social inequality (Marshall 1977, Castles & Davidson 2000, Hudson & Kane 2000). Although his work is now criticised for being heavily based on the British welfare state, and moreover a

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scientific rational forms of knowledge could be applied to redesign society to be more equal (Eccleshall 1984).

description of the rights rather than the obligations of citizenship (see Davidson 1997), the key to Marshall's work is that citizenship is also a set of social relationships between the individual and the state, and between citizens themselves. Social citizenship and social rights qualify the level of actual 'power' in political terms through full participation in society (Young 1989, Castles & Davidson 2000, Hudson & Kane 2000, Siim 2000).

### ***Homo economicus* and the gendered citizen**

Social citizenry is now widely understood to be about belonging and social acceptability. While the political and legal rights of citizenship have enshrined gender and racial equality, (for example, in legislation) social citizenship encompasses domains that are for the most part, unlegislable. Social citizenship is about the unspoken and unwritten values and beliefs that constitute culture, or integration and assimilation in terms of differences (whether racial, ethnic, gender, sexual or corporeal). Unwritten rules are the most difficult to resist, and the constructs of the good citizen in its multiple sites are not perceived to be bound by rules. The rational and equal do not always equate with the unspoken, as is evinced by the construct of *homo economicus* (economic rational man) and the non-gendered citizen described by Gatens:

Democratic institutions generally claim to be governed by rules that apply equally to all and which provide a non-prejudicial context for social action. [...] the abstract 'individual', 'citizen' or 'rational actor' is implicitly a man who is assumed to be Janus-faced: in the institution of the labour market and that of citizenship he is conceived as an atomistic self-interested actor, whereas in the institution of the family he is conceived as an altruistic and benevolent head of a household. The manner in which the private individual and the public citizen are conceived in liberal theory both constructs and perpetuates a serious power imbalance between men and women in terms of their agency. [...] Furthermore, the assumption that rational actors act to maximise their self-interest will be misleading if that *self* (and its preferences and interests) is not acknowledged as a *sexed self*, that is a 'self' that possesses sex-linked interests. (Gatens 1998, pp 7-8, original emphasis)

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, economics and statistics emerged as 'sciences' and practices for state administration. Their significance for the act of governing, according to Burchell (1998) and Coltheart (1998, p. 134) was underpinned by their rationality and an ability to make all things calculable



and quantifiable by number, weight and measure, 'without discussing causes, nor reason upon probable effects'. In the same way, again based on statistics, the term *homo economicus* or economic man, is used by a range of disciplines to describe as an actor for economic forecasting as well as a model of 'rational man', a person who makes and negotiates their decisions to benefit themselves on the basis of being fully informed about all circumstances related to the decision.

In general, sociologists have adopted a critical, occasionally derogatory, use of *homo economicus* as the prototype of an extremely desirable citizen, for conservative governments, who pursues selfish interests above all else (Hirsch et al 1990). For neo-liberal governments, however, *homo economicus* is a very model citizen, who makes rational informed choices to ensure his/her existence is at the highest standard of living possible. The problem with *homo economicus* is that this individual does not necessarily care about the collective good and responsibility of government to provide for others, as Cox suggests:

If we are social beings rather than economic beings, then society is threatened by the presence of Economically Rational Man in public policy. This *homo non sapiens* is a constructed individual who maximises the short term advantage in most economic models. If he takes over, he will destroy society because social connections have no place in a world full of self-interested, competing individuals (Cox 1995, no page numbers).

In terms of citizenship, 'economic man' is the pinnacle of liberal individualism and the anathema of feminists and those espousing a need for differential citizenship in the face of universal rights (Cox 1995, 2000, Gatens 1998). Economists have also begun to recognise that economic subjects are formed by institutions and their participation in market exchanges will differ (Anderson 2000, Adaman & Madra 2002). Theories of power need to account for the ways in which 'rules' governing institutions suppress or deny different kinds of capacities and preferences. In terms of economics and statistics, one example of these rules is the invisibility accorded to women's domestic labour (Baxter 1998, Gatens 1998). How is it that work in the private sphere is accorded a lesser place (or none at all) in the realms of quantifiable activity? Could it be that *homo economicus* disappears when the institution in question is not in the public sphere and

the constructed subject in question is not a model of male rationality? Rational choice making can never be universalised because the economic subject is already constituted by their context.

[D]emocratic theories have not yet confronted the implications of the patriarchal construction of citizenship and so they provide little or no help in elucidating or solving the complex dilemma facing women...within the contemporary patriarchal order, and within the confines of ostensibly universal categories of democratic theory; it is taken for granted that for women to be active, full citizens they must become (like) men...although women have demanded for two centuries that their distinctive qualities and tasks should become part of citizenship – that is, that they should be citizens as women – *their demand cannot be met when it is precisely these marks of womanhood that place women in opposition to, or, at best, in a paradoxical and contradictory relation to, citizenship*. Women are expected to don the lion's skin, mane and all, there is no set of clothes available for a citizen who is a woman. (Pateman 1989, p. 14, my emphasis)

The rationality of *homo economicus* is intended to be ungendered. However as Young (1987, 1989), Bryson (1994), and Summers (2003) argue (in a similar vein to Pateman cited above), it is the inability of economic rationality to recognise 'difference' that denies women equal access. In 2003, the Australian Research Council funded a project to analyse the financial benefits of breastfeeding to the Australian economy. Smith and Butler (2003) argue that there is a \$2.2 billion per annum economic output for breast-feeding, not including the 'savings in national health-care costs and breast milk's role in intelligence quota and therefore earning ability'.<sup>7</sup> The basis for the research states that while there is a health benefit for breastfeeding, 'little real change would be wrought without recognising its dollar value to the economy'. In light of the debates surrounding women and breastfeeding in the workplace and public, perhaps this is a valid line of argument.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> 'Study to show how mums feed economy', *The Canberra Times*, 16/10/2003, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> In 2003, Kirsty Marshall, Member of the Victorian State Parliament in Australia, was asked to leave the parliamentary chamber in which she was breastfeeding her eleven day-old baby during the Opening session. This is an example of a woman's body literally being a 'barrier' to participation in politics (Gatens 1996). Despite the nuances of arguments over breastfeeding in public, infant and maternal health, children in the workplace, the correct upholding of rules and regulations of only elected members of Parliament being allowed to enter the chamber, the ejection of Kirsty Marshall is emblematic of what Pateman (1989) describes as the need for recognition of 'difference'. Pateman's argument, like Hudson's (2000) argument for differential citizenship, is that women in taking up citizenship have had to 'don the lion's clothing' and participate not in recognition of gender difference, but by taking up masculinist positions.

However, it also appears an example of attempting to authenticate 'difference' through a universalistic model, along the lines of *homo economicus*; where all decisions are taken and justified on the basis of economic rationalism. What if this was taken to the extreme and a tax placed upon women who did not breastfeed their children, given that they would place a possible burden upon the economy? It would then become a form of gendered economic discrimination as men cannot breastfeed and would never be liable for this tax.

In another example, the literal divide of theoretical citizenship and embodied citizenship comes to a crucial juncture at women's reproductive rights. Bacchi and Beasley (2002) examined public policy regarding artificial reproductive technologies and found that women's bodies became the objects of political control as a site of public interest.

[P]olitical subjects who evince forms of control over their bodies are constituted as full citizens which at times is equated with a degree of distance from government surveillance. Political subjects who are deemed not to exercise this control, who are considered to be controlled by or subject to their bodies, do not measure up on the citizenship scale; hence, their activities can be regulated in ways deemed inappropriate for full citizens. Conceptions about bodies act as a dividing line between full and lesser citizens, with citizenship itself understood in terms of 'autonomy' from government. (Bacchi & Beasley 2002, p. 344)

Women are contextualised as maternal bodies and the control of these bodies is deemed to be in the best interest of the public, including denial of services to unmarried women and lesbians. Yet legislative language describes women's reproductive bodies as simply 'human bodies' without gender. Bacchi and Beasley's work brings to light a host of political inconsistencies regarding women's rights and political subjectivity once their reproductive capacity is under scrutiny. Yet when it is a question of cosmetic surgery, as consumers, women's control of their bodies is guaranteed. For Beasley and Bacchi (2000, p. 338) it is clear that 'some political regimes at certain times and around certain issues conceive the procreative body as meaning that women can never be quite the political subjects – the citizens – men are deemed to be'.

Given the hegemonic masculine patriarchal characteristics of citizenship and the good citizen, it is often not possible to meet either the explicit or implicit requirements. In effect, a good citizen has to be acceptable in a culturally-specific defined way through economic and social participation. While political and civic citizenship has legislated gender, ethnic, and racial equality, in the social realms embodied citizenship is still exclusionary. However, good citizen status may be attainable through other means. Anthony Freitas (1998) argues that homosexual communities in the United States have become acceptable citizens because they 'consume' in conspicuous quantities. Once 'aliens' in legal and political citizenship terms, capitalism's recognition of gays and lesbians as 'markets' has brought about an acceptance in social citizenship terms, followed by legal acceptance, albeit to a limited extent.<sup>9</sup>

The citizenship models discussed above provide a number of thematic characteristics that re-appear throughout the ages. These include the importance of the public sphere versus the private sphere, the privileging of the intellectual and rational over the emotional and sensory, the elevation of the 'heroic' with the physical capacity to defend one's territory, and the economic status of citizenship. All of these characteristics have traditionally excluded women on the basis of 'imagined' embodied characteristics of femininity (Young 1989, 1990, Walby 1996, Yuval-Davis 1997, Beasley & Bacchi 2000, Bacchi & Beasley 2002).

### **Institutionalising good citizens**

A key aspect of this chapter is to look at how these dominant characteristics of a good citizen have been institutionalised. I am adopting Moira Gatens's (1998, p. 3) definition in which an institution is a 'stable, valued, recurring pattern of behaviour that coordinates and constrains the behaviour of individuals in their social interactions'. Thus something as emotional and personal as the 'family' becomes a sphere for institutionalisation and also a site of good citizenship (O'Neill 1985, Burns 1994). I will provide examples of the ways in which symbolically commemorated citizens become a public

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<sup>9</sup> Recent changes to legislation in Australia has meant that same-sex couples may now have access to their partner's superannuation (age pension), but like many nations, there have been legal challenges by

ideal. These heroic citizens are effected through rituals and celebrations and constitute a form of embodied citizenship that identifies and excludes those individuals that cannot or do not have the valued characteristics. The excluded are placed, by degrees of difference, in opposition to the 'good citizen'.

Un bon citoyen n'est pas seulement celui qui accomplit ponctuellement son devoir d'électeur, c'est aussi celui qui, par son comportement quotidien, assure le fonctionnement harmonieux de la cité, ou encore celui qui interpelle les détenteurs de pouvoirs, les obligeant à respecter leurs engagements et à justifier leurs décisions. (Crémieux 2001, p. 11)

*A good citizen is not just one who fulfils their obligation as a voter; they are also those who, through their daily behaviour, assure the harmonious functioning of the city, or, in addition, those who question the holders of power, obliging them to honour their commitments and to justify their decisions.*

The question of defining what is a 'good' citizen requires a multiplicity of lenses, especially when considering the various sites of citizenship. Crémieux (2001) and Hudson (2000) provide lists of possible situations in which to measure a good citizen: as a member of an institution (club, church, city, community, region, nation-state, world); exercising a capacity to be a citizen in a specific domain (family, worker, voter); citizenship as 'positive evaluation of behaviour'— that is, meeting a set of requirements imposed by others; and 'an ethic by which existing arrangements can be evaluated and judged' (Hudson 2000, p. 16). Against this list, using Eva Cox's 'four faces' of the citizen, we can begin to construct what I will call the 'good citizen matrix' (see **Figure 1.1** below). For Cox (1999), citizenship encompasses firstly the traditional legal entitlements of voting, passports, residency and identity cards. Citizenship also contains the economic rights of the citizen, as a taxpayer and as a beneficiary of state benefits. Cox's third measure of a good citizen is termed the 'individualistic' model, which I would argue is the moral citizen:

A responsible person who sees public order as linked to the wider society and therefore tries to act for the common good. Good citizens volunteer time and fulfil their duties because they have learned to abide by certain moral codes and respond to the needs of others. This form of noblesse oblige tends to be associated with conservative traditionalists who see their obligations as central to being a good person in a good society. (Cox 1999, p. 17)

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government to ban any attempts to legalise marriage for same sex couples.

Cox's fourth good citizen measure, like that cited above by Crémieux, is the connection of the citizen with civil society—the responsibility of citizens to leaders, not as voters necessarily, but as a means of reminding those in power to act on a community's behalf. As with each of the examples in **Figure 1.1**, there are degrees of 'good' and, by association, 'bad'. The tearing down of the Wall between East and West Germany was the actions of citizens on behalf of a community. However, active participation in social movements as a measure of good citizenry is not always viewed as positive, for example, the anti-globalisation protests that accompany the World Trade Organisation meetings routinely attract government censure (Klein 2000, Saha 2000). The judgment of a 'good' citizen reflects past, and current, political positioning.

**Figure 1.1: The 'good' citizen matrix**

<i>Site/Face</i>	<i>Political</i>	<i>Legal</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Individualistic/Moral</i>
Family	Heterosexual marriage Family/child allowances Maternity leave	Pays child support Birth certificates Maternity leave	Is employed Maternity leave Child care	Has children vaccinated Christens child Stays home to care for children
City	Votes Obeyes speed limits	Sends children to school Registers household pets	Pays taxes Buys locally made goods	Volunteers for Meals on Wheels
Nation	Votes (not protests) Defends nation	Enters state with passport Defends nation	Pays taxes Buys nationally made goods Stays healthy	Stays healthy Attends military welcome home parades

Governments act to define, identify and normalise good citizens through many processes. The practices in **Figure 1.1** above are samples of the possible fields of judgement and assessment. Citizenship simultaneously comprises moral and political ideas, formalised legal status and an administrative category. One of the most powerful images of the good citizen for many of those spheres, from family to nation, is presented through public celebration and commemoration, particularly when considered in the frame of a nation-state and nationalistic tendencies (Miller 1993, Edensor 2002).<sup>10</sup> By providing images of a good citizen, the populace

<sup>10</sup> Award ceremonies particularly come to mind, such as the Order of the British Empire, Order of Australia Medal, the Australia Day Awards, and Father of the Year, etc.

has a standard by which to measure themselves, however contested and politically temporary the standard may be. The traditional ideal of the masculinist model of a citizen continues to be reflected in many aspects of full citizenship. I have discussed examples of political and legal constructs of embodied gender differences, but how are these left unquestioned for the most part in people's day-to-day lives? How is the ideal citizen cast in body and represented ideologically as the social norm, and how are its embodied values perpetuated across generations and spaces?

### **Performing the embodied citizen: Commemoration and inscription**

Gatens (1996) describes the nation-state as an imaginary masculine body, created with body images established in cultures through individual bodies' lived experiences. Her argument is that the images of state and society are understood along the lines a model of a male human body, such as the body politic described by O'Neill (1985). There are many ways in which the nation-state and societies take an embodied form, from the political to cultural, with one of the most clearly defined being the 'great traditions'. Preston (1997, p. 45) defined these traditions as 'the formal institutions of the state affirming truths to which persons are required to submit, but they also embody broader set of ideas – the official truths which the state affirms'. These affirmations take place in a multitude of formats, but are nonetheless formalised by the state.

Plato's early writings described how to 'train the virtuous citizen' and presented the ideologies of the virtuous citizen to be inculcated into the populace through the public life, games, spectacles, religion, and theatre, even funeral orations (Riesenberg 1992). Suzanne Scholz suggests that national identity, through text, for example poetry, literature, art, can be translated into body practice. 'Writing the nation and fashioning the subject can thus be understood as performative practices that produce identity by reiteration and imagination', argues Scholz (2000, p. 9), and individual bodies' comportment become representational of the political body and vice versa. Connerton (cited in Edensor 2002, p. 74) contends that 'performances of identity (whether narratives of the nation or other) are matched, on the level of body politics, by disciplinary discourses through

habitus, gesture, apparel, and speech as incorporating rituals by which groups transmit ideals and reproduce memory through disciplined performance'.

The transmission of national identity and ideology is typically achieved through these grandiloquent pageants [...] But besides offering spectacle, these nationalist ceremonial dramas also inculcate specifiable forms of bodily conduct and comportment [...] by demanding stylized and repetitive performances from the participants, memory and identity become inscribed into the body. [...] This mnemonic effect, embodied within the (national) subject, bestows an affective yet disciplined sense of belonging, a sense that one can successfully perform, that one possesses a competence to enact the ritual and may be called upon to ensure its continued specificity in the future. (Edensor 2002, p. 74)

Similarly national ceremonies such as parades and other awards ceremonies are a means of inscribing a 'shared' or collective embodied memory. French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs lists four criteria in his theory of collective memory and commemoration. First, commemoration occurs in social frameworks and gain meaning from shared experiences. Second, the act of commemorating is not to relive the past but to reconfigure it using the present. Third, memories and experiences are localised in space and time, and often act as chronological markers to understand the progress of one's society/culture/nation. And most importantly, Halbwachs notes that those in a position to select the images and memories to be commemorated choose those that best fit their present needs. 'The selection of memories is a function of social power and of chains of judgments, [...] memories are continually modified, and when a dominant group replaces another it acquires new memories that may absorb those of the displaced group' (cited in Vromen 1995, p. 27).

Examples of these processes of inscription and commemoration are described in Pierre Nora's (1984) 'places of memory' (such as the symbolical embodiment of the Panthéon), the museums and maps of Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities' (1991), and the games and spectacles of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's 'invented traditions' (1983). These works describe a process of ideological representation intended to guide the populace to learn and know the 'good and great' citizens, the nation and its symbols.



Towards the end of the 1990s and early into the new millennium, both France and Australia have elected increasingly conservative governments and are reiterating more and more conservative forms of national identity (Mackay 1993, Leruth 2001).<sup>11</sup> In the following examples I will illustrate how spectacles call on ideologies of traditional embodied citizenship—the heroic citizen who can defend the nation in many fields, on the battlefield, the sporting field, at the negotiating table—representing the nation in body and becoming the nation embodied.

### The heroic citizen: A nation embodied

The 3.5 million viewers who sat up watching Pat Rafter in the Wimbledon final were not simply supporting a Queensland tennis champion: they were barracking for the quintessential Australian good bloke. [...] The modest good bloke who grew up at home hearing the family saying: “I’m no greater than any man; no man is greater than I”. [...] Rafter is far too modest to think of himself as the definition of the Aussie good bloke, but plenty of people are prepared to nominate him for the title. [...] “He came out almost as the victor because of how he dealt with it [losing the final]: there was a touch of Gallipoli and the heroic defeat.

“He’s handsome, with a physicality that is quintessentially Australian. But it’s his essential decency that attracts people.

“There’s sex appeal, sure, but he also fits an old cultural stereotype which goes back to the Anzac tradition: he’s resourceful, tenacious, laconic, and modest”.

(*The Australian* 11 July 2001, p. 1)<sup>12</sup>

Six months after the newspapers described Pat Rafter as the quintessential ‘Anzac’ he was named Australian of the Year. In what must be a uniquely Australian practice, on January 26 (Australia Day) each year two people are chosen to be the Australian and Young Australian of the Year.<sup>13</sup> Rafter was not the most successful of Australian tennis players of all times, but he was

<sup>11</sup> In the case of France, there was extensive debate about crises of confidence, identity, everything really, during August–September 2003. Some argue that it is an annual event to ask ‘Is France in decline?’ (see for example *Le Monde* series of articles ‘Comment va la France’, September–October 2003, ‘France’s Autumn Blues’ *The Economist* 4 October 2003). There is a long history of French crises of identity, and this is perhaps one of the reasons for the equally strong reiteration of symbolic institutions/beliefs/myths (see Weber 1986, 1991).

<sup>12</sup> Anzac is a reference to the Australia New Zealand Army Corps during World War I, in particular those who fought at Gallipoli. They were the last contingent of soldiers to serve under British command. Anzac can be used more generically to refer to any Australian or New Zealand soldier, but it is more often used in the context of those serving overseas (Alomes 1988).

<sup>13</sup> The awards are presented by the Prime Minister of Australia, as decided by the National Australia Day Council. Current chair of the committee is Lisa Curry-Kenny, a former Olympic swimmer. I have not been able to find any similar such awards in any other country, although most closely resembling it may be the Time magazine’s Person of the Year (it used to be Man of the Year), but this can be awarded to a person of any nationality. The Australian Day awards expanded in 1999 to include ‘Older Australian of

ascribed the traits, personality and physique mythologised in texts, movies and music as encapsulating Australian 'identity'.<sup>14</sup> Social commentator and former Chair of the National Australia Day Council, Phillip Adams, writes '[T]here are those who have criticised the awards for being a prescriptive embodiment of Australian values—that somehow the recipients represent the values which deserve official endorsement or should be recognised as quintessentially Australian'. He provides only two examples of awardees that challenged these assumptions and provoked any sense of "debate about the core values of contemporary society" (Adams 2001, no page numbers).<sup>15</sup> Over 40 years of these awards, there appears almost alternating Australian characteristics embodied by the awardees.<sup>16</sup> Yet overwhelmingly, more than 80 percent of the recipients have been of the male Anglo-Celtic model, with extensive representation of sporting awardees (see **Appendix 1** for a full list of awardees).

On one level is the good 'Aussie bloke' as epitomised by Patrick Rafter and Major General Peter Cosgrove<sup>17</sup>, the very model of heroic citizenry. These iconic figures appeal to a mass audience. Yet there is also the high culture model that contrasts somewhat with the 'Aussie' Anzac. Awardees such as Simone Young (Orchestra Conductor 1986), Dr Bryan Gaensler (Astronomer 1999) and Professor Fiona Stanley (Child Health 2003) have excelled in such fields as orchestral performance, pure science, and medical research. These are names that few Australians know.<sup>18</sup>

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the Year' and in 2002 to include Local Heroes. Each state and territory has finalists and they may have multiple 'local heroes' (see NADC 2004).

<sup>14</sup> A good comparison here is to contrast the journalistic adoration of Patrick Rafter to their begrudging acceptance of Mark Philippoussis, another tennis player, but one of non-Anglo migrant background.

<sup>15</sup> The two controversial awardees were Manning Clark in 1980 because of his perceived left-wing bias and political interpretation of Australian history, and Mandawuy Yunupingu in 1992 whose achievement was described as 'Aboriginal ambassador' for his music work. Media described his award as 'tokenistic'. There is an underlying assumption that awardees should be politically neutral, but in reality their appointments can never be apolitical as they will be called upon to make statements and represent a government-appointed body (the National Australia Day Council) throughout their year of tenure.

<sup>16</sup> The awards were established in 1960 during the Menzies era (1944-1961), a lengthy period of governing by Prime Minister R.G. Menzies, founder of the Australian Liberal Party. Menzies was a conservative liberal who wish to maintain strong ties with Britain and, according to Melleuish (1995), all things British. The choice of Macfarlane Burnet as the first Australian of the Year reflects Menzies' Anglo-Australian view of intellectualism.

<sup>17</sup> Major General Peter Cosgrove was the head of the Australian-led *Interfet* (United Nations mandated) peace-keeping forces in East Timor.

<sup>18</sup> Survey work that I carried out in 2004 regarding people's recollection of awardees noted that 67% could recall that Steven Waugh, retired Australian cricket captain, was the current Australian of the Year, but only 11% remembered Fiona Stanley's appointment in 2003 and 0% could remember Peter Cosgrove in 2002.

Through the list of awardees, there is a pattern of alternation between populist and high culture recipients, with the majority being male, and women receiving the award approximately every fifth year or so (see **Appendix 1**). In recognition, or perhaps fear, that a dominance by any one gender and field of achievement could emerge, the National Australia Day Council has said that the committee will take account of the field of endeavour, gender, ethnicity, regionality and age of the previous year's winner when deciding the following year's awardees (NADC 2004). This way no single field of endeavour may come to dominate the awards. The appearance of a 'naturally' occurring alternation in identity has become a requirement, perhaps due to a rising consciousness of differing notions of achievement following the domination of sports-related awardees.<sup>19</sup>

### **National pride and cultural prestige**

Edensor (2002), writing about the British 'Andscape' that appeared at the Millennium Dome in London, notes that British national identity at the people's level, volunteered by individuals, is not strongly represented by 'high culture' icons.<sup>20</sup> The populist references for 'Andscape' outweighed the traditional badges or tokens of cultural prestige. And the reason why? Edensor (2002, p. 187) argues that '[t]here is a greater degree of immersion which contrasts with the more distanced appreciation and assessment typical of an engagement with 'higher' cultural forms'. People have greater sense of belonging by reference to what is around them than by what is presented to them as culturally prestigious. Yet this too may be culturally contingent, if we compared what occurred with Andscape and the French Government's cultural programmes to support industrial art, comic strips, music and television in defence of 'French' creativity (Looseley 1995, Leruth 2001).

There is strong evidence that Australians derive their sense of national pride from the achievements of Australian sportspeople, and this is reflected in

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<sup>19</sup> The same survey work garnered some interesting negative responses in regards to the domination of male sportsmen.

<sup>20</sup> Andscape was a photographic and written word exhibition at the Millennium Dome in London and created by responses to the question 'What one thing best represents something good about Britain to you and why?'. The leaflets were distributed through shops and in public spaces such as libraries. 400

the high percentage of sportspeople named as Australians of the Year.<sup>21</sup> Yet as Richard White (1992) notes the invention of Australia and an Australian way of life has been contingent on a convoluted set of relationships between European history/Western ideas, and the development of Australian intelligentsia and powerful economic elite. The alternation of awardees similarly reflects the conflictual relationships of deciding which Australian identity dominates: suburban Aussie battler, bush swagman, intellectual aristocracy, bronzed sportsperson, or home-grown artist.

If the heroic citizen exemplifies the lives of extraordinary people, then the local heroes are those of the ordinary people. The addition, in 2004, of the Australian local hero awards to the Australia Day roster, draws on the notion that the heroic citizen can be 'transfigured' into the lives of ordinary people (Featherstone 1995). Again there appears a correlation between gender and the different spheres of influence and achievement. The local hero nominees come in two broad categories, those who work for the community (primarily female nominees) and those who have been thrust into a situation where they have shown extraordinary courage to help others (all male). This differentiation reflects a gradation of the public sphere/s for gendered models of citizenship. The fireman as local hero exemplifies the values and actions of male heroic citizen. The community worker exemplifies the values and actions of a gender neutral good citizen, albeit with feminised characteristics of caring and supporting within a community. Similarly, the female nominees tend to be unpaid volunteers while the male nominees care for the community from more powerful (and paid) positions of rural medical practitioners and teachers.<sup>22</sup> The maternal nurturing that female nominees are recognised for draws on similar mythologised images of women as 'mothers' as used to deny women the vote during the French Revolution (Applewhite & Levy 1984). These images

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responses were chosen from the thousands of replies and a mosaic was created from the texts and related photographs (Edensor 2002).

<sup>21</sup> Certainly my survey work on people's recollections of the awardees indicates that the sporting awardees are the most easily remembered, they are also by noted by some respondents with cynicism and resentment as not representing 'their' Australia.

<sup>22</sup> A full list of nominees for each year can be viewed at <http://www.australiansoftheyear.gov.au>. It should also be noted that the achievements of the 2004 major awardees, Steve Waugh (Australian of the Year) and Hugh Evans (Young Australian of the Year) took place on the world stage—international cricketing and international humanitarian assistance—while the two lesser awards, Senior Australian of

are comparable to descriptions of Australian women's value as reproducers and unpaid labourers, particularly during wartime (Yuval-Davis 1997, Dixon 1999, Siim 2000). While I have drawn on an Australian example, the heroic citizen can be found in many other cultures bearing ideologies of meritocracy, individualism, warrior-sacrifice and the like. For example, Dominique Schnapper's (1994) work on the French Republican citizen also invokes similar relationships between military action and heroic citizenry.

### **The warrior-citizen**

This warrior image of citizens fits with an argument that the modern nation-state is built on the basis of its army and can only survive on the ability of being able to defend itself (Strachan 2001). Looking across the broad sweep of European or Western history, perhaps even across world history, we see how nations, carved from empires and kingdoms and emerging as recently as after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire post World War I or the break-up of the former Yugoslav Republic, exist because of a capacity to defend themselves. Thus a cornerstone attribute of the heroic citizen is their ability to defend the nation, just as it was for the Spartans and Romans.

In commemorating the sacrifice of heroes and common soldiers on behalf of the nation, Anthony Smith (2001) argues that institutions like governments and returned soldier groups draw upon much older ideas of sacred community, from classical and Christian rituals, to form a 'secular' sacred communion. Smith equates heroes and soldiers with saints and martyrs and suggests that the communion practices are acted out through the images and symbols in music, song, art and poetry, ceremony and ritual as a secular liturgy. According to Barthes (1957) these mythical sacralised warrior images naturalise what is a specific interpretation of 'historically contingent persons', making particular views appear to be natural. As ideologies they give meaning to both material objects and social practices.

Remembering war is also an opportunity to praise qualities which are still needed for citizenship that may be notably absent in contemporary society [...] Although ceremonies in remembrance of old wars can be seen as exercises in nostalgia, or

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the Year Tehree Gordon's and Local Hero Donna Carson's achievements were effected in highly localised spheres.

elite oversimplifications of a complex war experience for current political purposes, [...] they also have considerable symbolic and political significance for ... citizenship. (Carter 2000, pp. 182-183)

In 1993, the Australian Government brought home the body of an Australian soldier to be re-interred at the newly built Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. By coincidence, in that year my third year cultural studies class watched Bertrand Tavernier's (1989) film, *La Vie et rien d'autre*. The early focus of the film was on the search for a body to be France's Unknown Soldier, entombed under the Arc de Triomphe. In a bleakly amusing scene, French military officials listed the requirements for a French body: he (stated) must be white, uncircumcised, and preferably to have died while wearing a French uniform. It is not difficult to imagine how Australian officials would have described their Australian body as he too would have been white and uncircumcised. I could go further and add that he would have been heterosexual, a keen sportsman, a great mate, and a bit of a larrikin.<sup>23</sup>

### **The face of a nation**

Fiona Nicoll's work, *From Diggers to Drag Queens* (2001), examines the images of the Anzac digger. Like Damousi (1999) and Inglis (1998), Nicoll's work is critical of the ways in which the Australian War Memorial, the official histories and other war memorials have chosen to selectively represent the image of the digger. In particular they omit women, Indigenous soldiers, the shell-shocked soldier, and the non-Anglo-Celtic soldier.<sup>24</sup> More significantly Nicoll brings to light debates during the war period of the physiology and look of the 'Aussie' digger. During the years between the First World War and the Second World War, a dispute arose over the face of the Aussie digger. It was triggered by Sir Thomas Legge's description of the first batch of Australian soldiers to arrive in London as: '[T]he most handsome men the world had seen. They had narrow faces, straight foreheads and noses, high cheekbones, short upper lips, strong chins, thick

<sup>23</sup> Every Anzac Day, these characteristics are interrelated by media coverage with the importance of sport and betting through a traditional game called 'two-up'.

<sup>24</sup> Indigenous Australians were officially deemed not eligible for military service in World War I. However, Ken Inglis estimates some 400 recruits were of Aboriginal descent. Post World-War II, Indigenous Australians used their military service as part of their qualifications to claim citizenship which they were

hair and magnificent features'. General John Monash replied saying that 'in the matter of looks, the Digger is mostly a sweet-faced, round-faced Mumma's boy' (Nicoll 2001, p. 104). The ensuing consideration of diggers' facial features made headlines in every major newspaper and brought with it portraits from many artists. Official text at the War Memorial states quite clearly that in viewing the paintings, sculptures and exhibits, visitors would see 'a series of characteristics as typical of the Aussie, the Anzac, the Digger...Faces all different, and yet curiously all the same. Different battles, different generations, the uniforms altered, the weapons changed, but one thing remained constant, the face of the digger' (Nicoll 2001, pp. 102-103).<sup>25</sup>

Fifty years later, during the 2000-2001 East Timor peace-keeping mission, an official war artist was again sent to capture scenes on canvas. The artist, Rick Amor, said the Australians in East Timor had the 'same faces you see from the last war and World War I, those long Irish-Australian faces – they're still there' (Nicoll 2001, p. 119). The debate over the physical look of the digger is an example of what O'Neill (1985) calls the physical and moral bodies in which a value-laden phrase such as 'digger spirit' is ascribed with specific human physical characteristics. Helen Pringle (1997, p. 103) notes the stand-out descriptor of the Anzacs in Gallipoli was the emphasis on male physicality and in the case of Australian identity, war provides an 'ethical and political ordering of virility as civic identity'. This was consistent with the language and images of masculinity of the classical Greeks and very much the heroic citizen.

The spiritual aspects of the 'digger' and commemoration of war cannot be ignored. Like Smith's (2001) descriptions of ritualised communion for dead soldiers, Ken Inglis (1998) refers to the Australian Returned Services League (RSL) and the Anzac tradition as a possible alternative religion. Certainly the Anzac march and ceremonies carry with them the hallmarks of a religious ceremony and over time it has been clear that the major

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not accorded until 1948, although still excluded from the Census and voting until 1968 (Grimshaw et al. 1994, Inglis 1998).

<sup>25</sup> C.W. Bean, the official historian for the Australian War Memorial, had asked for a composite digger's face rather than individual portraits to represent the digger in paintings.

Australian political parties have been compliant in maintaining or increasing the prestige accorded to the Anzac tradition.<sup>26</sup> Neither the Left nor the Right of the political spectrum has shown any desire to present any alternatives to this image. The warrior-heroic citizen is rarely subject to public criticism.<sup>27</sup>

However, these forms of commemoration and embodied collective memory also have a flip side. Edensor (2002) argues that acts and sites of commemoration actually discourage engagement with the past and induce forgetting rather than remembering. The war memorials are an example of forgetting selected populations and excluding those who 'intrude' on what is chosen to be remembered. It should be recalled the difficulties and outrage encountered when women's groups in France and in Australia asked for recognition of women in war, whether to place wreaths in commemoration of women's sacrifices in war, or more controversially march against rape in war or ask for recognition of wartime service by way of membership of the RSL. In the 1950s, conservative women's organisations such as the War Widows Guild announced that they would not take part in the official Anzac Day services because they had been marginalised and disregarded by military officialdom (Damousi 1999).<sup>28</sup> Women's participation in war simultaneously contradicts and reinforces the role of men as warriors and women as re/productive bodies (Yuval-Davis 1997).<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Whilst the current Liberal government has strengthened its political commitment to images of the heroic citizen, it was under the previous Labor government that the Unknown Soldier was returned during a time of social angst (Mackay 1993). In recent curriculum decisions, both the NSW Labor and Liberal parties supported the addition of a compulsory 'Anzacs' unit for secondary schools (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 2003).

<sup>27</sup> Current examples of these references would be the return of servicemen from the 2003 Iraq War, often held up in the media as examples of 'Aussie diggers' and portrayed as imbuing the Anzac spirit. This has been used recently when talking about the public response to welcome home parades which is ironic when considering the public protests during their deployment. For Anzac Day 2004, Prime Minister John Howard chose to visit Australian troops in Baghdad. Suggestions that the Prime Minister used sacrosanct Anzac symbolism to detract from the opposition's mounting criticisms of Australia's indefinite stay in Iraq were extremely carefully worded to ensure that there were no misinterpretations of intent or questioning of the Anzac tradition.

<sup>28</sup> In August 1968, twelve women tried to lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. The wreath was titled 'There is only one person more unknown than the soldier, his wife' (Stetson 1987, p. 10). In another incident in 1958 mothers of deceased soldiers attempted to enter the Inner Shrine at the War Memorial in Melbourne. The RSL wrote that the presence of women destroyed the significance of the occasion and that they would have to find other means of 'excluding these intruders' (Damousi 1999).

<sup>29</sup> Re/productive refers to women's capacity to reproduce in a fertility-birthing sense, but also as productive labourers. During war-time women were able (and encouraged) to take up employment due to the shortage of male labour. However, they were also expected to relinquish these jobs as soon as the men returned from battle (Grimshaw et al. 1994).



Public fora, like the Australian of the Year awards, make visible a spectacle of the good citizen. The 60 plus Australians of the Year who can be ascribed to the traditional heroic citizen model form a powerful image of good citizens, recognised and rewarded by political and social institutions. Unfortunately they are not the only vision. Eva Cox (1995) pointed out in her first Boyer Lecture that practices like the Boyer Lectures provide another example of 'correct comportment', with herself being only the fourth woman in 37 years to deliver a lecture.

The absence of women illustrates one of my core points: the public agenda is too narrow when it represents only those male voices which are seen as authoritative. The previous lecturers had gravitas, prominent Australians all. Over half were professors, and there were two writers, two judges and some scientists. Most were Anglo-Celtic, and no women appeared until the Boyers were in their 17<sup>th</sup> year. (Cox 1995, no page numbers)

The divide of the public and the private continues, occasionally stirred by women, but certainly not shaken. Looking around elsewhere it seems that the Anglo-Celtic male not only dominates Australian society, but so does his brethren of white, educated males in other societies. They are the Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors of universities; they are the senior managers of industries and large organisations.<sup>30</sup> They are those who present the awards in almost every context. This heroic citizen is one of the most publicly visible images in people's day-to-day lives and this is how the heroic citizen becomes culturally rationalised and normative (Anderson 2000). If individuals see this model as expressing their social identities, their relationships to other people, and their shared intentions and values, then the model is established as the social norm. The rituals performed at the Anzac Day marches and Australian of the Year ceremonies are examples of the commemoration of sacred memories that are inscribed in the heroic citizen. These rituals ground the images as 'commonsense' and normalise the male body as public figurehead and the female as ... invisible? (Edensor 2002).

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<sup>30</sup> The Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques (INSEE) publishes a series entitled *Femmes et Homme – Regards sur la parité*, in which they provide a statistical snapshot of French society by gender. The 2004 edition highlights discrepancies between women's achievements in high school and university, in all series of degrees and by marks (women outperform men as well as constitute more than 50% of the students). But then they present the statistics for women in senior management as well

Pierre Nora's four volumes of *Les Lieux de Mémoire* [Places of memory] (1984) provide example after example of the process by which history has been constructed to become 'history', through institutions, literature, statues, fetes and celebrations. One particularly interesting example is the French Panthéon. Like the act of naming 'Australians of the Year' and war memorials, the Panthéon provides a lasting image and structure to a politicised embodiment of the heroic citizen. To be interred at the Panthéon is to be nominated by the French government as an outstanding citizen. It is also a site of 'forgetting' politics and controversies (Ozouf 1984).

***Aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaissante***<sup>31</sup>

*To great men the nation pays homage.*

Gloire à notre France éternelle. Gloire à ceux qui sont morts pour elle. C'est pour ces morts que dont l'ombre ici est bienvenue, que le haut Panthéon s'élève dans la rue. Victor Hugo, Chants du Crépuscule III.

*Glory to our eternal France. Glory to those who died for her. It is for these dead that the shadow here is welcoming and that the noble Panthéon rises up in the street.*

The Panthéon was originally a church, commissioned by King Louis XIV with building commencing in 1758 to honour Saint Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris. The church was completed in 1789 just in time for the French Revolution. Amidst many dramatic changes, the Constituent Assembly, following the death of the Comte de Mirabeau, declared on 4 April 1791 its intention to create a memorial to the men whose work provided the intellectual groundwork for the French Revolution (Hauteceur 1953). According to Republican parliamentarian Rochefoucauld, 'the temple of religion would become the temple of the fatherland, the tomb of a great man would become the altar of liberty' (quoted in Leith 1991, p. 111).

This shall be our device: no quarter for the superstitious, the fanatical, the ignorant, or for fools, malefactors or tyrants. I would like to see our brethren united in zeal for truth, goodness and beauty... It is not enough for us to know more than Christians: we must show them that we are better, and that science had done more for humankind than divine or sufficient grace (Diderot in letter to Voltaire, Hazard 1990, no page numbers).

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as the *Grandes Ecoles* and the reverse is true. Men dominate in prestigious schools and powerful workplace positions.

<sup>31</sup> This is the inscription on the front of the Panthéon.

The underpinning rationale for renovating the church into a national memorial was to remove all reminders of Christianity and replace them with the new universal religion, morality, according to Quatremère de Quincy, the appointed renovator. In portraying the new religion, de Quincy used the figures of the Fatherland (which in French is feminine, *La Patrie*), Faith (female), Virtue (female), Genius (male), Liberty (female) and allegories about History, Political Knowledge, Legislation and Morality, Science, Arts, Patriotic Virtues and Philosophy (Leith 1991).<sup>32</sup> Quincy's work was to create a temple modelled on those of Greece and Rome which would remain holy and sacred in feeling but retained no signs of its former role as a Catholic church (Hautecoeur 1953).

So the Panthéon began as a temple to create a cult of great men, inventing a new collective memory that was intended to be 'didactic, ahistorical and nonconflictual' (Vromen 1995). But it would not last long. As regimes changed so did the Panthéon and those buried there (see **Appendix 2**). Three times the building was consecrated as a church, only to be converted back to the Panthéon. This involved physical changes of icons, from revolutionary icons such as the flag, frieze and inscription, to religious crosses and Latin dedications to God, in line with the changes of government. Some iconic figures buried there, such as Mirabeau, would be removed as their unpalatable political leanings were (re)discovered or their families objected to the current government (as in the case of Le Peletier) (Ozouf 1984, Vromen 1995).<sup>33</sup> As a result of flip-flopping political circumstances following the removal of Mirabeau, it was ruled that one had to be dead for ten years before being nominated for burial at the Panthéon. A cynic could argue that the ten year rule allows for any hidden political allegiances to emerge or at least for the government (and political atmosphere) to have changed. Of the 75 people honoured at the Panthéon over a third are representatives of the military, the majority buried there during the reign of Napoléon Bonaparte (1804-1816), and just two are

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<sup>32</sup> For discussion regarding the linguistic importance of the *la Patrie* being the 'motherland' see Vromen 1995.

<sup>33</sup> In the case of General Lazare Hoche, his family declined the offer of panthéonisation because he would not be able to rest in peace in proximity to Sadi Carnot. The same was said for Jean Lannes' family who removed his ashes to Montmartre because they could not have him in the same place as Emile Zola (Conway 2003).

women, Marie Curie, twice Nobel Prize winner for Chemistry, and Sophie Berthelot.<sup>34</sup>

***Avec vous, nous avons rêvé***<sup>35</sup>

*With you, we dreamed*

The most recent, and somewhat controversial person moved to the Panthéon is Alexandre Dumas Senior, author of the *Three Musketeers* and *The Count of Monte Cristo*. His body was moved to the Panthéon in November 2002 at the request of French President Jacques Chirac. During his lifetime, Dumas, as a descendant of a slave, was vilified for his African origins, and the French media referred to his elevation to the Panthéon as 'revenge' and 'the Republic atoning for an injustice'.<sup>36</sup>

Plus que toute autre romantique, Alexandre Dumas sait, avec Hugo et Schoelcher, que la République porte les valeurs qui émancipent. Qu'elle seule peut ouvrir l'avenir à tous ceux qui, comme lui, n'ont que leur travail, leur talent, leur mérite pour obtenir leur juste place dans la société française (Chirac 2002).

*More than any other romantic, Alexandre Dumas knew, along with Hugo and Schoelcher, that the Republic brought with it the values of emancipation. Only the Republic could open the future to all who like Dumas have only their work, their talent, and their merit to obtain their just place in French society.*

Unlike the Australian bipartisan acceptance of the ideological representation of the heroic citizen, the French are not quite so politically acquiescent. In an interview, Chirac (2002a, no page numbers) described Dumas as being a magnificent Frenchman in reconciling the particular and the universal. 'In him we recognise all ourselves, even in his contradictions. Dumas is a bit like our shared home'. There are far more subtle yet distinct differences in whom and what is acknowledged and how this is presented, as the embodiment of French identity. At various points in time, people have been nominated for panthéonisation, but have failed to pass the 'political' acceptability test.<sup>37</sup> Given that between the 18<sup>th</sup> century and middle of the

<sup>34</sup> The story goes that Sophie died of sorrow within one hour of the death of her husband, Marcellin Berthelot, a renowned organic chemist. In recognition of her 'conjugal virtue', she was given the honour of being buried with her husband in the Panthéon (Conway 2003). It took over 50 years after Marie Curie's death in 1934 before her body was moved to the Panthéon in 1995. Perhaps in recognition of her husband's 'conjugal virtue', he too was moved to the Panthéon in 1995 on the centenary of their marriage.

<sup>35</sup> Chirac, J. (2002), Speech delivered at the interment of Dumas at the Panthéon.

<sup>36</sup> 'La République répare une injustice', *Le Monde*, 3 December 2002, 'Dumas prend sa revanche au Panthéon', *Le Monde*, 1 December 2002.

<sup>37</sup> Rejected nominees include: Fénelon, Descartes, Buffon, Mably, Aragon, Romain Rolland, Charles Peguy, and Henri Bergson (Ozouf 1984, Vromen 1995). Interestingly enough Descartes was accepted for

19<sup>th</sup> century, France had four different types of monarchies, two republics, two empires and seven revolutions or major coup d'états, it is of little surprise that a site of commemoration such as the Panthéon 'forgets' political inconsistencies in preference for the (mythical) stability of the founding Republican virtues.<sup>38</sup>

Despite Vromen's (1995) argument that the Panthéon is emblematic of the contradictions of French history, simultaneously being a place of national consensus and a manifestation of divisiveness, she concludes that the symbolic uses of the Panthéon have maintained its power as a monument. Regardless of the political ideologies, reigning governments use the Panthéon to construct national unity by their judicious choice of 'great men' or in Mitterand's case, a singular great woman.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, despite the mobilisation of the past and the construction of collective memory, Mona Ozouf points out that few French can name more than three or four of the people buried at the Panthéon.

Il y a là un premier paradoxe: d'une part le monument qui avait été idéalement conçu comme le centre du territoire, le Coeur de la nation, d'autre part nous savons que ce lieu mort de l'imaginaire national, contourné et ignoré en mai 1968 [...], n'a pas connu deux cents ans de solitude ; tous les vingt, vingt-cinq ou trente ans, des liturgies – translations de cendres, anniversaires républicains ou révolutionnaires – l'ont périodiquement ranimé et certaines [...] qu'on se demande comment cette sédimentation de souvenirs n'a pas fondé une mémoire plus éveillée et plus sûre. Qui donc est au Panthéon ? (Ozouf 1984, p. 139)

*This is the first paradox: on one hand the monument was ideally conceived as the centre of the territory, the heart of the Nation. On the other hand we know that this dead place of the national imaginary was ignored in May 1968, [...] not known two hundred years of solitude with every twenty, twenty-five or thirty years, the liturgies and republican or revolutionary anniversaries, from which we ask ourselves how this build-up of memories has not founded a more alive and sure memorial. Who then is at the Panthéon?*

Ozouf replies that most French hesitate to give more than five or six names, other than the most famous of those buried at the Panthéon: Voltaire,

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entry to Panthéon in 1793 despite a negative assessment, but his panthéonisation was never carried out.

<sup>38</sup> Monarchies are: pre-1789, 1789-1792, 1815-1830 and 1830-1848. Republics were: 1792-1804 and 1848-1852. Empires were: 1804-1815 and 1852-1870. Revolutions and coup d'états were: 1789, 1792, 1794, 1799, 1830, 1848, and 1851.

<sup>39</sup> In 1995, at the behest of a number of very prominent women, including Simone Weil, then President of France, François Mitterand agreed to the panthéonisation of Marie Curie. According to Vromen (1995, p. 36), the proposal to include women in the Panthéon says that they must have served 'democracy, progress and the arts through their actions, talent or discoveries'.

Rousseau, Hugo and Zola.<sup>40</sup> As discussed earlier, few Australians can remember the previous three years of Australian of the Year awardees, let alone two. At the time of awarding or burial, there is widespread media coverage as shown recently with the reburial of Alexandre Dumas in May 2003 at the Panthéon, but the lasting memory of who is awarded the honour and why is limited.<sup>41</sup>

### **Reinvigorating the nation and integrating good citizens**

According to Edensor (2002), while there is little analysis of the role of popular culture as a facet of national identity, there is considerable media 'marketing' of popular culture in the creation of popular national identity. Dumas had not been considered for burial at the Panthéon in earlier times because he was 'perhaps too popular' (Chirac 2002, no page numbers). In effect, Dumas was not the emblematic highbrow philosophical writer whose works contributed to the enlightenment of France in its transition to the Republic. Rather, in Chirac's words, 'he entertained us all with his swashbuckling work of the Three Musketeers, and the Count of Monte Cristo'. Could this be reflective of a French re-alignment of popular national identity? Does France need to reaffirm its national identity and Republican values in spectacular form given that one in six French people are now of Muslim faith? Is Dumas a symbol of integration for the Republic like Zidane playing football for France? The emphasis on work and talent as a means to earn recognition and a just place in French society certainly sounds like a description of neo-liberal meritocratic pathways to integration.

The emphasis on national solidarity [...] has perhaps three different sources: the fear of social and cultural 'tribalism', decentralization, European confederation, and globalisation will dilute the nation's importance; the concern aroused by what has been portrayed by politicians and the media as a widening 'social fracture' between those fully integrated in the mainstream of French society and those relegated to the periphery; and a wave of nostalgia for the traditional republican idea of the nation as an indivisible community of citizens based solely on the 'universal' precepts of public life: liberty, equality, fraternity, reason and the primacy of the common good. (Leruth 2001, p. 469)

<sup>40</sup> I wonder if the French would remember their sportspeople any better? If the Panthéon existed in Australia, I am quite sure that it would contain mainly sportspeople, in particular cricketers.

<sup>41</sup> There was quite widespread media coverage of the reburial of Dumas at the Panthéon, including in local Australian newspapers. This may have been because of the controversy around moving Dumas' body at the personal nomination of French president Jacques Chirac, or because most of Dumas' books have been dramatised as movies, television etc. *The Three Musketeers* and the *Count of Monte Cristo* are well known in English.

France needs to renew its representations of ideological good citizens because, as Leruth explains above, the role of France as the beacon of universal enlightenment is fading over time. In the face of changing political stewardship, it is not France that the world looks to for inspiration and direction, but rather the United States of America—Anglo-globalisation replaces Euro-universalism (Baudrillard 2002). As we will see in the next chapter, the political position of France on the international stage has a strong cultural impact in all spheres of French life.

### **Governing embodied citizens**

This chapter began with a description of the Athenian and Roman virtues of citizenship, many of which have been revalorised over time, through Judeo-Christian practices, industrialisation, political revolutions and the emergence of the nation-state. Despite the challenges of the welfare state and fragmentation of identity and citizenship in the later 20<sup>th</sup> century, a distinctive change in governing the people has been a move away from direct government to the self-monitoring and self-governance of citizens. Hunt (1999, p. 216) argues that ‘the system of welfare has been gradually displaced by a complex system of links between expert knowledge, economic and social resources and the government of the self’. So what are the other possible structures, institutions and techniques that will normalise identities and provide the images of the model/s of citizenship desired by governments?

Today, we are witness to a vast, newly articulated set of techniques and tactics that do this work of government and have implications for how we understand ourselves as governed or governors. [...] We are obligated differentially according to different regimes of governmental and ethical practices. The same individual may find him-or herself obligated by various governmental-ethical regimes as citizen, mother, breadwinner, worker, entrepreneur, manager, health-conscious individual, consumer, taxpayer, juror, voter, patient, client, member of a neighbourhood or community and so on. (Dean 1996, pp 223-224)

The connection between these various faces of citizenship and the complexity of the good citizen matrix, as well as the abstract political theory of citizenship, are made possible through an understanding of subjectivity, governmentality and *habitus*. These form complex and intricate arenas for the problematisation of identity in which ‘the human form is being

interrogated and invested with meaning within the governmental and ethical practices' (Dean 1996, p. 225). Foucault (1980, p. 62) recognised the complexity of governing people, but what he questioned was 'how in terms of strategy, the different pieces were set in place'. As an example of the complex relations involved in controlling populations and their behaviour, Foucault (1980, 1995) talks of nutrition, sanitation and disease controls as the rationale for developing forms of knowledge and expertise, such as health inspectors, social workers, and psychologists. The role of the government becomes not the act of governing, but providing for the welfare of the population and people (Foucault 1991).

Despite the Cartesian separation of mind and body, it is argued by many that governing the people has always been formulated around educating, controlling and legislating their bodies (Foucault 1995, Turner 1996, Vigarello 2001). What has varied over time is the degree to which this control is enacted through government power, societal power, scientific expertise, moral judgement, and/or economic power. The culmination of governmentality and embodied citizenship is in the health of citizens as a function of the de-gendered efficient citizen. To govern the body of the efficient citizen requires 'new' forms of power, and in the 21<sup>st</sup> century there appears to be a shift to influence individuals' behaviours through constructs of health, through networks of expertise and social control built on sedimentary layers of moral values. To be an efficient citizen, one needs first to be a health citizen – and thus the embodiment of a 'good' citizen.



## Chapter Two: The healthy citizen

Your cell phone, your wallet, your time, your ideas  
Your bankcard, your license, your thoughts, your fears  
Your blood, your sweat, your passions, your regrets  
Your office, your time-off, your fashions, your sex  
Your pills, your pass, your tits, your ass  
Your ass, your bones  
We want your soul  
Go back to bed America, your government is in control again  
Here, watch this, shut up  
You are free to do as we tell you  
We want your soul  
Adam Freeland, *We want your soul*, 2003  
If they make a law then I can break a law  
If I can break a law, will the law break me?  
Dropkick Murphys, *Blackout*, 2003

At the birth of a child, nursing staff will measure certain functions of the newborn, colour of skin, respiratory rate and distress, on a scale of 1 (the least healthy) to 10 (excellent health) called the APGAR scale (Medlineplus 2003). This is just the beginning of a lifetime of health measurement of citizens. In New South Wales, the mother receives a book in which she is expected to record the growth of her baby, and she is instructed to attend her local Family Clinic with the book. Each vaccination will be recorded in the book. There are tables to plot the child's rate of growth, one for height, another for weight. There is no legal requirement to do this, simply social and moral obligation, for at any doctor's visit, the question of 'do you have your book?' will be asked. Entry to childcare, pre-school, primary school and even high school includes a requirement to sight evidence of vaccinations. And this is just during the early years of a child's life.

Welcome to a disciplined society!

Building on the concept of an embodied citizen as introduced in the previous chapter, this chapter will discuss how government inscribes a *healthy citizen* through a range of health discourses. Discourses here comprise the bodies of knowledge surrounding the notions of health and the practices that these entail. I have grouped health discourses into two themes: the moral and the medical. The moral health discourses include notions of self-control through dieting and good health ascribed through personal characteristics such as body size. Medical discourses include ideas such as definitions of medical expertise and measurements of health risks. These moral and medical

discourses do not exist independently of each other, and as will be discussed further on, these both inform contemporary practices of 'healthy lifestyles'.

### **Why a healthy citizen?**

The healthy citizen is both a culmination and extension of the good citizen outlined in the previous chapter. Crawford (1994) argues that concepts of health and the body imagined through health are central to modern identity. The rationality of choice and efficiency of *homo economicus*, and the Greek and Christian moral values inscribed in the corporeal, all come together through health. One perspective, closely aligned to the Hellenic beliefs and those of the Enlightenment, is to view the healthy citizen as the ultimate embodiment of a controlled gender-neutral body (where neutral is masculine), in which the mind and all its sciences and experts reign supreme over the uncontrolled body—irrational, emotional and personal.

However, in governing this controlled body, there exists a demarcation between full and lesser citizens based on assumptions about bodies, often in relation to gender and sexuality as suggested in Chapter One. Health policies may 'indicate what bodies can or cannot do, what shape they are to take, what resources they can expect in order to survive, and where they can appear or assemble' (Bacchi & Beasley 2002, p. 331). In a similar vein, Crawford (1984, p. 60) describes bodies as markers that define 'normality and abnormality, inclusion and exclusion, domination and subordination'. Meanwhile the goal of 21<sup>st</sup> century public health is perfect health for everyone which, according to Vigarello (1999), is an unattainable mythical state.

L'attente du «mieux-être», renforcée aujourd'hui par les pratiques consummatrices et les inquiétudes sécuritaires, prolonge cette image d'une santé indéfiniment perfectible. Elle installe, sans que la conscience en soit toujours bien claire, l'idée d'un corps susceptible de transformations sans fin. C'est l'«approfondissement» de la santé qui devient un devoir et non plus seulement la lutte contre le mal. Entreprise dont le coût lui-même est indéfini, porteur, entre autres, de la crise actuelle des politiques de santé. (Vigarello 1999, p. 332)

*The expectation of an "improved standard of living", reinforced today by consumer practices and worries about law and order, sustains an image of indefinitely perfectible health. This expectation, even without a clear conscience, sets up the idea of a body susceptible to endless transformations. It is this increasing understanding of health which*

*becomes a duty and no longer just a battle against disease and is an indefinitely costly undertaking, which amongst other things, a bringer of the real crisis of health policies.*

As Vigarello mentions, health policies appear to go hand-in-hand with the word *crisis*. The cost of financing health care systems continues to grow, particularly in nations with high standards of living (OECD 2003, WHO 2002). Given these escalating costs, another line of argument is to view the commodification of health, bodies and lifestyles as solutions for crises of capitalism, welfare states and the provision of health services to an ever-multiplying and longer-living population (Crawford 1980, Howell & Ingham 2001). While it is implied that both these health crises and processes of commodification affect all people equally, underlying exclusionary and dominating practices ensure that people's health status remains affected by socio-economic and gender distinctions and that 'the human body is, to a degree, a physical manifestation of that person's class of origin' (Najman & Davey Smith 2000, p. 3). Health discourses also build on associations of good health with moral virtues such as self-discipline, willpower, denial and purity which suit certain politico-economic discourses such as individualism and neo-liberalism (Crawford 1984, Synnott 1992, Lupton 1995, Petersen & Lupton 1996, Turner 1996, Bunton 2001).

### **Public health: For whom to achieve what?**

As discussed in Chapter One, the debates around citizenship have moved well beyond political rights and legal status to multi-faceted contexts of belonging. These debates often challenge the patriarchal elite and provide impetus to undermine their privileges. Nonetheless, as Foucault (1983) argues, these challenges are not going to be left uncontested, as forms of control merely adapt themselves to any emerging forms of resistance that question or undermine hegemonic discourses. By opening up debates and questioning dominant ideologies such as those related to public health and a healthy citizen, the mechanisms of corporeal power evolve again. For example, according to Turner (1996), during the Enlightenment, medicine evolved from the practice of curing the ill to a pedagogical project to educate citizens in being healthy. Diseases that were once attributed as 'god-given' or bad luck could be controlled by hygiene practices and the promulgation of 'healthier' living. This meant that illness also became the possible result of

so-called deviant or irrational habits and therefore attributable to people's choices in lifestyle. One only has to recall the public health campaigns for Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) to argue that public health promotion may not have progressed greatly (Crawford 1994, Petersen & Lupton 1996).

In this chapter I will use public health promotion and education as examples of the mechanisms of corporeal power relations.<sup>1</sup> John Duffy (cited in Nathanson 1996) defines public health as 'community action to avoid disease and other threats to the health and welfare of individuals and the community at large'. He suggests that there are two tiers of public health: the traditional public health-sanitation, immunisation and the like; and then a second, more modern tier that consists of public health policies related to individual risk. Unlike the medical model of health, which is focused on a cure, public health can be seen as 'what might happen if' practice with a focus on prevention. Inherent in this is the need to identify the risks for populations and apply them to individuals. By doing this public health has evolved as an exercise of power by governments participating in and contributing to a social network of power to 'conduct' ideologies and practices with regards to an embodied citizen (Foucault 1983, p. 221).

This chapter draws on the work of Foucault to describe ways in which discourses of healthy citizenry are normalised. The positioning of health as a personal goal and as the responsibility of individuals enables measures of good and bad in attaining 'healthy citizen' status (Petersen & Lupton 1996). Foucault's governmentality, in particular the concepts of *bio-politics* and *anatomo-power*, is useful to describe the ways in which governments effect techniques of power to shape and control individuals behaviour; this work has been widely adopted in recent writing about the 'New Public Health' (Bunton et al 1995, Lupton 1995, Petersen & Lupton 1996, Petersen &

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<sup>1</sup> Baum (1998) says that there are no fixed or constant boundaries between public health, new public health, health promotion, primary health care, community health and social care as practices. Nonetheless the Australian Public Health Association defines public health as: a combination of science, practical skills, and beliefs that is directed to the maintenance and improvement of the health of all people. It is one of the efforts organised by society to protect, promote and restore the people's health through collective or social actions. Meanwhile, the French use the term public health (*la santé publique*) in a more traditional manner to describe all health services provided to the public through government expenditure including hospitals and pharmaceuticals ([www.sante.gouv.fr](http://www.sante.gouv.fr), Got 1992, Nathanson 1996).

Bunton 1997, Bunton & Macdonald 2002). From this perspective, health discourses can be seen as a means of disciplining the embodied citizen.

While methods of governing a population change over time, Foucault's work suggests that a fundamental government need remains constant: to control society sufficiently to perpetuate the dominance of an elite or at a minimum to maintain the status quo without the appearance of doing so. In implementing this dominance, governments effect disciplinary practices for which they are not directly responsible, nor are these practices systematic processes of control, but rather dispersed practices drawing on activities such as population surveillance through epidemiology and other networks of expertise to regulate, shape, manage and govern human behaviour and embodiment (Rose 1996, Bunton 2001).

### **Techniques for governing and disciplining bodies**

...it is clear that governments don't have to worry about individuals; or government has to worry about them only insofar as they are somehow relevant for the reinforcements of the state's strength: what they do, their life, their death, their activity, their individual behavior, their work, and so on. ...Health and sickness, as characteristics of a group, a population, are problematized in the eighteenth century through the initiatives of multiple social instances, in relation to which the State itself plays various different roles. On occasion, it intervenes directly. (Foucault quoted in Ransom 1997, p. 63)

Throughout his work, Foucault focuses on ways in which the state intervenes in defining health and creating health institutions, ranging from the determination of insanity and the insane asylum to questions of sexuality and care of the self. His analyses follow a common theme of questioning power and knowledge as forms of social control of bodies and minds. By creating definitions of 'normality', abnormalities can be identified and remediated—but only by those who have the expertise and knowledge to do so (Gordon 1980, Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983, Foucault 1983, Rabinow 1984, Burchell et al 1991). Foucault suggests that being in a formal position of government with, for example, the power to define 'insanity', is a twofold mechanism of power. Firstly, government creates a discipline of expertise to define insanity and with it the state controls that are implicated in awarding credentials to hold

such expertise; and secondly, government provides an opportunity to establish controls in respect of 'curing' or solving the problem.

The institutional power of corporeal projects for the healthy citizen develops around two of Foucault's disciplines that provide procedures for training and for coercing bodies (Harvey & Sparks 1991). These disciplines are *anatomo-politics* of the human body, and the *bio-politics* of the population.

[T]his power over life evolved in two basic forms: [...The first] centred on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimisation of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the *disciplines*: an *anatomo-politics of the human body*. The second [...] focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving on the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls: a *bio-politics of the population*. (Foucault 1984, pp 261-262, original emphasis)

With the development of nation-states came a range of institutions and disciplines to manage the population of newly established citizenry. These institutions (such as schools and workshops) and disciplines (such as statistics and economics) assist in defining and governing the self through techniques of power (Burchell et al. 1991). While Foucault does not address class or gender specifically, he does suggest that the above techniques act to segregate and differentiate populations to maintain a social hierarchy (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983, Foucault 1984). The hierarchy thus perpetuates the hegemony of those already in power and establishes their access to any new forms of emerging power such as intellectual credentials and new forms of capital, ensuring that the dominant class expands their network of power.

But one must also note another process which is more general than the first, and more than its simple elaboration. This is the emergence of the health and physical well-being of the population in general as one of the essential objectives of political power. [...] Different power apparatuses are called upon to take charge of 'bodies', not simply so as to exact blood service from them or levy dues, but to help and if necessary constrain them to ensure their own good health. The imperative of health: at the duty of each and the objective of all. [...] What is the basis for this transformation? Broadly one can say that it has to do with the preservation of the 'labour force'. (Foucault 1980, pp .170-171)

Foucault (1983) argues that the growth in population during the 18<sup>th</sup> century forced a response from governments to develop new controls for their populations. By measuring them, the 'people' could become a singular object of surveillance, analysis, intervention and possible modification. During this period of anatomo-political transformation, the family, infant health, hygiene, medicine and hospitals emerge as spheres of government intervention and modification.

In contrast to the large scale effect of anatomo-politics, there is the construction of the individual body through bio-power. According to Gordon (1991, pp 4-5), bio-power is the combination of micro and macro; 'it is politics concerned with subjects as members of a population, in which issues of individual sexual and reproductive conduct interconnect with issues of national policy and power'. This also involves the examination of the subjective identity of the healthy citizen.

What become more diffuse through the networks of control are the moral judgements and assessment of the virtues of a healthy citizen and their lifestyle choices. These forms of governmentality—anatomo-politics and bio-politics—combine technologies of domination; those of government imposed on individuals and those of self-subjectification, that is technologies of self (Foucault 1983a, Petersen 1997). Technologies of self is the work one does on the self, knowing the rules of conduct and prescribed truths and principles of conduct that are reflected in a person's embodied moral or ethical standing (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982). But how is it that the population comes to know the rules and what work needs to be done on their selves?

### **Public health as an ever-expanding network**

Traditional, as compared to new, public health largely involves a medical model of health in which medical assistance is provided on the identification of illness to prevent disease spreading, hence the traditional focus on sanitation and disease and its correlation with poverty and social segregation (Synnott 1992, Baum 1998, Vigarello 1999). Vigarello (1999) suggests that the historical decision for governments to invest in more encompassing and

preventive health programmes emerged from an idea of 'disciplining' the poor, unhealthy masses to prevent infectious diseases for others.

The 'new' public health came about through a change in beliefs about the definitions of health. The 1948 World Health Organisation (WHO) definition describes health as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity' (McPherson 1992, p. 119). During the earlier half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, scientific discoveries about germs and diseases meant that the old public health areas related to disease (for example typhoid and cholera) became medicalised. Being able to diagnose disease enabled an individualised focus on treatment, but in the latter half of the century, individual lifestyles become a focus, as determinants of ill-health, based on behavioural and epidemiological sciences (McPherson 1992, Baum 1998). Public health is no longer a focused form of government activity to arrest disease through medical treatment. Instead, the new public health's role is to identify health risks and ascribe them across populations for use as self-identification of 'at-risk behaviour'. The new public health aims to make health equitable for all, by universalising and homogenising populations which can be understood as all people being equally at-risk and requiring equal self-management, whereas the old public health was often concerned with improving conditions for the poor and special needs groups.

Another of the seminal shifts in public health was for governments to 'rediscover legislation'—for individual behaviours, for institutional practices, for community actions—in order protect others from disease or to 'encourage' behaviours that would decrease the risk of illness. While the neo-liberal political language of public health (as identified in **Table 2.1**) may have evolved (for example, through the use of terminology such as community empowerment, intervention, cost-benefit and consumer needs), the new public health practices still identify and subjectify bodies differentially by gender and socio-economic status through various constructs of 'at-risk' (Goltz & Bruni 1995, Petersen & Bunton 1997, Bunton & Macdonald 2002). **Table 2.1** highlights the increasing breadth of disciplines and spheres of action involved in the new public health.



**Table 2.1: Contrasts and similarities between the 'old' and 'new' public health<sup>2</sup>**

Public health becomes interesting in practice because the actions undertaken in its disciplinary framework are often politically paradoxical, shifting from encouraging a *laissez-faire* consumer driven market to strong regulatory measures and legal controls. The 'rediscovery of legislation' presents an interesting paradox in a neo-liberal world of individual responsibilities and a focus on community involvement as governments simultaneously increase the controls and possible punishments for corporeal behaviours.<sup>3</sup> Petersen and Lupton (1996) and Bunton (2001) argue that the new public health has developed an unhealthy focus on personal responsibility for the attainment and maintenance of good health, through self-regulation, monitoring and other technologies of self. Yet running parallel to the liberalisation of consumer health, governments have increased legal controls and regulations

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<sup>2</sup>Baum 1998, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup>Weare (2002, pp. 102-103) talks about empowerment as 'the active participation of all involved in a process, including, and especially, those who are its intended beneficiaries to build a sense of mutual responsibility to build supportive communities, change personal and social circumstances, challenge political structures, and create healthy environments'. Despite the potential for change with the

in regards to many aspects of controlling the conduct of bodies through public health, for example illicit drugs, tobacco and smoking, drinking, driving, sexual behaviour, and children's health (Crawford 1994, Bunton 2001). This illogicality is similarly reflected in the various government responses to the obesity crisis. Moving beyond simply an inferred ideal embodied citizen, governments actually may legislate an embodied citizen. As Peterson and Lupton (1996, p. 72) explain, 'enforcement has been exercised upon stigmatised or less powerful social groups: prostitutes rather than their clients, gay men and lesbians rather than heterosexuals, immigrants rather than native-born citizens, the poor or dispossessed rather than the wealthy'. The choice of which persons to actively control reflects those characteristics selected to represent the correct citizen versus those representing the irrational and antithesis of public good health.

Policies proposed by the French and Australian governments in response to the 'obesity epidemic'<sup>4</sup> provide an intriguing example of a matrix of politics, practices, societal values and morals with economic inputs and outcomes as measurable aspects of an individual in terms of consumption and production. As Michael Gard and Jan Wright (2001, p. 546) point out, 'the hegemony of the obesity discourses matters because the knowledges and practices associated with these discourses exert technologies of power which serve to classify individuals (and populations) as normal or abnormal, as good or bad citizens, as at-risk and therefore requiring the intervention of the state, in the form of the medico-health system and education'.

In terms of citizenship, the achievement and maintenance of good health is an individual's duty in order to fulfil the economic and moral responsibilities of active citizenship. And yet, as with political citizenship, the playing field to achieve this is not equal because the 'rules' are implemented by a dominant

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predominant discourse of participation, Gastaldo (1997) argues more pragmatically the community empowerment is another means of norms within a web of micro-power forms of control.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'obesity epidemic' is commonly used in media reporting as well as more scientific texts and while it is technically incorrect in medical terminology where an epidemic is defined as 'affecting an atypically large number of individuals within a population, community or region at the same time, spreading from person to person, as a disease not permanently prevalent there', the imagery of an epidemic is a useful one for both the medical profession and the community (Medlineplus 2003). If obesity is viewed as having the aetiology of a disease, then it can be addressed by medical intervention and all the components of the epidemic, food, eating behaviour, physical activity, metabolism, can become

hierarchy. The judgements to be passed down may be legal in structure or may exist as unspoken social mores. The moral virtues of health have a basis in both.

### **Judging the moral virtues of the embodied citizen**

These values [of self-control, self-discipline, self-denial and willpower] have become as inseparable from modern individualism as they have from our notions of adulthood...It should not be surprising that 'health'... would provide the perfect metaphor for values that so fundamentally structure our social and cultural life...particularly for the middle class, to be healthy is to demonstrate to self and others appropriate concern for the virtues of self-control, self-discipline, self-denial and willpower. We affirm ourselves and each other, as well as allocate responsibility for failure or misfortune, through these shared images of well-being. The "health" of the physical body – at the same time a social body – validates conventional understandings. (Crawford 1984, pp 77-78)

The body has moved from a mystical religious body as a subject of sovereign powers to a regulatory controlled body of society (Harvey & Sparks 1991). This corporeal evolution is similarly contained in Synnott's paper (1992) in which he describes chronological phases of social bodies from Plato's 'tomb of the soul', the Christian temple, the enlightenment of Descartes and the body as a machine, to Sartre's statement of 'I am my body'. Many corporeal discourses exist simultaneously and it may be only at a given point in time that one discourse is given a prominence or dominance over others. This is particularly true of the health discourses in which a healthy body is a reflection of moral standing.

Mention was made in Chapter One of the Ancient Greek belief that a man's social standing was evidenced in his physical bearing and habits and that his virtue was embodied. This discourse of physical virtues and implied moral values has continued through the ages to current times, particularly in relation to controlling weight and body size (Falk 1994, Stearn 1997, Hunt 1999, Vigarello 2001). Hunt (1999, p. 17) describes moral regulation as a constantly evolving form of regulation, changing its forms, language and associations, but nonetheless always targeting change of the 'conduct and ethical subjectivity of individuals by influencing and controlling their choices'.

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'medicalised' and thus cured in the context of an individual (Chang & Christakis 2002, for examples of the medicalisation of obesity see Hill & Melanson 1999).

Similarly Harvey and Sparks (1991) describe bio-power as a secular version of the power and strategies employed by the Christian church. Instead of repressing the body through passing judgement, normalisation becomes a corporeal investment. However, inherent in the corporeal, particularly due to the visual nature of bodies—that is, a body can be seen whereas a mind or a soul or the state of internal organs cannot—there is a series of moral judgements passed in relation to body size: of moral failure in fat, of guilt in pleasure, of expiation through control and willpower in dieting (Chang & Christakis 2002).

In his comparison of French and American health-related behaviours, Peter Stearn (1997) provides survey results in which American respondents listed the incapacity to restrain their weight or lose weight as moral failure comparable to extramarital affairs, even theft. The Americans also judged people who eat low-fat food products as more moral than others. Stearn (1997) argues that body image is related to power and that by regulating their bodies, by staying thin against the onslaught of temptation, powerful people demonstrate self-control and greater moral worth. They also establish boundaries of failure for individuals and lower-class groups who fail to measure up. In the visual sense of obesity, corporeal sins and the implied moral failings are harder to hide than others. Similarly Jean-François Amadieu (2002) writes that the French too imply certain moral judgments in relation to bodies.

La tolérance des individus et, bien évidemment, des employeurs face aux gros est faible. A la différence de la taille ou de la calvitie, par exemple, la surcharge pondérale passe, en effet, pour relever largement la responsabilité de chacun. Les obèses seront donc blâmés personnellement pour leur caractéristique. Pire, ils seront victimes de stéréotypes négatifs et très puissants comme la mauvaise santé mentale, le manque de confiance en soi ou encore l'absence de volonté. Ils seront jugés, a priori, moins actifs, moins intelligents, moins travailleurs et peu compétents. On pensera aussi qu'ils manquent d'esprit d'initiative, qu'ils ont un faible potentiel, qu'ils sont moins chanceux et moins populaires que des personnes de poids normal. (Amadieu 2002, p. 139)

*Individuals and employers have a low tolerance when faced with fat people. Being overweight, compared for example to height or baldness, is thought of, in effect, as each person's responsibility. The obese will be personally blamed for their state. Worse still, they will be victims of negative and very powerful stereotypes like poor mental health, lack of self-confidence or absence of willpower. They will be judged, a priori, as less active, less*

*intelligent, less capable and less competent workers. One will think that they also lack initiative, have less potential, that they are less lucky and less popular than people of normal weight.*

Cultural conditions at present infer that individuals are responsible for their health, body shape and appearance (Crawford 1980, 1984, Petersen & Lupton 1996, Baum 1998). If individuals do not achieve healthy citizen status, they should be castigated and castigate themselves in failing to find the balance between consumption and self-control. Media focus on criticising the overweight, alternating with the congratulatory adulation of those who lose weight, serves as a discourse of corporeal control and regulation.<sup>5</sup> This position is amplified by institutions, such as workplaces, to the extent that the punishment and rewarding of bodies is also effected through the labour market as Amadieu (2002) describes above.<sup>6</sup> In this way, society becomes a control mechanism that helps to ensure that corporeal comportment is not seen to be dictated by government but self-measured, directed and judged. Foucault suggests that:

At the crossroads [...] will be hundreds of tiny theatres of punishment. Each crime will have its law; each criminal his punishment. It will be a visible punishment, a punishment that tells all, that explains, justifies itself, [...] bearing inscriptions, posters, symbols, texts read or printed, tirelessly repeat the code. [...] But the essential point, in all these real or magnified severities, is that they should all, according to a strict economy, teach a lesson: that each punishment should be a fable. And that, in counterpoint with all the direct examples of virtue, one may at each moment encounter, as a living spectacle, the misfortunes of vice. (Foucault 1995, p. 113)

For the overweight and obese, every place and every activity becomes a 'theatre of punishment' and site of judgement, from the mall to the supermarket, from the bus to the stadium. Foucault (1995, p. 181) calls this 'perpetual penalty' as the acts themselves are not crimes, but the individuals become criminals or deviants and the effect of disciplining comes in knowing what they are. Social rejection of the obese is effected by the public discourse that fatness is a social disease. It designates the fat person as 'irrational' and lacking self-control in a society where self-regulation is

<sup>5</sup> Women's magazines provide particularly strong images and messages of congratulations, adulation, praise and castigation based on celebrities varying capacities to lose, maintain and gain weight, with a more recent focus on pregnancy and postnatal bodies. Men's health magazines take a similar position with idealised male body types and sexual attractiveness and prowess.

<sup>6</sup> The official government discourses posited by health policy documents emphasise the cost of diseases and prevention. For an extreme example of health costs as economic benefits see Gans et al. 1995.

rewarded with healthier bodies, better careers, and more market return for less fat (Featherstone 1991, Turner 1996, Stearn 1997, Amadiou 2002).

### **Normalising lifestyles: A commodification of *habitus*?**

We don't sell a product; we sell a style of life. I think we have created a movement [...] The Diesel concept is everything. It's the way to live, it's the way to wear, it's the way to do something. (Renzo Ross, Diesel CEO, quoted in Klein 2000, p. 25)

Consumer culture establishes health-message relationships that 'encourage individuals to adopt instrumental strategies to combat deterioration and decay' (Featherstone 1991, p. 170). Images of lifestyles and health are provided by mass media: television, movies, and magazines. Recurring images of youth, beauty, energy, fitness, freedom, romance, exotica, luxury, enjoyment, dominate the media. But how do these images serve to differentiate between citizens in terms of good and bad, healthy and unhealthy? Foucault (1984) argues that it is not so much that one is good or bad but that those in power have determined what is good or bad for purposes of controlling the population. The control may be only to encourage consumption by creating a need for products to be healthy and have a healthy lifestyle.

Taste, a class culture turned into nature, that is, *embodied*, helps to shape the class body. It is an incorporated principle of classification which governs all forms of incorporation, choosing and modifying everything that the body ingests and digests and assimilates, physiologically and psychologically. It follows that the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste. (Bourdieu 1984, p. 190, original emphasis)

According to Shilling (1993), the shaping of the body is a matter of lifestyle, and according to Bourdieu above, lifestyle is a matter of taste. But taste is structured by existing sub-spaces such as one's existing circumstances of lifestyle and so it goes on, seemingly one reinforcing the other with little room to move (Dortier 2002). Despite criticisms of the conservative nature of *habitus*, Najman and Davey Smith (2000) suggest that socio-economic disadvantage can be so deeply embodied as to be 'molecular', embedded in the very cells of a body.<sup>7</sup> The physical and social characteristics of class are not competing explanations of health inequalities but rather related to and

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<sup>7</sup> See Laberge (1995) and Bennett et al. (1999) for criticisms of Bourdieu.

influencing each other. This is also suggested in Bourdieu's (1984, p. 192) *bodily hexis* in which 'biological differences are underlined and symbolically accentuated by differences in bearing, differences in gesture, posture and behaviour which express a whole relationship to the social world'. Health is a form of subjectivity in the context of this social world. In the moralistic judgments of society, the choices that individuals make will reflect their *habitus* or in the late modernity of consumerism, their lifestyle choices.

Through exercising smart lifestyle choices, the individual becomes personally responsible for his or her own quality of life. The language of lifestyle is one of independence and self-sufficiency; it signifies pleasure, freedom, success and mobility. In this sense, practices in physical culture provide personal freedom and the opportunity to share in the good life. To control's one own future, to have individual control over one's own destiny. (Howell and Ingham 2001, p. 337)

The lifestyle discourse, according to Ingham and Howell (2001), emerges as a resolution to the crises of capitalism and the welfare state that transpired during the recession and high unemployment of the 1970s. They argue that the 'language of lifestyle was offered as a means of merging neo-conservative ideology with right thinking common sense' (Howell & Ingham 2001, p. 330). Good health can be seen as an issue of character but redefined as a problem of lifestyle, with moral values such as independence, self-improvement, and voluntarism tied into the foundations of neo-liberalism.

An important aspect of the lifestyle discourse is its rapid progression as a commodity and marker of status.<sup>8</sup> Individuals enact the embodiment of lifestyle values by consuming goods and producing sufficient labour to consume the goods required for that lifestyle, and in doing so, obtain a lifestyle through commodification of self. Featherstone (1991) refers to this as 'consumer culture' and suggests that images and desires of consumer culture are correlated with the needs of capitalism and economic expansion.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Crisp (2004) writes that the expanding consumption of the middle classes has made it more difficult 'to identify the rich' but in return luxury goods manufacturers create new levels of luxury goods with those at the lower end of the market more affordable and those at the extreme end of the market more expensive. The markers of wealth and status simply re-align themselves upwards.

<sup>9</sup> Chapman (1996) and Petersen (1997) argue that there little real benefit to individuals, particularly in the case of health promotion where the private sector replaces or builds on state health activities. The marketing is more powerful for sunscreens and nutrition if left in the hands of the private sector. Like manufacturers of lifestyle products, private health insurers are also there to profit from both the constructs of 'at-risk' and lifestyle choices, with government support.

Yet in the same way that consumer culture provides an image of the healthy citizen, it also defines the 'others' that are excluded by their 'unhealthy' bodies. These bodies are a result of the structuring of privilege and oppression by codes of modern reason, constructed by the same patriarchal elite that represent the normalisation of the heroic citizen in Chapter One.

The experience of...oppression entails in part existing as a group defined as having ugly bodies ... While a certain cultural space is reserved for revering ... beauty and desirability, in part that very cameo ideal render most as drab, ugly, loathsome, or fearful bodies. Old people, gay men and lesbians, disabled people and fat people also occupy as groups the position of ugly, fearful, or loathsome bodies. (Young 1990, p. 123)

According to Young (1990), the elite acquire the authoritative position of 'truth-seeing and knowledge' as they position themselves as 'scientific and rational' through techniques of bio-politics and anatomo-politics, thus oppressing and objectifying others mentally and physically such as women, and the disabled. These irrational bodies become symbolic of the ugly, emotional, disorderly, and degenerate. Consumer culture works by selling the antidotes to ugly bodies through the 'looking good and feeling great' message, mixing visual metaphors with health education-based vigilance for body maintenance (Featherstone 1991).

### **Making choices**

[O]ur philosophy as a health care organisation is to take an active role in helping our members improve their health and fitness. In response to the changes [in government legislation] we are developing new benefits and services that will support as many of your lifestyle choices as possible (NIB 2003, p. 1).

The key to the notion of *lifestyles*, as elaborated above, is the perception or belief that people have the freedom and ability to make choices (Crawford 1980, 1984, O'Brien 1995). This idea resonates with neo-liberal individualism and the ideal self as autonomous from the body. With a healthy lifestyle, an individual's responsibility for choosing certain behaviours is a primary function of achievement (Crawford 1984, Lupton 1995, Petersen 1997). However, personal health status and healthy bodies are defined and valued differently by various groups of people, differentiated, in particular, by gender and class (Crawford 1980, 1984). The subjectivity of health actions will be enacted according to existing beliefs and circumstances within the



constraints of physical, social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu 1984, Laberge & Sankoff 1988, Saltonstall 1993, Baum 1998, Bennett et al. 1999, Tomlinson 2003).

One difficulty for governments and health industries lies in understanding why all people do not make healthy choices, as defined by science and government, and in some cases actively reject the preferred rational decision, the 'correct' behaviour and therefore the appropriate corporeal investment. One interpretation is that the health consumer has become irrational in their decision making and may require 'disciplining' or educative assistance, such as the education that occurs through public health promotion (Petersen 1997). The creation of the health consumer is an explicit outcome of neo-liberal policies. Just as the thinking around citizenship has evolved through enhancing the equality of previously excluded groups to develop *homo economicus*, the ideas of lifestyle, commodification of health and health consumers have replaced the class-bound notions of the 'unwashed masses', the bourgeoisie, and the aristocrats. For modern government, the efficient citizen model would be most effective if applied to all individuals, regardless of their socio-economic status. The question of how to apply health statuses to all individuals becomes a measure of risk for populations to include everyone.

### **But who is at-risk of what?**

Strictly speaking there is no such thing as an individual risk; otherwise insurance would be no more than a wager. Risk only becomes something calculable when it is spread over a population. The work of the insurer is, precisely, to constitute that population by selecting and dividing risks. Insurance can only cover groups; it works by socializing risks. It makes each person a part of the whole. [...] The idea of risk assumes that all the individuals who compose a population are on the same footing: each person is a factor of risk, each person is exposed to risk. But this does not mean that everyone causes or suffers the same degree of risk. The risk defines the whole, but each individual is distinguished by the probability of risk which falls to his or her share. (Ewald 1991, p. 203)

François Ewald describes risk and insurance as political technologies—social forces used in specific ways—to construct populations, risks, capital and individuals. The techniques used by these technologies include legal, economic and financial practices, as well as a moral technology in which

"conducting one's life as an enterprise can be defined as a morality whose cardinal virtue is providence" (Ewald 1991, p. 207). This modern construct of risk is an example of Foucault's expanding network of bio-politics and, as Ewald writes above, the individual is provided an identity through risk as prescribed by the whole of the population. Public health does not exist without identified risks to health and it is these health risks that construct health identities. However, like the commodification of health, access and response to risks are not shared equally by everyone.

First, processes of individualization *deprive class distinctions of their social identity*. Social groups lose their distinctive traits, both in terms of their self-understanding and in relation to other groups. They also lose their independent identities and the chance to become a formative political force. [...] Second, inequalities by no means disappear. They become redefined in terms of an *individualization of social risks*. The result is that social problems are increasingly perceived in terms of psychological dispositions: as personal inadequacies, guilt feelings, anxieties, conflicts and neuroses. There emerges, paradoxically, a *new immediacy of individual and society, a direct relation between crises and sickness*. (Beck 1992, p. 100, original emphasis)

Beck argues that the impacts of class or wealth differences are 'flattened' in the risk society because individualisation and commodification has diminished class as a form of identity. Yet empirical works by Tomlinson (2003), Bennett et al. (1999) and Bunton et al (1995) would appear to contradict this levelling. Their analyses show that social groupings based on traditional occupational classes have a marked correlation with riskier, 'less healthy' behaviours and lifestyle choices. Low socio-economic status has been identified as a factor in higher rates of some diseases but also, more importantly, as a factor in differing beliefs about health and health risks (Crawford 1984, Gastaldo 1997, Baum 1998, AIHW 2003, Short 2004). The goal elaborated by the public health discipline of 'health for all' is a web of unequal relationships created by technologies of governing, both the self and others. This web or network uses various techniques varying from the political, economic and legal to the moral to establish means of judgement of a healthy citizen. Judgements come through measures of risk, physical conduct and behaviour, and taking care of oneself. They bring with them forms of disciplining and punishment, not least of all, to be defined as 'unhealthy' or as we will see in the case of obesity, perhaps the punishment

is more to be judged 'un-Australian' or 'un-French' in the cultural contexts of embodied citizens.

### **Health systems in Australia and France**

Before moving on to discuss the respective Australian and French obesity crises, it is useful to consider an overview of Australian and French systems of public health and health more generally. Overall, France and Australia are perceived to have a very high standard of health and health care. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) rankings, both are in the top ten nations for health and health systems, with France being number one for the past two years (WHO 2002). The French and Australians are two of the longest living populations in the world as well as having some similar rates of deaths (see **Appendix 3**). It should be noted that despite the higher rates of many diseases in France, such as tuberculosis and AIDS, the 'lifestyle' diseases of heart disease and diabetes are much lower than rates in Australia despite the French consuming four times the amount of butter and a significantly larger amount of alcohol. This is what the nutritionists have titled 'the French paradox' (AIHW 1998, Rozin 2000).

Both the Australian and French health care systems are described as a collective goods system; that is, taxes paid by the people are used to provide reasonable health services to all residents without charge. The financing of these systems is perceived by governments as problematic for controlling expenditure on health care. Over the past forty years both French and Australian health expenditure has doubled (Swerissen & Duckett 1997, Imai et al. 2000, Poullier & Sandier 2000). Other issues of concern for the French and Australian health systems appear quite similar, such as funding levels for the Australian Medicare and the French National Health Insurance System; hospital waiting lists; and medical services shortages, particularly in relation to doctors in rural and regional areas (Poullier & Sandier 2000, Legrain 2001, Pirani 2004).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> One particularity of the Australian health system is the division of jurisdiction between federal, state and local governments. The historical development of Australia since Federation in 1901 and the federal government's relationship with the states has a substantial impact on the funding and delivery of health services. The Federal government, in providing 47% of total funding, negotiates funding agreements with the states based on a complex and hotly debated population and needs formula. State governments, providing 23% of health funding, legislate, fund and operate hospitals, psychiatric institutions and non-

A particular difficulty for French government is a belief that access to health care provision is a fundamental right as enshrined in French constitutional law (Bonnici 1993).<sup>11</sup> According to Poullier and Sandier (2000), the French people agree that the provision of health care for everyone is a central responsibility of government and any attempt to cut funding is greeted with protests and political backlash.<sup>12</sup> As a result France has one of the highest rates of expenditure on health in the OECD at 9.6 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (OECD 2003).

Meanwhile, health promotion and education in France have a low profile. Public health teaching and research organisations are only very new and, according to the OECD, a fair way 'behind' Anglo-Saxon countries (Imai et al. 2000). Interestingly, Claude Got (1992), one of the *Cinq Sages* (Five Wisemen) of French public health, writes that the French regard health promotion as an attempt by government to cut funding to medical services—an intriguing indictment of neo-liberal health policies. For Got (1992), the tension lies in the extent of government involvement in the regulation of health, from the extremes of the Anglo-Saxon 'nanny state' to the other extreme of a French government that hesitated to pass legislation to ban the sale of cigarettes to young people under 16 and then had politicians claiming 'it was political correctness that passed the bill' (*Le Monde*, 13 February 2003).<sup>13</sup>

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medical community and public health services, while the federal government directly funds medical and pharmaceutical rebates and aged care (Smith 1995, Swerissen & Duckett 1997, Pirani 2004). In contrast to the administrative decentralisation of health funding in Australia, the French system is tightly centralised, but recently moves have been made to decentralise some responsibilities to enable regions to respond to their local needs (Bonnici 2003). State and local governments in Australia and France are involved in service and infrastructure provision, for example the Healthy Cities programme and community development and planning (Smith 1995, Bonnici 2003, Saunier 2004).

<sup>11</sup> The French Constitution of 1946 states that the nation guarantees everyone, notably children, mothers and older workers, the right to health protection (Bonnici 1993).

<sup>12</sup> While the French begin to support reductions in regulation and greater competition in other spheres (that is, privatisation of water and electricity supplies), they continue to express a preference for health financing deficits to be met by cutting other public budgets first (Poullier & Sandier 2000, Imai et al. 2000). Foucault (cited in Osborne 1997, p. 183) describes the different styles of health policy in France and Britain during the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a 'test-bed' of government efficiency. While medicine in France, with doctors as legislators, began with a war on bad government, in Britain, where doctors were never allowed to aspire to be legislators, ill-health quickly became an indicator or signal of bad government.

<sup>13</sup> Nathanson (1992) provides a comprehensive discussion of the French debates regarding anti-smoking laws.

### Current standings on the obesity scales

The headlines seem to shout out '1/3 of Australians are fat' or obese or overweight (see **Appendix 4**). The three terms are often intermingled. The facts are more difficult to ascertain. According to the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW), in 2001 an estimated 51 per cent of Australians aged 20 years and over, were overweight with 16.7 per cent classified as obese (AIHW 2003a). There is considerable qualification of these estimates, but most indicate that these percentages are under-estimates. The report highlights that women from low socio-economic backgrounds and Indigenous people are disproportionately affected. Meanwhile in France, estimates indicate that some 41.6 per cent of the French are classified as overweight with 11.3 per cent classified as obese (ObEpi 2003).<sup>14</sup> In a gender reversal of Australia, it is men from low socio-economic backgrounds who are disproportionately affected. France, and particularly French women, is positioned internationally as 'not yet affected' by the obesity epidemic.<sup>15</sup> But this situation appears to be changing as highlighted by ObEpi 2003 survey and the 2003 Saunier report to the French Senate. Anti-obesity policies are an excellent example of how globalisation can give impetus to the adoption of health policies with the view of a possibly at-risk population.<sup>16</sup>

Un récent rapport de l'OMS a mis en évidence un phénomène jusqu'ici insoupçonné : l'obésité n'est pas cantonnée, comme on le croyait, aux sociétés occidentales mais généralisée, à un moindre degré, aux pays du Tiers-Monde. Il y aurait aujourd'hui plus de 300 millions d'obèses.

Cela donne la mesure de l'extension d'une affection dont les causes sont multiples, les conséquences médicales lourdes et qui, si l'on n'y prend garde, va produire en France, à un terme de vingt ans, une catastrophe sanitaire et un désastre financier sans précédent. (Saunier 2004, p. 140)

*A recent WHO report underscores a previously unsuspected phenomenon: obesity is not confined as one would believe to Western societies, but generalised to a lesser degree, to third world countries. Today there are more than 300 million obese people.*

*This shows the extent of an affliction for which there are multiple causes. There are serious medical consequences and if we do not prepare ourselves, within 20 years, this could produce in France a health catastrophe and unprecedented financial disaster.*

<sup>14</sup> It is worth noting that the professor in charge of the ObEpi project emphasised that the serious medical concern was for the 'morbidly obese' of which there is 0.9% of the French overweight population. There is no such differentiation made in Australian government reports.

<sup>15</sup> This has been particularly taken up in mainstream publications such as Guiliano (2005) and Barone (2004).

<sup>16</sup> See also [www.ineps.sante.fr](http://www.ineps.sante.fr).

While the French believe they have a further twenty years to prevent reaching the levels of obesity in the USA, other Anglo-Saxon countries such as Australia believe they are already battling against the onslaught of obesity (NSW Obesity Taskforce 2002, AIHW 2003). If this is the obesity epidemic, what are the solutions? What is the Australian Government proposing to 'cure' its epidemic and what will the French government do in anticipation of theirs?

### **'Obesity – everyone's problem' and 'Can you catch the fat bug?'**<sup>17</sup>

Obesity and its various solutions are headline news in Australia (see **Appendix 4**). There are now state and national obesity taskforces, national strategies, food guidelines, even the Australian political parties have obesity strategies and policies and there is almost daily reporting on the issue.<sup>18</sup> The panic in Australia regarding obesity is certainly becoming more visible. Even the Australian Cricket Board has released a media statement claiming that obesity and the education system's lack of compulsory physical activity will be to blame when Australia no longer wins at cricket (Hurrell 2004, Miller 2004). The relationship between the heroic citizen and the healthy citizen becomes complicated in Australia with a cultural identity based on sporting achievements.

Our next generation of sports heroes will be much harder to find unless today's children become more physically active and we tackle the very real issue of childhood obesity. (Cricket Australia Executive Officer, quoted in Hurrell 2004)

Australia is a paradox when it comes to physical activity. There is nothing that binds us together as a nation quite like our love of sport. Yet we have alarmingly high levels of obesity with one in four young Australians under the age of 18 suffering from it with increasing incidence of children not engaging in any organised sporting or physical activity out of school, with declining numbers of schools offering sporting opportunities. (Howard 2004a)<sup>19</sup>

My focus is on the discourses and techniques drawn on for the various Australian and French political solutions for the obesity crisis in the context of

<sup>17</sup> Article titles on obesity in *Healthlink* (Eckersley 2003) and *Cleo* (September 2003). It is astonishing to see the breadth of media articles on the 'obesity epidemic'. There is not a week that goes past without a newspaper article on fat, dieting, schools and childhood obesity, even *Vogue Australia* has titles like 'The obesity factor: Do these genes make me look fat?' (Hawkes 2003).

<sup>18</sup> See **Appendix 4** for a list of articles appearing in Australian daily journals.

<sup>19</sup> The political positioning of the sports associations is twofold through their increased importance (and funding) to fight the obesity epidemic, and to also ensure there will be ongoing public sporting achievement through participation and competition. For example, the head of the Australian Sports Commission described obesity as 'lessening the willingness of young people to have a go at sport which would in turn reduce Australia's elite athlete pool' (Glumac 2005).

public health. Rose (1993) and Baum (1998) posit health policies as providing a window of reflection on the ways in which governments envision and prioritise funding for the health of their citizens and their cultural values. The national political responses to obesity provide examples of national identity through embodied citizenship as well as political ideologies of neo-liberalism and individualism. There are some general similarities in both sets of anti-obesity policies related to controlling food, but the distinguishing feature of the Australian policies is not related to food but physical activity.

As the earlier examples show, in both countries, concerns emerge for a national population which may become something that is not recognised or acknowledged as Australian or French. For the Australians, an obese population does not live up to a sporting cultural identity. Meanwhile for the French, the iconic nation of good food, becoming obese through 'bad' food and American habits like snacking and fast food, would be tantamount to declaring English the national language. This may seem a slightly caricatured description of a serious problem, but the language, references and policies in obesity texts not only reflect political differences but cultural otherness, both implicitly and explicitly. For example, when describing obesity in France, senior public health researchers draw on American political health positioning as the extreme:

Si le nombre de personnes obèse continue de progresser de 5% par an, on prévoit en 2020 une prévalence de l'obésité correspondante au niveau actuel des Etats-Unis. Je vous rappelle que cette situation aux USA a déclenché dans un pays libéral, une intervention au plus haut niveau de l'état devant les conséquences sur la santé : le Président des USA est intervenu pour déclarer la guerre à l'obésité ! On pouvait penser, il y a quelques années, que l'Europe et la France en particulier, échappaient à cette tendance évolutive enregistrée Outre-Atlantique. La réponse est négative, on suit lentement mais sûrement la courbe de l'obésité américaine. (ObEpi 2003, no page numbers)

*If the number of obese people continues to rise by 5% per annum, we estimate by 2020 a rate of obesity corresponding to the current level in the USA. I remind you that this situation in the USA happens in a liberal country, where intervention at the highest level of the state has happened because of the health consequences; the President of the USA has intervened to declare war on obesity! One might think that for the past couple of years that Europe and in particular France, have avoided showing this evolving tendency of across the Atlantic. The response is no, we are slowly but surely, following the line of American obesity.*

In French reports on nutrition and obesity, it is not unusual to see obesity and related-lifestyle diseases referred to as the 'American problem or model' or comments made that the French are 'Americanising' themselves (*s'américanisent*) (Haut comité de santé publique (HCSP) 1999, Blanchard & Mathieu 2002, Richard 2002, 'Obésité: une hausse inquiétante en France', *Le Monde* 17 June 2003, Saunier 2004). Over-consumption is presented as Anglo-Saxon in nature, if not even more specifically American. The French have not been pre-occupied in the same way as Anglo-Saxon nations by obesity with it listed outside the top ten French health issues (HCSP 2002).<sup>20</sup> However, with increased media reporting on childhood obesity and government monitoring over the past three years, political programmes such as the ObEpi (2003), the Saunier report (2004), and recent legislation passed in the French Senate, this is changing rapidly.<sup>21</sup>

The most eagerly trumpeted headline for the media is one which proclaims a 'cure' for obesity. In parallel with the two themes of health, the medical and the moral, there tends to be two types of cures for obesity: the medical cure as a scientific breakthrough of a 'magic pill' or some kind of gene therapy; and the moral cure through food control and parenting. For the latter category, the health policies and programmes being implemented by the Australian and French governments reflect both cultural and political positioning. One common focus is to encourage a particular kind of food consumption, but even then there cultural differences.

### **The food solution: How many serves?**

Diet advice has become a minefield for understanding and expertise. The development of fields of expertise for dieticians, nutritionists, chemists, food technologists for example, as well as various regulatory bodies, associations, expert advisory councils, even packaging guidelines, are a superb example of

<sup>20</sup> According to the 2001 French Health report (HCSP 2002), the top ten health issues that need to be addressed are: Child mortality due to accidents; maternal mortality; infant allergies; young people requiring specialist treatment for bronchial problems; adult depression; life years lost by under 65s; occupational diseases; dementia; visually impairment; and dental care. Obesity is in eleventh place on the list.

<sup>21</sup> Going through the archives of *L'Express*, there were five articles on obesity between 1998 and 2003, about one per year. In 2004 there have already been four articles. However, this should be compared with the almost daily reporting in Australia (see **Appendix 4**).



Foucauldian regulators and disciplinarians and points of power in differentiation, institutionalisation and rationalisation (Turner 1991a).

One French health education campaign, which advocated increased consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables, came to my attention through a television advertisement. The advertisement, *Les fruits et légumes frais* [Fresh fruit and vegetables] uses a well-known French rugby player, Thomas Castaignede, to encourage *10 serves a day* of fruit and vegetables ([www.10parjour.net](http://www.10parjour.net)). The number, 10, contrasts with fruit and vegetable nutrition advertising in Australia for *7 serves a day* and more recently, *Go for 2 plus 5* which advocates for 2 serves of fruit per day and 5 serves of vegetables (National Public Health Partnership 2001, [www.healthyactive.gov.au](http://www.healthyactive.gov.au) 2006). In the Australian nutrition marketing examples, there is an emphasis on presenting factual science using traditional notions of women's maternal roles: caring, nurturing and housekeeping. For example, in the corporate world of television advertising, a common marketing theme involves female nutritionists validating cereal products by feeding them to their male offspring or male sporting team.<sup>22</sup> The scientific credentials of nutritionists grant privilege to their authority to provide information to less-knowing subjects (Lupton 1995).

Another notable difference in the French *10 serves a day* nutrition campaign is a lack of association with the French Ministry of Health. The only associated government body is the Ministry for Food Agriculture, Fishing and Rural Affairs. The other website sponsors tend to be the organising bodies for a particular fruit or vegetable product, such as the apple growers' association.<sup>23,24</sup> Meanwhile the Australian *7 serves a Day* programme is run in

<sup>22</sup> See for example Sanitarium's Weetbix and Kellogg's Nutragrain, Sultana Bran and All-Bran. While the nutritionist profession is a well-credentialed one, it is a female dominated profession. Women in these advertisements are presented as 'carers and nurturers', responsible for the adequate nutritional feeding of males to ensure their health and wellbeing and their development into strong adult males (personal correspondence with Dr Peter Williams, former head of the Dietitians Association of Australia. He mentioned that only 4% of nutritionists/dietiticians are male).

<sup>23</sup> In fact, of the twenty-six website links on the *10 serves per day* site, eight links are for recipes and cooking sites, thirteen links are for the various fruits and vegetable associations websites, and five links are for health related sites, albeit none of them government sites. The five health sites are: [www.33docavenue.com](http://www.33docavenue.com), [www.doctissimo.com](http://www.doctissimo.com), [www.cvotresante.com](http://www.cvotresante.com), [www.defisanteville.com](http://www.defisanteville.com), [www.caducee.net](http://www.caducee.net).

<sup>24</sup> The confusion regarding the number of serves is made worse by the involvement of commercial producers. The official United States Drugs Administration recommendation is 5 serves per day, as is the French Institute of Health Education 'no less than 5 serves per day' but the televised publicity campaign

conjunction with the Dietitians Association of Australia (DAA) and Coles Supermarkets.<sup>25</sup> While encouraging greater fruit and vegetable consumption is one part of the national framework for action in public health, other risk factors include a lack of physical activity, obesity, and high blood cholesterol (National Public Health Partnership 2001). There has been an interesting evolution of practices in the public health policies evoked by the Australian Department of Health and Aging's *Eat Well Australia* policy. The policy outlines how the aim has been to move away from past emphasis on direct intervention for at-risk individuals and nutrition behaviour counselling to a 'broader, population centred approach' by fostering 'changes in food choices and eating behaviours at the individual and population level' through strategies based on dietary guidelines, stakeholders in the food sector, and community participation (National Public Health Partnership 2001, p. 8). The impetus and strength behind the policy is not effected through a legal capacity (the *Eating Well Australia* document clearly states that it has no legislative basis) to enforce change or medicate an individual, but rather it is effected through the power of the document in its authority as a scientifically evidence-based government document with participation at every level of implementation (Foucault 1983). The empowerment of individuals and communities brings with it mutual responsibility and participation: everyone is at-risk, everyone will monitor, everyone will assess, and the surveillance of eating behaviours will permeate the population.

### **The cultural solution**

But what kind of a population is being talked about here? In contrast to the pervasive Australian image of food as continuing to be unhealthy, a recent French health campaign uses the phrase 'la santé vient en mangeant' [health comes through eating] (Ahrens 2000, INEPS 2004). French government programmes speak specifically of a French population which is special and different to others, particularly the already obese Anglo-Saxon populations.

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runs with 10 serves per day. The correlation appears to be that if the campaign is supported by fruit and vegetable producers and suppliers, then the number of serves is higher.

<sup>25</sup> See [www.coles.com.au/7aday](http://www.coles.com.au/7aday) Coles established the Fruit and Vegetables Consumption Index. In an investigation of the impact of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) in Australia, the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) showed how the prices of fruit and vegetables, exempt from the GST) had risen over 50% in twelve months compared to non-GST exempt products (ABC 2001). And it was not the producers that were benefiting but rather the two main sellers of fruit and vegetables, Coles and Woolworths, who

For example, Saunier (2004) writes that when considering global risks to food production, manufacturers and governments have to take into account the 'national characteristics' such as:

- qu'un Américain va faire un rapport entre la façon de s'alimenter et sa responsabilité personnelle;
- qu'un Allemand insistera sur l'éthique de production des aliments et sur les connexions alimentation-santé ;
- qu'un Français va insister sur la convivialité de l'alimentation et, à un moindre degré, sur la qualité des produits ;
- et qu'un Italien va développer un discours presque lyrique sur la qualité et l'authenticité de produit. (Saunier 2004, pp. 159-160)
- *An American will make a link between the way they feed themselves and personal responsibility;*
- *A German will insist on ethical production of food products and on the connections between health and food;*
- *A French person will insist on the conviviality of food, and to a lesser degree, on the quality of the products; and*
- *An Italian will develop an almost lyrical discourse on the quality and authenticity of the product.*

With this in mind, the social changes required to resist obesity must be understood in a specific cultural context. One of Saunier's recommendations—'Further sociological and psychological studies on French attitudes and behaviour towards food'—is not considered in the Australian context. There are no acknowledged 'Australian' attitudes towards food, but there is plenty of discussion around another solution for obesity – sport! It would seem an almost cultural reversal that a French fruit and vegetable campaign uses a sportsman and an Australian campaign uses scientific/nurturing instruction. Nonetheless, these reversed images actually make more sense within their specific political and health contexts. The responsibilities of parents, particularly mothers, is a clear target in the Australian context, and the need for increasingly scientific forms of information reflects a decade of mounting resistance to public health messages as well as conflicting dietary information.<sup>26</sup> In the French case, the use of a sportsman and the informal style of the advertisement, distances the message from being a government directive (and hence subject to greater

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between them hold more than 48% of the fresh produce market in Australia. One could infer that it is very much in Coles' commercial interests to encourage greater fruit and vegetable consumption.

<sup>26</sup> Some twenty years ago a public health campaign called "Life. Be In It." started in Australia. This long-running, well known campaign encouraged people to take up more physical activity and engage in other behaviours such as using sunscreens and anti-smoking messages.

resistance).<sup>27</sup> It also recognises, by drawing on an idealised image of masculinity, that men in France are estimated to suffer higher rates of obesity and diet-related illnesses (such as colon cancer and cirrhosis) than women.

Governments and institutions can implement food guidelines, support 'scientific' diets, and validate the expertise of nutritionists as a health service. However, the food/diet cures for obesity seem doomed to failure despite suggestions of fat taxes, food label warnings against excessive fat consumption, and personal responsibility legislation or litigation against fast food outlets, especially in light of the individualistic, consumer tendencies that are accorded to the Australian population:<sup>28</sup>

Australians prefer to find market solutions to problems that arise from the legal purchase of goods and services, rather than endure paternalistic controls. [...] Armed with more of the facts about precise food and drink choices, families would be better able to make their own decisions, led usually by parents. Consumers can have opposing desires; wanting to be healthy and wanting food to be tasty, cheap and convenient is often a contradiction most of us have to resolve. (*The Australian*, Editorial 'One small step to a smaller society', 12/1/2004)

The language used above is an example of the embedded contradictions of neo-liberal government and the new public health—'market solutions' driven by legislation to explain 'facts' about food and drink—to be able to make 'individual informed choices' to meet lifestyle needs. There is little wonder that the typical Australian approach towards countering obesity has been to focus on physical activity and sport.

### **The sport solution: Move your body!**

In June 2004, the Prime Minister of Australia launched an anti-obesity campaign, *Building a Healthy, Active Australia*, with four programme components (see **Table 2.2** below). The conflation of sport and physical activity as a solution for obesity is clearly evident in this campaign as is a presumption of health risks for young people and parental responsibility.

<sup>27</sup> Nathanson (1996) provides an example of Gallic resistance to government health messages in her anti-smoking analyses, including the infamous note that in the 12 months following the French government's first anti-smoking campaign, rates of smoking in France increased.

<sup>28</sup> Ireland's government has been considering a tax for high fat products. In the USA, the House of Representatives passed a personal responsibility bill which would rule out further litigation against food companies for making people fat (Hastings 2004).

**Table 2.2** Recent government responses to 'cure' obesity (Howard 2004a, Saunier 2004, *Le Monde* 2004)

However, a key responsibility for organised sporting and physical activities is also devolved traditionally to schools in Australia (and there is also a political devolution of responsibility as the Federal government does not have direct responsibility for schools).<sup>30</sup> By comparison, in the proposed French government solutions for obesity, there are no mentions of physical activity,

<sup>29</sup> An example of the type of information that will be distributed can be found at the Australian Sports Commission website ([www.ausport.gov.au/aasc/facts.asp](http://www.ausport.gov.au/aasc/facts.asp)) and the government website, [www.healthyactive.gov.au](http://www.healthyactive.gov.au). They include 'fact sheets on obesity, the after school programmes, links to the National Obesity Taskforce and the NHMRC. The opening statement reads 'Children who combine a balanced diet with regular activity will be happier, healthier and more ready to learn'.

<sup>30</sup> The public school systems fall under the control of state governments which at the time of writing are all currently held by state Labor parties, in opposition to the Federal government which is a Liberal-National party coalition government. Independent schools (primarily church-run) and the Catholic education system are primarily funded through direct Federal government grants. State schools do receive funding, indirectly, from the Federal government through the quadrennial funding agreements with the States and the 'Investing in Our School Programme'.

sport, or parents and community wellbeing. Instead, the French National Institute for Health Education talks about distributing health and physical activity information kits to doctors and companies that employ more than 50 people as well as disseminating a nutrition health kit through schools ([www.ineps.sante.fr](http://www.ineps.sante.fr)).

The primary basis for the Australian anti-obesity programme's anticipated future success, according to the Prime Minister, is that it involves all the key stakeholders: the community, schools, sporting organisations, local parents and citizens' organisations, parents, the Australian Fruit and Vegetable Coalition, the Australian Association of National Advertisers and medical general practitioners, as well as the Federal government (Howard 2004a). The network of expertise and responsibilities has expanded well beyond the public health prevention sector.

### **The moral solution: Be a better parent**

Armed with the statistics that 85 per cent of overweight children grow up to be overweight adults (AIHW 2003a), in both France and Australia a strong emphasis is placed on preventing/solving obesity in children—the most at-risk group—albeit in very different ways. The Australian government places an explicit emphasis on the responsibility of parents, as evidenced in the proposed solutions in **Table 2.2** and reiterated in the Prime Minister of Australia's speech:

I'm sure that all in this audience would agree with me that the people who have the primary responsibility for instilling habits of exercise, physical activity and good eating in their children are of course parents and if parents are not active, no amount of government programming, no amount of government information, no amount of fine examples from great sportsmen and woman can encourage children to exercise and to eat properly. But governments can by their action and their leadership and by the policies they support governments can reinforce the messages that are communicated by parents. And the aim of this programme is to bring about a cultural change in our community. (Howard 2004a)

By implication, a measure of 'good' parenting is the explicit responsibility to provide a healthy diet for offspring and encourage them to be physically active. If governments have provided information as well as support services and a child is overweight, it follows that the parents are failing in their responsibilities. The child will bring increased costs for the state through poor

health and the parents will have condemned them to a shortened, unhappy and unproductive life. This criminality of parents (or bad parenting), particularly on the part of mothers, could, by inference, be assessed by others, such as health professionals, teachers, other parents, even people in the street. If the visual nature of physical excess weight allows individuals to be judged by everyone, then parent responsibility can be assigned by others.<sup>31</sup> Foucault (1995, p. 110) writes about individualisation as the phenomenon whereby everyone will read the laws themselves, rather than have them bestowed upon them by a ruler, 'based on the lesson, the discourse, the decipherable sign, the representation of public morality'.

The discourse of obesity is certainly a very public one, particularly in Australia with almost daily media reporting, in which images of overweight people become the 'decipherable sign'. I would argue that the media and political linkages made between national identity and the failings of the obese are the 'representations of public morality'. For example, in the Australian case, obesity threatens its sporting identity, whereas for the French, Anglo-Saxon style over-consumption threatens its gourmet identity and cultural moral superiority. The public morality in both cases, however, allows a judgement to be made of what constitutes a good citizen.

### **'Everything is good for you'**<sup>32</sup>

While the prospect of a scientific cure for obesity is much awaited, secondary fields of expertise thrive in the scientisation of strategies to combat obesity: nutritionists, dieticians, exercise physiologists, physical educators, sport coaches and associated sciences related to the energy and metabolic functions of the human body.<sup>33</sup> But the sciences are in danger of becoming

<sup>31</sup> The role of mothers in obesity is mentioned in Chang and Christakis (2002). Much of the individualisation of public health engenders responsibility for health with women and the impact of responsibility for child and male health lies within the sphere of female nurturing and caring or, as Nettleton (1997, p. 51) refers to it, the 'guilty mother syndrome' (Daykin & Naidoo 1995, Lupton 1995).

<sup>32</sup> 'Everything is good for you' is an article by Sample (2003) which goes through a series of 'scientifically proven' high risk behaviours and counters their risks with other scientific studies. The behaviours include: unprotected sex; getting stressed; using mobile phones; watching a lot of TV; and listening to loud, repetitive music; smoking; riding fast motorbikes; flying economy class; eating fatty food' drinking heavily; eating salty food; and becoming a boxer.

<sup>33</sup> Scientific 'breakthroughs' related to obesity, particularly the genetic or enzyme cures are given unusually high media coverage which would have once been the reserve of cancer breakthroughs (see Pirani 2004 and **Appendix 4**).

uncontrolled and fragmented and confusion grows over which science is right as Ian Sample comments:<sup>34</sup>

Three weeks ago, I was happy in the knowledge that two staples of my diet, namely caffeine and pizzas were inherently bad for me. Now that's all been overturned [...] If I'd been feeling guilty about what I was consuming, it would all have been for nought. So what's going on? And more importantly, who am I supposed to believe? Evidently I'm not alone in my confusion.

"You can't expect the public to know the real risks of doing something and make a rational judgement. We don't do it, and why should we?" says risk expert Sir Colin Berry. (Sample 2003, p. 4)

According to social commentators, health practitioners have begun to recognise two great difficulties in behaviour change: firstly, populations recognise the discourse, reiterate the language and yet do not comply; and secondly, there is risk of advice-overload in that the more advice and information, guidelines and regulations provided, the more people are confused and dismiss advice (Parish 1995, Kimiecik & Lawson 1996, Eckersley 2003). There is every possibility that the supposedly well-informed population is becoming cynical in regards to health promotion. The MG advertisement below plays on this notion that everything has been modified to reduce risks: jump into a sports car and experience the thrill of being 'naughty', enhanced even more so if you can light up a cigarette.

*A young man walks down the street thinking:*

'Oh yes, must join a gym, gotta get fit, must have flat stomach'.

*Red MG driving on the road*

'Don't do this, don't do that, don't break the rules'.

*He's walking through the shopping aisle of a supermarket.*

'You can have whatever you want. Excuse me, as long as it's low in fat, as long as it's low in cholesterol, low in sugar, decaffeinated, high in fibre and organic'.

*As he gets in his MG-ZT sports car, he says:*

'Everything they don't want me to have—Full Fat, High Caffeine, Maximum Strength

*He reaches over to the cigarette lighter and looks up at the camera and says 'cigarette lighter...naughty'.*

The closing slogan reads "Life's too short not to"

(M&C Saatchi UK & MG Rover Group UK, [www.fullfat.com.au](http://www.fullfat.com.au)).

It is admitted by some public health texts, albeit reluctantly, that health behaviour modification campaigns have generally not been noticeably successful and there is a lack of evidence for their long-term effectiveness

<sup>34</sup> See also Dunlevy (2005) 'The newest health fad is...scepticism'.



(Baum 1998, cf. Crossley 2002, 2002a). It is also noted that financially advantaged groups are more likely to adopt recommended lifestyle practices. With greater disposable income and increased health literacy, the choices required to change health practices become rationalised objects of control in the context of the middle class and their lifestyles (Crawford 1984, Baum 1998, Nutbeam 2000). As Peter Stearn (1997) comments the 'powerful' people, in this case those who can afford the required lifestyle to be good parents with healthy children, establish boundaries for others' failures of moral worthiness by being fatter and unhealthier.

### **Schools can do it all**

The anti-obesity programmes currently being implemented are examples of the ways in which the bodies of young people are viewed as governable in ways that adult citizen bodies are not (Bunton et al. 2004). These solutions also target sites of power: from determining family responsibilities to literally disciplining unruly bodies in schools. Governments can force schools to make physical activity compulsory and, by reductive logic, compel young people in schools to undertake physical activity. As the Australian Prime Minister said 'You will not do anything to really tackle childhood obesity in this country until all of the schools in Australia, not just a few, make sport and physical activity an integral and extensive part of their weekly curriculum' (Howard 2004a).

Even in the French obesity solutions, the school site becomes almost the sole enforcement zone in ways that other areas of intervention cannot be. The French Government's solutions do not talk about responsible parenting or after school sporting activities, but schools are clearly positioned as sites for policy implementation. Despite the different politically-positioned responses of Australian and French governments, particularly regarding regulation of the food industry, schools as state-controlled institutions can be made responsible for the implementation of the various cures for obesity, not only as sites for health education, but also sites for physical activity and controlled food consumption through school canteens.

In the broader structure of society, these political remedies could be seen as rather short-sighted by focusing on behavioural change in a limited age group of young people, and not providing the societal infrastructure and financial reform to make different behaviours possible (examples could include the cost of providing bicycle paths to every school or the introduction of legislation to regulate the food industry). Suggestions of political offloading of responsibility and financial expediency aside, even in the micro-details of schools as 'corporeal educators', there are complex issues for discussion in the following chapter. These issues are related to schools as a site of corporeal disciplining including the conflation of sport, physical activity, national identity and moral values, as well as health discourses which produce practices such as measuring physical ability and evaluating the performance of students within a political framework of desirable embodied civic behaviours.

## Chapter Three: Schooling the embodied citizen

School is the last bastion of a police state.

*Jay and the Doctor*, Triple J, Feb 2005

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Paul Bert, the French Minister for Education in 1887,<sup>1</sup> had little doubt as to the role of public education in the development of a modern singular France.

Public instruction was to be a single way of thinking, a common faith for a single people, without which the people would be nothing more than an aggregation of juxtaposed individuals. It is with this religion of the nation that we seek to penetrate the child's heart and mind. This is what civic instruction will do.  
(quoted in Lelièvre 2000, p. 6)

Like Bert, Talcott Parsons (1959) and Emile Durkheim (cited in Arnot 2000) envision education as a socialising agent with the role of inculcating the commitments and capacities for individuals' future roles. Parsons (1959) divides the educational undertaking into two parts: the first as commitment to the implementation of the broad values of society; and the second as commitment to individuals performing a specific role within the structure of society. Similarly Durkheim describes schools as designed to transmit a 'conscience collective' to bind individuals to the moral order and create a variety of labour forces (Arnot 2000, p. 293). While Foucault (1995) describes the school as one of society's sites for corporeal regulation, discipline and punishment, according to Armour (1999), schools have not been as overtly interested with *educating* bodies. The explicit goals of schooling, Bert's hearts and minds of students, have been the subjects of extensive theorising, while analyses of corporeal education are a more recent development.

This chapter will discuss the ways in which schools imagine and educate an embodied citizen, specifically through physical education. The embodied citizen has been variously problematised over time in response to changing populations and needs of government. Physical education has a series of overt uses in an educational setting, for example as a corrective process to improve deficient or less efficient bodies. However, there are also more

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Bert was also a renowned physiologist who wrote the text, *La Machine Humaine (The Human Machine)* in 1867 (Gleyse 2002).

covert roles for physical education. The kinds of responsibilities of schooling and physical education for healthy citizens are strongly influenced by their political and cultural environments, as evidenced through the historical development of physical education in Australia and France.

### **Why educate citizens?**

In its earliest forms, education was not intended to be solely about minds and souls. In ancient Greece, education was comprised of three key areas: physical education, music and literature. The body and physical training were intrinsic to the complete citizen (Dutton 1995, Thomas 2000). From the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment, philosophers made links between moral education, physical status and maintenance of health, and by the late 1700s, formal gymnastics and games first made an appearance in educational settings (Elias 1998, Piard 2000). Equally, early compulsory education focused on inculcating social mores of deportment and hygiene through what Elias (1998) describes as a 'civilising process'. The separation of intellectual achievement and the physical emerges, in part, through the implementation of specialised teaching qualifications and expectations of higher education during the early to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. More recently, these same processes of increased professional expertise have been drawn upon to provide increased status for physical education (Andrieu 1993, Thomas 2000).

In the current era of increasing individualisation and economic neo-liberalism, and the pervasive cultural focus on bodies, the role of schooling to form citizen bodies is a topic for increasing discussion (Shilling 1993, Symes & Preston 1997, O'Farrell et al. 2000, Evans et al. 2004). The physical comportment of citizens is embedded in all facets of schooling. As Colin Symes and Noel Preston (1997) explain, students do not learn in a disembodied state and different facets of school operate through both the mind and the body.

[T]he construction of the 'unfinished body' extends through other educational activities which also impact on its various accomplishments and in often unexpected ways. Most subjects in the school curriculum result in some adjustment to the individual's psycho-motor proficiency, some subtle regulation of its capacities, be it in the area of keyboard skills and writing or the playing of

a musical instrument. Even the voice is no stranger to such manipulation and modulation to make its register and tone accord with certain class and gender expectations. (Symes & Preston 1997, p. 109)

An important aspect of this 'hidden' curriculum<sup>2</sup> is the idea that the process of schooling is not only operating through the knowledge being taught but also through the bodies being taught (Kirk 1998, Preston & Symes 1997). Apple (1979, p. 87) describes the hidden curriculum as positing 'a network of assumptions that, when internalised by the student, establishes the boundaries of legitimacy'. The student is not taught or offered information about opposing schools of thought, and consensus is packaged as the means to achieve social order and stability. A good student will thus become a good citizen. In corporeal education, there are equally hidden assumptions about what kinds of bodies, comportment and behaviour are appropriate or more valued in the school context. The idea of the hidden curriculum is important to highlight the conservative nature of schooling based on tacit ideological assumptions that are not made politically explicit through curricula.

### **Good citizen, 'at-risk' citizen**

A school is currently charged not only with the task of educating minds, souls and bodies, but also charged with the task of assessing students' competencies against ideal outcomes, for example the more abstract exercise of citizenship (Kennedy 1997, Crémieux 2001). The school and its curriculum become sites of observation, measurement and assessment of a person's capacity to achieve and fail against formalised societal/governmental standards (Broadfoot 1996). In doing this, school also provides a framework for identifying those 'at-risk' of not becoming the adult good citizen. The Australian government recently defined 'at-risk' students as 'those who are likely to fail, drop out or not successfully complete school or its equivalent, and consequently are unlikely to possess sufficient skills or qualifications to *acquire well paid secure employment* or become *integrated into an accepted pattern of social responsibility*' (DETYA 2001, p. 22, my emphasis). Those two schooling outcomes would

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<sup>2</sup> Hidden curriculum is described as 'the complex of practices and values embodied in school life is such a way that they are taught informally or indirectly in a powerful, if unconscious, way' (Symes & Preston 1997, p. 43).

be described as the defining characteristics of the good citizen as I discussed in Chapter One. Some 25 years ago, the Australian Royal Commission on Human Relationships sought to 'explore the reality of contemporary life brought about by the rapid technological and social change and identify areas where social structures lagged behind social need' (Deveson 1978, p. 4).<sup>3</sup> The then at-risk populations were identified as 'women, Aboriginals, migrants and the handicapped'. These groups reflect an otherness, different from the heroic citizen of Chapter One as the 'irrational', ugly bodies described by Young (1990) in Chapter Two. These populations are described as at-risk based on a model of social deficiency; that is, they are deficient when compared to the model of 'not-at-risk', rational, Anglo-Celtic European, able-bodied, heterosexual, hegemonic masculinity (Marginson 1997). The design of the heroic and healthy citizen establishes standards for all people to be measured against, including those supposedly advantaged by their gender and able-bodied state.

### **Different bodies for different purposes**

Schools are of obvious importance in shaping among pupils particular orientations to their bodies, and viewing the body as a form of physical capital highlights the possibility that formal education is involved in the production of corporeal inequalities. Schools may not only be involved in processes which lead to social inequalities in the acquisition of qualifications, they might also be involved in bestowing on pupils different quantities and qualities of physical capital. (Shilling 1993, pp 57-58)

I briefly touched on Bourdieu's notions of *habitus*, forms of capital and *body hexis* in the previous chapter and noted that these are not theories that have been widely taken up in the domains of health education and promotion. But in terms of schooling, *habitus* has been pivotal in describing class distinctions and hierarchism embedded in the processes of formal education, despite criticisms of Bourdieu and Passeron's seminal text, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (1990), for its structuralism, exclusion of resistance, and lack of recognition of gender.

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<sup>3</sup> The Royal Commission's 511 recommendations have a focus on the provision of 'education' as the answer to many of the problems despite education and schools being identified as part of the problem (Deveson 1978).

The ideas of capital, social reproduction and schools as places of legitimation of hegemonic culture have been influential in analyses of schooling from the 1970s onwards (Apple 1979, McCall 1992, Giroux 2001, Science Humaines 2002). In the context of the embodied citizen, an equally important aspect of Bourdieu's later work is his analysis of class-related physical distinctions, not only through the choices of sporting activities, but the sorts of bodies and body techniques valued by different social classes and why these are privileged (Bourdieu 1978, Clément et al. 1994, Laberge 1995).

[T]he different social classes do not agree as to the effects expected from bodily exercise, whether on the outside of the body (bodily hexis), such as the visible strength of prominent muscles which some prefer or the elegance, ease and beauty favoured by others, or inside the body, health, mental equilibrium, etc. In other words, the class variations in these practices derive not only from the variations in the factors which make it possible or impossible to meet their *economic or cultural costs*, but also from the *variations in the perception and appreciation of the immediate or deferred profits* accruing from the different sporting practices. (Bourdieu 1978, p. 835, original emphasis)

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) describe the school as a reproducer of social inequalities based on students' social, cultural and economic capital. In the case of physical education, the student's forms of capital equally construct the student's *habitus*, their physical being and choice of physical activities (Bourdieu 1978). The *symbolic violence* of the school is enacted through the assessment process, hidden curriculum, and other actions that are given 'authority' by the power relations that the school holds in measuring a student's worth. The school structures social experiences that reproduce dispositions that mark students as aberrant (Apple 1979, Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). While Dortier (2002) suggests that symbolic violence is intended to brand souls and not bodies, I would argue that the corporeal disciplining of school as manifested through discourses of physical behaviour and embodied practices is intended to mark both.

Bourdieu's anthropological work in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) describes a civilising process in which pedagogical work consists of replacing the 'savage body' for a 'regulated body'. Bourdieu (1977, p. 196), writes that 'schools attach great value to the most insignificant details of

appearance; posture, deportment, the physical and verbal manners. The whole strategy of teaching reason resides precisely in the fact of extorting the essential under the appearance of insisting on the insignificant’.

Physical education curriculum encompasses both the formal ideologies (as structured sets of beliefs and practices) and discourses (as less formal acknowledged ideas and practices) related to bodies, constructs of fitness, and values placed on certain forms of physical activity (Tinning 1990, Kirk 1992). In theory, the curriculum of physical education assumes all bodies can be equal (Kirk 1992). However, physical education in practice, described by Evans and Penney (2002) below, has been demonstrated to be very unequal, for example, in the valuing of masculinities and femininities, able-bodied and disabled, mesomorphic and ectomorphic body types (Tinning 1990, Kirk 1992, Kirk & Tinning 1994, DAVISSE & LOUVEAU 1998, Wright 1998, Kirk 2000, Martino & Pallota-Chiaroli 2003).

[I]n many schools, organisational concerns continue to co-mingle with deep-seated stereotypical, ideological and cultural values to produce sex-differentiated curricula and single sex grouping, particularly in games. The experiences that girls and boys receive in physical education are likely to reinforce stereotypical images, attitudes and behaviours, relating amongst other things, to how they should feel about their own and other’s bodies, who can legitimately participate in what physical activities, when and why. (Evans & Penney 2002, p. 4)

Likewise physical education and sport are not solely about physical activity, but intermingle essential judgements of character and moral values through seemingly insignificant corporeal aspects of *habitus*. Physical education establishes the possibility of being assessed as corporeally at-risk, using a model of social deficiency that Evans and Davies (2004) describe in Bernsteinian terms as ‘perfection modes’. The body is assumed to be ‘imperfect’, ‘unfinished’, ‘threatened’ and in need of ‘changing’ due to health (see for example Tinning & Kirk 1991), class (Shilling 1993), physique (Tinning 1990) or gender (Wright 1995, DAVISSE & LOUVEAU 1998). Wilding describes an example of physical deficiency in terms of masculinity determined in his eyes by school practices:



I blame it all on the school. Most of it, anyway. I know the issue is not apportioning blame but coming to terms with my physical self. But my physical self was a poor terrified thing and for that I blame the school with its regimen of gym and organized games. I was hopeless at all of it. And being hopeless at gym and games and being told and made constantly aware of how hopeless I was, the only recourse was to reject the failures of the body and live in the head. [...] it was not easy being brought up to be a man in those days. The gym was a site of terror and humiliation. (Wilding 2004, p. 238)

While some physical education practitioners have been actively attempting to change the meaning of physical education in the school environment, as Evans and Penney (2002) describe, physical education as a discipline has struggled to address the overt and hidden aspects of its discursive regimes in any great depth. Many of the professional tensions in physical education relate to the marrying of pedagogical specialisation, theoretical knowledge, and cultural practices. What was once the province of military trainers shouting commands of 'bend knees and arms' has become the domain of teaching specialists armed with technocratic scientific knowledge (Tinning 1990). Despite the increasing complexity and pedagogies of physical education, my argument is that its political purposes have been and continue to be used to control unruly and resistant citizen bodies and evoke an obedient, embodied, classed citizen (Wright & O'Flynn 2006).

L'EPS et le sport scolaire contribuent à la rénovation du système éducatif, à la lutte contre l'échec scolaire et à la réduction des inégalités sociales et culturelles. Elle dispense à tous les élèves, sans distinctions, les savoirs et savoir-faire fondamentaux constitutifs d'une culture commune. Elle contribue à développer la personnalité, la socialisation et, s'appuyant sur une éducation à la responsabilité, à acquérir les repères nécessaires à l'exercice de la citoyenneté. (Décret du 29 mai 1996 cited in Moncelli 2000, p. 164)

*Physical education and school sport contribute to the reform of the education system, to the battle against failure in schooling and to reducing social and cultural inequalities. It provides to all students, without differentiation, the knowledge and fundamental know-how which constitutes a common culture. It contributes to developing personality, socialisation and, relying on the support of an education in responsibility, to acquiring the necessary markers to exercise citizenship.*

Despite the claim to non-differentiation in the physical education curriculum in the above quote, physical education has throughout time been driven by a variety of motivations to act on different bodies in different ways. Like the earlier purposes of schooling, education and its corporeal regulation and

disciplining will make for more effective, efficient and classed citizens (Wright 1996, Andrieu 1998, Gleyse 1999, Moncelli 2000, Tinning & Glasby 2002).

The school aims at giving to its pupils the moral and physical training and the mental equipment by which they may qualify themselves to meet the demands of adult life with respect to themselves, the family, society and the State. By its influence upon character it should cultivate habits of thought and action that will contribute both to successful work and to upright conduct, and, by the kind of instruction it imparts, it should prepare the pupils for taking up the practical duties of life and give them tastes and interests that will lead to activities beneficial both to themselves and to the community. (NSW Dept of Public Instruction 1905 in Turney 1975, p. 232)

While physical education curriculum and teacher training have become increasingly oriented towards the sciences, particularly human movement science, often the language and outcomes elaborated in both the Australian and French curricula as seen above, describe an embodied citizen based on moral ideologies (Kirk 1998). These ideologies bear little semblance to science, rather they reproduce historical ideals and embodied values that can be traced back through time from Christianity to Ancient Greece.

Much of the ideology of physical education makes distinctions between students based on their *habitus* by drawing on discourses of health, fitness and sport. Kirk (2004) argues that the early rigid militaristic programming and aims of physical education have evolved to more modern 'looser' forms of power in line with the at-risk individualisation that is occurring in society (see Beck 1992, Beck & Beck Gersheim 2002). And yet the cultural and social structures of society continue to (re)produce gender and class differentiated applications of physical education (Wright 1996, Penney 2002, Evans et al. 2004). In this way, physical education is a prime example of the tension between the diffusive network of modern power acting on all embodied citizens and the need to differentiate between different types of embodied citizens.

In similar fashion to citizenship (as outlined in Chapter One), formal education was taken up strongly with the emergence of nation-states and increasing populations. As discussed in the following pages, schools,

particularly schooling for the masses, become one of the fundamental institutions and shared spaces for communities to construct citizens and develop 'embodied citizens'.

### **Establishing formal education: Free, compulsory and secular**

Compulsory schooling is strongly aligned with the evolution of the nation-state and nationalism, and as such I will be focusing on three broad chronological phases in education for France and Australia. The first period coincides with a period of intense nation-building that includes the establishment of compulsory education and the prestige of secondary education from the late 1880s to the Second World War. This is followed by the massification of education in the 1960s and 1970s, which in turn coincides with a period of economic prosperity and political stability but also social unrest and changing expectations. The third period is from the 1980s to the turn of the new millennium. This is the beginning of changing economies and societies, as evinced by neo-liberalism, globalisation and the ensuing crises of national identity. There are corresponding evolutions of physical education within these three periods in which the histories of physical education are an interweaving of competing and complementary discourses of health and performance, the moral and the medical, with the population needs of governments (Andrieu 1998, Wright 2000).

At first glance France and Australia share similar broad historical developments in education and schooling, despite differences in the political details.<sup>4</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century both nations initiated state-provided education with the determination that schooling would be 'free, compulsory and secular' (Lelièvre 2000, Meadmore 2001). Formal education in France was intended to create Frenchmen, not only in spirit but in common language. Unlike Australia which had the benefit of being monolingual,<sup>5</sup> French educators' primary task from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards was to teach the national language to a populace that spoke numerous dialects and

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<sup>4</sup> For example, one difference was the French determination to separate the traditions of Catholicism and the Jesuit history of teaching for secular state education, and for Australia a wresting away of the early historical position of a dominant Anglican schooling system for the landed gentry (Barcan 1988, Albertini 1992, Meadmore 2001).

<sup>5</sup> I recognise that the Indigenous peoples of Australia had their own languages, but these were not encouraged or acknowledged in any formal sense by state and national governments.

patois languages, in order to create a shared national space (Weber 1976, Lelièvre 2000). As centralised government became more pervasive in terms of day to day living, for example, through its implementation of a uniform metric currency, military service, and market systems for goods and services, education also became more relevant and useful for people in the regions as the ability to speak a common language became necessary. Enforced schooling also became strongly associated with 'improved behaviour and morality and cleanliness', as Weber describes:

Official reports couple poor education with rude, brutal ways. Where schooling did not take hold, "ways are coarse, characters are violent, excitable and hotheaded, troubles and brawls are frequent." The school was supposed to improve manners and customs, and soothe the savage beast. The polite forms it inculcated "softened the savagery and harshness natural to peasants." [...] Schools set out "to modify the bodily habits and cleanliness, social and domestic manners, and the way of looking at things and judging them." [...] Children were taught that propriety prohibited either manifestation [farting and burping]; and also that cleanliness was an essential part of wisdom. (Weber 1976, pp 329-330)

Many of these early corporeal-related teachings combined Christian morality with embodiment and hygiene. Examples include learning tenets such as 'cold baths are dangerous, labor abuses the body less than pleasure, tobacco is a poison, living to excess is selfish' (Weber 1976, p. 330).

Nineteenth century compulsory education marks a point where the divergence in educational goals becomes clearer (Dornbusch et al. 1996). The intent of schooling for the working class and rural communities was different to that offered to the urban and bourgeois/middle class communities. The compulsory schooling that the French view with pride was for all intents only primary schooling intended to bring regional and rural communities into a shared secular space of the 'one and indivisible Republic' (Lelièvre 2000). Meanwhile for urban middle class communities, secondary education through the *lycées* was the opportunity to achieve great things. Margaret Archer describes Napoléon's pragmatic regard for education as having:

[T]wo overriding aims of bringing about efficiency in the State and stability in society. [However], this could not be brought about by treating unequals equally. As the inculcation of useful skills was to be the supreme end of instruction, and as the State required only small numbers of trained individuals,

any extension of training to the masses would be economically wasteful and socially dangerous. (Archer 1992, p. 183)

The earlier Revolutionary declaration of individuals' right to universal instruction came into conflict with the needs of the State regarding the amount and content of education for the French people. The key issues for Napoléon were for the State to control higher education (including secondary education) and control who could teach what.<sup>6</sup> This centralisation of control, established in 1808 as the 'Imperial University'<sup>7</sup> remains a feature of current French education. Other important initiatives were the establishment of the *lycées* (State secondary schools) and the *baccalauréat* (degree awarded for the completion of secondary studies and required for entrance into higher education). The nature of French education, its reputation for meritocracy through examination (*concours*), and greater employability through institutional elitism, began during the Napoléonic era (Coq 2001).<sup>8</sup> Actions undertaken following the French revolution and during the Napoléonic era established two practices: firstly, formal education as a social control mechanism; and secondly, educational reform as a response to social unrest and revolution.

Other legislative milestones in French education include François Guizot's centralisation of compulsory primary education in 1833, and Jules Ferry's separation of church and state for education in 1882-1886 (Albertini 1992, Lelièvre 2000). Guizot, a liberal Minister of Public Instruction, centralised primary education to create a 'teaching corporation' to develop a stable national public education.<sup>9</sup> The extension of the primary schooling through the *écoles primaires supérieures* made it possible for the working class to have access to further education, predominantly vocational training. This

<sup>6</sup> This is an important historical artefact of the many government and monarchs' conflicts with the teachings of religious orders, in particular the Jesuits.

<sup>7</sup> The Imperial University is a term which incorporates the different educational institutions, from secondary to tertiary that were established by Napoléon during 1806-1808 (Lelièvre 2000).

<sup>8</sup> The *Ecole Normale* (training establishment for civil servants) was established under Napoléon. A similar initiative was implemented by Charles de Gaulle in 1945 when he established the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* (ENA). This school has become legendary in France for its prestigious employment outcomes and very powerful network of graduates (*les énarques*). The elite nature of these *Grandes Ecoles* was the subject of Bourdieu's text, *The State Nobility* (1996). There have been recent attempts to break the bureaucracy prestige of the ENA graduates (see for example *Le Figaro* 19-20 October 2002).

<sup>9</sup> The Guizot changes were a response to the turbulent times and insurrections of the early 1830s which also saw the abdication of Charles X and the installation of Louis-Phillip as a 'citizen monarch'. Charles X abdicated in July 1830 after three days of rioting known in French history as *Les Trois Glorieuses*. There

reform was intended to pacify the demands of the lower middle classes and manual workers that their children receive more education, but it also established the dualistic system of streaming students into vocational secondary versus classical secondary education (Archer 1992, Albertini 1992).

This period of educational reform under Jules Ferry is described by Emin and Esquieu (2001, pp. 83-84) as an 'almost mythical epoch' in which the phrase 'free, compulsory and secular schooling' became part of the French Republican framework. But more importantly, the role of teachers as '*hussards de la République*' [soldiers of the Republic] was cemented into place in 1889 as they were to be employed and paid by the State from then onwards. Later reforms undertaken during Jules Ferry's term as Minister of Education were intended to fortify the Republican ideals of schooling. However, these reforms also reinforced differentiated schooling (Émin & Esquieu 2001). Free primary schooling was for the children of the masses, with an emphasis on vocational training. Meanwhile secondary schooling and the more prestigious academic streams were for the children of the bourgeois, with less than four percent of primary school children in 1900 continuing onto secondary schooling.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, educational social reform movements emerged with changes brought about by industrialisation and a need for skilled labour. These were also linked with social evolutionary arguments regarding the danger of the 'lumpenproletariat' and the degeneration of societies. Education was seen an opportunity to socialise the masses to be functional and obedient by supplementing or replacing the roles that family and the churches had played in earlier times (Bowles 1983). In a similar vein, Australian education was affected by social reformists who believed that Australia—as a new country without the traditions of aristocracy and class hierarchies—could use education for the masses as an opportunity to build a more egalitarian society (Barcan 1980, Meadmore 2001).

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were further riots and uprisings by particular trades in 1831. There were also outbreaks of cholera in 1832 which lead to further disgruntled worker populations (Knapton 1971).

This is with us not a question of sentiment but of political wisdom and prudence. The humbler classes for whose education we are contending may contribute largely to the ranks of the wealth, on which will ever devolve the direction of public affairs...Under these circumstances, is imperatively demanded and cannot be withheld without risking the welfare of the State. For what can be more dangerous than the influence which must be exerted by ignorance when combined with wealth? It is therefore evident that such education as is thought amply sufficient for the working classes in the old countries where men rarely change their social positions, will not do for Australia. (James Rutledge 1855, quoted in Barcan 1988, p. 75).

Despite Rutledge's good intentions and the smaller scale of Australian society, class stratifications still existed or were reproduced through education. These was particularly effected by the schisms between state-provided schooling and various private denominational schools. Schooling in Australia was never a clean slate as the traditions of the motherlands of English, Irish and Scottish immigrants would be transplanted in the new colony, albeit grafted to local conditions. Barcan describes the nexus between religion, class, ethnicity and education in Australia as one in which:

Catholics tended to be Irish, lower class and poorly educated, Presbyterians tended to be skilled artisans, merchants or pastoralists, Scottish and supporters of functional (commercial-scientific) education but also of higher education. Catholicism fostered teaching orders, Presbyterianism high schools and commercial academies. (Barcan 1988, p. 409)

In the majority of Australian states there was a utilitarian attention to vocational training in response to industrial needs and economic influences. While the differentiation of types of education in Australia was not as clearly delineated as it was in France, there was a consistent questioning of the type of education that should be provided for different kinds of student (Foster & Harman 1992, Meadmore 2001).

A more complex aspect of Australian education is the historical divisions of education provision between church and state and federal governments. Efficiency of school delivery over large geographic areas meant that state governments often left the responsibility for education to the churches. While on occasions some states did deny funding to church run schools (see Barcan 1980 and Meadmore 2001), there was never the equivalent

outright banning of church-run schools that occurred in France. This difference is reflected in the current positions of government schools and private schools in France and Australia. The elite schools in Australia have a tradition of being the older Anglican (formerly Church of England) grammar schools or Catholic-church schools.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile in France, the elite schools are those established during the Napoléonic era, and tend to be state-funded schools, for example, Lycée Louis le Grand in Paris. French private schools, the majority of which are aligned with the Catholic Church, are often used for academic security when the student is in danger of being relegated (*redoublement*)<sup>11</sup> or the family is zoned to a school with a poor reputation (Teese 1989, Broccolichi & van Zanten 2000).

By the 1960s, the significant historical influences in Australian education listed by Foster and Harman (1992), could be described as remarkably similar to those of the French system: the passing of *Education Acts* to establish mass education; comprehensive education systems from primary school to higher education; a high degree of centralisation in organisation and administration; an acceptance of a dual education system, private and government; and an increasingly specialised teaching training.<sup>12</sup> Both systems also carried historical signifiers of educational prestige, for example the *École Normale* or Geelong Grammar School, and at the end of the 1950s, still less than half of all students completed secondary school with even fewer continuing on to higher education.

### **Exponential growth, revolution and reaction**

France and Australia had constructed equally mythical cultures of education whether an ideology of Republican schooling or of individual cultivation and meritocracy (Foster & Harman 1992, Marginson 1997, Boudon et al. 2001, Meadmore 2001). The post-war population boom and economic prosperity

<sup>10</sup> There were, however, quite major differences within Australia with regard to the funding of religious schools and free education. Queensland implemented free, compulsory and secular education in 1875, while New South Wales gave generous funding and land grants to church-run schools and charged fees for attending school until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile in Victoria, school fees were charged for 'extras' to the schedule of subjects and the state did not fund church-based schools (Meadmore 2001).

<sup>11</sup> *Redoublement* is when a student repeats a class. This is common practice in France (Broadfoot & Osborne 1993). Repeating a year is disproportionately experienced by students from more disadvantaged backgrounds, particularly those with French as their second language (Duru-Bellat 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Under the *Loi Debré* passed 31 December 1959, French private schools could opt to take up a government contract to provide state education (Albertini 1992). The centralisation in the Australian case is a state-based centralisation whereas in the French case, it is national centralisation.



for both nations in the 1950s and 1960s would have a profound effect on education and teaching. The first and foremost effect came about through a significant increase in the student population (see **Figure 3.1**).

**Figure 3.1: Participation in Year 12 in Australia and the Baccalauréat in France**<sup>13</sup>

The second key phase in education for France and Australia was the 'massification' of education during the post-World War Two population boom and its ensuing impact on the politicisation of education. During the 1960s and 1970s, the student populations in secondary education doubled (see **Figure 3.1** above). This had an obvious impact for teacher demand and more recently in the 1980s and 1990s, led to a demand for higher education (Marginson 1997, Emin & Esquieu 2001). There were attempts at implementing educational reforms in France in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some aspects of these were successful, such as the extension of the leaving age to 16 years in 1959 and the formalisation of the primary school to *collège* to *lycée* pathway (Ministère de l'Education Nationale (MEN) 2001a). The impact of these policies meant that in a very short period of time an additional 3 million students stayed on at school beyond the ages of 15 and 16. From 6.5 million students in 1950, French schools had 10 million students in 1960 and 13 million by 1970 (Emin & Esquieu 2001). Similarly, in Australia, a post-war boom in population meant by 1975 the population had increased by 51 percent and enrolments in education had doubled (Marginson 1997).

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<sup>13</sup> Figures are drawn from OECD 1996, Marginson 1997, OECD 2003. The baccalauréat has a very strong symbolic value in France. Every student who completes the baccalauréat gains the right to enrol in university, guaranteed by the French government to have at least the opportunity to study whatever the student would like (Solau 1995).

This kind of exponential growth did not occur without problems, from the provision of facilities to sufficient numbers of qualified teachers. A formidable example of the politicisation of education during this period was the May 1968 revolution in France. One specific problem for the French education system is a guarantee of university entry to every *bachelier* (person who passes the baccalauréat). Following the almost doubling of *bacheliers* between 1950 and 1960, the overcrowding on university campuses led to serious discontent that erupted into a massive student protest in May 1968 (Albertini 1992). The protests and campus occupations expanded to a national revolt and included an estimated 10 million workers going out on strike.<sup>14</sup>

While there were no events of similar magnitude in Australia, Barcan (1988) described Australian education during these decades of change as struggling with confusion and ambiguity, trying to find the balance between traditional educational excellence and a concern for the individual. As with the French situation, there was also a rise in teacher unionism and strike action in Australia during the 1960s and 1970s (Foster & Harman 1992). There would be 'revolutions' of a kind but more in relation to the curriculum and teaching in classrooms (D'Cruz & Langford 1989, Foster & Harman 1992). Decades of exponential growth were fundamental in forcing a questioning of the equality and meritocracy of education and a desire by many to examine and change the inequalities of students' experiences and outcomes of schooling (Apple 1979, Symes & Preston 1997, Duru-Bellat 2000, Thélot & Vallet 2000, Boudon et al. 2001, Giroux 2001, Meirieu & Le Bars 2001).

### **Beyond the 1980s and the commodification of education**

The results of recent changes within education can be conveniently grouped under four headings: efficiency, market orientation, direct state control; instrumentalism, leading to the removal of education from civil society. [...] Governments are attempting in all areas of their activity, including education, to turn some operations over to the market to make them more efficient and to subject those that remain within the state sector to more direct central control with the aim of increasing efficiency. (D'Cruz & Langford 1989, pp. xiii-xiv)

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<sup>14</sup> These events also influenced academics like Bourdieu and Foucault and others who saw it as an opportunity to shake up conservative government, break-down entrenched elitism and change the expanding gulf between the well-off and the workers (Miller 1993, Sciences Humaines 2002).

During the third phase of education (1980s and beyond) there was a divergence in French and Australian educational reforms. Despite both nations being governed by relatively socialist-leftist governments, the responses to teaching demands and educational reforms were very different.<sup>15</sup> In 1981, socialist François Mitterand was elected president of France after 23 years of conservative centre-right governments. This heralded an exciting period for educationalists and the teachers' unions (see Corbett & Moon 1996). Meanwhile in the Australian environment, as described by D'Cruz and Langford (1989), there was a neo-liberal shift to market orientation and managerialism for the education sector, including self-governing schools, corporate sponsorship and encouragement for schools to market themselves. This has been referred to as the 'commodification of education', a phrase that, in its more negative sense, serves a notion of the expanding middle class purchasing educational elitism and encouraging ideas of 'value-added' education (Marginson 1997, Kenway & Bullen 2001). In the context of the school timetable and resourcing, the commodifiable nature of education has meant that subjects increasingly compete for relevance, importance, or more simply justification, for their existence in a crowded learning environment. This is particularly relevant in the case of physical education, which has struggled to find a secure place in the school framework (Andrieu 1993, Thomas 2000, Gard & Wright 2002).

While much of this commodification of education appears to be an Anglophone cultural development, there are similar reforms underway in the French education system (Bourdoncle & Robert 2000). Changes to the French education system only happen after difficult and lengthy political negotiations (see Corbett & Moon 1996). For example, de-centralisation of school management is happening but not necessarily quickly (MEN 2001).<sup>16</sup> France struggles to implement changes to the school system because of a national culture and society that place an extraordinarily high value on the traditions and principles of the Republican education ideologies (Ballion 1996, Corbett & Moon 1996).

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<sup>15</sup> During the 1980s in Australia, there was a Federal Liberal-National government from 1975-1983, then a Labor government from 1983-1995. However at the NSW state level, the government in power was the reverse, Labor from 1976-1988, then Liberal from 1988 to 1995.

### ***Education pour tous - Education for all***

Despite school and curriculum reforms, the questions asked in France during the 1960s and 1970s remain. Agnes van Zanten (2000, p. 4) sums it up in one: 'Have all these changes helped reduce social inequalities?'. While she replies that there is a strong basis for pessimism, there have also been hopeful signs—improvements in results for disadvantaged students, a greater willingness for political debate and decisions to make changes. The questions in Australia are very similar as Marks et al. (2004) ask:

Should educational outcomes only reflect ability and effort, or are concepts such as 'ability', 'merit', or even 'effort' too contentious to be considered? Should all students complete school or is it more important for school leavers to gain secure full-time employment? What policies should be implemented to reduce socio-economic inequalities in education? Should indigenous and minority students have similar educational outcomes to non-indigenous students or should higher priority be given to a culturally appropriate education? Should policies be implemented to improve the educational and labour market outcomes of boys? (Marks et al. 2004, no page numbers)

Much of the debate is based on a belief that education should be provided by the state as equal opportunity for all students. Yet this has never been the reality. In the short timeframe of some forty years, public expectations of schooling and education have multiplied exponentially. In many ways these expectations are underpinned by the 'myths' of education that continue to be expounded by governments, exemplified by recent legislation to ban religious symbols in schools in order to maintain the secular nature of the French Republic (see Limage 2000) and as President Chirac expounds below:

L'école est au premier chef le lieu d'acquisition et de transmission des valeurs que nous avons en partage. L'instrument par excellence d'enracinement de l'idée républicaine. L'espace où l'on forme les citoyens de demain à la critique, au dialogue, à la liberté. Où on leur donne les clés pour s'épanouir et maîtriser leur destin. Où chacun se voit ouvrir un horizon plus large.

L'école est un sanctuaire républicain que nous devons défendre, pour préserver l'égalité devant l'acquisition des valeurs et du savoir, l'égalité entre les filles et les garçons, la mixité de tous les enseignements, et notamment du sport. (Chirac 2003)

*School is the first chief place for the acquisition and transmission of the values that we share. School is the instrument of excellence for the embedding of the Republican idea,*

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<sup>16</sup> See *Journal of Educational Policy* 2000, Volume 15, No. 1 and *European Education* 2001, Vol. 33, No. 2 for collections of recent analyses of changes in French education.

*the space where we form tomorrow's citizens to the criticism and discussion of liberty, where we give them the keys to open up and master their destiny, where one can open up a larger horizon.*

*School is a republican sanctuary that we must defend to preserve equality before the acquisition of values and knowledge, equality between girls and boys, co-education of all teaching and notably of sport.*

Yet schooling opportunities for students consistently indicate that gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status have an impact on success and failure rates (Gilbert & Gilbert 1998, Duru-Bellat 2000). Education may be provided to all students equally (where equally means provision of same content, pedagogy, choices and subjects) but on the basis of students' abilities and efforts, education also determines differentiated school achievement.

### **Educating bodies in schools: PE in France and Australia**

From its inception, physical education has had the same goals as schooling in general: to develop an efficient, useful and obedient citizen (Hargreaves 1986). The benefits of compulsory education could be gained in productive bodies for the state, while the concept ideologically also responds to the notion of equality. Like the 19<sup>th</sup> century debate over what type of education should be provided to which kind of students, there were similar splits in the kind of physical education should be encouraged (Wright 1996, Kirk 2000). Children from all levels of society were to be educated and this was cause for concern amongst politicians, educators and medical practitioners. For example, the hygiene and health of students from working class families (particularly in terms of diseases such as tuberculosis) were a source of concern for a governing desiring a strong labour force and military service. These concerns were reiterated through the use of political discourses such as nationalism, militarism and capitalism to discipline different bodies for different purposes, as reflected in the language of physical education curriculum (Hargreaves 1986, Kirk 1998).

It should be noted at this point that there is a gap between the depth of academic historical analysis for French and Australian physical education. The historical documentation and ensuing research for French physical education is quite extensive (see, for example, the thematic bibliographies

in Andrieu 1993, Gleyse 1999, Revue EPS 2000). By comparison Australian physical education literature, in terms of histories and historical analysis, is notable for its scarcity.<sup>17</sup> This is not uncommon for Australian education research more generally, for two reasons: one pragmatic and the other more cultural. Australian educationalists have been preoccupied 'with establishing and running an efficient school system spread over a very large territory' and analysis has tended to be instrumentalist, with intellectual effort focused on making educational practices as efficient as possible (Crittenden 1987, p. 3). The second reason is that the French tradition of intellectualism encourages a depth of written works, historical and theoretical, on physical education that is also inextricably linked to the professionalisation of teaching in physical education resulting from the reforms undertaken during the Mitterrand years.<sup>18</sup>

For much of the historical work on French physical education, writers refer to three or four major periods of disciplinary focus for physical education, each with their own political and social contexts (Andrieu 1993, 1998, Gleyse 1999, Thomas 2000). These periods can be broadly described as the following: The military period (1870-1918), the medical period (1925-1958), and the 'sportification' era (from 1959 onwards).<sup>19</sup> The discourses in Australian physical education can be described as following a similar evolutionary pattern from the early militaristic gymnastics phase, including a later medical anthropometry phase and then moving into a games for fitness (primarily sport) period (see **Table 3.1**, Kirk 1993). I will be using three chronological periods: first the military period, followed by the sportification period and finally what I have termed the 'political empowerment' period.

<sup>17</sup> See Wright 1996 for similar comments. David Kirk has written a number of texts on the history of physical education in Australia, primarily based in the state of Victoria. Even in his bibliography, secondary texts and theses can be counted in single digits.

<sup>18</sup> Crittenden (1987, p. 3) adds a particularly Australian twist by noting 'a feature than inhibited systematic inquiry of any kind in [Australia]: the presence of a belligerent confidence that what we were doing in the name of education was not just reasonably good but better than anything else in the world'.

<sup>19</sup> It is not unusual that French academics are able to denote specific years to begin and end thematic eras, as an educational programme's period of influence in France can be determined by the years that it was 'governed' by a piece of legislation. French teachers at all levels of schooling are required to study the legislation related to schooling and every syllabus in France begins with the legislative act that enacted it.

**Table 3.1      Chronological overview of physical education (PE) in Australia and France<sup>20</sup>**

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<sup>20</sup> Drawn from Andrieu 1993, 1998, Kirk 1993, 1998, 2004, Wright 1996, Gleyse 1999, Piard 2000, Thomas 2000, MEN 2000, Tinning et al. 2001)

Divergences in the politics of physical education (and professional practices) for France and Australia emerged during the 1980s, as I will explain further on. In both contexts, the changes came about to better position physical education within the sector. With these divergences, the different cultural contexts of education and physical education become more apparent. Certain expectations of physical education are timeless, for example, over the years, physical education has been responsible for many social goals, based on re-appearing health and moral discourses. Andrieu (1998, p. 13) explains that over 80 years of French physical education, 'Hébert used physical education to virilise the military, Carton used it to strengthen tuberculosis-stricken youth, and Lagrange used physical education as a tool for socialisation'.<sup>21</sup> While there are some claims for physical education as a science, they often emerge as post hoc rationalisation and credentialism rather than a founding principle (Léziart 1996, Le Boulch 1998, cf Gleyse et al. 2002).

La légitimité de l'éducation physique et sportive ne naît pas avec des démarches scientifiques mais avec des pratiques. Ce sont des pratiques sociales qui l'ont fondée. Ce sont elles qui l'ont instituée comme discipline...L'éducation physique est d'abord un ensemble de tactiques pédagogiques appliquées aux pratiques corporelles. (Vigarello quoted in Léziart 1996, p. 59)

*The legitimacy of physical and sports education is not born through scientific reasoning but through practices. It was social practices which founded physical education and which instituted it as a discipline...Physical education is primarily a collection of pedagogical tactics applied to bodily practices.*

### ***Être fort pour être utile*** (Be strong in order to be useful)<sup>22</sup>

The earliest modern physical education in France and Australia, as outlined in **Table 3.1**, was first and foremost about the military, both in terms of practices and of teaching staff, who were usually military personnel (Kirk 1998, Andrieu 1998). In general, physical education was not strongly established as a school subject due to a lack of facilities and teachers. It was not until the late 1800s that physical education gained impetus as a French school subject through militaristic encouragement (Gleyse et al.

<sup>21</sup> Georges Hébert was a naval officer whose work initiated 'the natural method'. Paul Carton was a medical doctor who combined Hébert's work with a more medical approach. Fernand Lagrange was also a medical doctor who wrote a number of texts on physiology and physical exercises. He also was involved in the Ministerial committees designing physical education for schools (Thomas 2000, Gleyse et al. 2002).

<sup>22</sup> Hébert's motto for his natural method.



2002). In 1870, the French public and politicians were concerned for the strength and vitality of young French men. The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine became a powerful symbol for French revenge. Physical education became a means of training healthier young men as a ready source of military manpower (Weber 1971, Gleyse 1999, Arnaud 2000). The introduction of compulsory physical education in January 1880, initiated by Jules Ferry, is described by Arnaud (2000, p. 15) 'as a political act to unite Republican values by a pedagogy of integration reliant on disciplinary training of bodies'.

At this time physical education in France developed a more unusual history compared to French schooling in general by 'borrowing' or being influenced heavily by foreign educational innovations. Early French physical education borrowed heavily from the German gymnastics regime, *Turnen*, developed by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. Later, it incorporated Swedish gymnastics as developed by Per and Hjalmar Ling. These gymnastics were developed further by French academics and medical practitioners such as Phillippe Tissié and Georges Demeny. In parallel with physical exercises, the competitive team sport aspect of physical education was an 'English' development pushed along by personalities such as Pierre de Coubertin and Hippolyte Taine, who were influenced by their admiration for the achievements of the British and in particular the English public school system (Weber 1970, Arnaud 2000).

The problem with sport in France, according to Arnaud (2000), was its dualistic position in terms of education. On one hand, sport was accepted because it would teach control and self-mastery whereby rules and regulations were accepted and adhered to, and on the other hand, sport was a submission to constraints, rules imposed from external sources and an alienation from what was 'natural and free'. The early history of physical education in France contained a similar tension between a more 'native' culture of gymnastics and the 'invasion' of sport. For example, Pierre de Coubertin propagated organised English team sports and athletics, and in parallel, Pascal Grousset established the French Physical Education League to promote traditional French games and sports (Weber 1970). This

'competitive' positioning of rival 'schools' of intellectual thought and practices is a distinctive feature in the development of French physical education as a school discipline as Gilbert Andrieu explains:

De 1880 à 1941, l'éducation physique sera sous tutelle des militaires et des médecins qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec les physiologistes qui se comporteront bien plus en chercheurs qu'en maîtres à penser ou en pédagogues. Si les militaires gardent la maîtrise des contenus, nous dirions aujourd'hui de la dimension didactique de l'éducation physique, les physiologistes puis les hygiénistes et les médecins vont devenir peu à peu les maîtres d'un contrôle savant l'acte moteur, les seuls responsables d'une formation qui cherche dans les sciences les bases rationnelles d'un modelage des corps et des caractères. (Andrieu 1998, p. 9)

*Between 1880 to 1941, physical education came under the trusteeship of the military and the medical professional, who should not be mixed with the physiologists who acted more as researchers than thinkers or as teachers. If the military kept control of the curriculum, what we would call today the didactic dimension of physical education, the physiologists, then the health specialists and doctors would become, piece by piece, the masters of motor skills knowledge, taking responsibility for training which sought its rational basis in the sciences for modeling bodies and characters.*

Meanwhile in Australia, early physical education programmes were also strongly linked to the military through use of gymnastic drill and military teaching staff (Kirk 1998, see **Table 3.1**). During the 1920s and 1930s, physical education was influenced, in both France and Australia, by the Dano-Swedish schools of physical exercise which created opportunities for female-oriented, progressivist-based physical education of dances and rhythmical work. These influences diminished in the post-war era through the emerging domination of games, skills and sport (Andrieu 1993, Wright 1996). Concerns about the populace's lack of fitness were clearly associated with discussions around national defences.

The national consciousness has been awakened to a realisation of the great amount of physical unfitness, and to the individual and national consequences thereof. Unfitness cannot be lightly dismissed as due to heredity and slothfulness. Ways of living have become so changed that a conscious and enlightened direction is necessary for the maintenance of physical well-being. (NSW Dept of Education 1939 Physical Education Syllabus quoted in Spall 1982, p. 69)

Physical education's links to health, like the sedimentary layers of citizenship, are built upon the earliest premises of health benefits. At given points in history, based on the needs of the state, particular emphasis has been given to the 'health' outcomes of physical education. During the

lead-up to World War Two and into the 1950s, healthy lifestyle discourses were emerging from the health concerns for national populaces that started prior to World War One. These concerns had been voiced even earlier in France, with a direct impact on physical education through academics, such as Phillippe Tissié, Fernand Lagrange, George Hébert, who all, despite different approaches, linked health benefits with outdoor activities (Andrieu 1998). In Australia, health concerns were voiced as part of a nationalistic, eugenics-oriented concern for the national population. Officials realised that schools were an ideal site for public health interventions and undertook such practices as medical anthropometry (measuring bodies) in an attempt to 'normalise' bodies for national health purposes by acting on 'risk factors' (Kirk 1998).

The build-up to World War Two, as articulated in the 1939 syllabus cited above, was a catalyst in Australia for increased funding for physical education, teacher training, and a heightened emphasis on physical education within both the primary and secondary syllabi. However, it was a limited, short-term focus (Spall 1982). While colleges for physical educators were established during the 1940s, by 1948 physical education's importance had dissipated and the long-term problems of facilities and qualified teachers returned and remained in place well into the 1960s (Wright 1996). Meanwhile in France, the inter-war period was also a time of increasingly specialised training for physical educators. For example, in 1927, the Regional Institutes of Physical Education (IREPS) were established in France and attached to the *medical* faculties of universities. These institutes became sites for both teaching and research. This marked a distinct change in the disciplinary basis of physical education, and established a link between physical education and university level training (Andrieu 1998, Thomas 2000). It was not until 1975 with the creation of the *Sciences et Techniques des Activités Physiques et Sportives* (STAPS) stream at universities, then the STAPS *Unité de Formation et Recherche* (UFR), that physical education teaching and research achieved fuller academic recognition and integration.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Thomas (2000, p. 30) credits the increasing involvement of the French middle classes in physical education and their desire for the discipline to have greater social standing, for example, through the

France and Australia responded similarly to post-war educational expansion by instituting specialised training within higher education and by associating physical education with the more 'serious' scientific disciplines of human movement science and medicine (Wright 1996, Andrieu 1998). While some academics (see, for example, Tinning 1990 and Gleyse et al. 2002) present analyses of physical education as drawing on 'science', through the various articulations of a body as an engine, models of energy intake, muscles as levers, etc., science does not appear as an overt basis or desired outcome articulated for physical education. Yvon Léziart (1996) goes so far as to describe physical education as a practice driven by norms and values and therefore not 'scientific'. But he acknowledges that physical education has had to transform itself by integrating science and scientific processes and analyses. The need to transform has added to a sense of 'dysfunction' between the desire to be valued as a discipline in practice and in theory. The language of curriculum often reveals this dichotomy of purpose, using the terminology of physiology, yet mixed with the moral disciplining, as the following example from the Tasmanian Department of Education in 1910 reveals:

For physical culture the goal was not only to produce a perfect physical form by correcting faults and strengthening the heart, lungs and muscles, but in addition to assist in the acquisition of habits of discipline and order. Hence there should be provision for physical drill on 3 days per week and military drill on 2 days.  
(cited in Turney 1983, p. 40)

In a scientific rational world, the body could be described as an engine, albeit with the inclusion of behavioural and moral values unlike a car or train. The imagery of engines and mechanical models as a form of logic and language to describe bodies emerged in the new industrial age when the 'masses' could be dangerous, productive and/or useful (Gleyse et al. 2002). The prevailing assumption was that the engine could be improved through exercise and the mind and soul would follow. Bourdieu (1990, p. 167) describes this process of acquiring habits of discipline as a form of

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development of an *aggregation* for physical education teachers, as a key factor for physical education's inclusion in the university system. *Agrégation* is the highest qualification for teachers at secondary level and many lecturers at universities are also *agrégé*. It is an exam-based process that leads to almost guaranteed employment by the French government. It is an extremely competitive two stage process with written papers and then oral exams in the specialised field.

'domestication', with an emphasis that the organisations which placed such importance on bodily disciplines, did so on the basis that 'obedience is belief and belief is what the body grants even when the mind says no'.

### **The sportification of physical education**

Formal exercises are artificial, unrelated to life situations, and generally lacking in interest; they also completely ignore the very important influence that the emotions exert on the physical well-being of the individual. Enjoyment and enthusiasm are necessary if the exercise is to have a stimulating and beneficial effect. We therefore insist that every child has the right to play, and that this right must be restored to all children who have lost it. The only logical approach to this ideal is to adopt the method of providing physical education by teaching participation in games....Physical values aside, the spirit of the game is invaluable as a means for developing social and moral character. The boy who learns to "play the game" will be modest in victory and cheerful in defeat. Selfishness and cheating have no place in a properly conducted game, while cooperation, courage and self-confidence are developed... The aims of this system of physical education are that each individual shall be enabled to develop to his [sic] maximum potential and that each one shall acquire an interest in healthy activities throughout his adult life. (Victorian Dept of Education 1946 quoted in Kirk 1993, p. 49).

This statement from the Victorian physical education syllabus heralded a change in Australian physical education. The 'Grey Book', as it was known, introduced the notion of play to physical education. However, play was interpreted generally as 'sport', and in particular team-based sports (Kirk 1993). For the next fifty years, physical education would be conflated with sport, both to its detriment and to its saving grace. In the case of Australia, where sport is so fundamental to national identity as described in Chapter One (see also Duncan et al. 2004), when physical education was under threat as a school subject, its association with sport meant it could not be eliminated (Tinning 2005). For both nations, sport in the school context became an integral aspect of national identity. In the Australian context, physical education supported an emerging national identity, and in the French context, provided a means of modernising a stagnant identity.

In France, the legislated association with sport came about through the reign of Maurice Herzog during the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic.<sup>24</sup> The curriculum of *Education Physique et Sportive* (EPS), with its less 'traditional' physical education and greater emphasis on sport education, came into being during Herzog's time as High Commissioner of Youth and Sport. Andrieu (1998, p. 61) states unequivocally 'it was not the political rupture [of the 5<sup>th</sup> République] that impressed [the physical education teachers], but the pedagogic and teaching rupture in which the gym teacher becomes the sport teacher'.

[...] je voulais que le sport trouve sa place dans l'enseignement de l'éducation physique qui était distribué aux élèves. Je souhaitais que l'on parle d'éducation physique et sportive. Le sport, avec tout l'esprit que cela suppose, était, à mon sens, une vraie valeur avec des retombées tant au plan physique que moral chez les jeunes. Il fallait selon moi de trouver le juste équilibre entre l'éducation physique et le sport. [...] Le sport est important, certes, pour un meilleur développement physique mais je crois qu'il participe aussi au développement de tout un état d'esprit spécifique et bénéfique dans une éducation bien conçue, à un enrichissement de l'individu. (Maurice Herzog interview in EPS Revue 2000, p. 114).

*I wanted sport to find a place in the teaching of physical education which went out to the students. I wished us to talk about physical and sports education. Sport, with all the spirit that it holds, was, in my mind, a true value within the spin-off effects, more for the physical plan than the moral plan for youth. For me, we had to find the balance between physical education and sport. Sport is important, certainly, for a better physical development but I believe it also assists in the development, in everyone, of a specific and beneficial state of spirit, in a well conceived education, for an enrichment of the individual.*

From this point onwards the subject content of EPS had to adapt on two fronts: a scientific basis and an active socialisation through sport. The physical education teaching community thus had to come to terms with forming a more distinctive disciplinary identity and teaching outcomes. There were several important curriculum changes made during the Herzog's ten year tenure from 1957 to 1967. This included making physical education a compulsory subject for the baccalauréat and the former half day of 'outdoor' activities became the half day of sporting activities (Andrieu 1998). During this period the number of physical education teachers literally doubled from 6,800 to 13,300 between 1958 and 1966 (Thomas 2000).

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<sup>24</sup>Maurice Herzog stamped his own very strong individual perspective on the French physical education curriculum during his time as Commissioner for Sport and Youth. He was a noted mountain climber,

While others allude to this sportification of physical education during the 1960s (see Clément et al. 1994, Gleyse 1999, Piard 2000), there is limited analysis as to why this particular path was taken.<sup>25</sup> Piard (2000) talks more broadly about an ideological shift for education under the 1959 Langevin-Wallon plan. Its motto was '*l'enseignement de la société à l'école*' [the teaching of society at school]. Perhaps the increasing sports focus of physical education reflected the growth of participation in sport and spectatorship. More pragmatically, Andrieu (1998, p. 61) suggests sportification happened because 'there was little for physical education teachers to be nostalgic about and little desire to really investigate it. The physical education of old was simply boring and irrelevant to life'.

### Modernising nations

Following the Second World War, France underwent a fairly dramatic re-construction of identity during the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic under President Charles de Gaulle and physical education was another venue for this 'modernisation' of France (Jamet 1995). The French citizen needed to be more competitive and modern (Barthes 1957, Ross 1996). With the advent of television and other media, especially women's magazines, a new sense of the modern was created, not just involving technology but of look and attitude, *à l'américaine*, in which everything modern came from the USA (Kuisel 1993). In addition, the introduction of *les congés payés* (annual leave) in 1936 and improved working conditions as demanded by strong union organisations enabled more French people to undertake leisure activities (Clement et al. 1994). Part of the French search to be modern has been to look to North America for inspiration to renew a stultifying society (Ross 1996, Kuisel 1993, Midol & Broyer 1995). The 'whizz' or Californian sports, as the French call them, were and still are seen to challenge the older, more traditional, and in some cases, elite, sports and leisure activities, for example, snowboarding versus skiing and sailboarding versus sailing (Pociello 1995,

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having climbed Annapurna (K2) in 1950. His personal beliefs in the value of 'sport' for young people were very influential (Andrieu 1993, Andrieu 1998, Le Boulch 1998, Revue d'EPS 2000).

<sup>25</sup> While some of the explanations put forward for these were that the French struggled to be competitive in their performances at the 1960 Rome Olympic Games, the legislative changes had been introduced prior to the Games (Gleyse 1998, Piard 2000, Thomas 2000).

Midol & Broyer 1995). Pociello (1995) refers to this as a 'counter-culture' that responds to institutionalised organised sports.<sup>26</sup>

Academics from political scientists to historians and social commentators have all recognised the importance of sport to national identity in the Australian context (Alomes 1988, Mackay 1991, Whitlock & Carter 1992, Adams 2001, Duncan et al. 2004). Without the French Republican ideals to bind a nation of diverse cultural backgrounds, one discourse of sport is that it builds a community through a shared experience as well as contributing to the acceptance and integration of those who are different into the society (Moseley et al. 1997). In the aftermath of World War Two, Australia received an influx of migrants, some escaping a devastated Europe, others coming to take up the offer of work and a new life. The search for an Australian identity began in earnest with the shifting ethnic basis of the Australian population (Zappalà & Castles 1998). However, sport could also act as a marker of difference, as was the case of football in Australia (derogatorily named wogball) or the ethnic homogeneity of rugby and cricket. In recent times, sport as a form of integration has also been a feature of the French sporting scene (see Abdallah 2000, Fodimbi 2000).

### **The politics of empowerment: A divergence of cultures?**

During the 1980s, interesting decisions were taken that moved physical education in France and Australia down different pathways. In both cases, physical educators sought to empower physical education by using the cultural and political means at their disposal to guarantee its survival in an increasingly competitive educational market (Attali 2002, Tinning 2005). In France, physical education was to shift its focus to becoming a truly intellectual discipline by 'using scientific research and transforming its union positions' (Attali 2002, p. 96), while in Australia, physical education was to set its sights on being a truly 'useful' school subject by focusing on health and personal development to become health-based physical education (Tinning 1990, 2001, Kirk 2004). In effect, despite different pathways, the

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<sup>26</sup> It is interesting to note that *Le Monde* recently published a summer sports guide with the title 'The New Sporting France' in which the themes of outdoor activities were termed 'a major culture for revolution for French society'. *Le Monde*, 1-2 August 2004.



ultimate goal for physical educators in both countries was to become the respected equivalent of the other key school disciplines.

For France, with the election of François Mitterand to the presidency in 1981, legislation was passed to shift the responsibility for physical education from the Ministry of Youth and Sport to the Ministry of Education. This commitment, number 104 on a list of 110 election commitments for Mitterand, meant that physical education was to become the 'true' equivalent of any other school subject (Attali 2002).<sup>27</sup> This marks the beginning of a new 'academic' era for physical education in France, not only in the status of physical education at a school level, but in teacher education as well. Teacher training would now take place at mainstream higher education institutions, not in separate schools as had previously occurred. One of the distinct features of French physical education as compared to Australian physical education is its separate union, the *Syndicat national de l'éducation physique* (SNEP), maintained even after twenty years of being aligned with the Ministry of Education.<sup>28</sup>

Le Boulch (1998) emphasises that the shift in 1981 to being treated like other teaching disciplines meant that physical education had to adapt its didactical traditions and submit to contemporary pedagogical theories. As with the Australian adoption of human movement sciences, French physical educators took up various theoretical schools, from the psychology of learning, physiology of fundamental motor skills to the *didacticiens* and applied them to physical education and sport. Pedagogic and research work undertaken by French academics in physical education typically refers to various schools or individuals (Andrieu 1993, Collinet 2000, 2001, Thomas 2000). For example, Cécile Collinet writing about discourses of the body as an organism (*la totalité*) in physical education during the 1970s refers to the three most recognised contemporary French scholars—Jean Le Boulch,

<sup>27</sup> Equally important to the EPS being included in the baccalauréat, in 1983, EPS was given a coefficient of 2 (out of 20), the same as history, for students' baccalauréat scores. This is the zenith of EPS's official recognition, but this coefficient remains a contestable and fragile marker of acceptance.

<sup>28</sup> The historical separation of physical education from other teaching disciplines meant that it developed its own lobby groups and unions. SNEP originated in 1926 as the *Syndicat des professeurs* (Teachers' Union), an adjunct union to the very powerful *Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale* (FEN). The change of name from the Teachers' Union to SNEP came about in 1958 (Attali 2002).

Robert Mérand and Pierre Parlebas—as academics whose works reflect various schools of thought within physical education.<sup>29</sup>

Pour Le Boulch, il est nécessaire «de considérer le mouvement non pas comme une forme « en soi » dont la nature est élucidée par une description mécanique, mais comme une manifestation « significative » de la conduite d'un homme ». [...]

Dans les écrits de Parlebas, on trouve cette idée de *totalité* incarnée dans le concept de conduite motrice. La conduite motrice est définie par l'auteur comme l'organisation signifiante du comportement moteur, « la conduite motrice est le comportement moteur en tant qu'il est porteur de signification ». [...]

Robert Mérand s'appuie sur H. Wallon pour relier le mouvement et l'acte. Selon lui, le mouvement peut être ramené aux contractions musculaires qui permettent de le produire, au déplacement qui en résulte. Il se représente alors comme une abstraction physiologique ou mécanique. (Collinet 2000, pp 135-139)

*For Le Boulch, it is necessary « to consider movement not as a form in itself in which nature is explained by a mechanical description, but as a significant manifestation of the behaviour of a person ». [...]*

*In Parlebas' writings, we find this idea of 'totalité' typified in the concept of motor conduct. Motor behaviour is defined by the author as the significant organisation of motor behaviour, "motor behaviour is the performance of a motor as long as it is the bearer of signification". [...]*

*Robert Mérand relies on H. Wallon to connect movement and act. According to Mérand, movement can be reduced to muscle contractions which enable it to occur, for the displacement which results in it. So movement is imagined as an abstract physiological or mechanical idea. [...]*

The point here is not to highlight theoretical differences between various academics, but to note that the traditions of French intellectualism have been similarly adopted by physical educators in a way that does not occur in Australia for physical education. As mentioned previously, the analyses of Australian physical education history are much fewer than in the French environment and there are few references to individual academics' theoretical positions or schools of thought (see, for example, Kirk 1993, 1998, Wright 1996). The professionalisation of physical education as a discipline in France requires a certain intellectualism whereas in Australia,

<sup>29</sup> These three academics are the subject of numerous, complex, analyses beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is important to note that they are very important contributors to contemporary EPS in France. Their various positions have been key to the debates and counter-debates around various curriculum reforms between 1996 and 2000 (Léziart 1996, Bos & Amade-Escot 2004). For example, Le Boulch proposed an holistic approach to EPS, primarily using the term '*psychomotricité*' which could be translated as 'psycho-motor skills', while Robert Mérand can be considered in France, as Darryl Siedentop in the USA, a proponent of 'sport education' based on a model involving a theory of play and 'sport for children' rather than sport by children (see Mérand 2005).

the professionalisation would appear to be based on utilitarianism than intellectual depth.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Australia, like the French following World War Two, looked to the USA for inspiration. Similar to the inclusion of sport in French physical education, the introduction of health and personal development in NSW physical education came about through a network of key individuals. During the late 1970s, a small number of key Australian academics undertook graduate studies in the United States.<sup>30</sup> These academics were very influential in the development of NSW physical education curriculum for the next two decades (Hewitt interview 2003). In 1989, the NSW government published a report entitled 'Equity and Excellence' which established Personal Development, Health and Physical Education (PDHPE) as a subject area.

This Learning Area is concerned more directly than any other Key Learning Area with the development of the whole person: with physical, emotional, social, moral and spiritual development. It focuses strongly on the development of self-confidence, physical well-being, self-esteem, social and physical/motor skills, decision-making and values and attitudes. (NSW 1989, p. 49)

In this way the connection between mind, soul and body was made explicit in a curriculum. This development was a very prescient, judicious, politically responsive manoeuvre on the part of physical education in Australia. By incorporating health teaching and personal development and becoming a more flexible and diversified subject, physical education ensured its place in the school timetable (Gard & Wright 2001, Tinning & Glasby 2002).

Although travelling along divergent, yet parallel, paths, I would argue that in the new millennium curricula, French and Australian physical education programmes have come together with a singular focus on an embodied 'good citizen'. The good comes about from students' engagement with forms of active citizenship and desirable civic behaviours as espoused in the respective curricula. In the French context, students' comportment takes its lead from French Republican ideals, particularly in learning to live with each

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<sup>30</sup> In particular academics such as Mick Hatton and John Patterson, both of whom were involved in NSW curriculum development. This is an example of where there is very limited research written up regarding a key evolutionary stage in physical education curriculum (Interview with Paul Hewitt, NSW Board of Studies, 2003, and personal communication with Professor John Patterson, 2004).

other, while the Australian context focuses on a neo-liberal, individualistic and healthy good citizen who will be responsible for making the 'right' choices to look after themselves. These ideas will be explored in more detail in Chapter Four where I examine the aims, objectives and languages of current French and Australian curriculum documents.

### **Crises of physical education, empowerment of teachers**

Over the past decade, French and Australian researchers in physical education have talked about crises in physical education, by which they have meant not only crises of importance within the education system, but also crises of 'confidence' that whatever physical education means to teachers, students and society may be eroded by individualised and globalised cultures (Evans 1993, Fernandez-Balboa 1997, Andrieu 1998, Armour 1999, Gleyse 1999, Thomas 2000). Kirk (2004) suggests that problems for physical education may be the results of 'resistance' to corporeal disciplining:

School physical education and sport may be in crisis, at least in part because they represent a series of modernist bodily practices concerned with normalising and regulating children's bodies through methods and strategies which are perhaps already culturally obsolete [...] the cultural lag between physical education and sport programmes in schools and recent developments in popular physical culture suggest the existence of countervailing trends in the operation of corporeal regulation and normalisation. (Kirk 2004, pp 63-64)

A significant issue for physical education has been its 'importance' in the school context. Physical education draws on the 'sciences' to construct itself as a discipline, and this scientisation through human movement sciences may have encouraged greater credibility and status within the academic environment (Tinning 1990, Andrieu 1998, Piard 2000, Thomas 2000, Tinning et al. 2001). However, in competing for time and infrastructure, physical educators have had to define themselves and justify their specialisation in two culturally distinct ways. For the French physical education discipline, their professionalism comes through political professional status. That is, they establish themselves as credible teachers because they have completed the same intellectual processes that a teacher of any other discipline must pass (see Thomas 2000). French physical educators have equivalent standing to other teachers through training in the

teaching institutes (*Institut universitaire de formation de maîtres* [IUFM]) and taking doctorates in their subject. They have political standing through the baccalauréat process with physical education being compulsory and increasing the exam co-efficient. Despite these technical competencies, there is still a degree of angst within the profession, related to their status but also the inherent contradictions of their discipline as elaborated by Andrieu (1998) below regarding sport as an example of the failure of 'democracy and equality' in the school context.<sup>31</sup>

Tout au long du siècle nous avons vécu avec le sport à côté de l'école, rarement dedans, probablement parce que dans son essence le sport n'est pas démocratique. [...] La vie est une compétition, une compétition mondiale de plus en plus sévère, une véritable guerre économique et l'école d'y prépare pas. Elle ne prépare par non plus l'avènement d'une société de sages. Alors, il faut apprendre à se battre, comme dans l'Antiquité. Le sport est une école idéale pour forger des lutteurs, des athlètes, au sens grec du terme, des individus capables de faire face, des hommes d'action, des « va de l'avant » comme le dirait Pierre de Coubertin. Oui mais le sport est une école de vérité et si l'homme apprend à se dépasser, il apprend également à le faire dans la règle ce qui lui permet [...]. Que serait la culture d'un peuple sans ses sujets d'élite, ceux qui laisse des traces et que la masse récupère plus ou moins dans son désir de mieux vivre ? Que serait le sport sans ses champions ?

La discipline que nous enseignons est d'abord un objet politique ne l'oublions jamais. (Andrieu 1998, p. 147)

*Throughout this century, we have lived with sport alongside of school, rarely inside it, probably because, in its essence, sport is not democratic. [...] Life is a competition, a more and more difficult global competition, a veritable economic war and school does not prepare us for this. It also no longer prepares us for a future society of wise people. Thus we have to learn to defend ourselves, just as in Ancient Greek times. Sport is an ideal school to forge the fighters, the athletes, in the Greek meaning of the term, those individuals capable of facing up to things, the men of action, "those who go before" as Pierre de Coubertin would say. Yes but sport is a lesson in truth and if man learns to surpass himself, he learns to do it within the permitted rules. What would the culture of a people be without their elites, those who leave marks and the masses retrieve more or less in their desire for a better life? What would sport be without champions? The discipline that we teach is first and foremost a political object, do not ever forget it.*

Meanwhile in Australia, physical educators with a similar conflict of values for equality and democracy within schooling, despite the cultural importance of sport, have come to justify their position and role within schooling based

<sup>31</sup> Thomas (2000, p. 53) notes that public opinion says that physical education is indispensable to child development, but when asked to list subjects by their importance, physical education is usually at the bottom of the list along with music and art. The situation is fairly similar in Australia with the suggestion at a conference of education curriculum specialists in 2004 suggesting that physical education and home economics could be cut from the timetable (Hewitt interview 2004).

on all-encompassing health discourses (see Lupton 1999, Gard & Wright 2001, Tinning & Glasby 2002). In contrast to the French curriculum's lack of explicit health and personal development teaching, the Australian physical education discipline has become multi-tasked in response to perceived needs and the politics of youth health issues. The transition from regimented gymnastics to team sport to personal health development of the 'whole citizen' has been one of functional relevance in the school environment. Despite similar teacher training processes in Australia, increasing professional specialisation does not appear to have given Australian physical educators the same sense of value and esteem. In many ways the current curriculum and teacher training processes reflect not only current 'needs' but historical responses to social and political movements.

So at the end of the second millennium, similarities for French and Australian physical education can be described as follows: firstly, formal professional status through higher education processes and increasingly specialised knowledge drawing on the various sciences, whether pedagogical, human or physical; and secondly, a conflation of sport and physical education, more formally in the French case and more culturally in the Australian situation. The key difference is in the current political positioning of the discipline. In the French case, the historical nature of being separated from other teaching disciplines provided physical educators with a very strong union identity that served them well politically from 1981 and onwards. Meanwhile in Australia, political positioning has come through curriculum (and teachers) incorporating explicit health and personal development teaching and encompassing health outcomes through physical activity. It would appear auspicious that France and NSW entered the new millennium implementing physical education curricula reforms. There are a number of issues emerging from this historical analysis to be examined in more detail in the following chapters. The first discussion will be to analyse current curricula as a form of documented political ideologies drawing on various discourses of health and sport. The second theme to be drawn out is the dichotomy between educational theory and practice in the classroom setting, between the idealisation of sport and physical activity and the reality of practices in the classroom.

## **Part II Microcosms**

## Overview

My thesis has drawn on a variety of theoretical works and historical analyses to construct a framework for an embodied citizen. In the first two chapters, I focused on establishing the ‘how and why’ aspects of embodied citizenship, or more literally, the imagining and design by governments of an idealised corporeal citizen. These designs, explicit and implicit, overt and covert, have come about through institutional practices and networks of power, exemplified by health discourses, public health policies and health education as well as the discipline of education and the school. In the third chapter, I looked more specifically at how France and Australia, responding to the corporeal problematisation of populations, implemented physical education in schools. This involved discussing how government actions in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries drew on discourses of medicalised and moralised health and related attributes of character and comportment in responding to population changes and political events. Throughout these chapters, I have suggested that class and gender differentiation as well as cultural ideologies are fundamental to understanding designs of the heroic and the healthy citizens.

The second part of my thesis will further explore this construct of an embodied citizen through comparative case studies of physical education in France and Australia. The empirical work and analyses presented here provide opportunities to connect aspects of a grounded embodied citizenship as well as cultural differences and similarities in describing, constructing and teaching bodies to be good citizens. The two themes identified at the end of Chapter Three—curriculum as political ideology; and the place of teachers within their discipline and the wider context of the school—will form the basis of the following chapters.

### **Research strategies: Comparative education**

In terms of general theoretical issues, I am drawing on theories of comparative education (as compared to international education, see Broadfoot 2000), in particular, the works of comparativists such as Patricia Broadfoot and colleagues (Broadfoot 1993, Broadfoot & Osborne



1996, Alexander et al. 1999, Osborne et al. 2003). A key facet of comparative educationalists is a willingness to subject their analyses to caveats of cultural, social, religious, political and economic contexts (Alexander et al. 1999). Broadfoot (1999) talks about socio-cultural contexts defining the ways in which individuals make sense of their lives, because individuals construct their identities through mediated actions associated with power and authority. These contexts also provide the principles for schooling:

In particular they influence both the goals imposed on schools either through central directions or through consumer pressure. These expectations are in turn mediated through the particular organisational culture and ethos of the school to shape the environment in which individual learners develop a sense of themselves socially and intellectually. (Broadfoot 1999, p. 28)

In other words, when comparing education systems, it is crucial to never lose sight of the fact that education and schooling are influenced and constructed by all of the above, but simultaneously influence the same.

### **Research strategies: Ethnographic intent**

In terms of methodological issues, I am choosing to describe my thesis as 'ethnographic in intent'. Harry Wolcott (1987) defined ethnography by listing in simple terms what it is not limited to. Ethnographic research is not just a field technique, nor length of time in the field, nor simply good description, and nor is it created by gaining and maintaining rapport with subjects. Wolcott enlarges on these four non-measures to show how ethnography is all of the above drawn together to underpin descriptions and interpretations of cultural behaviour through observation, learning and reflection on cultural patterning. The key to understanding ethnography is that it creates itself by being not one simple measure. 'Method itself is not all that important', while 'organising and presenting the information explicitly-searching out the 'shoulds' and 'oughts', the ideals and realities, the satisfactions, contradictions and paradoxes-is the ethnographer's task' (Wolcott 1987, pp 54-55).

If measured by a single component of ethnography, for example, the 'unwritten consensus' that Wolcott mentions of spending 12 months in the

field, my thesis work would not comply. I carried out only short periods of fieldwork of three months in Australia and France, rather more akin to “‘jet ethnography’ (Lemert 1981) than ‘blitzkrieg ethnography’ (Wolcott 1987). However, Wolcott also argues that time itself is not the critical attribute when considered in the mix of techniques. In my case the fieldwork/ observation period was just one aspect of the data collected and research undertaken. The main reason for describing my work as ethnographic is the range of research activities undertaken to understand cultures of physical education. These include textual analysis, statistical data collection, informant interviews and observation, in similar fashion to the work of Broadfoot and Osborne (1993, 1996, 2003). I will also be using personal impressions as per the cross-cultural work of Osborne and colleagues (2003), in which the researchers were asked to make notes of their reactions to the infrastructure and atmosphere of the different schools each visited. As mentioned in the Introduction, I am not a trained teacher in either system and have similar limited personal experiences of French and Australian schooling. Unlike Broadfoot (1996) who assumes familiarity with the English education system and political context, I will write of the French and Australian systems assuming explanations will be necessary for both because I have had to come to understand both from an outsider’s perspective. Visiting a high school in Southern New South Wales has the same novelty of experience as visiting a high school in Southern France.

### **Research strategies: Social constructionist perspective**

Stephen Kemmis (1990, p. 82) writes that ‘curricula reveal how nations and states interpret themselves and how they want to be interpreted’. Thus the debates around curriculum are a mirror of the concerns and tensions between states, institutions and societal currents. Both France and New South Wales (NSW) have closed the 20<sup>th</sup> century reviewing their physical education curricula and began the 21<sup>st</sup> century implementing ‘new’ physical education curricula. In choosing to focus on curriculum as a key cultural theme for studying physical education, I draw on Ivor Goodson’s (1984, 1990) ‘histories and ethnographies’ analyses for curriculum, which he calls a social constructionist perspective. Goodson (1984, pp. 28-29) identifies three hypotheses of curriculum histories, which will serve as the themes for

Chapter Four. These hypotheses are that: firstly, 'a subject is not a monolithic entity but shifting amalgamations of sub-groups and traditions. These groups influence and change boundaries and priorities'. Secondly, as school subjects establish themselves as formal specialisations, through university training and curriculum development, the interest groups (teachers and subject experts) 'move from promoting pedagogic and utilitarian traditions towards academic tradition'. And thirdly, the debates around a curriculum can generally 'be interpreted in terms of conflict between subjects over status, resources and territory'.

Goodson (1984, 1990) strongly emphasises in his work that the textual analysis of curriculum is not enough. There is a need to understand the self-interest of the groups and sub-groups involved, such as teachers, as filters for curricula. The examination of solely the written curriculum will not provide information about the subject's place and meaning within the school environment or the teachers' understanding of these meanings.

The evidence indicates not so much domination by dominant forces as solicitous surrender by subordinate groups. Far from teacher socialization in dominant institutions being the major factor creating the patterns, it was much more considerations of teachers' material self-interest in their working lives. [...] High status knowledge gains its school subject adherents and aspirants less through the control of curricula which socialize than through well-established connection with patterns of resource allocation and the associated work and career prospects these ensure. (Goodson 1984, pp. 38-39)

The social and political 'esteem' or value of a school subject is not made visible through its curriculum, but needs to be considered through teachers and other related groups. In addition, Goodson (1990) argues that curriculum research needs to move from the theoretical level, the prescriptive text and processes of curriculum development, to include practice. Like Wolcott's (1987) suggestion for interviews using two techniques—life history and recounting daily events—Goodson proposes that one way to incorporate practice with theory is through the individual teachers' life histories, alongside collective and relational studies. In this way, we gain 'a story of action within a theory of context' (Goodson 1990, p. 307). However, in addition to the sub-group of teachers, there is also the sub-group of students as subjects of a discipline and teaching practices and

theory. As Goodson suggests below, between the subjectivities of students and the external cultures, curriculum and teachers, the negotiations for action in teaching and learning subjects become much more complex.

The rhetoric and manoeuvrings of educational politicians and subject associations may reveal a great deal about the framework of limits and possibilities within which teachers and pupils work in the classroom but neither the teacher nor the pupils are entirely passive recipients of the 'espoused' curriculum. While 'what counts as education' may be defined in political terms, what is realized as education is the outcome of the conflicts and negotiations between teachers and pupils which provide for the enactment of school subjects in the classroom. (Goodson & Ball 1984, p. 7)

With this in mind, my research also attempts to take into account student cultures, albeit in a limited fashion based on a questionnaire and personal observations. The student responses to a series of questions regarding their participation in physical activities and sports outside of school may provide a glimpse of the external social and cultural pressures that also affect physical education. These external pressures, such as young people's preferences for new types of activities (for example, rollerblading or skateboarding) and/or their decreasing participation in culturally valued team sports, may demand a response within the formal curriculum.

### **Stages of data gathering**

This project is a cross-cultural comparative work which takes place in France and Australia (Hantrais & Mangen 1996).<sup>1</sup> The data collection was undertaken in Australia prior to the work in France. The starting point was a four page questionnaire (see **Appendices 6 and 7**) used to survey students in the Australian school year 10, aged between 15 and 16 years old. The questionnaire was based on the *1997 NSW Department of Education Physical Activity Survey* (Booth et al. 1997). The questionnaire was repeated in France using the *lycée seconde* year (see **Appendix 5** for Australia-France schooling years' equivalencies). This schooling year was selected on the basis of students' age similarity, possible comparison with the earlier 1997 study, and for the reason that physical education in NSW is only compulsory to Year 10 whereas in France it is compulsory to the end of

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<sup>1</sup> Cross-cultural research is defined by Hantrais and Mangen (1996) as 'gathering data within different contexts, from one or more units in two or more societies, cultures or countries and comparing the data in respect of the same concepts'.

schooling (the equivalent of Year 12 in Australia). The survey allows for larger-scale statistical comparisons in terms of participation rates and activities, not only to cross check against other statistical data in Australia such as the 1997 report, but also against the French *Baromètre de la Santé* (CFES 1999). Again, using established tools provides greater opportunity to cross-check the validity of the data collected and provides potential geographical comparisons within France. Geographical differences, for example the coastal effect and rural-urban differences (Booth et al. 1997, Baumann et al. 1999) in physical activity are topics that have already emerged from project data collected in Australia, and the richness of the French data can only be enhanced by internal comparisons as well.

### **Interview themes**

It has been said that a farmer in any country will have more in common with a farmer from another country than they will have in common with a bureaucrat from their own country. Given that physical education has a particular historical discipline culture, cross-cultural interviews provide an opportunity to consider if physical education teachers have cultural commonalities that go beyond language and national borders. The interviews and classroom observations also provide snapshots to examine the practices of physical education teachers compared to the expectations as portrayed in the formal French and NSW syllabuses. The particular themes examined in the following chapters reflect both the academic literature and observations of physical education classes. Sometimes topics reflected what was not happening in physical education classes. As an observer, I acknowledge that I bring my own perspectives and perhaps in doing so I may focus on things that other observers would not consider important or relevant. For example, reading over my field notes (see **Appendix 9**), I noted with interest the interactions in class between male and female students. This is not necessarily a current area of action for physical education teachers nor is it a topic addressed in any detail in either syllabus (despite the academic literature). Nonetheless, I chose to talk to the teachers in the interviews about what they thought of co-educational classes. The French responses are interesting and on occasions remarkably similar to those given by the NSW teachers. An issue

like this provides a distinction between political ideologies of equality, differential equality and desired classroom practices.

### **Technical limitations**

It should be noted that one of the concerns within cross-cultural research is the extent to which one can generalise what is national rather than a regional characteristic (Hantrais & Mangen 1996). One example of this is the case of school rugby in France. Rugby is a markedly regional sport with its strength in Southern France where my research took place. As will be shown in Chapter 5, statistically rugby shows up as one of the highest male participation sports in the two French high schools surveyed. It is unlikely that this would have been the case if, for example, I had surveyed a school in Paris, Lyon or Dijon. Similar regional attributes are also possible when looking at the two NSW schools I surveyed. The socio-economic population and schools indicate that the popular sport in these regions is rugby league. Rugby union by comparison tends to be for Sydney's upper class 'North Shore' university graduate social strata (McGregor 1997). Therefore to compare the 'French and Australian' rates of participation in rugby on the basis of my work would be misleading. So while I take into account certain geographic differences (such as proximity to the beach for surfing or to the mountains for skiing) which impact on the rate of participation in certain activities, I will limit the conclusions drawn to stay within the regional context or by comparison with the larger more 'nationally' valid surveys as mentioned earlier.<sup>2</sup>

Another difficulty in cross-cultural research is the validity of comparing data collected by different researchers using survey instruments in different languages (Hantrais & Mangen 1996). In order to address the issue of different languages, I translated the English questionnaire and had it back-translated by a native French speaker. In addition, a small pilot study was undertaken to test the questionnaire with French university students. A number of supplementary questions (Qs 12 and 14) were added to the French survey in order to be able to directly compare results with the

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<sup>2</sup> Part of this research was undertaken for a larger Australian Research Council funded longitudinal project entitled 'The Life Activity Project' (see Wright, Macdonald & Wyn 2000). The survey was

results for the same questions in the *Baromètre de la Santé des Jeunes 97/98* [Barometer of Young People's Health (CFES 1999)]. Question 5 of the Australian survey (Torres Strait or Aboriginal background) was removed, given that it had no relevance to the French population. Advice received from back-translation also indicated that English gender neutral terminology of 'primary carer' did not make sense in French and the wording was changed to the more traditional fields of mother's occupation and father's occupation. This meant that direct comparison of primary carers' and secondary carers' occupations data to mothers' and fathers' occupations became problematic. Given the semantics of the wording in Questions 15, 16, and 17, after translation and back-translation, the Likert scale was also reversed for the French survey following consultation with Statistical Consulting Service at the University of Wollongong.

## Schools and students

### The schools' data

The two French and two NSW schools were selected to provide a reasonably comparable range of geographic and socio-economic areas.<sup>3</sup> Brief summaries of the schools are provided in **Table A** on the following page. Some 579 students were surveyed using a questionnaire (see **Appendix 7** for the Australian and French surveys). **Table B** provides a summary of the students by school and gender. The questionnaire data were coded, entered and analysed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS®) software.<sup>4</sup> The survey data serves to add a layer of correlative information with which to consider some of the teachers' perceptions, for example, how enjoyable is physical education according to the students and the sorts of activities that are popular for young people.

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undertaken in multiple states of Australia including Victoria and Queensland, but in this thesis only the New South Wales data that I collected will be used for analysis.

<sup>3</sup> The French schools were nominated by the Regional Rectorat Inspector. In both NSW and France, the staff and schools were identified as good 'research' schools because the senior physical education teachers had themselves completed research projects of their own and were involved in teaching and supervising university students.

<sup>4</sup> SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) is a data management and analysis product produced by SPSS, Inc. in Chicago, Illinois. Among its features are modules for statistical data analysis, including descriptive statistics such as plots, frequencies, charts, and lists, as well as sophisticated inferential and multivariate statistical procedures like analysis of variance (ANOVA), factor analysis, cluster analysis, and categorical data analysis.

**Table A: Summary of school sites**

<i>School</i>	<i>No. of Students &amp; staff</i>	<i>Geographic location</i>	<i>PE Staff and Facilities</i>
<b>Beach High</b> Non-government, Co-educational school (previously boys-only), est. 1960s	600+ 3 full-time teachers (2M, 1F) 1 part-time teacher	Major regional city economy drawn from steel and mining industries as well as university. Area is becoming more affluent, but also has areas of new government housing.	Close access to beaches and three Olympic swimming pools. 3 football ovals, indoor timber floor hall with full size basketball court (main school hall) Equipment storage area. No change rooms. PE staff are housed in main staffing rooms.
<b>Plains High</b> Government school Co-educational, est. 1970s	500+ 4 full-time teachers (3M, 1F)	Outer Western suburbs of Sydney Very mixed socio-economic area with new estates but a lot of old government housing built in the 1970s.	Separate gymnasium building with full size basketball court, with change rooms, staff offices and equipment storage facilities. School grass oval, no particular size, but capable of having a 400 m track drawn on it. Bowling cages. Nearby facilities include a council cricket ground.
<b>Lycée Gen</b> (includes a Lycée Pro [for Commerce and Administration], college and prep classes for the Grandes Ecoles) <sup>5</sup>	1800+ <sup>6</sup> (incl.300+ for LP) 18 full-time teachers (12M, 6F)	Major regional city economy drawn from high technology industries and associated service industries, including several universities. Reasonably affluent area with hospital and university as neighbours.	2 tennis courts, 2 basketball courts, 2 grass football fields 330 metre cinder running track (to be replaced by a more all-weather track) 1 Type A gym (smaller room with acro-mats) <sup>7</sup> , 1 Type B gym, 1 Type C gym. Specialised climbing room, gymnastics area with additional full length climbing wall to 7+metres with adjustable climbing paths, a weight-training room, two separate male and two female changing rooms and two teaching classrooms. There are multiple storage areas and staff rooms.
<b>Lycée Pro</b> Teaches the Bac professional in trade areas eg, plumbing, electrical, metalwork and carpentry.	500+ (approx 20+ f students) 3 full-time teachers (3 M)	See above. Extremely run-down outskirts of city with high proportion of French as 2 <sup>nd</sup> language inhabitants.	No grass areas. 1 Small type B gym. 15 metres short of full handball court – goals are painted on the walls. <sup>8</sup> One change room with very old-fashioned facilities – showers have pulldown chains for water. Nearby small soccer field with stadium.

<sup>5</sup> An unusual feature of the French tertiary education system is that the most prestigious higher education institutions are not the universities but rather a group of schools known as the *Grandes Ecoles*. These include the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, the *Ecoles des Mines* and the like. There are 28 of these schools with the majority of them based in Paris. After completing high school, students may undertake preparatory classes to sit the entrance exams for the *Grandes Ecoles*. These classes usually require two years of work and if at the end, the student does not qualify for the *Grandes Ecoles*, they may apply for an equivalency in university degree (Bac+2) for what they have done in the preparatory classes. It is less common for regional lycées to be able to prepare students for the *Grandes Ecoles*. The area of this research has a number of such lycées.

<sup>6</sup> There are four lycées with more than 1300+ students in this city and three of these are lycées only, ie they do not have college students as well. Most of these schools are formally recognised as over-crowded and over-enrolled, some affected by the closure of a lycée due to a chemical factory explosion in 2001. The over-crowding was expected to be relieved by the opening of a new lycée in 2004. In March 2002, students and teachers at one lycée went on strike to complain about the over-crowding. Lycée Gen had also been refusing outside requests to use their sports facilities and this has been creating some friction, but the school has been struggling to find enough gyms and spaces to hold their own physical education classes.

<sup>7</sup> There are 3 main categories for gymnasiums in France. Type A is a small gym, capable of holding one volleyball court in size. Type B is a fairly standard size gym the size of a basketball court, capable of holding two volleyball courts. A Type C gym is the largest, capable of holding a handball court.

<sup>8</sup> Handball in France is the 'European Handball' which requires a larger court than basketball. The game referred to as handball in Australia is a primary school game played outside in a small area with a tennis ball; it bears very little resemblance to European handball.



**Table B: School survey populations**

<i>School</i>	<i>Female students</i>	<i>Male students</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>New South Wales</b>			
Beach High – Yr 10	63	68	131
Plains High – Yr 10	60	50	110
<i>NSW sub-total</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>241</i>
<b>France</b>			
Lycée Gen - Seconde	154	130	284
Lycée Pro - Seconde	0	54	54
<i>France sub-total</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>184</i>	<i>338</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>277</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>579</b>

### The interviews

Interviews were undertaken with six physical education teachers; three in each country (see **Appendix 8** for interviewee codes and broad interview questions). In addition to the formal recorded interviews, there were multiple informal conversations with these teachers which occurred around the observations. Ken Green (1998, p. 140) writes that in understanding the ‘philosophies’ of physical education teachers ‘their thoughts and behaviour are likely to arise from and to reflect practical concerns, relating to the day-to-day constraints and problems of their work’. Bearing this in mind, interviews included discussion of what had occurred during observations. Some of these are recorded in the field notes (see **Appendix 9**). In other cases, there were additional physical education staff involved in the conversations and where possible, these are also noted in the field notes. All interviews were transcribed in their original language and in the case of French quotes, both the French and English translation will appear in the text.

### The observations

The fieldwork observations took place at NSW schools over a period of approximately 18 months and for the French schools over six weeks with approximately eight hours per week at each lycée. This time included a class/student assessment period in both lycées. At the NSW schools, observation classes were either nominated by the teachers or chosen by the researcher and included events such as the school athletics carnival or

sports training sessions such as the girls' rugby team training. On occasions, teachers suggested I observe a specific class, for example, at Plains High School, the senior teacher asked me to watch her 'special' education class and at Lycée Gen, I was invited to attend the school's rugby training and the *détermination* rhythmic gymnastics class with another teacher. Examples of the observations appear in **Appendix 9**.

### **Onwards to action**

This next part of my thesis contains three chapters in which I aim to collect stories of action. In Chapter Four I begin with an analysis of the current NSW and French physical education curriculum, with particular attention on continuities and changes with previous curricula that reflect similar evolutions of the 'good citizen'. By examining the reasoning and processes behind the development of the curricula, I will draw out the different positions of various interest groups through the processes of review and change as well as ideological positioning of governments.

In Chapter Five I provide descriptions of the French and Australian teachers I surveyed, and analyse the class activities and teachers in action and student information drawn from a questionnaire (see **Appendix 7**). Much of this analysis was based on my personal responses to what I saw, heard and felt as I watched physical education classes *in situ*. In some instances events that I observed or comments that I noted affected my understanding of what I had read regarding physical education and schooling. For example, when I considered the extent and meaning of *mixité* (co-education) by watching French girls and boys playing rugby together in comparison to the gender segregated classes in NSW. This, in turn, led me to question the meaning of gender equity practices in teaching. Similarly comments from a French teacher about Anglo-Saxon individualism led to me wonder about the dualistic nature of French-Anglo relational references in day-to-day life. The grounded nature of the observations directed many of the questions I felt I needed to research and deal with and these also influenced the teacher interviews that followed my class observations.

Chapter 6 presents more qualitative data drawn from interviews undertaken with teachers in the respective schools. Issues that were gleaned from the observations and interviews became themes and often led to specific questions in many of the interviews. By asking about life histories, the interviews also provided an opportunity to discuss the impact of curriculum changes in terms of teachers' work in the classroom and how these reflected changing discourses of health, sport and physical activity in forming 'good citizens'. The class observations meant that I was also able to ask questions about teachers' daily classroom lives. These two interview strands were equally important for understanding actions within political contexts. This chapter provides some insight into the different meanings that teachers can take from and give to the formal curriculum.

Throughout the three chapters, one clear aim is to see what can be learnt from the workings of the French system about the Australian and vice-versa. As Broadfoot (1999, p. 28) emphasises 'it is essential that comparativists should recognise the importance of culture at every level of the system', from the individual constructions of identities: personal, professional, group and national to political notions of citizenship and 'the good society'. For all of these narratives inform the principles of education and schools.

## Chapter Four: Curriculum competencies and contradictions

What did you learn in school today, dear little boy of mine?  
I learned that Washington never told a lie  
I learned that soldiers seldom die  
I learned that everybody's free  
That's what the teacher said to me  
And that's what I learned in school today

Tom Paxton, *I can't help but wonder where I'm bound*, 1999

This chapter examines the current physical education curriculum for France and NSW. I will be analysing the contents of the most recent French and NSW syllabuses as context for the three teaching themes outlined by Goodson (1988): the meaning of discipline sub-groups and traditions; professionalisation towards academic status; and competition for status and resources within the society/school political environs. A particular focus for this chapter will be the language of the aims and objectives, as well as examining measures of competency for physical education. These topics in the syllabuses are the contested and negotiated results of the above themes and reflect the intermeshed political needs of various groups in the network of physical education.

The physical education syllabuses are the results of sometimes tense negotiations between interest groups including discipline experts, teachers, teacher unions, parent groups, government officials and other professional representatives. These groups are responsible for establishing and changing the boundaries and priorities for curriculum as well as shifting pedagogic and utilitarian traditions towards academic tradition (Goodson 1984). The debates and tensions between interested parties over training, curriculum, syllabus contents and outcomes also reflect real and imagined differences over status and resources within the school and academic environments. The language and words used in the syllabuses are very important and often the tensions between groups in France and Australia are played out over the meaning of words and implied discourses (Penney & Glover 1998, Méard & Klein 2001, Bos & Amade Escot 2004).

In this chapter I will analyse particular sections of the physical education syllabuses and compare their language and explicit meanings as well as

changes made from earlier versions of the syllabuses to the current documents. Méard and Klein (2001) argue that there is a twofold importance for analysing syllabuses; firstly, their official status as policy documents, and secondly, their being tasked with giving meaning to teaching practices through formalised outcomes. '[Syllabuses] are a 'window' from the outside to the discipline. They make readable and explicit what happens in gyms and in stadiums to partners and users. They link the actions of teachers to identified outcomes' (Méard & Klein 2001, p. 9). The evolution of syllabus content reflects some of the 'territorial' disputes as well as the influences of broader societal changes. One example of these tensions in the Australian context is the shifting focus on personal responsibility and health (Lupton 1999, Gard & Wright 2001, Tinning & Glasby 2002), whereas similar linguistic changes to the French curriculum have been constrained by physical education teachers' ideological positioning around philosophical and socio-political concepts (Méard & Klein 2001, Bos & Amade Escot 2004).

This chapter begins with a descriptive account of the current situation for physical education in terms of programme structures, hours, and teaching requirements for schools in France and NSW. Following this, I will compare particular aspects of the syllabuses beginning with the aims and outcomes and competencies. The French *lycée* syllabus has been in place since 2000 following a failed attempt at 'renewal' in 1999, whereas the NSW syllabus for high school years 7–10 was developed and approved during 2003 with implementation in 2005.<sup>1</sup> For each syllabus, I will present an outline of the process of syllabus development, approval and implementation for each country, in both cases drawing on documents related to the development process as well as interviews with Board of Studies NSW representatives and in the case of France, articles written by members of the physical education curriculum expert group. While the syllabuses are quite similar in their language and style, the politics of their development reflect different cultural positionings of interest groups and academic networks.

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<sup>1</sup> All the syllabus documents referred to are available on-line from the respective French and NSW education websites: [www.educsol.gouv.fr](http://www.educsol.gouv.fr) and [www.nswboardofstudies.edu.au](http://www.nswboardofstudies.edu.au)

### Physical education in the new millennium – The French case

Physical education curriculum and teacher training reflects two distinct areas of 'political' pressure: the commodification and utilitarian pressures of schooling; and the evolutions of physical cultures and body fashioning (Klein 1997). While physical education entered modern school programmes as a means of training citizen bodies, and this underpinning aim may not have changed dramatically over the past 100 years or so, the physical education profession and curriculum have changed considerably over time.

By the time a French student completes their primary and secondary schooling, they will have experienced a range of formalised physical education in every year to graduation.<sup>2</sup> At primary school level, instruction in physical education is provided by generalist primary school teachers who integrate it into their other teaching work. During the late 1960s, based on the principles of *tiers-temps* (one third time) physical education in primary school was intended to involve seven hours of school time per week.<sup>3</sup> But the reality was that only up to 18 per cent of students ever received so much as two hours of physical education (Solal 2000). In the subsequent forty years, the status of physical education in primary school has been increasingly undermined, in nomenclature, classroom practices, and general lack of commitment from schools and teachers, including a reduction in teacher training hours for physical education at the teacher training institutes (Solal 2000). By the late 1990s, physical education in primary school was officially required for three hours and 15 minutes per week.

### French EPS curriculum for collège

Dans la continuité de l'école primaire, l'éducation physique et sportive au collège met l'élève en contact avec un grand nombre d'activités physiques, sportives et artistiques qui constituent un domaine de la culture contemporaine.

<sup>2</sup> I will use the term physical education in reference to the entire discipline. However, if I am referring to the specific high school syllabuses, I will use the acronyms EPS (Education physique et sportive) for the French syllabus and PDHPE (Personal Development, Health and Physical Education) for the NSW syllabus.

<sup>3</sup> French students attend school for 160 days per year (one of the lowest number of days amongst OECD countries), yet they attend for 8 hours per day for primary school and 9-10 hours per day for secondary schools. There has been a programme to formally decrease the number of hours for senior secondary schooling, but this has proven to be difficult without compromising the requirements for the baccalauréat (Solal 1995, OECD 1996).

Selon leur nature, ces activités privilégient un mode particulier de relations et d'adaptations face à l'environnement physique et humain. Elles permettent à tous les élèves de s'éprouver physiquement et de mieux se connaître en vivant des expériences variées et originales, sources d'émotion et de plaisir.

(MEN 1999)

*Continuing on from primary school, physical and sporting education at college puts the student in contact with a range of physical, sporting and artistic activities which constitute a domain of contemporary culture. These activities, according to their nature, privilege a particular style of relationships and adaptations in the face of the physical and human environment. These activities allow for all students to test themselves physically and to better understand themselves through new and different experiences of emotions and pleasure.*

The current EPS *collège* syllabus has been in place since 1996.<sup>4</sup> It was the subject of a tensely contested curriculum redevelopment in 1994-1996 (Bos & Amade Escot 2004). Physical education at *collège* level is compulsory with four hours per week for the 6<sup>th</sup> class then three hours per week for the 5<sup>th</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> classes (see **Table 4.1** below and **Appendix 5** for school years). The additional hour in the first year allows for the fact that students will be coming from a diverse range of abilities and more time will need to be spent on getting all students to a similar standard (MEN 1999). One of the main aims of EPS in *collège*, continuing on from the water safety programmes in primary school, is to ensure that every student is able to swim safely by the end of their three years.<sup>5</sup>

Students participate in a wide range of activities at this level and the *collège* syllabus states that the students are to be taught one activity each from seven areas including: Athletics, Swimming, Gymnastics, Outdoor Pursuits, One-on-one Sports/Games (eg tennis), Expressive Dance, and Team Games (MEN 1999). Students are most likely to spend time participating in 'traditional' sports, in particular Olympic and team sports rather than the lifestyle and aesthetic activities such as dance (Jamet 1998). The performance and competency expectations of students

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<sup>4</sup> Every French school syllabus is enacted as a piece of government legislation. Each syllabus document opens with a government decree and authorisation by a series of Ministers. The syllabus is first available from the *Bulletin Officiel* and the reference of **BO No. date** (for example BO No. 25 du 20 juin 2002) is commonly used in writings. Following this, the French Centre for Teaching Documentation (*Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique*) publishes the syllabus with a more detailed accompanying document. One of the important roles of the legislation is to state from which point in time the syllabus must be applied.

also increase with each year. For example, for swimming, 6<sup>th</sup> class students are expected to be taught to swim freestyle quickly in a straight line over short distances, while for the upper classes, students should be able to swim freestyle quickly over short distances using alternate breathing style (MEN 1999).

**Table 4.1: Summary of secondary school hours for physical education**

<i>Schooling level</i>	<i>School year</i>	<i>Nature of Physical Education &amp; School Sports Programmes</i>
France	Collège 6ème	4 hours per week compulsory
	Collège 5ème	3 hours per week compulsory
	Collège 4ème	3 hours per week compulsory
	Collège 3ème	3 hours per week compulsory
	School sport	Wednesday afternoon school sport, not compulsory for students
	Lycée 2ème	2 hours per week plus specialisation of 5 hours or Faculty elective of additional 3 hrs per week
	Lycée 1er	2 hours per week plus specialisation of 5 hours or Faculty elective of additional 3 hrs per week
	Lycée terminal	2 hours per week plus specialisation of 5 hours or Faculty elective of additional 3 hrs per week
Australia (New South Wales)	School sport	Wednesday afternoon school sport, not compulsory for students
	Years 7-10	Personal Development, Health and Physical education = compulsory 300 hours per year Varies between schools to exact split, but majority split to Physical Education - compulsory 2 hours per week Personal Development & Health – compulsory 2 hours per week
	School sport	Compulsory participation
	Year 11	2 hours per week, Sport, Lifestyle & Recreation, optional
	Year 11	5 hours per week, Higher School Certificate 2 unit subject, optional
	Year 12	5 hours per week, Higher School Certificate 2 unit subject, optional
	School sport	Voluntary participation

### EPS curriculum for lycée

All lycée students have physical education as an examinable subject for their baccalauréat. The focus again in the final three years of schooling is to bring all students to the same level (MEN 2000). For these years students have a compulsory class of two hours per week for physical education and in addition, there are two types of optional physical education programmes that may be offered by lycées. The first of these is called a faculty elective [*option facultative*].

<sup>5</sup> Solal (2000) estimates that around 50 per cent of primary school students receive water safety or learn to swim programmes.



L'objectif de l'enseignement d'option facultative d'éducation physique et sportive est d'optimiser une performance dans une ou deux activités physiques en classe de seconde et pendant le cycle terminal. Par cet enseignement, les lycéens acquièrent les éléments d'une culture spécialisée dans une ou deux activités. En classes de seconde, puis durant le cycle terminal, l'enseignement est structuré par les composantes culturelle et méthodologique sur le thème de l'entraînement sportif. (MEN 2000, p. 8)

*The objective of a Faculty teaching option in EPS is to optimise performance in one or two physical activities in Second and Final cycle. Through this teaching, students will acquire elements of a specialised culture in one or two activities. In Second and then during the Final cycle, teaching is structured by cultural and methodological components on the theme of sports training.*

Further on in the EPS syllabus it is stated that the goal of the Faculty option is not to prepare students for a sports-related career, but only to acquire skills and knowledge for two performances, an individual activity and a team activity (MEN 2000). The reason for this emphasis is to clearly delineate between the Faculty option and the next level of specialisation called a '*détermination*'. The *détermination* is an additional five hours per week of physical education. The EPS specialisation was trialled by the Ministry of Education in 1999-2000 and officially adopted in 2000-01. According to the Ministry of Education (2001), the motivation to develop an EPS specialisation was primarily based on a desire to create a stream of excellence for high achievers in EPS and a need to enhance the status of EPS. It was already possible to take this type of specialisation for other subjects such as mathematics, French, and biology.<sup>6</sup> The syllabus describes three possible motivations for students to take this specialisation: firstly it suits those who might want to enrol in higher education physical activity related courses after their baccalauréat; and secondly, it benefits those students who wish to have a greater number of hours each week for training. The third group of students may be attracted to the specialisation to undertake 'further study in training methods in order to improve their performances' (MEN 2000, p. 15). The EPS specialisation comprises three elements: three additional practical hours of

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<sup>6</sup> There are currently three major baccalauréat exam series, Literature (L), Social and Economics (ES) and Science (S). Each series has options as well, for example within the L series, there is a Living Languages, Ancient Languages, Arts and Mathematics option. There is also the Technology baccalauréats as well. At this stage it is not possible to take an EPS option for any baccalauréat series, but there is work underway to possibly develop this as a sports specialisation of some kind (MEN 2001).

physical activities, one hour of specialised training, and one hour a week of 'reflective analysis' for which the choice of activities is to be determined by the physical education teachers (MEN 2000). The specialisation is in consultation with the teaching staff and subject to their areas of expertise.

The syllabus goes on to clarify the possible collaboration between EPS specialisations and the role of the school sports association. While there is recognition that EPS programmes should find 'continuity' in the school's sports association, the syllabus states that 'after-school sports' training is not the place to appropriate these programmes' (MEN 2000, p. 16). Offering a *détermination* and/or a Faculty elective is more expensive for the schools because they require additional teaching time, possibly additional staff, and it can be difficult to find schools offering the EPS option (MEN 2001b, FM1).<sup>7</sup>

### **Types of activities for EPS**

For the standard two hour compulsory physical education class, students will have a minimum of three activities throughout the year, with each activity taught for a 10 week cycle. In this way students have a much more in-depth teaching of a given activity, but the range of activities is far more limited when compared to the activities at collège. The activities on offer are affected by both the teacher's capacity to teach a given activity (this will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter) as well as factors beyond the control of the teaching staff such as the facilities available at the school or nearby council/private facilities. In a large school, for example, Lycée Gen<sup>8</sup> in this research, there is a wide range of teaching expertise with more than a dozen EPS staff with specialised teaching potential in areas including dance, rhythmic gymnastics, rock climbing and rugby. However, they are still limited by the available facilities. During the year of research observation, Lycée Gen could not offer swimming due to renovations of the nearby pool. In a smaller school with less staffing and facilities, there would be a more limited range of activities on offer.

<sup>7</sup> See **Appendix 8** for the list of interviews undertaken and the coding used.

<sup>8</sup> Under the research ethics agreement approved for this work, individual schools may not be identified.

One official sign of decentralisation in French education is a recognition that the teaching choices for a national physical education syllabus need to take into account 'the local particularities' (MEN 2000, p. 5). This is a direct acknowledgement that the available facilities for physical education vary between schools and that the choice of activities may also reflect regional/ geographical preferences. The syllabus states that in recognising the competing need for national homogeneity and respect local differences, there are two groups of activities that must be taught for physical education at this level; a common group [*ensemble commun*] and a complementary group [*ensemble complémentaire*].

The common group is described as the most frequently taught activities including volleyball, basketball, handball, soccer, rugby, badminton, table tennis, a range of athletics events, triathlon, swimming, gymnastics, acrobatics, climbing, orienteering (both on foot and cycling), dance, judo, wrestling and distance running. The second group is much less proscribed. Nonetheless, the accompanying programme that provides detailed analysis of the tasks, competencies and other information for the syllabus, lists eight possible activities for this group including weight-training, circus performance, French boxing, stretching, relaxation, aerobics, rhythmic gymnastics and archery (MEN 2000, 2001b).<sup>9</sup>

### **Methods and assessment in EPS**

In terms of teaching practice, across the span of their schooling life, French students will only ever undertake actual physical practice in physical education. There is no expectation that they will have homework, written assignments or will ever be inside a standard teaching classroom for physical education. Assessment is entirely based on the student's physical effort and performance of a given activity. Given this environment, it is unsurprising that assessment for physical education tasks in the French context is a much discussed topic (see David 2000). Thomas (2000, p. 4) describes an EPS concern that one can 'see' already

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<sup>9</sup> Circus activities include juggling, acrobatics, as well as clown work etc. There is a strong cultural appreciation of circus in France and it is one of the most popular forms of entertainment. Relaxation can include various forms of actual activity such as yoga or Tai chi, or it may be about meditation and visualisation techniques. French boxing is a cross between English boxing and kick-boxing.

who will succeed because it is written on their body, whereas intelligence is not 'visible' as such. This worries the discipline because it calls into question their role as teachers. In the Republican model, schools are charged with the task of assessing students on an equal basis and should not be perceived to award marks for what could be genetic and physiological advantages or a result of training undertaken outside of the school environment. As with many debates in education related to students' forms of capital, there is a tension between the ideology of physical education and the practices of assessment for EPS. A major change in 1995 to assessment practices allowed teachers to award five marks out of 20 for 'effort' or what is more formally described as the learning and personal investment (David 2000).

Another difference between EPS and other subjects examined for the baccalauréat is that performance in EPS is assessed throughout the year and not in one final exam. At the end of their final year (*terminale*), each student taking the baccalauréat will receive a mark out of 20 based on two forms of evaluation listed below.<sup>10</sup>

1. Mark out of 5 for the learnt knowledge/understanding (*connaissances*) expressed in undertaking activities inextricably linked with the personal investment of the student in order to show progression; and
2. Mark out of 15 for the competencies shown in undertaking three activities, at least one of which can be measured, in time, distance, etc. and compared against a national benchmark for their gender and age. (David 2000, p. 78)

The national benchmarks (*barème national*) are set out as tables, by gender, with a time or distance equalling a set score (see BO No. 46 du 14 décembre 1995, David 2000). An example of the benchmark tables is at **Appendix 9**. For all students the effect is the same: the slower/lower the performance, the less points gained.

### School sport in France

Le sport scolaire est une composante originale de la politique éducative française. Il est, dans toutes ses dimensions, souvent étudié par les autres pays, parfois envié voire imité. La volonté d'un sport scolaire dynamique et

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed description of the baccalauréat and the co-efficients see Solaux 1995.

reconnu a été affirmée à plusieurs reprises par le ministère de l'éducation nationale et soutenue par le ministère de la jeunesse et des sports. (BO No. 25 du 20 juin 2002)

*School sport is an original component of French education policy. In all its dimensions, it is often studied by other countries, sometimes envied indeed sometimes imitated. The will to have a dynamic and recognised system of school sport has been affirmed many times by the Department of Education and supported by the Department for Youth and Sports.*

School sport is part of the formal requirements of French schooling in that it must be offered to students, on Wednesday afternoons, but their participation is voluntary. At the collège and lycée levels, physical education teachers are required as part of their teaching contract to undertake three hours a week 'teaching' school sport (BO No. 33 du 20 septembre 1984). The tension between being a teacher or being perceived as a professional sports coach is heightened by teachers' responsibilities for after-school sports in addition to the possible cross-overs between schools' Faculty and *détermination* specialisations that clearly link themselves to in-depth coaching. There is often a desire reiterated by French EPS academics/teachers for a clear differentiation between being a teacher of EPS and a sports coach (see Piard 2000, Thomas 2000, Méard & Klein 2001). Meanwhile the description of physical education from the *Union Nationale du Sport Scolaire* (UNSS) tends to be in highly political language linking school sport with equitable access to citizenship (Leblanc 2001, SNEP 2002).

In 2001, the French Government initiated a national review of the role of school sport. The consultations revealed an ongoing distrust of government intentions towards physical education (see for example the formal response quoted above, also SNEP newsletters). The teachers' concerns related primarily to teaching hours and school sport responsibilities. For example, if school sport were to be removed from the EPS teaching contracts, the teachers would be available to teach more school classes (to make up their total teaching hours per week) and this would reduce the number of teachers required per school. Despite the reassurances of support for school sport as elaborated above, the identification of

weaknesses in the system that eventuated from the review of school sport meant that tensions remain for physical education (Leblanc 2001).

### Teacher training in France

The key change to teacher training in physical education was the shift of responsibility for physical education from the Ministry for Youth and Sport to the Ministry for Education, as discussed earlier in Chapter Three. Under the former system, physical educators were trained outside of mainstream teacher training institutions. Physical education teachers were also at that stage precluded from entering traditional higher education programmes such as doctorates. In order to be positioned as a university discipline, a discipline stream, known as a *unité de formation et de recherche* (UFR – training and research unit) has to be established. The UFR for physical education is called the *Sciences et techniques des activités physiques* (STAPS). This nomenclature again reinforces an emphasis on sports sciences rather than pedagogy, and certainly students wishing to obtain their elite coaching qualifications and undertaking research into sports performance will also be enrolled in STAPS. French physical education training takes place in sports sciences faculties (Thomas 2000). Australian and British researchers similarly articulate concerns for increasing alliances between physical education and human movement science and/or sports science rather than pedagogical training (Kirk 1990, Kirk & Tinning 1990, Clarke 2002).

To become a physical education teacher in France, a student enrolls at university to take the equivalent of an undergraduate degree (*licence*) in STAPS (these pathways are described in **Appendix 6**). Following this, the student can further specialise with a fourth year Masters or prepare for the *Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat d'Education Physique et Sportive* (CAPEPS) by enrolling in a teaching training institute (IUFM).<sup>11</sup> Once they have passed the CAPEPS, students undertake another year of teacher training (spending half their time at a school and the other half in training at the IUFM). On completion of the second year at the IUFM, students

become eligible to accept a teaching post offered by the French government. The teaching posts on-offer can be anywhere in France, regardless of where students sat the CAPEPS exam or which IUFM they were enrolled at.<sup>12</sup> If students wish to continue their studies and become academics in their field, they can enrol in a doctoral programme and/or prepare for the aggregation exams. The OECD report on French teacher supply noted that physical education teaching existed in a very specific environment. Unlike students who study other disciplines during their undergraduate degree, STAPS students are perceived to be restricted to becoming physical education teachers. Students will have already written a short thesis on aspects of teaching sports and assessment processes before they even enter their teacher training (Cros & Obin 2003).

### Physical education in NSW

Studies in the health and physical education area focus on the significance of personal decisions and behaviours and community structures and practices in promoting health and physical activity.

The area emphasises the relationships in a field of influence that includes personal actions, the beliefs, attitudes and values held by families, cultural groups and the wider community, public policies affecting health and physical activity, and the setting and context of activities in the area.

(Australian Education Council 1994 quoted in Penney & Glover 1998, p. 8)

In 1990, Health and Physical Education (HPE) was agreed as one of eight key learning areas (KLA) for all Australian school systems.<sup>13</sup> In NSW (and other states) physical education had included health and personal development for many years preceding this formal recognition (Tinning et al. 2001). Nevertheless, the HPE statement is significant because it describes the areas of learning rather than the disciplines involved: physical education, sport, and home economics. It becomes clearer that the Australian focus on health signals a major difference between what is intended by physical education in France and Australia. There is also a

<sup>11</sup> In order to sit for the CAPEPS, candidates must be French nationals; under 30 years of age; be recognised as able to teach EPS by the Academies medical commission; have completed a degree in STAPS; hold a life-saving certificate; and have undertaken an accredited First Aid course.

<sup>12</sup> Another aspect of decentralisation has been to pass more decision-making responsibilities to the regional 'Academies'. The Academies determine the number of teaching positions available as well as also selecting regional teaching inspectors through a *concours* process.

<sup>13</sup> The original title for the KLA was 'Health' but this was contested strongly by a number of lobby groups, particularly those involved with sport, and the KLA was renamed 'Health and physical education' (HPE) (Penney and Glover 1998).

significant difference in practices around student-centred learning versus disciplinary-based pedagogies.

At primary school level in NSW, the situation of physical education could be generally described as very similar to that of France. There are requirements to have physical education, but not necessarily the support mechanisms, facilities, and teaching expertise provided to ensure that the requirement is implemented. However, the increasing focus on schools as sites to promote health and counter obesity may change this situation (Gard & Wright 2005). In NSW the responsibility for funding choices has been decentralised to individual schools, which means that principals may choose the extent to which they wish to fund physical education activities. The physical education syllabus advises that while the NSW Board of Studies (BoS) does not prescribe set hours for physical education, there are factors the schools should take into account in planning their timetabling including allowing sufficient time to address all syllabus outcomes, develop fundamental motor skills, and make a significant contribution of effort towards 30 minutes of physical activity per day. The only other 'essential' component is to plan a drug education component to counter early experimentation with cigarette smoking and alcohol use (BoS 1999, p. 48).

Like the French programme, physical education in NSW is intended to be integrated into day-to-day teaching. Generalist primary school teachers must take at least one physical education subject while in training at most universities, but PDHPE at primary school level in NSW is unlikely be taught by specialist physical education teachers.<sup>14</sup> There have been perennial criticisms of this situation from both representative organisations such as the Australian Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (ACHPER) and more populist media commentary.<sup>15</sup> By encouraging a link between specialised training and the increased

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<sup>14</sup> Other states such as Victoria and Queensland have had specialist physical education teachers in primary schools (only to gradually lose them) whereas NSW has never had specialist teachers. Meanwhile in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT), it is up to individual schools to decide to employ trained PE teachers or use existing primary-trained teachers.



importance of physical education at the primary school level as a measure to increase health outcomes for young people, physical educators and representative organisations potentially place themselves in a position of greater value through recognition of their professional expertise (Tinning 2001, Wright & Gard 2005).

In terms of the subject matter at primary school level, the physical education curriculum is a multi-tasked syllabus as listed below.<sup>16</sup> Generally speaking, the syllabus focuses on three key areas, health, safety, and fundamental motor skills.

PDHPE is an important key learning area within the primary curriculum as it:

- encourages an understanding and valuing of self and others,
- promotes physical activity, and
- emphasises informed decision making leading to effective and responsible action.

More specifically the study of PDHPE is concerned with:

- physical, social, cognitive and emotional growth and development patterns
- the development and maintenance of positive interpersonal relationships
- the factors influencing personal health choices
- living and learning in a safe secure environment
- the adoption of an active lifestyle
- fundamental movement patterns and coordinated actions of the body, and
- skills that enable action for better health and movement outcomes.

(BoS 1999, pp. 6-8)

As is the case in France, the NSW Department of Education emphasises the need to provide water safety and learn-to-swim programmes at primary school. However, these are taught by swimming instructors and teacher involvement is kept to a minimum. Likewise, specialist trainers are often used for particular physical activities, and special sporting programmes can be offered by sporting associations as an introduction to their sport. Because decisions for funding are made at the individual school level, the activities to be offered can be determined by the cost factor. For example, if the local professional basketball team offers to provide an introductory basketball programme for the students, it will be free and most schools are likely to have some sort of a court facility. Compare this to the cost for a

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<sup>15</sup> 'Poor PE programs blamed for bad habits', *The Canberra Times* 30/7/2004, 'Let's get physical with our kids', *The West Australian*, 3/6/2004, 'Experts get the call on PE anger', *The Age*, 9/11/04, 'Teachers urged to push fitness', *The Age* 16/11/2004.

<sup>16</sup> The K-6 syllabus was under review in 2004-05 to be redesigned.

school to offer a gymnastics programme—for which accredited trainers must be paid to provide expert teaching and specialist equipment—and it is clear that the more commercially-sustained activities, particularly those sports with an active junior recruiting programme, are more likely to be taken up at primary school-level. However, these practices are not necessarily common to all schools, particularly given the geographic size of NSW (nearly 1.5 times the size of France). The provision of specialist activities, such as user-pays gymnastics, can also reflect serious inequities, based on geography and socio-economic status.

Unlike the French system, the NSW Board of Studies does not require a set number of hours to be allocated for any primary school syllabus. However, as mentioned in Chapter Two, the Australian Government recently made the receipt of Federal funding for schools conditional on schools providing a minimum of two hours of physical education and sport per week.<sup>17</sup> PDHPE in its totality at the primary school level covers such a multitude of teachings that two hours per week would be a minimal achievement. Nevertheless, the most common activities undertaken at this level of physical education are grouped under the heading 'Daily Fitness' and 'School Sport' (Tinning & Kirk 1991). Daily fitness includes fitness exercises (to include specific motor skills activities) and walking/jogging around the school ovals, while School sport includes modified versions of team sports such as the Australian Sports Commission modified 'Kanga Cricket' played within the school as well as inter-school competitions. As Tinning and Kirk (1991) explain, there is a wide range of implementation levels across the primary school system for physical education:

In some schools, physical education is left completely up to the individual classroom teacher. Perhaps in some schools physical education appears on the timetable and in the work program of the teachers, but in actual practice there are no expectations and no accountability for the subject to be taught. For many children in these classrooms their physical education experience consists of being taken outside (providing the weather is nice) for an occasional game usually with the intent of getting them to let off steam so they are more attentive [...]. In some schools physical education is more organised. Teachers may work as a kind of team in which they share a collective responsibility for

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<sup>17</sup> However, it should be noted that State government schools receive the bulk of their funding from the State governments and not the Federal government. This 'threat' could be viewed as quite meaningless in terms of actual funding except for its symbolism.

the school physical education program. [...] In some schools the staffing has been so organised that one (in some rare schools two) teachers are designated as the physical education teacher. (Tinning and Kirk 1991, pp. 35-36)

Each school is technically required to adhere to the same primary school PDHPE syllabus. Yet it would appear that there is a practical basis, as with the French transition between primary and secondary schools, behind the requirement to 'bring all the students up to the same level' in the first years of high school.

### **PDHPE at NSW high schools**

By contrast to the situation in primary schools, physical education at high school has a commitment of 300 hours per school year (BoS 2003). For most schools, this tends to be divided up into clear strands—physical education for two hours per week, and two hours per week for personal development and health. The PDHPE syllabus for Years 7-10 is divided into two stages rather than the explicit school years of the French EPS syllabus (BoS 2003).<sup>18</sup>

The NSW syllabus content is three times longer in page length, more complicated and more far reaching in its descriptors of what is to be achieved than the French syllabus, which is more directive for the teachers, for example, in regard to the class plan for activities they will undertake.<sup>19</sup> With the NSW syllabus redevelopment, a syllabus accompanying document has been developed for PDHPE (BoS 2003a). The NSW document provides detailed examples of 'scope and sequence plans' (four terms of 10 weeks each), of outcomes and learnings, as well as detailed examples of possible assessments. In this NSW PDHPE syllabus,

<sup>18</sup> In 1990, the Board of Studies NSW established a Kindergarten to Year 10 (K-10) Curriculum Framework with the goal of ensuring that all syllabuses from primary through to secondary school follow similar requirements and link as smoothly as possible with broad learning outcome stages at Year 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12. One of the aims of the Framework is to provide a continuity of study for 'successful transitions through Years 5 to 8 and Year 10 to Year 11' (BoS 2003, p. 6).

<sup>19</sup> According to the French syllabus, to teach an activity, a French teacher will develop a plan which states the following: 1. Objectives; 2. Composition of the teaching; 3. Programme of activities; 4. Expected achievements; 5. Methodologies to be used; and 6. Evaluation (MEN 2000). Samples of these plans for certain activities are then provided in the accompanying document. The French syllabus meanwhile lists four competencies by which to measure students' achievements.

1. To engage clearly in the practice of the [set] activity;
2. To set a target and undertake the work required, in an increasingly autonomous manner, to achieve the learning or training task;
3. To measure and appreciate the effects of the activity; and
4. To deal with the application and construction of rules in a team environment. (MEN 2000, p. 4).

there are four programme strands: 1. Self and Relationships; 2. Movement Skill and Performance; 3. Individual and Community Health; and 4. Lifelong Physical Activity.

Each strand has a series of outcomes as the example in **Table 4.2** below shows. In total there are ten outcomes for Stage 4 and ten outcomes for Stage 5. Similar to the French EPS programme, the outcomes build on each other. For example in Stage 4, the Strand 2 outcome for Movement Skills and Performance is 'A student demonstrates and refines movements skills in a range of contexts and environments', whereas in Stage 5 (see **Table 4.2** below) the expectations increase.<sup>20</sup> The NSW PDHPE syllabus states that 'the school will determine the relative emphases it puts on the strands according to the specific needs of its students' (BoS 2003, p. 14). This is somewhat different to the decentralisation that is occurring in French physical education. In the French context, decentralisation has been about recognising the local conditions, facilities, teachers and the like compared to enforcing a single nationally identical programme for every school. In the NSW case, the 'relative emphases' is about responding to the needs of students as determined by teachers selecting aspects of a multi-strand physical education and health programme.

Unlike the French situation, the Personal Development and Health components of the syllabus mean that students will certainly spend time in a standard academic classroom teaching environment and will be expected to complete written assignments. For example, there are nine assessment strategies outlined in the PDHPE syllabus, most of which involve standard classroom practices, such as presentations, written reports, written and practical examinations, research projects, as well as 'movement tasks' (BoS 2003). These forms of assessment are a more diversified (and academic) appraisal of students' achievements than the singular focus of the French assessment of physical performance and effort. It may be argued that in the Australian context, alongside the creation of a PDHPE senior level subject for the Higher School Certificate in 1994, the

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<sup>20</sup> I am using examples from Stage 5 because they apply to the Year 10 students and classes that comprise the observations.

classroom-based learning and teaching is intended to validate physical education, through teaching health and health-related sciences such as physiology, as a specialised academic subject like English or mathematics.

**Table 4.2: PDHPE selected Stage 5 Outcomes by strand (BoS 2003)**

There is no list of recommended physical activities for NSW PDHPE. However, as seen in **Table 4.2**, there are occasional suggestions of activities that could be used for particular outcomes. Unlike the instructions provided in the French syllabus and the accompanying document, it is up to each NSW school to develop its own programme for PDHPE.<sup>21</sup> At one NSW school used for this research, dance has become an elective option for Years 9 and 10 rather than a core component of the PDHPE programme. In the same way, the two NSW schools observed for this research have trialled different class types, for example, single-sex and skills graded classes for physical education. It would be difficult for such individual school experimentation or syllabus adjustment to be undertaken in France.<sup>22</sup>

### School sport in NSW

It is hard to ignore the evidence of teachers who attested to frustration at the current arrangements within their schools. Many argued it would be preferable to abolish entirely the Sports requirement in government schools, rather than continue with an approach which ignores the needs and interests of many students, is openly tokenistic, imparts few skills, does little for the self-esteem of many students (particularly girls) and, more generally, discourages students from developing a positive attitude towards participation in any sport. (NSW Ministry of Education 1989, p. 54)

School sport in NSW public schools is mandatory but there is limited direction about what is intended by school sport. There tends to be two general levels of participation in school sport. One is the 'sports afternoon' in which a series of activities will be on offer for the students, and the second level is inter-school sports. At Plains High School, the sports on offer for the junior years were limited to team sports, in particular those with more gender neutral characteristics like volleyball, basketball and hockey and the students were limited to competing against each other in intra-school competitions. For the senior years, the choices increase and

<sup>21</sup> There was an interesting note to this at one of the NSW schools when I asked to photocopy the Year 10 PDHPE programme. The head teacher asked that the document not be shared with other schools/colleagues at the university as the school and teachers had invested a lot of time, effort and money with a consultant to draw up the programme.

<sup>22</sup> While differences in participation and performance in physical education between French male and female students have been identified as an issue, French government legislation makes it compulsory to have *la mixité* (mixed-gender classes). Discussions around assessment centre on how to make 'allowances' in the evaluation of male and female students, with one solution being a weighting option

diversify into three categories: leisure and recreation activities such as roller skating, ten pin bowling and snooker; individualistic health and fitness activities such as aerobics, weight training, and rock climbing; and finally the school competition sports including rugby union, rugby league, soccer, netball, hockey, volleyball, softball, cricket, basketball and golf. These activities tend to be marked by gender segregation with no mixed teams, despite being allowed to have mixed teams.<sup>23</sup> One of the key criticisms in the NSW *Equity and Excellence* report (1989) quoted above was the use of school sports as a form of elite competitive sports training rather than an inclusive educational activity. The tension between sports for 'all' and a breeding ground for elite athletes is also deeply embedded in school sport (Tinning 2005).

While decentralisation in France has recognised that facilities and teacher capacities may vary between schools, the situation is both similar and different in NSW. In a similar fashion to the French, the activities on offer will vary according to facilities and teacher capacity as well as student demand. However, while the choices of sports in NSW can be determined to some extent by the capacities of the physical education staff, school sport may also be supported by other teaching staff with suitable coaching qualifications at the school. For example, at one of the NSW schools used for this research, the school rugby team was coached by the science teacher and not the physical education staff. This would not be possible in the French context from both a professional specialisation perspective and a union's perspective. French physical educators are the only formally trained staff that can provide school sport and the only staff required to provide this teaching under their contract with the French Ministry of Education.

### **Teacher training in NSW**

Mainstream teacher training in NSW for physical education is traditionally undertaken as a four year undergraduate, Bachelor of Education degree,

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for female students. This solution is also explicitly mentioned in the syllabus (Davis & Louveau 1998, Davis 1999, David 2000, MEN 2000, p. 7).

taught by a university Faculty or School of Education. However, the majority of physical education teachers are increasingly undertaking a three year Bachelor degree in Human Movement Science / Sports Science (taught in Science or Health schools/faculties) plus a one year Graduate Diploma in Education with the specialisation of PDHPE (see **Appendix 6.2**) (Wright 2002).<sup>24</sup> Upon completion of the four year degree or the Graduate Diploma, students apply to the NSW Department of Education to be accepted as a teacher. This process involves an interview and there is no guarantee of employment.<sup>25</sup> The NSW Department of Education provides very broad guidelines for what the teacher education courses should contain, with phrases such as 'developing an understanding of and ability to teach the content strands, and an understanding of the philosophical principles underlying PDHPE' (NSW DET 1995, p. 14).<sup>26</sup> As with other university disciplines to become an academic, there are multiple degree pathways from an Honours year to doctoral studies, or Masters to doctoral studies for Education students, as outlined in **Appendix 6.2**. The main difference between France and Australia teacher employment practices is that the French select a set number of the 'best' teachers for available positions via the *concours* as determined by the French government.

While I have referred to general aspects of the French and NSW syllabuses, I would like to examine in more detail some of the language used to describe the aims and outcomes of physical education. Tinning and Glasby (2002, p. 11) describe physical education as 'doing ideological work'. As discussed in Chapter Three, the basis for physical education's ideological work lies in its ability to draw upon medical and moral ideologies and embed them within the rationalities of syllabuses. The ideologies are underpinned by imagined values, historically through sport and health, and equally often explicitly espoused in syllabuses

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<sup>23</sup> Mixed teams are possible for softball and netball, but not for the other team activities. There was a girls' rugby team established at both schools I surveyed, but only one team played in competition. Neither school had a girls' soccer or cricket team.

<sup>24</sup> There are additional methods to gain classification as a teacher for PDHPE, but all involve to varying degrees, a university qualification. Often the additional qualification will provide 'education studies and methodology' (DET 1995).

<sup>25</sup> Being trained as a teacher in the NSW system also may not qualify a student to teach in any other state of Australia. Each state/territory has its own Department of Education and formal processes for recognising teacher qualifications.

<sup>26</sup> This may change with the recent establishment of the NSW Institute of Teachers for teacher registration.



(Hargreaves 1986, Pociello 1995, Andrieu 1998). I have examined the syllabuses for dimensions of the political tensions identified by Bos and Amade Escot (2004) as well as unwritten, hidden or null curriculum as identified by David Kirk (1992) and others (Kirk & Tinning 1990, Penney & Glover 1998). By contrasting alternate language from France and NSW, ideological assumptions or political positions become more apparent than in reading one syllabus on its own.

### **Comparative language of syllabus *Aims***

PDHPE contributes significantly to the cognitive, social, emotional, physical and spiritual development of students. It provides opportunities for students to learn about, and practise ways of, adopting and maintaining a healthy, productive and active life. It also involves students learning through movement experiences that are both challenging and enjoyable, and improving their capacity to move with skill and confidence in a variety of contexts. It promotes the value of physical activity in their lives. (BoS 2003, p. 8)

EPS permits students to take responsibility for the consequences of their actions, to feel the effects of their action on the environment, to experience their consideration with regards to others. It develops the spirit of initiative, autonomy, self-discipline, the capacity to work independently or within a team, the capacity to draw on knowledge to resolve problems in daily life. It facilitates the taking into account of differences between people and developing a positive feeling with regards to these differences. Group activities necessitate the adoption of civic attitudes and the identification of cheating and other possible abuses in their practice. Lycée students easily understand the sporting and social rules which limit and regulate clashes which could possibly degenerate into violence. Finally, EPS assists to construct a values system by enabling students to face the ethical problems which are met in day-to-day life. (MEN 2000, p. 9)<sup>27</sup>

Unquestioned throughout both the French and NSW syllabuses is a belief that there is a benefit or value from physical activity, whether as a health benefit or a moral and social benefit. As Kirk and Tinning (1990, p. 7) suggest, physical education defines the activities that 'are thought to be useful, socially permissible and morally sound'. Physical education has been tasked from its introduction with outcomes that cross the Cartesian mind/body split to incorporate a singular belief that educating bodies means educating the spirit and soul to construct a better citizen

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<sup>27</sup> In Section VII of the French Syllabus there is a description of how EPS links with other school disciplines. The description quoted above related EPS to the Civics, legal and social sciences discipline.

(NSW 1989, MEN 2000). John Hargreaves (1986) argues that apart from religious studies, no other subject in the school curriculum is designed to serve such a 'social integration function' based on moral and psycho-social theorising as promoted by physical education.

However...the sub-text is concerned to a very large extent with the theme of socialization and social control. The subject is conceived overwhelmingly as providing opportunities for monitoring and influencing pupils' social behaviour, for them to experience role-play and for learning to adjust to the 'demands of society'. Such terms and phrases as 'preparation for society', 'knowledge of right and wrong', 'socially acceptable behaviour', 'emotional and social adjustment' and 'integrating the odd man out', pepper the discourse. The cognitive, emotional and moral qualities to be developed are those which are seen as maximizing role performance – 'initiative', 'creativity', 'competence' and 'efficiency', 'adaptability', 'concentration', 'self-management', 'confidence', 'discipline', 'loyalty', 'courage', 'determination', 'co-operation', etc. (Hargreaves 1986, p. 165)

There are many such qualities elaborated, both implicitly and explicitly, in both the NSW and French syllabuses as evidenced by the quotes above. For example, noting the use of 'spiritual' in the above paragraph taken from the NSW Syllabus, what is the connection between the physical body and spirituality assumed in physical education? As there is little connection made in the outcomes regarding how this spirituality may be taught, learnt or measured, one assumes that the link to spiritual growth comes through 'development of personal values regarding health and wellbeing'. But it is through the French syllabus that examples of the social integration possibilities of physical education become obvious. Physical education is assumed to provide a value system including civic attitudes, idealised personal characteristics, as well as understanding and acceptance of established rules and ethics. By comparison, the NSW syllabus shies away from describing such clear socio-political goals by referring only to providing opportunities for students (as individuals not as a team or a group) to learn, practise and improve. This difference between the French 'focalised' system and the Australian 'individualised' system is a difference of government positions on explicitly directing students to be a particular type of citizen. In the Australian case, this position can be correlated with its British heritage of liberalism (Kirk 1993, 1998).

**Table 4.3: Aims of physical education in France and NSW** (MEN 2000, BoS 2003)

Some similarities of language should be noted, in particular, the analogous use of lifelong outcomes from physical education. This is an interesting feature of physical education when compared with other subjects, particularly the more prestigious subjects of English/French, mathematics and science. In neither the French nor the NSW system do the more traditional academic subjects identify a lifelong impact for students. I would argue that the lesser-valued nature of physical education drives this association with lifelong learning/ impact/ effect as a justification for importance. As previously mentioned, physical education was rated the second least useful subject after creative arts in the French school curriculum. This was despite being one of the most preferred subjects to take (Davis & Louveau 1998).

The utilitarian prioritisation of school subjects drives physical education as a discipline to validate itself through specialisations linked, in the French example, to future career paths, and linked additionally in the NSW example, through academic-styled teaching and assessment characteristics. The focus on academic achievement in high school as a determinant of future success has meant that a subject like physical education is not perceived as useful. The key to changing this in the French school system has been to develop the *détermination* and Faculty

specialisations, and for NSW developing the Senior Syllabus for Years 11 and 12. Each of these specialisations will enable students to follow a career pathway into tertiary education, either sports-related and/ or physical education-related. The different emphases in the respective syllabuses between the French focus on the practice of physical activities and sports, and the NSW senior syllabus focus on more theoretical and academic work, reflect differing socio-cultural and political emphases at the various strands of the teaching/ education/ learning nexus. But in both cases, the increasing professionalisation and specialisations of sports through coaching, elite training, high performance management, etc., is compounding the insertion of sports sciences in physical education teacher training. If in earlier times, the STAPS and Physical Education degrees meant students were 'restricted' to be physical education teachers, it is certainly not the case in current times.<sup>28</sup>

While the NSW Senior Syllabus has five major strands including Community and Family Studies, Life Skills and Exploring Early Childhood, research by Deb Clarke (2002) indicates that it is the sports-related options that are most popular for the students' options. The sports coaching, sports training and techniques and First Aid segments are also those that the NSW physical education teachers feel most capable of teaching. During the development of the Health and Physical Education KLA for the National Statement and Profiles and subsequent curriculum reform projects, it was the sport and physical education lobby groups that exerted significant pressure to include more 'traditional' language regarding the value of sport as part of physical education as distinct from health (Penney & Glover 1998).

Despite the similarities mentioned above, differences in language between the two syllabuses are quite distinct. The French aims clearly reflect a Republican ideology of schooling and a political willingness to use the term 'citizen' that are completely absent from the NSW syllabus and its use of

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<sup>28</sup> In Australia, there is an increasing range of specialisations on offer for the Bachelor of Education degrees related to sport, physical education, recreation and outdoor education. While all the degrees qualify students to be physical education teachers, they are marketed as qualifications for a much wider range of 'professions', usually sports and health-related.

the rather neutral term 'student' (OECD 1996). However, Bos and Amade Escot (2004) are quite critical of the descriptors of this French citizen and the use of such a political word. They suggest that in the context of proposed changes to the French syllabus, the word citizen loses its political meaning in preference for an 'economic' meaning by being associated with employability characteristics unrelated to active citizenship:

L'autonomie a remplacé l'obéissance [...], et résister ne serait pas responsable. La lucidité lui permettra de voir que désormais c'est l'entreprise qui représente l'intérêt général; [...]. Nous craignons bien que ce mot de citoyen ait perdu son sens étymologique et qu'il ne soit qu'un mot écran, d'autant plus utilisé qu'il est destiné à masquer un changement de finalité : désormais, ce que l'on doit former en éducation physique, c'est tout simplement un employé. La citoyenneté ne se réduirait-elle pas alors à «l'employabilité » ? (Bos & Amade Escot 2004, p. 149)

*Autonomy has replaced obedience, to resist would not be responsible. Transparency would allow one to see that it is the business world which represents the general interest. We fear that the word 'citizen' has lost its etymological meaning and that it is little more than a screen, destined to mask a change of aims: henceforth what one must train in physical education is simply an employee. Has citizenship therefore been reduced to employability?*

This description of citizenship and employability is strongly suggestive of the neo-liberal economic efficient citizen, *homo economicus*. It is also simultaneously reminiscent of the historical context of physical education and schooling as socialisation and social control (Turney 1975, Hargreaves 1986, Kirk 1998, Vigarello 1998). There is a clear absence in the French syllabus of linking physical education with health and fitness as appears in the NSW statement of *Aims*. The phrase 'corporeal life' (*vie corporelle*) brings to mind a separation of intellectual life from physical life as though the two lives can take different paths or at least different levels of participation and achievement. This separation of body and intellect may reflect the heightened value of academic achievement over physical achievement in the French cultural context (Davisse & Louveau 1998, Thomas 2000). Similarly the responsibility for personal health and public health is considered in France to be quite clearly separate from the school environment, although this is beginning to change in a limited manner (see MdT 1997, Manidi & Dafflon-Arvanitou 2000).

By contrast, the NSW syllabus has evolved in such a way as to strengthen its relationship with personal health responsibilities and become aligned more strongly to current Australian public health discourses. For example, the previous NSW *Aims* used quite different political language (see **Figure 4.1** below), particularly when considering the line 'preparing students to take a responsible and productive role in society'. The new 2003 syllabus *Aims* have a sharpened focus on physical activity and active lifestyles. There has been a clear move away from any statement of 'significant contribution' with a focus instead on 'developing students' capacities' rather than their specific knowledge, skills and attitudes. Interestingly, the focus in the 2003 *Aims* is very much on 'activeness'. Not once in the previous *Aims* does the word 'active' appear. There is movement skill, personal fitness and healthy lifestyles, but nothing about being active or physical activity.

**Figure 4.1** Former NSW PDHPE Syllabus *Aims* (BoS 2000, p. 10)

The NSW Board of Studies (2000, p. 2) introduction to the new Stage 6 PDHPE syllabus openly acknowledges that the syllabus 'improvements' 'place an increased emphasis on critical thinking and taking action to enhance lifestyle and wellbeing'. Meanwhile Bos and Amade Escot (2004) charge the French curriculum developers with attempting to introduce postmodern neo-liberal meanings to the physical education syllabus.

The divergence in politics of physical education could not be clearer; the French physical education community rallies to 'fight' against neo-liberal intents for their discipline, while the Australian community has enthusiastically taken on board the politics of 'new public health' and personal responsibility for the healthy citizen.

Similarly, in the shorter, simpler 2003 Aims, active has become a key descriptor as in an 'active lifestyle', and in lifelong physical activity. 'Health and physical activity' have become intertwined as a couplet as have 'health and wellbeing'. The focus on health and personal responsibility for health choices is reiterated even more strongly in the objectives that follow. This subtle shift in discourse focus follows the trends anticipated by the link to critical public health promotion as discussed in Chapter Two. The 'selling' of healthy lifestyles and the assumptions of moral worth and value through 'active lifestyles' are now explicitly tied to physical education in the school context. Lupton (1999, p. 297) describes this shifting of physical education discourses as 'fitting neatly into the notion of the entrepreneurial self of neo-liberalism'. The aim is to equip students to become self-reliant in reading the messages of social worth and value and 'act upon their own subjectivity'. In effect, physical education is no longer about the workings of the external body, but the inner self (Lupton 1999).

### **Meanings of syllabus objectives**

Moving from the French and NSW syllabus aims to their objectives in general, the two sets of objectives share a number of common themes such as developing movement skills, self-improvement, lifelong participation for an active life, and the linking of health to an active lifestyle (see **Table 4.4** below). However, the differences are perhaps more interesting, for example, when considering the sense of responsibility for others.

The French 'citizenship in practice' has embedded in it the principles of social responsibility. Meanwhile the NSW objectives avoid the political notion of active citizenship with social responsibility as an outright concept, they refer instead to 'developing caring and respectful relationships, taking

actions to protect others and develop commitment to principles of social justice'. On one hand, this blurring obfuscates the political nature of schooling and the vested interests of the state in education. On the other hand, it reflects a student-centred, politically neutralised, pattern of educational government writing that has emerged in previous curriculum development (Penney & Glover 1998).

**Table 4.4: Objectives for physical education in France and NSW** (MEN 2000, BoS 2003)

The language of the NSW objectives links health behaviours with descriptors such as 'enjoyable' and 'fulfilling' with personal lifestyles. There is a set of assumptions underpinning this link that suggests to do otherwise would be an act of willful self-harm in which one seeks to condemn oneself to a life of deserved misery. This is of course slightly exaggerated, but by comparison, the French objectives have less covert assumptions of good and bad. Words like enjoyment and satisfying, willingness and caring do not appear. Nonetheless, the French do characterise their successful citizen as one who will be 'cultivated, sensible



and autonomous' which equally imply that there could be an understood definition of what makes one cultivated, what are the acceptable behaviours and, interestingly enough an emphasis on self-management (Bos and Amade Escot 2004).

### **The problematic place of sport**

Perhaps surprising, the French syllabus has not hesitated to list an objective of specialisation in a sporting practice whereas the NSW objectives avoid all mention of sport. Despite the tension in the French physical education teaching profession between sports trainer and physical educator, the willingness of the discipline, through the syllabus, to emphasise the professional aspects of sporting practice keeps the historical link alive. The moral constructs of physical education, as elaborated in the French syllabus for citizenship, are drawn primarily from the practice of sport. Sport has been viewed as a restorative, curative, emotive process for a whole range of social ailments from juvenile delinquency to social isolation, depression and suicide (see Andrieu 1998, Arnaud 2000). The 'physical fitness' that comes with sport is in some ways a bonus rather than its primary selling point. Moral fitness, social integration and normalisation appear to be the main considerations, despite contradictory behavioural messages in sport, particularly elite sport (Andrieu 1998, Piard 2000, Probyn 2000).

In the case of the NSW Syllabus, there is both an absence and acceptance of previous criticisms of physical education's obsession/conflation with sport. The language instead speaks of movement, skilled performance, and physical activity, again more aligned to the notion of lifelong activities for health not sport. Interestingly, Andrieu (1998) argues that sport does not sit well in the school context because the external culture of sport contradicts what the school and physical education are using sport to achieve with all their messages of team work and idealised citizenship. 'Life is a competition and school does not prepare us for it. What would the culture of a people be without elites and what is sport without champions? All the words of equality are undermined by the actions of sport and the school participates in this lie' (Andrieu 1998, p. 147). The shift away from

traditional sports in schools, particularly male team sports, has been noted by teachers and I will discuss this trend in the next chapter.

In the case of physical education more generally in Australia, the link to sport is being re-emphasised outside of the curriculum through the connection to preventing obesity. While concerns about this emphasis have been elaborated by Tinning and others (Gard & Wright 2001, Tinning 2001, Tinning et al. 2002, Wright & Gard 2005), particularly in relation to the association between physical education and obesity, there is a risk in linking sport and physical fitness or weight loss, in that it assumes that sufficient physical effort is expended during school time to have an impact on students' bodies. The majority of research on the physical impact of physical education class indicates that there is very limited opportunity to gain health benefits due to the extremely limited amount of time that ends up being used in real activity levels (McKenzie & Sallis 1996, Sallis & Owen 1999, Deflandre et al. 2001). But, as Tinning (2001) warns, it may also become possible in the future to suggest that poor fitness levels and continued at-risk health behaviours have a direct correlation with the failure of physical education teaching to meet its objectives.

It is worth considering the possible descriptions of non-achievement that could be used against these syllabus aims. A student who 'fails' to achieve in EPS or PHDPE would be one who exhibits little or no evidence of physical fitness and motor skills, does not participate in forms of cultural heritage such as sport, and is attributed with low self-esteem, poor social wellbeing, and an inability, lack of resources, or lack of commitment to take care of him/herself and make rational choices in terms of health. When considered in this way, physical education syllabuses prescribe an idealised citizen, the complete opposite of the 'at-risk' student in its aims, and assessment against those aims, in a way that does not happen with other school disciplines (see Deveson 1978, DETYA 2001 for a description of at-risk young people/students; Centre regional de Documentation pédagogique (CRDP) 2000 for examples of how EPS addresses at-risk behaviours). If a student does not perform well, say in mathematics, their lack of achievement does not construct a socially at-risk student. The syllabuses

describe achievements for specific outcomes such as ‘multiplying fractions’ or ‘constructing complex equations’. The implications for students’ moral character and future lives are negligible.<sup>29</sup>

### **Developing syllabuses – the politics of dis/em/powerment**

Curricula reveal how nations and states interpret themselves and how they want to be interpreted. Equally, debates about curriculum reveal the fundamental concerns, uncertainties and tensions which preoccupy nations and states as they struggle to adapt to changing circumstances. (Kemmis 1990, p. 82)

An interesting point of comparison between France and Australia is the different processes of curriculum development and consultation. As will become evident through the processes, the NSW process is a good example of a complex Foucauldian network of power, whereas the French development process and consultations are a more direct positioning of government and interest groups. Generally speaking the French education system is highly centralised and bureaucratic, with an examination-oriented system of education. French teachers and educational administrators have a notable preoccupation with the laws, rules and procedures that govern the French school system (Fowler 1999, Limage 2000). Not only do the teachers undergo specific training with regards to the Orientation Law of July 10, 1989 during their training, but each curriculum guide also begins with its legal basis and passage of legislation into French law. Foreign observers of French education often comment on the legalistic and legislative requirements for curriculum and teachers (Anderson-Levitt 1987, Broadfoot & Osborne 1993), which may be partially a characteristic of such a strongly centralised education system. By contrast, in NSW, a much smaller government unit, does not formally legislate its curriculum. Curriculum development in France is the responsibility of a national council, the *Conseil National des Programmes* (CNP - National Council for Curriculum) and within the CNP are expert groups for each discipline called the *Groupes d'experts* (GE). Membership of the Council and the Groups are political appointments. Under the *Charte des Programmes* (Curriculum Law) of 1991, curriculum development is to be undertaken for each discipline at each level every five years. A group of

<sup>29</sup> I looked at the French and NSW Mathematics syllabuses, which are available at [www.eduscol.gouv.fr](http://www.eduscol.gouv.fr)

technical experts in the discipline is convened, and draws up a curriculum that is then discussed with the relevant stakeholders such as teachers, unions, parents and students (MEN 1992). In 2000, the National Curriculum Council decided to re-examine the physical education curriculum. This was the second attempt to rewrite the syllabus in three years. The first rewritten syllabus in 1999 was the subject of strong criticism and was rejected by the teachers for implementation.

**Figure 4.2: Proposed competencies for the Y2000 French syllabus** (Méard & Klein 2001)

The French Group of Experts charged with developing the new Y2000 syllabus argued that the methodological competencies as proposed in **Figure 4.2** were not new, but were making explicit what already existed implicitly in EPS and hence would improve the situation for physical education on two (possibly opposing) bases: the need for a core purpose to ensure that EPS does not end up becoming some cross-disciplinary first-year foundation course; and the need to differentiate the discipline from that of the sports trainer. To do this, the Group proposed four types of competencies (see **Figure 4.2** above) to allow for the 'unknown/unseen' in what can be taught and achieved in physical education. Their challenge to the controversies over the proposed changes was that the common ground for physical education, regardless of theoretical positions, was to make 'schooling more just' for all students.

De fait, parce qu'elle représente un temps d'apprentissage minuscule dans le cursus scolaire d'élève (mille heures tout compris) face aux matières intellectuelles qui requièrent finalement des compétences assez homogènes

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and [www.nswboardofstudies.nsw.edu.au](http://www.nswboardofstudies.nsw.edu.au) respectively.

(concentration, logique, mémoire, etc.), l'EPS dépend fortement du vécu corporel de l'adolescent en dehors de l'école et de son code génétique ; parce qu'elle prend pour support des pratiques sociales, l'EPS dépend également du capital culturel de l'élève. Elle hérite aussi des stéréotypes, des contradictions, des modes relatives à ces pratiques. [...] Les concepteurs des programmes lycées 2000 ont tenté d'influer sur ce débat et d'apporter leur contribution à une école où tout(e)s élèves peuvent réussir en EPS. (Méard & Klein 2001, p. 13)

*In fact, because EPS represents only a miniscule time for learning in the school career of a student (some 1000 hours in total), in the face of intellectual matters which require somewhat homogenous competences (concentration, logic, memory, etc), EPS strongly depends on the physical real life of an adolescent outside of school and their genetic code. Because EPS is supported by social practices, it equally depends on the cultural capital of students. It also inherits the stereotypes, contradictions and the fashions relative to these practices. The writers of the Lycée 2000 syllabus have tried to have an influence on this debate and to bring their contribution to a school in which all students can be successful in physical education.*

There are a number of perhaps surprising acknowledgements made by the authors in the quote above regarding the specificity of physical education compared to other school subjects as well as the limited time available for physical education in schools to achieve fitness and skills development goals and the effects of external social influences that may have some correlation with students' socio-economic status. It is worth noting that this article was written after the French teachers again refused to accept the amended syllabus. Gilles Klein (2002), Chair of the EPS Group of Experts in 2000, described the discipline as needing to 'move forward' and accept changes in order to preserve its position in the school curriculum. His reference points were very much the changes that are occurring throughout the world for physical education.

In NSW, the process of curriculum development is more structured than the French process, in a hierarchical sense, with a sense of 'encouraging' or more critically enforcing involvement from a range of political players through 'pseudo-participation and quasi-democracy' (Kirk & Macdonald 2001, p. 565). The key structure involved in this process is the NSW Board of Studies. The Board calls for nominations for curriculum writers, all of whom are drawn from the specific discipline, although not all are necessarily practising school teachers. For the syllabus review that was undertaken at the time of my research, many of the curriculum team,

although former physical educators in secondary schools, were, at the time, employed at universities. The curriculum development process is a reasonably lengthy one, taking just over 12 months to write a syllabus, call for comments, re-write as required and then take the syllabus out to focus groups for discussion and comments (NM3, BoS 2001). The list of curriculum committee members for the previous syllabus review was extensive and could include up to some 17 members for any single Year 7-12 syllabus, including:

- 1-2 members of the Board of Studies
- 2 tertiary sector nominees, nominated by the Committee of Chairs of Academic Boards
- 2 NSW Department of Education and Training nominees
- 1 NSW Department of Education and Training nominee with Technical and Further Education (TAFE) background
- 2 NSW Teachers' Federation nominees
- 1 Independent Education Union nominee
- 1 Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Inc nominee
- 1 Catholic Education Commission nominee
- 1 Parents and Citizens Association nominee
- 1 Association of Independent Schools nominee
- 1 representative with a background in Special Education
- 1 Council of NSW Professional Teachers' Associations nominee
- 1 NSW Parents Council / Council of Catholic Schools Parents nominee (BoS 2001, p. 4).

The role of the Board Curriculum Committee is to provide advice to the curriculum writers on who should be consulted, review the documentation, and recommend the syllabus document to the Board for its endorsement. In making this recommendation, the Committee advises on the process, inclusion of consultative views and the quality of the syllabus package (BoS 2001). When compared to the smaller five member Group of Experts that develops the French EPS syllabus, this list would appear to be an astonishing request for participation across a wide range of possible interest groups. Interestingly enough, the teachers of a given discipline would be outnumbered by other nominees, particularly those representing government and parent groups. Given the disparate nature of the interest groups, it may be that in any contested situations relating to syllabus content, the syllabus would become a 'consensus' model rather than a necessarily desirable professional model.

Kirk and Macdonald (2001, p. 552) suggest that teachers' input into new versions of syllabuses come primarily from the local context of implementation of reforms, and that they are limited in their capacity to be the 'co-producers of the new versions of [Health and Physical Education] at the level of national and state documents'. Penney and Glover (1998) similarly argue that while policy of 'consultation' is a notable characteristic of the Australian processes for syllabus development, in reality many mechanisms are used to limit the opportunities to 'speak and be heard'. The agendas for consultation have been very restricted, the timeframes kept short and in some cases, draft documents have been selectively circulated or had their availability limited in some way. By doing this, there is every appearance of participation and empowerment, but the opportunity to reject outright a syllabus (as may occur in the French case), is much more limited by the same mechanisms of 'buy-in' and empowerment of other interest groups.

In a consummate example, during the consultations for the revised Stage 6 (Years 11 and 12) PDHPE syllabus, teachers proposed that the values and attitudes objectives be excluded as they felt these were irrelevant to Stage 6 (BoS 1999a). The response from the Curriculum Committee was that 'Values and attitudes outcomes have been found to be helpful for many teachers. Values and attitudes are also very important for developing and maintaining healthy lifestyles' (BoS 1999a, p. 13). The conclusion from Penney and Glover (1998, p. 18) about other Australian physical education curriculum development is that 'teachers appear to have been largely excluded from or certainly marginalised in policy development, defined essentially as technicians charged with the delivery of a curriculum developed by others'. The NSW PDHPE syllabus development does not appear to have been very much different.

### **Transforming content / resisting change**

Learners' needs and abilities, teachers' skills and motivation and obdurate, practical features of classroom life are very real and significant considerations when teachers attempt to introduce reforms into their classrooms. The physical environment in terms of facilities and equipment was a further local consideration that teachers raised in relation to their interpretations of the new

curriculum materials. It was in relation to these dimensions of the local context of implementation that teachers could speak with authority. (Kirk & Macdonald 2001, pp. 560-561)

In a study of curriculum implementation in Victoria and Queensland, Kirk and Macdonald (2001) found that while teachers might not have felt involved in the development of new syllabuses, they did feel that their more 'grounded' knowledge of the classroom situations gave them the capacity to better 'interpret' the intent of new materials. However, being involved at the implementation level also meant that teachers had the capacity to limit transformative effects of new and different materials. Certainly in the French case, Méard and Klein (2001, p. 14) acknowledge that the direct effect of syllabuses on practices may be quite minimal, and moreover, there is a capacity for physical educators to deploy 'evasive tactics' in face of an undesirable syllabus; 'we know our happy capacity to subvert any orders perceived as useless or harmful'.

Bos and Amade Escot (2004) suggest that the 'renovation' process for the physical education curriculum is affected by all the challenges that schools find themselves confronting, particularly the growing demands of teaching in modern societies. They argue that the systematic installation of the notions of competencies and socialisation takes away from schooling and its potential as a place of knowledge-transfer.

Ces mesures s'accompagnent, enfin, de discours confus, parfois contradictoires, où se mêlent la référence à l'élève au centre du système éducatif, le développement de la citoyenneté, le développement de compétences transversales, l'autonomie de l'élève. On peut se demander si ces discours, que se réclament des meilleures intentions, ne sont comme ils l'affirment, que des réponses à des changements qui nous dépassent, forcément inéluctables et auxquels on pourrait tout au plus se préparer, comme on se hâte de regagner au abri quand l'orage gronde. Au contraire, ne peut-on pas mettre en évidence des options philosophiques, notamment au travers des conceptions de la culture et de sa transmission, qui ont pour fonction de préparer, voire d'accélérer, les changements sociaux jugés indispensables au développement économiques mondial. (Bos & Amade Escot 2004, p. 140)

*These measures are accompanied, in short, by confused and sometimes contradictory discourses, where student-centred education is mixed up with developing citizens, developing cross-disciplinary competencies and autonomous students. One would ask if these discourses, which claim to have the best of intentions, are not as they assert and are responses to some changes which are overtaking us, of course inescapable and for*



*which one should be able to be prepare oneself like we race to get to shelter when a storm rumbles overhead. In contrast, could we not give prominence to philosophical options, notably with regards to ideas of culture and its transmission, which act to prepare us, indeed to quicken, the social changes judged indispensable to global economic development.*

Criticisms of the proposed French syllabus changes were based on politics of a larger scale that position physical education as a reflection of what it means to be French. There also needs to be consideration of what effect 'global' curriculum reforms have, such as the 'competency-based approach' that was being promoted by the OECD during the 1990s (M'Batika & Jonnaert 2004). Changing curriculum text such as 'the tradition and transmission of sporting heritage' to 'being adaptable to change' becomes a question of what it means to have an instrumentalist form of teaching of knowledge neutered of all culture in the face of deculturation through American-led neo-liberal globalisation (Bos & Amade Escot 2004). In examining the participation of French physical educators in the development of their syllabuses, it becomes apparent that the politics of physical education, and of sport, are more explicitly underpinned by ideological differences and theoretical schools than in the comparatively apolitical Australian case. References to the French Communist Party taking a pro-sport position for physical education and the political negotiations with the Socialist-aligned physical education teachers' union are a level of politics that do not occur in the syllabus developments for NSW (see French examples in articles by Defrance and Collinet in EPS 2000). Thus the proposals by Méard and Klein (2001) (both members of the curriculum development Expert Group) and the objections articulated by Bos and Amade Escot (2004) to changes in language for the French syllabus take on and reflect higher political ideological meanings. The tensions over words may have behind them a history of 'battles' between academic discourses as well as government politics.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Defrance (2000, p. 29) describes SNEP (the physical educators' union) as aligned with the French Communist Party along with the Fédération Sportive et Gymnique de Travailleurs (FSGT – Workers Sporting and Gym Federation). During the 1950s and 1960s, following the Vichy war period, SNEP and FSGT were involved in the redevelopment of physical education and the introduction of sport into physical education.

Changes to physical education syllabuses over the longer term and more recently in both France and NSW have reflected the various needs of governments and teachers, but only through negotiated processes. These programmes of curriculum development similarly reflect political histories and ideologies. The French process is strongly influenced by SNEP, which brings its own political history. Meanwhile the NSW curriculum process, by comparison, is more aligned to a liberal-democratic, albeit Foucauldian web, of diversified political participation. Yet in both cases, it is openly acknowledged that the localised implementation of syllabuses can be quite powerfully constrained by teachers in the classroom (Kirk & Macdonald 1998, Méard & Klein 2001). It is for this reason that it becomes important to examine the practices of physical education *in situ* as well as to hear the thoughts of physical educators as grounding for what can be viewed as a somewhat removed set of politicised words.

## Chapter Five: Physical education in practice: Forming good citizens through sport

*PE Teacher:* Tell you what, Simpson: I won't fail you if you join one of those peewee teams outside the school.

*Lisa Simpson:* You mean those leagues where parents push their kids into vicious competition to compensate for their own failed dreams of glory?

*PE Teacher:* Look, I don't need this. I inhaled my favourite whistle this morning!

*The Simpsons, "Lisa on Ice", Episode 608, 1994*

Teachers are a cornerstone of enacting curriculum. They wield enormous power in the schooling careers of their students as 'agents' of the education system (Giroux 2001). David Brown (2005, p. 9) describes physical education teachers as the 'key agents in the production of practice as they represent the embodied human link between past practice, as successfully experienced and internalized, and present practice'. They can also produce forms of resistance, as discussed towards the end of Chapter Four, through subverting the intentions of curriculum, consciously or unintentionally. And equally, teachers can exhibit forms of compliance and reinforcement, particularly for corporeal comportment in the case of physical education (Wright 1998, Penney 2002).

The next two chapters examine the politics and practices of physical education through the lived experiences of physical education teachers and their understanding of the politics of school, teaching, and curriculum. The syllabuses discussed in the previous chapter are the 'official' picture of what physical education should look like in high schools. But there remains a need, as with all 'official' documents and the officially recognised notions of good citizens, to examine what happens in practice when the syllabus interacts with the school, the classroom, the teachers and the students (Goodson & Ball 1984, Tinning et al. 2001). This chapter will focus on the 'pragmatic realities' or the discourses articulated by teachers through their reasons for being teachers and what they value in physical education. On one hand, teachers are the agents to govern and discipline embodied citizens, while on the other hand, they provide forms of resistance to the model, ie the syllabus that is to be applied in the schools.

The interviews that I conducted with teachers also raised other particularities of the French and Australian cultures of physical education and sport. In some cases, these reflect the global commercialisation of sport and/or education, while others reflect specific cultural discourses. Like the framework of the good citizen developed in the first half of this thesis, certain characteristics of physical education syllabuses could be described as 'nationalistic' in their intent for political reasons, but how these are taken up on the ground by teachers and students may reflect more globalised shifts in cultural practices and/or common cultural responses to discipline changes.

### **Stereotypes and interview themes**

In Anglophone cultures, physical education and physical education teachers are referenced through a number of stereotypical forms. For example, commonly expressed beliefs include that: physical education is a form of public embarrassment related to performing in front of audiences (ie classmates); it is primarily about sport and/or forms of repetitive physical training; and students who are high achievers in physical education are the sporting or athletic types. Physical education teachers are also pictured in a number of standard formats, often related to their strong preferences for sport. McCullick and colleagues (2003) categorised popular culture references, primarily in movies, to physical education teachers thus:

- Physical education teachers and coaches are the same;
- Physical education teachers do not teach;
- Physical education teachers are bullies; and
- Female and male teachers are portrayed differently, with a strong focus on their sexuality.

These references may be aligned to three broader themes for physical education that appeared in the earlier discussions: the professional esteem (or lack of) for physical education teaching; the place and meaning of sport for physical education, which is often conflated with professional esteem; and physical education as a reflection of society, particularly in terms of gender issues, stereotypes of sexuality and performing femininities and masculinities (Cole & Hribar 1995, Martino & Pallota-Chiaroli 2003).

Many of the interview themes considered in this chapter and the following chapter relate directly to these issues. I discussed with the teachers some of the aims and objectives listed in the syllabuses, such as the meaning of health and the lifelong impact of physical education for their students. It is interesting to examine the different discourses used by teachers to make sense of the same syllabus, enacted by them in different school environments. By the term 'making sense', I mean to analyse the discourses teachers draw upon to explain their understandings and relevance of lifelong learning, health issues and/or the moral values embedded in physical education in the context of the student populations with whom they are working. Ken Green's work (1998, p. 131) on the philosophies of physical education teachers tries to locate their thoughts 'within the wider social processes such as movements towards the professionalisation and medicalisation of physical and the constraints of everyday working lives of physical education teachers'. In this way, I also asked questions about the paths their careers had taken and their involvement in curriculum development, mentoring, or more formally in the French context, teaching at the IUFMs (teacher training institutes).

I chose to ask about teachers' professional development to better understand networks of expertise and how teachers are involved in the politics of physical education curricula. Green (1998, 2000) suggests that the networks in which physical educators have been involved in the past may be as important as those in which they are currently involved. The important theme found by Green (2000) was that sport underpins the identity of physical education and that this affects other factors such as teaching identities (including teacher training, professional marginalisation, practical constraints), and the types of ideological influences in the field. The importance of sport to physical education is unquestionably a recurring theme, from the professional status of the teachers to the reasons why they choose to be teachers.

Professional ideologies are similarly a primary theme for this chapter with a central focus on sport and its school context for physical education. Despite the different political contexts of the physical education syllabuses,

the discussions between French and Australian physical education teachers were on occasions astonishingly alike. In addition to interviews with the teachers, I used a survey questionnaire with students to gain background information on their attitudes towards physical education and other forms of physical activity outside of the school environment. This information serves as further contextual grounding for the teachers' concerns and practices.

### **Who are the teachers?**

#### Jean-Claude, Luc, Claudine, Jane, Jeff and John

Interviews were carried out with six teachers—three in France (Jean-Claude, Luc and Claudine), and three in Australia (Jane, Jeff and John). As background, four of the teachers (Jean-Claude, Luc, Jane and John) were senior staff or head teachers. In Australia, the two head teachers, Jane and John, had been involved in developing curriculum / syllabus / individual school year programmes and marking higher school certificate senior PDHPE exams, and were generally very aware of developments within their discipline. Both had undertaken further studies at university from a two year Master's degree to a Doctorate in Education. John indicated that he was at the end of his 'school' teaching career as the only promotion left for him would be a deputy or principal/Board of Studies role and he was not keen to be removed from active teaching.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, the two senior French teachers, Jean-Claude and Luc, were involved in the IUFM initial teacher training and were both very aware of the political developments for their discipline. Both had trained as teachers prior to the 1981 changes for physical education and undertaken further studies such as the *agrégation* exams. By contrast, Jeff and Claudine were younger, and less administratively or politically involved with curriculum development and implementation. Neither had undertaken further qualifications in teaching or physical education. For example, Claudine was not *agrégée*. Technically this meant she could not participate in initial teacher training at the IUFMs. Jeff, on the other hand, had acted as Head teacher and this gave him further insight into the internal school politics for resourcing and timetabling of the various subjects.

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<sup>1</sup> John has since moved to a nearby university to work as a lecturer in physical education.

### The attractions of being a physical education teacher

The roles and meanings of sport within physical education are quite complex, especially when the external cultures of elite sport are brought into the equation as elaborated in earlier chapters. The congruence between professional pedagogic identity and personal pleasure and practices is brought into sharp relief when considering the strong attraction for physical education teachers to continue their involvement and enjoyment of physical activities in their jobs, first and foremost through sport, as Tinning (2001) explains:

We became physical education teachers through the experiences of our training and other seemingly unrelated experiences. When we say that we all studied to be physical education teacher we do not mean that we all wanted to be physical education teachers. Like many of you, some of us were more interested in extending our involvement with and participation in sport or dance than *actually* becoming a teacher. Doing a physical education course meant that we could keep the thing we loved to do the most—namely sport—as the central activity and focus of our lives. (Tinning et al. 2001, p. 12)

The teachers interviewed for this research elaborated similar thoughts as those raised above. They came to physical education primarily through an enjoyment of sport and encouragement based on their own experiences of physical education at school (see **Table 5.1**). Those teachers with children spoke of their pleasure that their children enjoyed physical activity, and in the case of one French teacher, his son had also become a physical education teacher. For all of them, there had been an involvement in team sports and that often continued from playing into coaching. For example, Jeff cited the examples set by his football coaches who were also his physical education teachers as inspiring him to consider physical education as a career. John and Luc came into teaching through rugby and soccer respectively; John's involvement in rugby meant that he received a scholarship to study physical education at a college with a tradition of playing rugby. Claudine similarly seemed to 'fall' into the teacher role because she enjoyed sport and the sport-related subjects within the physical education degree.

**Table 5.1 Reasons for becoming a physical education teacher**

Teacher	Interview comments	Translation
John, Beach High School	[B]ack in Year 12 I had no idea what I wanted to do then and back in those days I was offered a scholarship to do PE at X University so that was handed to me and I sort of had in the back of my mind, I applied for the scholarship, I thought well if I got that, that would be good and ah...my best friend at school he got the same scholarship and we thought well that's us and we started off together. We were both playing rugby at the time and we'd heard that [region] was fairly strong at rugby. We came down here and played rugby and had a good time for four years at Teachers College.	
Jane, Plains High School	I think that my PE teachers were very good role models, that was one of the things, but I was always involved in sport when I was young and it was something that I knew that I was never going to be able in an environment where I was sitting down and office-type of work [...] but you know, bottom line, I think it's a terrific job in that it's a unique area of education that kids don't get any other exposure to through any of the other faculty areas. And I think it's really important that kids learn how to move and learn how to be physically active and try to set up some patterns for later on in life.	
Jeff, Plains High School	Well I had PE teachers at my school that I just thought, they were my football coaches and different things like that and they were pretty good role models and I just thought 'oh geez that looks like not a bad job' and I did sport right through school and everything like that, so I thought it would be a good idea to try and get into.	
Claudine, Lycée Gen	D'abord au départ parce que j'aimais le sport, que j'aimais le pratiquer et du coup, les études me tentaient, mais en fait pas, si tu veux, sans me projeter dans le, le fait d'être enseignant, parce que les études me plaisaient. Les études de psycho, bio, ça me plaisait, tout ça, et puis faire du sport, quoi. Donc j'y suis rentrée comme ça, et puis bon la sortie, c'était le CAPEPS, mais j'ai pas eu une vocation d'enseignante au départ, quoi.	Firstly at the beginning because I liked sport, I liked training and as a result the subjects kept my attention. So in effect, if you like, without me projecting, the fact I'm a teacher is because I enjoyed the subjects. Psychology, biology, I enjoyed them all, and then to be able to do sport, well. So I came into it like that and at the end, that was the CAPEPS, but I didn't really have the intention of being a teacher at the beginning.
Jean-Claude, Lycée Gen	C'est un métier qui me plaisait depuis très longtemps, même quand j'étais au collège, je voulais être professeur d'éducation physique.  J'aimais bien les activités, et je réussissais pas trop mal dans ces activités. Je me débrouillais à peu près partout, en natation, en sport collectif, partout, et c'est un métier qui me paraissait intéressant...	It's a job that I've enjoyed for a long time. Same when I was at college, I wanted to be a physical education teacher.  I really liked the activities; I wasn't too bad in these activities. I managed to organise myself a little bit all over, in swimming, team sports, everything, and it was a job that seemed to be interesting...
Luc, Lycée Pro	Moi je suis un footballeur de formation, donc j'ai pratiqué à un niveau assez élevé, disons à 19 ans, je jouais j'étais pas professionnel, mais juste au dessous. C'était bien. J'ai choisi [...] Et pis les ambiances, j'ai bien aimé en tant que pratiquant mais je me voyais pas en train de prendre comme certains collègues, des responsabilités d'entraîneur, tout ça. Par contre je suis parti vers le côté pédagogique, enseignement et là j'ai trouvé quelque chose qui m'intéresse.	I was a footballer in training, I'd trained at a reasonably high level, let's say at 19 years old, I was playing, not professional, but just below that. It went well. I had chosen. [...] Worse the atmosphere, I really loved being a footballer but I couldn't see myself taking on the responsibilities of being a trainer like some colleagues and all that. Instead I was heading to the pedagogic side, teaching and there I found something that interested me.



The professional collaboration of physical education and sports sciences has been identified by French and Australian researchers (see Kirk 1990, Tinning 1990, Thomas 2000) as emblematic of the professional 'confusion' for physical educators between teaching and coaching. For example, based on his participation in competitive soccer, Luc articulated a dual career pathway offered by sport: to become a professional coach/trainer or to move towards the 'pedagogic' and become a teacher. In both countries, the higher education sector has identified and developed multiple career pathways, primarily related to sport, for physical education at universities (see **Appendix 6**). These 'new' professional futures for physical education trained teachers have also been one of the arguments to create specialisations at the secondary school level, as evidenced by the French *lycée* EPS options and the NSW PDHPE Higher School Certificate subject (as discussed in the previous chapter). Providing increased career pathways beyond teaching for those who have an enjoyment of physical education and sport is intrinsically linked with the sport sciences, coaching and training.

Only Jane and Jean-Claude spoke of specifically wanting to be physical education teachers, albeit while referring to their participation in sport. Notably, Jane qualified her career desire to be 'outdoors' rather than in an office environment. This is one of the two explicit environmental markers of difference for physical education as compared to traditional classroom subjects: its different class spaces, the outdoors and the gymnasium; and the different work clothing for teachers (Thomas 2000). The Australian and French teachers' participation in sport and enjoyment of sport and physical activities, rather than a desire to be 'teachers', appears as a defining characteristic (Green 2000, Penney 2002).

There are some professional benefits drawn from the teachers' sporting backgrounds. For most of the teachers, exemplified by the following comments made by Jean-Claude about being a rugby trainer, the learning from competitive sport also informed their teaching and understanding in the context of elite competition versus lifelong learning and participation in physical activity.

C'est à dire que l'un m'a servi à l'autre, et vice-versa. Mais c'est vrai que l'expérience d'entraîneur de rugby à mon niveau, c'est intéressant dans à la fois dans la, pour soi, gérer des difficultés, des problèmes d'adultes, des problèmes de groupes, des problèmes techniques et des problèmes tactiques, c'était assez important mais également ça m'a servi pour ensuite prendre la distance pour pouvoir aussi aborder mes cours d'éducation physique et bien faire la différence entre ce que je faisais en éducation physique et ce que je faisais au club. Voilà. Je crois qu'il n'y a pas..., ça se mélange pas, c'est deux champs très différents. Mais pour ma formation personnelle et pour mes compétences d'enseignant, les deux secteurs m'ont paru très enrichissants.

*That is to say that one helps the other and vice versa. But it's true that my experience as a rugby trainer at my level, it's interesting, for myself, to deal with the adult problems, problems in the group, technical and tactical problems. It's also important, equally that it's helped me to a step back to look at my physical education classes and to make a clear distinction between what I do in physical education and what I do at club level. The two don't mix, they are two very different fields, but for my personal development and my competencies as a teacher, for me the two sectors are enriching.*

Similarly for the Australian teachers, their sporting backgrounds, as participants and coaches, also provided a key element of their professional standing: it meant they could use their more detailed knowledge, and often formal credentials, for coaching specific activities for graded school competition (Jane played hockey and cricket; John surfed and played rugby; Jeff played rugby league, touch rugby and participated in triathlons).

### **Some meanings of sport for physical educators**

Despite the shared attraction of physical education for its connections with sport, it is not as simple as assuming that all physical education teachers have the same understanding of or ascribe the same meaning to sport. Achieving at an elite level of competition may have a completely different set of values and meanings compared to playing tennis with friends on the weekend. Coming from a range of lived experiences means that the teachers constructed different meanings for sport, in their own lives and for their students. These meanings included the ideas that participation in sport provided 'character building', improved behaviours, and an opportunity to 'make something of oneself' through being tested in the field (of combat). Physical education in schools has held a dualistic role of physiological improvement of bodies 'as engines' (Gleyse 2002) and the enhancement of individuals through pedagogically embedded values (Arnaud 1983).

The schooling mechanism for inculcating these roles has primarily taken place through sport. And the moral characteristics and values of sport are often based on socially acceptable, classed and gendered practices, similar to those that underpin the traditional heroic citizenship. The traditions of sport like those of citizenship are symbolic as a form of hegemonic masculinity because sport 'literally embodies the seemingly natural superiority of men over women' (McKay et al. 2001, p. 237).

In one example, the value of respect was an important aspect of what Jeff, a teacher at Plains High School, felt could be taught, and by implication, learnt from schooling in general, including physical education in particular.

[A] lot of these kids here in [Plains] don't have much respect for anything. Again, I don't know if it's from their home life or from society all round but they don't respect simple things like PE equipment, sport equipment. They don't understand that if it's broken or it's damaged and they've damaged it, well why can't we just get another one? They don't have any respect for that kind of thing and you'll probably see it, if you go out here at recess too, they'll just throw their rubbish down and that's a big thing, I try to and I think every teacher should too, try to teach the students that they must have respect for themselves and other people and other people's property and their property, because if they don't do that, again when they become parents they're just gonna give the same kind of ideas across to their kids and so on and so on. And that's probably not just in this school it's probably in a lot of schools that the students or kids don't have respect for themselves and other people and so on.

It should be noted that Jeff made specific reference to the Plains High School student population. Particular discourses such as behavioural control presented through sport have been historically applied to the lower classes (think of the masses or *classes populaires*) (see Brohm 1978) and also as an alternative to middle-class prestiged academic pathways (Polley 1998). In a similar fashion, the teaching of moral characteristics, such as respect, could also be argued to be the conservative face of schooling applied under differentiated circumstances to specific populations (Giroux 1997, 2001).

### **Desirable sporting behaviours for social citizenry**

French physical educators make explicit links between physical education and citizenship in which the long-term benefits of physical education will occur through learning citizenship in action. The learning for this active

citizenship will similarly come through participation in team activities – adhering to rules, obeying a referee/umpire (imply obeying teachers), understanding their roles within a team and controlling their behaviour (Moncelli 2000). These sorts of benefits are particularly emphasised in the formal model of sport education with objectives as described by Siedentop (1997, pp 260-261):

- Developing the skills and fitness specific to the sport;
- Appreciating and being able to execute strategic play;
- Participating at a level appropriate to a student's skill and experience;
- Sharing in the planning and administration of the sport experience;
- Providing responsible leadership in the sport context;
- Working effectively within the team towards common goals;
- Appreciating the rituals and conventions that give particular sports their unique meanings;
- Developing the capacity to make reasoned decisions about sports issues;
- Developing and applying knowledge about refereeing and training; and
- Deciding voluntarily to become involved in non-school sport.

All these objectives can be equally applied to the model of good citizenship developed in the first part of this thesis. While the emphasis on citizenship in the NSW PDHPE syllabus is certainly not as overt as in the French EPS syllabus, the Australian physical education teachers subscribe to many comparable values of physical education as the French teachers. Jane provided the example of her Year 8A students' improved attitudes towards schooling to describe how behaviours could be improved through physical education. The 8A class was established to remove behaviourally disruptive students (identified by school suspensions in Year 7) from the mainstream classes and create a focused learning and behavioural controls environment for them. Their achievements in playing and winning at volleyball against 'normal' classes were described as 'absolutely amazing'. 'I had a health lesson with them yesterday we were looking at cancer and a term and a half ago I would never have thought I'd been able to do a lesson like that. They listened, they asked questions, they were engaged in what we were talking about, they were interested to the point where they were asking about what we were doing next lesson'. Jane similarly described the improvement in their behaviour as reflected in their gamesmanship.

The other day in sport, it was raining, we had three classes in here and we had 8A, my class, challenging two other classes to volleyball which we've been doing.

My kids served properly and did all the rules properly and other kids were catching at times and they won both games which was just such a big boost for these kids. And they're together in a huddle in the middle of the court and talking team tactics between sets and it was absolutely amazing and for those kids to be able to do that was just such a boost for them, and the other kids recognised that 'hang on they're supposed to be the class that we've been talking down all year' and they've just gelled together enough to be able to beat them, with some very capable kids on the other side of the net.

The importance of coming together as a 'team' was frequently used by physical education staff as a desirable outcome for their teaching. In other cases, the teachers openly nominated team sports as their preferred form of physical education. Jean-Claude unhesitatingly linked the values of team sport and citizenship in giving his preference for 'the theme of team sports, the cross-disciplinary nature of team sports and citizenship, all which is associated with practical, with the competencies like citizenship, certain values'. The choice of activities in the Jean-Claude's case was clearly linked to particular behavioural outcomes. He explained for the *secondes* (=Y10), the priority outcome for students was to 'know oneself and to know others' (*se connaître et connaître les autres*) and that to achieve this Lycée Gen focused on providing team sports activities and team assessments (see ObF10, **Appendix 9**).

One objective of physical education is about embedding forms of civic conformity or teaching the obedient citizen. While this is overtly described in the French EPS syllabus, many of the characteristics of civic conformity, such as proscribed values and corporeal behaviours, are applied through sport as the teaching medium. However, a (re)emerging theme was that there were different values for physical activity/sport elaborated by the teachers I surveyed in respect of different student populations. This differentiation has existed since the early 1900s with the introduction of physical education and organised sports in schools, but the teachers also applied this to the importance of lifelong participation beyond school. The value of physical activity for the higher socio-economic classes could arguably be connected to the healthisms of moral superiority and self-control, whereas organised sport for the lower socio-economic populations is about 'remedial practice'—behavioural control, re-directing

energies away from delinquent behaviour, and preventing populations from being future burdens to society through their health choices (see O'Flynn & Wright 2006). The whole concept of school sporting competition extends this inculcation of desirable behaviours for social citizenry. The French UNSS argues for its existence on the basis of providing an arena to develop many of the perceived skills of citizenship, as suggested by the UNSS poster list of verbs:

- Former = To shape
- Développer = To develop
- Respecter = To respect
- Evaluer = To evaluate
- Contribuer = To contribute
- Initier = To initiate
- Tolérer = To tolerate
- Partager = To share
- Participer = To participate
- Animer = To stimulate.

In Australia, another complicating factor related to school sport is the use of school sports carnivals and school 'houses' to build loyalty. Typically, schools, government and non-government, assign students to a house, using names related to their local area, Australian history or other notable persons. The most common, often the only, connection for the students to their houses is through school sports competitions, with the traditional events being a school athletics carnival, a cross-country running carnival and a swimming carnival. Students compete against each other in events to gain points for their house. In relay events, teams are 'house teams'. Students participating in the carnivals are encouraged to wear outfits in their house colours and create house cheers (see Ob2N, **Appendix 9**).<sup>2</sup>

### **Making something of yourself through sport**

Another discourse of sport as a means of learning perseverance was strongly articulated by Jeff at Plains High School. Plains High School, much like Lycée Pro, could be described as a 'halfway' school, that is the students

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<sup>2</sup> For example, at Plains High School there were four 'houses', each named after an Australian military commander as the land provided for the school was formerly a military training area. The best known example of school houses could be the four Hogwarts houses in J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter books: Gryffindor, Slytherin, Hufflepuff and Ravenclaw. Real examples of house names at my children's schools have been : Carnegie (red), Monaro (green), Flinders (yellow), La Perouse (blue) - all explorers; Dickson (blue), Daley (red), Stephens (yellow), Lind (green) – all military commanders; Endeavour (red), Investigator (blue), Sirius (yellow), Flinders (green) – names of ships related to Matthew Flinders who mapped most of Australia. It would appear that four is the standard number of houses per school.

are be viewed as 'halfway' between being 'at-risk' and a good citizen by finishing school and getting a job (McGregor 1997). In the eyes of the teachers, the students at these schools still have a chance to make something of themselves – they are still there at school, not having dropped out. But it was also openly acknowledged that most of the students did not come from 'privileged' or academically encouraging environments, where privileged can be read as having strongly middle-class aspirations. For example, Jane referred to some of the students at Plains High School as coming from three generations of unemployment. In this environment, Jeff talked about sport for his students much as he felt it had been for himself, a means to survive difficulties and forge a stronger character:

[T]he value of sport and the value of not only winning but learning how to be a loser, because our teams at this school aren't the best teams in the world. This is probably not answering this question but an example of how we've had some really good kids through here. We've had [name] who is a swimmer at the moment; he won a Commonwealth Games medal. Now he went through here and he was a really good bloke, a really nice kid, like our school wasn't the best swimming school. But when I was sports organiser I'd go up to him and say 'look, can you go in this relay'. He'd say 'okay not a problem' and he'd be going in with Year Seven kids. He'd be absolutely getting belted but he'd still go out there and he'd still compete and he'd do his best, come last, he didn't care, going against other schools. But I give that example a lot to the kids here, I'll say 'you've just got to *keep trying* and *never give up*, because if you learn that, you can take that from your sport and you can use it in life'. A lot of the kids here *aren't the best in academic* but if they take the idea of *keep trying, keep trying* and don't give up, in their life, maybe in games they've learnt or teams they've played at this school or coaches they've had at this school, they've tried to get that into their head, then *it's something they can take from sport to their life*. They may never play sport again but they may as long as they *take the idea of trying their best*, because that's what I say to the kids. Again an example of Year 7 kids in the Touch team. I'll say to them 'look, as long as you try your best, if you listen to me, if you learn something from me, that's great, but please just keep trying and try your best, don't give up', because that's something that really gets under my skin with students, kids and people. I like to think that if I put 110% into things I expect other people to do that as well and that's what I try to get through and everyone is different and you really can't make people do that but I like to try and tell them, '*if you do that, maybe you can use it later in something else you do*' or whatever. So I think sport is very important. (my emphasis)

Even as Jeff referred to his coaches yelling at him, his acceptance of a discourse of self-improvement and betterment through sport excused what

could be perceived by some as bullying: 'I think it has given me a lot whereas going back I try 110% probably because of the coaches I've had during my time, you know, they might have yelled at me, screamed at me, whatever, but I've understood that if you give the best you can they will understand that's the best that you can give. So I like to try and do as best I can in everything'.

### **Teachers as role models for good citizens**

Each of the teachers interviewed drew on positive experiences of sport, usually to develop personal characteristics and values, primarily through team sports. Participation in sport also positioned the physical education teachers as role models for their students as Jeff explained:

I try to portray like I try to be fit myself. I suppose that's a thing too, if they see you getting out there and they ask you, 'what do you do sir' and I say 'well, I do triathlons or I play Touch [rugby] or whatever'. I'm not saying that I'm always gonna be fit, I'm not really fit at the moment but I can get out there and have a go and show them that when you get older, that sport is still important and getting out there and having a go at different things. Hopefully you get across the idea that being fit, fairly healthy, being involved with different sports is important and that's something I try to get across to the kids.

I think it's up to me to show my kids that sport is important as well, because it's not just the fitness thing too, it's a social thing and you build relationships with people that are lifelong with sport. So I think it's created or hopefully it's created me not a bad person, I've made mistakes in sport in different things, like with people and whatever but I've learnt from those mistakes and hopefully it's made the person I am today. I'm not saying sport is the be all and end all of everything but I think it's a very important aspect of life. But yeah, I can't imagine what I would have been doing if I didn't do sport. I can't imagine, I really can't. I wouldn't probably be sitting here today, I'd be off in another direction.

The importance of role models in physical education, particularly as encouragement for becoming a physical education teacher, has been highlighted in other writing (Tinning et al. 2001). The identification of, and support for, future teachers would appear again to be a particularity of physical education. Jeff made reference to his physical education teachers as role models, as did Jane, and they both saw themselves as role models, in Jeff's case much more explicitly, for their students. Meanwhile, Luc suggested that physical education teachers were looking to identify students



like themselves, an acknowledgment that role models were often a conservative practice. Discussions with Luc, the senior teacher at Lycée Pro, were somewhat different from the other teachers, not only in length of conversation (four times the transcript page length of the others) but in the intellectual reflection. An interesting example of his insightfulness was this response to provide a description of a good moment in teaching physical education:

[L]es moments favorables. [...]. En fin de compte, *c'est quand on trouve des élèves qui nous ressembleraient, qui nous ressemblent quand on était plus jeunes*. C'est le côté un peu... Comment on devient prof d' EPS, c'était la question, c'est la passion. Moi j'étais un sportif passionné, voilà. Et comme disait un vieil inspecteur qui est mort depuis, il disait : les écoles de cadre, les écoles de formation, doivent transformer les jeunes sportifs passionnés en jeunes enseignants passionnés. C'est pas toujours fait, parce que quand on sort toujours jeunes sportifs, c'est à dire, ce qui les intéresse, c'est pratiquer pour soi, on s'ennuie, dans l'enseignement, on ne pratique pas, ou si peu. Donc il faut à tout prix que ces jeunes, après ils peuvent pratiquer pour leur loisir, il faut à tout prix que ces gens prennent plaisir à enseigner ce qu'ils ont aimé. Et pas uniquement ce qu'ils ont aimé. (NM2) (my emphasis)

*Good moments: In the end, it's when you find students who are going to look like you, who look like us when we were young. That's the point, sort of... When you become an EPS teacher, that was the question, it's the passion. Me I was a passionate sportsman. And as a former inspector who just passed away said: 'the training colleges have to transform passionate young athletes into passionate young teachers'. It doesn't always happen because when you come out always young sportspeople, that is to say, what interests them, it's training for oneself, they get bored, in teaching, they don't get to practice, or only a little. So it's all important, after all they can train for their own leisure, it has to be at all costs that these people take pleasure in teaching what they have enjoyed. And not always only what they have enjoyed.*

Luc's response highlighted a tradition of physical education teachers identifying future physical education teachers through a shared enjoyment of sport. This is a quite notable difference between physical education and other school disciplines in that the teachers appeared to actively encourage physical education as a career option for students who excel at, or noticeably take pleasure in, physical education. For example, Jeff described how Jane wrote a reference for a student to support them to get a university place for physical education:

There's been kids here, there's a couple that are at X University, and I know that [Jane] has helped one of the students really get in basically because she didn't get enough marks but I remember when she was in Year 10 or Year 9 and her

mum and dad were here and asking what are the subjects this kid needs to do to try and get into PE, wants to do PE. So things like that helping them, because I know when I went through I didn't do the subjects that would have been best for me [...] I think just try to help them so that they've got something for their future.

There were commentaries from the Australian teachers on how the senior students for PDHPE were 'selected' or others discouraged from taking the subject. This is not only an Australian trait as evidenced by similar commentaries from Scottish physical education teachers (MacPhail 2004). As Young (1990) writes, the elite, in this case the teachers, position themselves through 'truth seeing and knowledge' to assess others, in this case the students, against their model of a good citizen, to become the elite. While participation in sport was obviously a key factor, the ideal student did not have to compete at an elite level, but had to be motivated to learn and participate, just like the physical education teachers themselves. This strikes a chord in terms of the teachers seeing ideal students as 'good citizens' and identifying the moral virtues and characteristics of said student/citizens. The teachers become a mechanism for governing and disciplining embodied good citizens. I would suggest that the importance of role models for physical education draws on many aspects of embodied citizenship. The teachers themselves, in this case, as role models, are the embodiment of 'good citizens' against which the students are to be 'identified' and identify themselves.

### **Ideal students: A reflection of the good citizen**

Physical education as a discipline and teaching is underpinned by discourses of behaviours, whether the moral values of 'working as a team' or civil obedience in 'obeying the rules of the game'. These discourses are explicitly described in the syllabuses but more importantly, are articulated by the teachers, often as 'attitude' when referring to respect and teamwork, as Jane explains:

[W]e're here to teach but it makes your job easier if they want to be here, if they're going to try their best and you know, if they'll work well with other students obviously in our job, working well with other people is always a plus. So I don't really care if they've got good physical skills or not, part of our job is to try and develop for them, it's more their attitude I think that's the important thing in a student that you're teaching. Their skills and their knowledge are

things that we can develop; their attitude is often something that we work most to change and is going to control the other two anyway in terms of them learning things from us.

Jane referred to developing students' skills and knowledge, but she emphasised that what the teachers worked the hardest to change was their students' attitude. This was not particular to the Plains High School student population. All of the teachers, French and Australian, described their ideal students as those who came willing to learn, were motivated to participate, and tried hard (see **Table 5.2** following). While the teachers could be seen to be describing the characteristics of the good citizen, it is worth noting that Jean-Claude added an important characteristic, leadership, more aligned to the traditional Thomas Arnold Rugby school<sup>3</sup> as a desirable characteristic for the ideal student.

The appropriate socialisation of young people through sport is perceived by administrators as a highly desirable end-product of physical education. During his time as acting Head teacher at Plains High School, Jeff found that while physical education was not given priority in terms of structural resourcing, when teaching positions were available, the school principal asked for additional physical education staff as they were good for 'behavioural control'. Again Jeff's comments about his ideal student focused on the type of school population: 'I like a kid who tries and has a go and isn't scared, especially in a school like ours, isn't scared to put up their hand and ask a question or try to be the best they can'. Overall, the teachers' descriptions of desired student characteristics centred on their behaviours and attitudes. For the most part, students' physical ability did not come into their comments. Although, Jean-Claude did add that his ideal student would have a high level of motor skills. Students motivated to do well, try hard, have a go, was a dominating desirable characteristic. I would suggest that this was because it most reflected what the teachers were like as students and therefore enjoyed in their own students—those who want to be there and learn.

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<sup>3</sup> The Rugby School in England is one of the traditional Greater Public Schools along with Eton and Harrow. Under the leadership of Thomas Arnold (1828 – 1845) it became known for its ethos of developing leadership through sport and later as the founding school for rugby football. Pierre de Coubertin spent time at Rugby (as an adult) and was heavily influenced by the Rugby ethos (Eyquem 1966).

**Table 5.2: Teacher descriptions of 'ideal PE students'**

Teacher	Interview comments	Translation
John, Beach High School	I look back at the kids that I've taught, the kids that are keen I suppose, participate and have a go at anything, even if they've never done it before and, or have, they've got no idea but they're, they just want to have a go, they're keen to have a go and try things. I don't mind you know if they're the most uncoordinated person in the world, it's just if they're prepared to have a go, that's just great to see those kids. When I look back, success in the fact that kids that probably weren't that good at PE but then you see them after they've finished school and they're, you bump into them playing sport, like touch, touch football, I see a lot of kids that are surfing that weren't surfing at school.	
Jane, Plains High School	[T]he one thing that I ask from all the kids I teach no matter their background, their gender, their ability, is that they try their best and give their best effort. Obviously they're a lot easier to teach if they're diligent and if they, ah, are here because they're motivated and here because they want to learn, but a lot of the time it's not the case (laughs).	
Jeff, Plains High School	My ideal student wouldn't be the student that is the smartest. My ideal student would be one who has a go at anything, turns up on time, has his uniform or has her uniform and basically listens and I listen to them, have some kind of conversation with them and again, they don't have to have the best ability in the world, but as long as they try their best and once you work out a student, probably don't know exactly where their potential lies, but you know that they're going to here, or do 100 metres in 10 seconds or whatever, and if they don't reach that, you either think 'oh there's something wrong or they're just not trying'. I like a kid who tries and has a go and isn't scared, especially in a school like ours, isn't scared to put up their hand and ask a question or try to be the best they can.	
Claudine, Lycée Gen	Evidemment, c'est d'abord un élève qui est motivé, qui a envie, qui a envie de participer, qui est à l'écoute et puis qui essaie vraiment de, qui essaie vraiment de faire ce qu'on lui demande, c'est à dire pas de se lancer dans l'activité comme ça, sans avoir écouté les consignes, voilà, qui est agréable par son comportement, par son investissement dans l'activité, et puis aussi par sa réussite, bien sûr.	Absolutely, above all else, it is a student who is motivated, who wants to participate, who listens to you and then who really tries to do what we asked of them, like doesn't throw themselves into the activity without listening to the instructions. And then someone who is pleasant through their behaviour and their investment in the activity and then also who succeeds, of course.
Jean-Claude, Lycée Gen	Je te disais, d'abord, motivé, c'est un élève qui est capable de prendre des décisions, capable de réguler le travail de son groupe, d'organiser. C'est un élève qui également a des niveaux de réalisations motrices élevées. C'est un élève qui est leader, qui est vraiment, également, je dirais, reconnu par les autres.	As I said to you before, motivated, it's a student who is capable of making decisions, of organising work for their group. It's a student who also has a high level of motor skills. It's a student who is a leader, truly, equally, recognised by the others.
Luc, Lycée Pro	C'est l'élève qui veut apprendre. Même s'il est faible. Qui veut apprendre. Par contre, si c'est un élève qui a un peu pratiqué, qui sait tout...	It's a student who wants to learn. Even if they are no good at it. Who wants to learn. On the flipside, it's a student who's done little practice and knows it all.

### Teachers enjoying physical education

Not unsurprisingly perhaps, one key characteristic which has dominated the physical education profession is the teachers' enjoyment of physical activity, not necessarily elite achievement as an athlete, but a pleasure in learning/participating in physical activities, which was clearly an underlying theme in the responses in **Table 5.2** regarding ideal students. Enjoyment and pleasure are not often used in syllabus documents. Admittedly the NSW Syllabus Aims does mention 'developing students' capacity to *enjoy* an active lifestyle', but never elaborates on how this would happen. Further on in the Syllabus Objectives, under Values and Attitudes, it states that 'Students will value health-enhancing behaviours that contribute to active, *enjoyable* and fulfilling lifestyles'. It would appear that enjoyment should be healthy, but perhaps not pleasurable.

The key to imparting knowledge and skills across to the students, French and Australian, according to the teachers, appeared to be 'enjoyment' (see **Table 5.3**). If the students enjoy their classes, according to John, Jean-Claude and Luc, then knowledge and skills will be better embedded and remain for the longer term. Green (2000) observes that British physical education teachers do not present arguments for the educational worth of physical education in terms of ideology; rather the take-up of physical activity as 'enjoyment' is the important feature. He suggests that while physical educators are saying that 'sport is worthwhile for pleasure's sake', teachers also recognise that most people would not consider enjoying a subject as sufficient grounds for existing in the school context. 'They, therefore, felt constrained to add that PE had a variety of additional 'goods'' (Green 2000, p. 122). In the current French and NSW physical education syllabuses, the assumed health benefits of lifelong participation for students in physical activity would certainly be considered one of those additional goods.

The ideologies espoused by the teachers in **Table 5.3** below are based on a 'hope' that enjoyment of physical activity and sports will lead to lifelong participation in physical activity. By providing skills that the students need

and appreciate, the desirable longer term behaviours may be more easily encouraged and supported. As Jean-Claude put it, ‘there has to be both things happening, pleasure and then learning’.

**Table 5.3: Teachers on enjoying physical education**

Teacher	Interview comments	Translation
John Beach High School	Well I think you can teach it [to enjoy physical education], if they have developed some skills and they achieve some kind of success they're going to enjoy it, in most cases, I think that's, you don't really teach them to enjoy it, but your aim is opportunity, <i>have a go</i> , develop some sort of, <i>show them success in some small way</i> and then they'll think 'yeah I can do this'.  Well I'd like to think so, I mean that's why, that's the key that's what we're here for and if it doesn't, well we're wasting our time, I mean not only here, but here and now I mean that's looking for the <i>long term sort of gives them skills for the rest of their lives</i> , not just while they're here.	
Jeff Plains High School	Well the majority of kids seem to get on well with you, well, just the idea of not being in a classroom all the time, 'cause I come from a background, like my father and my brothers are all builders and I used to work with them and I couldn't work in an office. I couldn't, at least <i>you get outside and you're different places</i> , you're not in the same classroom every period. And just <i>dealing with kids like with sport</i> , and they've got a bit of ability, you try and help them along as much as you can, and then, especially with the school like ours, a lot of the kids here, they're not going to be very good academically, but a lot, you're going to have some that are good that can go somewhere in sport or have some kind of ability, so just the area that the school's in.	
Claudine Lycée Gen	Un bon moment, c'est par rapport, plus par rapport aux élèves que par rapport à l'activité. Ça serait, en fait, c'est, la récompense, c'est quand un élève te dit qu'il s'est régalé ou que les parents d'élèves souvent qui, enfin souvent, pas souvent, viennent te dire : je suis contente, ma fille , grâce à vous, <i>elle aime bien l'EPS</i> , voilà, c'est des, bon là, là, on est content, quoi, mais par rapport à l'activité, pendant le cours, non je ne saurais pas dire, c'est pas de bons moments, bon y'a de bons moments mais, pas quelque chose qui me marque particulièrement, quoi.  C'est sûr que, enfin, ce qui me satisfait, moi en dehors justement des textes, de l'administration, ce qui me satisfait, c'est que <i>les élèves arrivent en étant motivées, en ayant envie de faire, d'arriver dans mon cours en étant contents</i> , on va faire ça, voilà. Bon, si je réussis ça, je pense que, oui, c'est ce que j'attends en priorité. <i>Que les élèves viennent avec plaisir et aient envie de faire de l'EPS</i> .	A good moment, that's when, it's more to do with the students than with the activity. It would be, in fact, the bonus, is when a student says to you that they told or when the student's parents often, come and tell you, "I am happy, my daughter, thanks to you, <i>she really likes physical education</i> . There it is, good then, they are happy, but in relation to the activity during the course, I don't know how to say it, those are the good moments.  For sure in the end what satisfies me, aside of actually the texts, administration, what makes me happy is that the <i>students arrive motivated, wanting to do things, to come to my class being happy</i> , we could do that. Well, if I succeed at that, I think, well yes that's what I'd put as a priority – <i>that the students come happily and wanting to do EPS</i> .
Jean-Claude Lycée Gen	<i>C'est de les voir prendre du plaisir à ce qu'ils font</i> , et c'est les voir aussi en transformation, c'est à dire qu'ils sont en train d'apprendre des choses, il faut que les deux soient présents, le plaisir, et je crois que <i>quand on se fait plaisir, qu'on est bien, on apprend plus facilement</i> .	It's when <i>you see them enjoy what they do</i> , and to see them also change, it's when they are learning things. There has to be both things happening, pleasure, and I believe <i>when they enjoy it, when it's going well, they learn much more easily</i> .

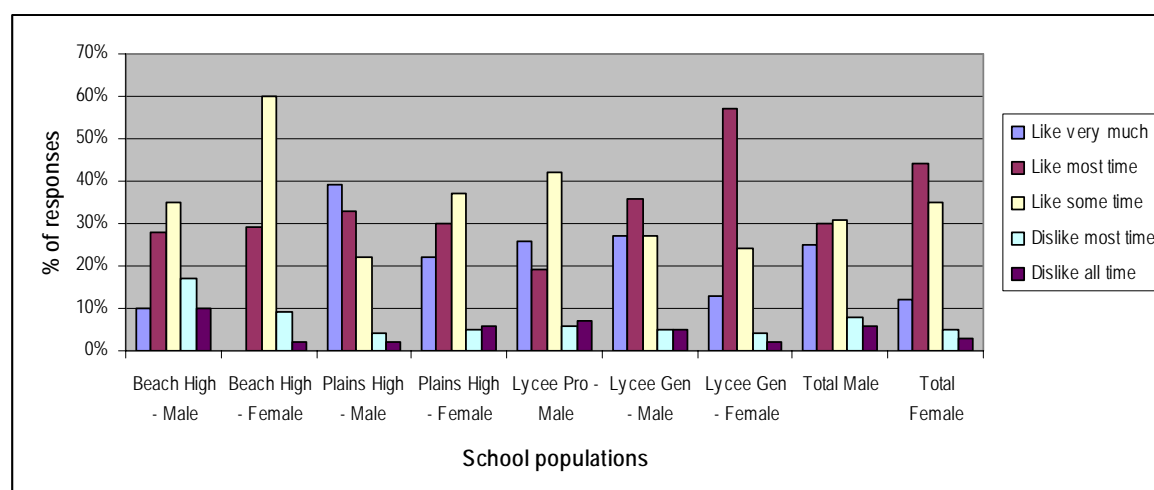
However, it is also a problematic objective. While lifelong participation may make a politically efficacious goal, a major difficulty lies in ensuring this can be underpinned by teaching practices. Certainly there is some statistical evidence that supports the argument that school sport experience is a strong predictor of adult sport involvement, but the effects of school experiences are less influential over the longer term (Curtis et al. 1999). Nevertheless, enjoyment is not just something for the students; it also parallels the reasons why most physical education teachers are in this discipline field. Green (2000, p. 122) describes some of the teachers' ideological claims of benefits from physical education as 'bearing the hallmarks of fantasy-laden thinking'. In fact, the logic may simply be that if physical education teachers enjoyed sport and physical activity to such an extent that they have continued their participation throughout their lives, why should it not be the same for students, particularly those who are most like them? Participation in sport and providing the opportunity to participate in sporting activities are key features of providing an enjoyable physical education experience, certainly from the teachers' perspectives. What Claudine, Luc and Jeff described in **Table 5.3** about what they enjoy in being physical education teachers came full circle to what they wanted to see in their students and what they wanted their students to learn. The sports backgrounds of the physical education teachers appear to underpin their motivation to introduce students to activities for which they are going to find pleasure, enjoyment or satisfaction in their achievement. The teachers described themselves as the ideal students. But what do the students have to say about enjoying physical education?

### **Students enjoying physical education**

Most students surveyed for this study indicated that they enjoy physical education at school (see **Figure 5.1**). However, there were some notable differences between student populations, particularly for students at Beach High School, both male and female, and the students at Lycée Pro. One possible reason for differences between school populations is the divergent roles of the schools as the central providers of physical activity (through physical education) and other sport-related opportunities. Certainly from the interviews, Jeff, Jane and Luc talked about how important what their

schools offered was for some students, with the assumption that components of their student populations had fewer opportunities to participate in organised activities. The responses from the teachers at the more privileged schools, Lycée Gen and Beach High, did not impart the same sense of priority for catering to disadvantaged students. John mentioned that for some students, the only activity they undertook was what was required at school. However, he did not make an explicit link between financial affordability and capacity as was clearly specified by Jeff, Jane and Luc.

**Figure 5.1 Student enjoyment of physical education<sup>4</sup>**



Other related-research data indicates that for the NSW coastal students, the physical environment, (ie their proximity to the beach), provided greater opportunities for individualized recreational activities such as surfing (Bauman et al. 1999, Wright et al. 2003). This geographic difference is also reinforced by the results in **Table 5.4** in which Beach High male students were the only male population to nominate an individual activity as their most popular activity. While Beach High has a long tradition of achievement in male team sports (being a former all-boys school), students tend to play with local club teams external to school competitions. John's comments indicated that teaching the team sports of rugby, cricket and basketball in co-educational classes had been difficult and this may also be reflected in

<sup>4</sup> The table is based on responses to Question 8 and Question 7 in the Australian and French surveys respectively. See **Appendix 7**.



the lower percentage of boys who really liked physical education and vice versa for those who really disliked it.<sup>5</sup>

One of the highest positive response rates for physical education in **Figure 5.1** emerged from the female students at Lycée Gen. There are a number of reasons that may underlie this positive response; these students came from a high proportion of middle to upper-middle class families with similar expectations of academic achievement for females and males. Thus there could be a corresponding pressure to achieve in academic classes so physical education acts as a 'break' from academic pursuits. Based on gender preferences for particular activities, Lycée Gen also offers a more-balanced range of physical activity options than the other schools. The highest rates of enjoyment for both French and Australian students were experienced by male students from more socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds, particularly at Plains High School. This correlates with many of the teachers' comments that their schools are the sole providers of organised sports and physical activity for less advantaged male students. In the case of Plains High School, this may apply to the high positive response from the female students as well.<sup>6</sup>

### Differential values of sport

The values of sport in physical education overwhelmed any other more aesthetic components of physical education. Teachers spoke of building self-esteem, finding friends, staying away from drugs and out of trouble, and even becoming a better person through experiences of winning and losing. However, the value of sport on occasions was differentiated by the student populations being served by physical education. For example, responding to the question of how important physical activity is for their students, Jane and Jeff respectively responded:

I think it's important for all kids, I think, especially for our kids that might not have access to some other areas of life, you know, not have a lot of money, might not have a lot of family support, they might not have a lot of different things. It is one way that they can boost their *self-esteem* and their *self-*

<sup>5</sup> I also have the advantage of three years of interviews with the NSW students to draw on from the larger ARC research project (Wright et al. 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Plains High School sport policy document includes an aim to 'provide varied and satisfying activities for students unable to afford to leave school for sport'. This is an explicit acknowledgement of the school's role in providing sport for more disadvantaged student population.

*confidence* and also stay *reasonably healthy* because we know that people in low socio-economic areas generally are less healthy than those in the higher, so it's a huge issue. If a kid in Year 9 can get involved in the local softball club and not become involved in drugs and alcohol and smoking cigarettes and how much better off are they and are we? You know it's vital and it's something that's there all the time for them, it's just whether we can get them to make the decision that that's what they want to do and get them to see that it's so important for them.

Well physical activity, I think that's very important, a lot of these kids here and it's probably a society thing too, they probably would go home and they would not, like when I was a kid I'd go home and play or whatever, I'd go to footy training or whatever. [...] the majority I'd say would go home, on the way home stop at the take away down here and get some food and then go home, sit down in front of the TV and they wouldn't leave the TV or they would go on the computer and the Internet. [...] We've got to try and show these kids here that [physical activity] is important and the reasons why; they might ask why are we doing this? And I think as a teacher you need to explain to them why you are doing it because if you don't do this, this is the reason, blah blah blah. So physical activity is very important and also learning new sports. The sports they get involved with here, they make take on in later years because they might think, 'oh gee I enjoyed that' or 'I did a little bit of that and I'd really like to try a little bit more', because maybe a lot of the parents in any area probably might not have the time to show them all these different sports. But I think *physical activity* is very important and *fitness* goes along with that and getting involved with *sport* and *making friends* outside of school in *different teams* and all that kind of stuff. (my emphasis)

While Jane linked the socio-economic status of the area with being less healthy, she defaulted to a sporting example for preventative health (ie softball to avert use of drugs) as a form of betterment for the students (they) and, notably, the community-at-large (we). Jeff and Jane automatically coupled physical activity and sports above, specifically team sports. While the NSW Syllabus talks about physical activity, the teachers continued to extend this phrase to include sport, more akin to the French *Activités Physiques et Sportives* phrasing. Jane was equally keen to point out that physical education in high school is one of the only places where government has access to each and every student in NSW for physical activity and health promotion programmes. She commented that unlike sports clubs, the teachers 'have a captive audience there that's not going to go anywhere'. More interestingly though was Jane's belief that the teachers' role was to get the students to make the 'right' decisions that what they

'wanted' to do. Meanwhile in France, Luc similarly referred to different needs for his student population, but not only on the basis of their disadvantaged status, but also on the basis of gender. Because Lycée Pro offers training in traditional trades such as plumbing and electrical works, the majority of the student population was male. Luc talked about how the priority for his teaching and the students was 'physical engagement with mastery'. He noted that because his students were mostly male, he did not have 'the problem that [his male] colleagues have by comparison with a girls' professional lycée, hairdressing, beauticians, which is to make them move. Here that's not the key problem, they move. The problem is how. It's the means of release, no matter what, it's dangerous, they are ready to explode.'

Luc's description of what was needed for the Lycée Pro students is reminiscent of 19<sup>th</sup> century theories of physical education and sport in which the importance of controlled activities for the working classes were commonly ascribed (Defrance 1981, Léziart 1989). Simultaneously, Luc also talked about young women's participation in physical education as a problem and most noticeably associated this with the female students at professional lycées (note the subjects he referred to – hairdressing and beauty therapy), who again, like the Lycée Pro male students, tend to be drawn from lower socio-economic status (SES) backgrounds (Davisse 1999). This is not a dissimilar situation to Australia where young women from low SES and Non-English Speaking Backgrounds (NESB) have been identified as deficient for their lower levels of participation in physical activity and organised sports (Booth et al. 1997, Bauman et al. 2001). The meanings of physical activity, as presented by a dominant masculine model, are assumed to be 'rejected' by this population because they do not participate in recognised and recordable forms of physical activity such as organised team sports.

By contrast, in terms of 'accepting' behavioural inculcations of physical education, the responses from the Lycée Pro students to the question of 'What do you have to do in class today to achieve [what you hope to

achieve in class]?’ strongly reflected many of the discourses discussed earlier. The students replied with the answers of:

- Play within the rules of this game
- Pay attention to the advice of the teacher
- Give the best of myself
- Pay attention and give the best of myself
- What he [the teacher] tells me
- Play my game to win. (**Appendix 9**, Obn 1F)

The sports education learning objectives are not very evident from the students’ perspective, but the citizenship objectives certainly are. In order to achieve their marks and go forward in their education, the Lycée Pro students articulated three very important themes for success in schooling also expressed by the teachers: acceptance of the rules; obedience; and making an effort. When seen this way, the students appear to have ‘accepted’ the requirements of learning in physical education. Admittedly, the Lycée Pro students’ responses were in response to evaluation in badminton, which is scored for the individual student rather than a team sport. It would be interesting to compare their responses to an evaluation for a team event to see if they would make reference to the desirable ‘teamwork’ behaviours.

### **Students’ participation in physical activity: Questions of status**

The teachers have drawn on a range of professional discourses within physical education and their own preferences and practices related to sport. Bearing in mind the gender and class issues raised by their commentaries, it is valuable to examine the participation of their students in physical activity outside of school hours (see **Table 5.4** below). Looking at the most popular physical activities (in terms of participation rates) from student survey responses, there is little differentiation between schools/countries aside from the more culturally specific activities such as French boxing in France and cricket and netball in Australia.

The majority of activities nominated by the students could be classified as more individualistic ‘lifestyle’ activities rather than team sports, particularly for female students. Meanwhile, students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, in France those from Lycée Pro and in NSW those from Plains

High School, tended to participate in fewer activities.<sup>7</sup> The Lycée Pro male students had the lowest participation rates with the fewest number of activities. In all populations, the first two activities have a significantly higher participation rate than the next group of activities. These results are similar to the findings of other researchers (see Boulanger 1988, Waser & Passevant 1997, Booth et al. 1997, CFES 1999). Overall, French male and female students had lower participation rates than the NSW students. Waser and Passevant (1997) suggest one possible reason for lower rates of participation in physical activity by French students is that the school day in France is the longest in Europe and students have relatively little free time during the school term.<sup>8</sup> French research also shows that once students enter Lycée level, their participation rates in sport decrease substantially as the time required for studying or, in the case of the Lycée Pro students working, increases proportionally (Choquet & Ledoux 1994, CFES 1999).

**Table 5.4 Most popular physical activities undertaken by students outside of school hours, by gender and school**

School	Female students	Male students
Beach High	<b>Walking, Swimming,</b> Basketball, Aerobics, Netball, Dancing, Cycling, Martial Arts, Tennis, Rollerblading/skating	<b>Surfing, Golf,</b> Weight training, Cycling, Basketball, Cricket, Soccer, Rugby League, Rugby union, Swimming
Plains High	<b>Walking, Dancing,</b> Swimming, Volleyball, Rollerblading/skating, Soccer, Tennis, Aerobics, Basketball, Running/jogging	<b>Soccer, Cricket,</b> Rugby league, Basketball, Swimming, Touch Football, Walking, Running/jogging, Weight training, Golf
Lycée Gen	<b>Dancing, Swimming,</b> Cycling, Walking, Rhythmic gym, Running/jogging, Tennis, Skiing, Athletics, Basketball, Volleyball, Horse riding	<b>Soccer, Basketball,</b> Tennis, Martial Arts, Swimming, Cycling, Rugby union, Running/jogging, Skiing, Walking, Weight training
Lycée Pro	n/a	<b>Soccer, Basketball,</b> Rugby union, Cycling, French Boxing, Martial Arts, Walking, Tennis, Rollerblading/skating

The responses to questions regarding participation in physical activities were quite different between the French students and the Australian students and different again within the French students between schools. Perhaps reflecting the Australian sporting culture, the Australian students

<sup>7</sup> Socio-economic status was determined using family status and parental occupation. For the French students, this was assessed against the INSEE nomenclature of profession and social categories (INSEE 2004a).

<sup>8</sup> This was certainly my experience at Lycée Gen where the first class session began at 8am and the last class finished at 6pm. By comparison the Australian school hours, 9am to 3pm, would appear to be ideal to enable higher levels of after school activities.

nominated a much more extensive list of activities for participation than the French students. However, amongst the French students, significant statistical differences occurred between the male Lycée Pro students and the male Lycée Gen students. Lycée Pro students had a maximum of three activities per student over summer and winter while the Lycée Gen students, male and female, had a higher number of activities. It is notable that for winter activities, the Lycée Pro students declared that they participated in very limited or no activities at all. The lower levels of physical activity and number of activities for the Lycée Pro students may be a reflection of their working status, ie less time to undertake activities outside of school, as well as their generally lower SES backgrounds. A significant proportion of the Lycée Pro students came from both single-parent or non-parental family situations and again a high percentage of the students came from a non-French speaking background.

There were also two clear geographically-related physical activities; skiing and surfing. In France, the Lycée Gen students, male and female, nominated skiing and other snow-related physical activities for their winter sports. Geographically, the mountains are of a similar distance for both the Lycée Gen and Lycée Pro students, yet their participation rates are dramatically different. In this case, it would appear that socio-economic status would be one determining factor in participating in winter sports. Skiing is classified as a high economic capital activity (Boulanger 1988, Pociello 1995). The Lycée Pro students had a significantly lower representation (almost nil) in skiing, ice skating and/or snow boarding.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, in the case of Australia, surfing was the highest participation sport for the male Beach High students, perhaps not unexpected given that the school area is some 100 metres from the beach. Nevertheless, the Beach High female students did not have similar participation rates for any surf-related activity. This gender segregation for beach-related activities has been noted by other researchers, with surfing highlighted for its often extreme sexism (Henderson 2001). The students'

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<sup>9</sup> During one of the class observations at Lycée Gen, Jean-Claude was organising a ski trip. Meanwhile Luc's comments on skiing were that the nearest ski station was 120km away, so it would have to be an all day trip and it would not be possible for the students would have to take a break from their work.

participation in particular physical activities not unsurprisingly continued to reflect societal gender and class patterns (Pociello 1995, DAVISSE & LOUVEAU 1998).

### **Co-education in physical education: Gendering the ideal student**

Like the good citizen and citizenship, the French and Australian syllabuses have attempted to de-gender, or in other words, amend what had been previously segregated and sexist practices, from physical education (DAVISSE & LOUVEAU 1998, WRIGHT 1998). Nonetheless, the French syllabus does in some senses apply a form of differential citizenship by creating different benchmarks for grades according to gender. However, the behavioural socialisation aspects of sport also reflect gender stereotypes. When describing the girls who took part in the senior PDHPE classes (Years 11 & 12), it was as though the teachers finally had the perfect physical education class where only the students who met their idealised criteria were enrolled. For example, Jane described the students as ‘the girls who are interested in sport, who want to play and who want to be physically active and who have always excelled in physical education usually. So those girls are quite happy to compete with the boys, play with the boys, learn with the boys, do all those things because they’re challenged by doing that’. In other words these are the girls who are like the boys and do not need or want physical education to be adapted for their gender.

During class observations there was often a clear gender separation occurring in NSW classes (including at the senior levels) that did not occur to any similar extent in France (see **Appendix 9**). While the NSW teachers talked about being able to offer different activities for different gender groupings if the classes were separated, the reverse occurred at Lycée Gen with no segregation or separate sport offerings on the basis of gender. Instead co-education was simply applied to all activities including dance and rugby, with mixed-gender teams required for assessment. When analysing the favourite activities as declared by students in the questionnaire, some 50 percent of activities were common to both male and female students, including swimming, jogging, basketball, tennis and Rollerblading/ roller-skating (see **Table 5.4**). Of all the team sports, only

basketball would appear to be gender-neutral, while soccer, rugby, cricket etc. (the more traditional team sports) were the male domain. Equally, dancing and aerobics remained typically the realm of female students.<sup>10</sup>

An observation during the French *détermination* classes was the unusual (for me) physical ease of the male and female students in working with each other. Watching them perform their gymnastics routines and practice sessions, their easy physicality with each other was striking in comparison to the almost automatic segregation and teasing/harassment that occurs amongst Australian students (see **Appendix 9**). The gymnastics routines with the arms and legs resting on each other, heads on laps during some routines and then the casual physical contact between male and female students while they were watching the video of their performances was again exceptional by Australian norms. Research carried out by Field (1999) analysed the physicality of French adolescents compared to young Americans. Her conclusion was that young French people engaged in more 'peer-touch behaviour' (Field 1999, p. 754). For example, she noted that French adolescents spent more time casually touching each other, such as rubbing another person's back while talking.<sup>11</sup> This would certainly appear to be supported by the physical education class observations.

Building on what I perceived as a 'cultural' difference between Australian students and French students, and what I had noted in particular about rugby for girls in Australia (see **Appendix 9**, Obsns A5 & A6), I asked the teachers what they thought of co-educational classes (see **Table 5.5** below). While my intention was not specifically to focus on teaching rugby, mixed-gender rugby also happened to also be the subject of a class assessment which was underway at Lycée Gen. The teachers talked below about a number of social behaviours with regards to gender and co-educational classes, for example, boys behave better and are easier to control when in classes with girls, or girls are keener to participate in activities when boys are not present. A difficult aspect, from my

<sup>10</sup> There were a small number of male students at Lycée Gen who indicated that they participated in dance as an 'organised activity' which correlated with their EPS class during that term.

<sup>11</sup> In the south of France where I was based, the act of *bisous* (kisses) to greet a friend also occurs between male to male. I should note that this only occurred between adult males (university students etc.) more so than across the board to include teenage males.



perspective, was judging where teachers' assumptions were based on beliefs of biological determinism or acceptance of gender socialisation.

**Table 5.5 Teachers preferences regarding co-education classes**

Teacher	Interview comments	Translation
John Beach High School	We've had co-ed classes, single sex classes, graded classes sorted according to kids' ability...our best, like as far as for participation, the best way it's worked is for the [Years] 9 and 10, if we divide them into boys PE class and girls PE class, for the majority of classes and then come together a number of times, but it works best...We've always kept our Personal Development health classes co-ed but where the opportunity arose, we actually went the single sex for Years 9 and 10. The reason, I mean, the positives that came out of it, swimming for example all the girls were participating, we went boys one pool, girls another pool and the girls get involved. When we're together co-ed, nah (shakes his head), they wouldn't swim in front of the boys. Even if they didn't say anything, they'd look at the girls and the girls feel threatened, they just didn't want to swim.	
Jane Plains High School	I really liked the all girls' class, I think that the girls were participating a lot more, in the practical areas, behaviour-wise, it's fantastic. I don't know, with the boys, I know that they have a chance to do some things that they might not have done with girls in the group um you know just some things where they might do some sports that we might normally not include because we feel that the girls wouldn't feel that we were being inclusive of them by doing that. There's some things like, you run Aussie Rules every year and some of the girls really like that, but generally we get feedback from the girls that says 'when are we going to do something that's a girls sport?'. Which is an interesting thing and I say to them well what's a girls sport? And they say netball and I say well can't boys play netball and they say 'yeah they can, but generally they don't'. They're very vocal our kids in letting us know what they want and what they don't want. Give us an opportunity to do something like that with the consideration there that we're not disadvantaging the girls by doing that and we're not making them not want to participate by offering something that they're just not interested in. I think the biggest thing through the single sex classes though is just that the girls just will participate at such a high level without boys around at that age.	
Jeff Plains High School	I've taught both [separate boys and girls classes], great for the girls teacher because it's easy to control but the boys, it's a nightmare, it's not a good idea. I don't think it's a good idea. I don't know what it was, it came off [single-sex] Science, I don't know why, who knows, I just feel it wasn't a good idea for the Juniors [Yr 9 & 10]. For the girls, they got into things more, like with gymnastics and things like that because a lot of them felt comfortable that it wasn't the blokes there watching them, especially in Years 9 and 10, jumping up and down and the girls got into it more. But the boys, it didn't, the boys will just do it, most of the boys, you'll have some boys that will stand back and just don't want to get involved because if they make a mistake or something like that the other blokes are going to get into them. But the girls seem to be more helpful to each other.	
Claudine Lycée Gen	Alors, je crois que je préfère la mixité en collège, mais par contre, en lycée, je préfère quand c'est séparé. Parce que je pense qu'y a des niveaux trop différents entre les garçons et les filles. Oui, par rapport aux activités proposées, enfin, ça dépend, mais, badminton, par exemple, qui est pas une activité ni féminine ni masculine, les garçons, c'est sûr, ils vont, en terminale, ils vont frapper autrement que les filles, quoi. Et donc, ça oblige à faire des cours, il faudrait faire des niveaux trop différents. Je trouve que c'est plus difficile à gérer. [...] alors cette année, j'ai fait du rugby avec, avec des...non, avec une classe mixte. Ça s'est très bien passé, ça m'a même bien plus.	Well I think I prefer co-education at collège, but then, at lycée, I prefer it when they are separated. Because I think the levels are too different between boys and girls. Yes in relationship to proposed activities, although it depends, but like badminton for example, which is neither a feminine or masculine activity, the boys, it's for sure, in final year, they are going to hit more so than the girls. And that means, we have to make this course, we have to have very different levels. I find that makes it difficult to organise [...], then this year, I did rugby with a mixed class and it went really well.
Jean-Claude Lycée Gen	Je crois qu'il y a certaines activités où on peut très bien prendre cette option. C'est à dire que par rapport à une activité, disons très	I believe that there are certain activities where it works well to take up that option. That's to say in relation to an activity, let's say very masculine,

	masculine, on pourrait effectivement enseigner dé-mixés, mais je crois que de plus en plus, notre enseignement et notre pédagogie doit s'adresser à des groupes mixés. Parce que bien que on se demande actuellement si les garçons trouvent leur compte dans ce genre de mixité. On se pose la question là-dessus. La natation, pour moi, c'est une activité qui doit être pratiquée en commun.	we could effectively teach 'de-mixed', but I believe that more and more our teaching and our pedagogy must address itself to the mixed groups. Because it's well enough to ask ourselves actually if the boys get something out of co-ed classes. We ask the question behind it. For me, swimming is an activity which must be practiced together.
Luc Lycée Pro	Je préfère les classes mixtes parce que y'a un équilibre, à peu près, parce que les filles amènent une calme, alors que.. bon j'aime bien aussi les classes de garçons, quand elles fonctionnent, mais les garçons, entre eux, au niveau du langage, au niveau de la tenue, au niveau de la... bien que les classes mixtes posent des problèmes [...]	I prefer co-ed classes because there's a balance, because the girls bring a calm, like, well, I also like the boys classes when they work, but the boys, between us, the language, the behaviour, well co-ed classes also pose problems [getting them organised because of the lack of facilities].

When the NSW teachers talked about being able to offer different activities to single-sex classes, whether 'girl sports' at Plains High School or allowing rugby tackling at Beach High School only when there were no girls in the class, they were actively maintaining a separation of femininised and masculinised activities, whereas Jean-Claude talked about making rugby a normal activity for girls rather than isolating sports or activities by gender.

[I]l y a des difficultés. Culturellement, c'est un sport masculin, un sport qui a des connotations, à la limite, un peu violente. C'est à nous, par le traitement qu'on va faire, le traitement des activités par les règles qu'on va mettre en route, en place, des situations qui vont permettre de s'exprimer, de dédramatiser ces situations, de changer ces représentations, de manière à ce que le rugby soit vécu par les filles comme un sport de... comme un sport normal. Et c'est ce qu'on a vu hier, la seule remarque un peu négative que je ferai, c'est que les garçons, à un certain moment, veulent monter le niveau d'engagement physique, trop, et ça, ça a certainement un peu gêné les filles, même si ça c'est pas trop vu. Parce que les filles ont continué à jouer quand même.

*There are difficulties. Culturally, [rugby] is a masculine sport, a sport which has connotations, at the limit, a little violent. It's up to us, by the way we treat the activity, through the rules we put in place, situations which allow it to be expressed, to de-dramatise those situations, to change those representations, in a way that means rugby will be based on fact for the girls as a sport, like a normal sport. And that's what we saw yesterday, the only negative comment that I would make is that the boys, at a certain moment, wanted to lift the level of physical engagement, a little too much, and that certainly bothered the girls a bit, but we didn't see too much of it. The girls kept playing anyway.<sup>12</sup>*

<sup>12</sup> Jean-Claude refers to an observation (and evaluation) class for mixed rugby in which one of the girls was tackled quite hard. See **Appendix 9, Obn F9**.

While Jean-Claude acknowledged that some 'very masculine' activities might be better to teach to single sex classes, he argued that increasingly 'teaching and pedagogy must address co-educational teaching because we actually ask ourselves if the boys get something out of co-ed classes'. In effect, based on his argument that physical education is about citizenship in action, isolating a group on the basis of gender, or for any reason, then would not address the shared learning required to participate and adjust behaviours within the rules for civic behaviours. One way that the teaching 'enforced' co-educational participation, as Jean-Claude explained was because, each evaluation activity involving a team effort had to be comprised of mixed teams - male and female students working together (see **Appendix 9**, Obn F7, F8, & F9). *Mixité* is an important aspect of French schooling, not just in terms of physical education. Like other feminist citizenship debates mentioned in Chapter One, *mixité* as a policy has its critics (see DAVISSE & LOUVEAU 1998). *Mixité*, like citizenship, does not make allowances for difference. However, in physical education, the citizenship measures are more of the 'differential citizenship' kind as there are two sets of assessment metrics - male and female (see examples in **Appendix 9**) and identifying specific performance benchmarks for female students is explicitly mentioned in the French syllabus (MEN 2000).

In Australia, the teachers at both Plains and Beach High Schools had experimented with a wide range of possible combinations of classes including boys-only, girls-only, mixed classes, and high ability classes. Sometimes their single sex classes came about because the school was trialling single sex mathematics and science classes. Single-sex mathematics and science classes are a response to research that argues that female students do not perform as well in these subjects because their differential socialisation discourages them from achieving in the more 'rational' masculine sciences (Gilbert & Taylor 1991, Arnot & Dillabough 2000). As Jane commented earlier, physical education never gets priority for timetabling, but it may gain opportunities as a flow-on effect from decisions implemented for more valued subjects.

## Gender paradoxes and cultural differences

Rather than breaking down activities to make them more 'gender friendly' and normalise masculine or feminine sports, it would appear that the easier option for the NSW teachers has been to cater to gender differences. John's comments about being able to allow rugby tackling with a boys' only class would seem ultimately conservative teaching behaviour when compared to Jean-Claude's insistence on being able to teach a sport like rugby to a mixed class. The paradox was that, at the time, Beach High School had strong support from the student population (and the teachers/principal) to develop a girls' rugby team.<sup>13</sup> Faced with girls' enthusiasm about playing rugby, it seems odd that teaching the sport in a mixed class would be so difficult. The problem as such may be that it is more difficult to teach the boys how to play with girls than to convince girls to play rugby. Similarly, the teachers at Plains High School opted to make dance optional from Year 9 onwards, whereas in France, dance is a standard component of the EPS curriculum.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, using examples of more 'gender neutral' sports like badminton, other teachers, such as Claudine (see **Table 5.5**) and Luc (below) argued that there still had to be some consideration of 'morphology':

Donc j'aime bien quand il y a des filles, mais une fois j'ai eu un... je me suis rendu compte qu'il y avait des trucs dangereux. C'était en handball, on jouait au handball, et une fille jouait son rôle, elle défendait, le goal envoie la balle, donc haute, le garçon part en regardant la balle, lui y faisait 1,85 mètre, c'était vraiment étudié, la fille, elle faisait 1,50 mètre, et elle venait défendre. Tous les deux regardaient la balle, et y'a eu choc, bang, alors j'ai eu peur, parce que la fille est partie à dix mètres et là je me suis dit, bon dans les activités comme ça. Le volley, c'est pas pareil, la natation, c'est pas pareil, mais quand on a le handball, même le basket, il faut faire attention aux différences de morphologie (FM2).

*So I really like it when there are girls, but once, I had a, I realised that there are dangerous things. It was in handball, they were playing handball and a girl was in her position, she was defending, the ball was coming towards the goal, and in front, a boy was coming, looking at the ball, he was 1.85metres, it was really studied, the girl, she was 1.5metres, and she was coming to defend. The two of them were looking at the ball, and there was a shock, bang, and I was scared because she flew 10 metres and then I*

<sup>13</sup> See **Observations A5 & A6, Appendix 9**.

<sup>14</sup> Although compulsory dance is still controversial in France as well (see DAVISSE & LOUVEAU 1998).

*said to myself, well there are activities like that. Volleyball, it's not like that, swimming, it's not like that, but when you've got handball, the same with basketball, you've got to pay attention to differences in morphology.*

In Luc's example, the sport, handball, was a more aggressive activity, yet Jean-Claude's rugby classes would have had similar differences in physical sizes. The concerns should have been the same for smaller male students as well as female students; it would then be a question of a student's physical capacity to absorb a hit rather than of that student's gender. However, a social reality is that socially acceptable feminine behaviours do not include being involved in more 'rough and tumble' games (Lenskyj 1986, Birrell & Cole 1994, DAVISSE & Louveau 1998). And there does not appear to be the option of having the boys participate in 'girls' activities and games.

Jane, Jeff, Luc and Claudine all identified an age preference for gender segregation. While they talked about the senior students as more comfortable in playing with the opposite sex, it was during the 'difficult' years between 15 and 16 that they would all prefer to have single-sex classes. Even so there were some contrasts: Jeff talked about swimming as the absolutely preferred single-sex class while Jean-Claude said it was the one class he would insist on being co-educational. The reasons behind wanting single-sex classes in France tended to be related to performance whereas in Australia teachers talked about the fact that 'boys and girls are very different' (NF1) or that the boys were looking at the girls in their swimming suits (see John's comments cited in **Table 5.5**). It was sometimes discreetly put that basically the students were going through a hormonal development time of their lives and this affected the respective behaviours in terms of masculinities and feminities. Jane suggested that by Year 11 and 12 (the senior years) the students were over such problems and as described in her earlier words, the girls in senior physical education tend to be those who are most like the boys in terms of enjoying physical activity and competitive sports; 'who like to compete with the boys, play with the boys, and have the capacity to learn with the boys'. Similarly, John at Beach High talked (below) about streaming physical education classes on

the basis of 'ability'. In these situations co-educational classes at the high skills level work well, but the other classes resulted in the boys dominating.

[W]e did trial one year that we actually graded students, according to their ability, now whether our grading system was pretty ordinary enough, but we just went mainly subjective on who, what we thought, and at that stage, we had five classes, we had two boys classes, two girls classes and like the top, the top kids that we thought in ability, was a co-ed class and it was great. *So if you've got in ability the girls that are really, have a go, and have the skills, they'll match it with the boys anytime, the boys really appreciate the skills of the girls, and they'll get involved with them and they like to have them in their team and things like that.* So that works, but unfortunately the normal class, *just a mixed class, team sports again, the boys will just dominate in those cases and the girls will get the shits and they don't want to get involved* and so in most cases again, when it comes to, if you again, you try and steer away from competitive games in PE class, at least I do, some teachers try and use combined games, for fun. *Usually boys and girls will sort out their own groups and the girls will play the girls and the boys will play the boys,* I mean that's a frustrating thing, you don't really want to change the rules, although I've had, you know, every second try's got to be a girl and all that sort of stuff and you can do that later, but I'm reluctant to do that (laughs). (my emphasis)

It would appear that, taking account of John's comments and Jane's earlier comments, the standards for physical education were being set by the male students. The girls have to 'match' them or else the class becomes segregated by gender. The teachers problematise female students and institute rule changes instead of educating male students to adjust their playing, bearing in mind that not all male students excel either at physical education and sport. Jane acknowledged that with the Years 7 through 10 'some girls and often sometimes *some boys too*, it's not their piece of cake, it's not what they want to do, it's not what they're interested in'. Claudine also talked about the problems of organising different levels to take account of the male student domination of activities in the senior years.

While engagement and motivation appeared to be the ideal characteristics of students, by default the physical education teachers conjoined the students' engagement levels to competitive and team sports and actual physical skills. John mentioned earlier that they used a 'subjective' method of assessing which students would be in the top graded classes. This correlates with Luc's statement about looking for students who resemble the teachers, and including those students who appear to be the easiest to

teach to enjoy the activities on offer.<sup>15</sup> The diverse approaches taken by teachers towards gender differences in physical education reflect many of the issues of gender in citizenship. The default position appears as a hegemonic masculinist model of games and sports.

What has appeared strongly throughout the interviews are the discourses articulated by the teachers reflecting a predominantly conservative, almost traditional, perspective regarding the meanings and roles of physical education for different student populations. This conservatism has been similarly identified by other researchers (see Martino & Beckett 2004, Brown 2005). Wright (2002, p. 198) explains that current teacher training practices in Australia make it impossible to 'imagine forms of pedagogy and knowledge' for physical education other than the existing functionalist, masculinist ways of thinking and doing games and sports. The physical education student teachers:

As a group, [...] have little experience of marginality or discrimination; students who do not identify within the majority cultural groups often bear an unrealistic burden to represent and articulate the experience of difference or else remain silent as difference is either ignored, treated tokenistically or even perjoratively. This is not a fruitful environment for radical change nor for the ready acceptance of values which are fundamental to gender reform in IPETE [initial PE teacher education] [...]. The dominance of the human movement sciences, technocratic ways of working and thinking, the privileging of competitive games and sports all compound ways of thinking and being which have already been profoundly shaped by an immersion in a masculinist sports culture. (Wright 2002, p. 198)

Given that the physical education teachers are also identifying future teachers based on their own characteristics and preferences, the social identities of physical education teachers are bound to reinforce the status quo. But there are signs of shifting boundaries. For example, the girls at Beach High asking to play rugby could be seen as challenging social expectations of feminine behaviours and appropriate female competitive physical activities. Yet, at the same time, this suited the physical education teachers' preferences for female students to take up the male model of games. The gendered practices of sport, physical education and the

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<sup>15</sup> A recent personal example of this type of 'graded' class occurred in my son's high school in which the PE teachers separated the class by asking which students played competition or club sport outside of school. Those students who said yes were placed in the 'sports players' class. The class had too many students for one teacher, so they separated them again by gender to have a boys-only class and a girls-only class.

teachers' gendered habitus are mutually reinforcing. However, as David Brown (2005, p. 18) writes:

Unlike automatons following social rules and habitual conditionings the PE teacher draws on their habitus strategically to construct legitimacy in order to protect, develop or convert their social and cultural capital, and in doing so their actions ripple out into the field of PE thereby sustaining the spatial relations and practical logic that make the field identifiable and distinct.

The field of physical education is perceived as distinctive within schooling for its focus on the corporeal as compared to the intellectual. Brown (2005) suggests that the physical education teachers' preferences for sports, their physical and cultural capital are legitimated by the requirements of the physical education field. But at the same time the teachers' habitus also sustain the field through mutually reinforcing forms of symbolic capital (Hunter 2004).

Meanwhile the syllabuses, the political articulation of the physical education field, have been adapted to address gender issues, socio-economic politics such as neo-liberal individualism and different schooling environments related to decentralisation. Moreover, the teachers have noted decreasing participation in traditional sports and games and they are required to amend their practices. But how many of these adaptations are truly embedded in practice and how much is simply adaptive language and reasoning? Resistance and compliance come in many shapes and forms, but how much do the power structures / networks of expertise change?



## Chapter Six:      Physical education in practice: Forms of resistance

We don't need no education  
We don't need no thought control  
No dark sarcasm in the classroom  
Teachers leave the kids alone  
Hey teacher leave us kids alone  
All in all it's just another brick in the wall  
All in all you're just another brick in the wall  
Pink Floyd, *The Wall*, 1979

The previous chapter highlighted the importance of sport for physical education teachers. Concurrently, the discipline has struggled to find a long-term, secure and meaningful place in the school environment. Given the social importance of academic achievement for schools, it is possible that physical education's political and practical focus on physical and corporeal behaviours, exemplified by its relationship with sport, underlies the lesser status of the discipline. Two sporting relationships emerged from the interviews with physical educators including teachers' personal connections to sport, either as athletes or coaches, and their enjoyment of sport and physical activity. This analysis could be described as a picture of teachers' everyday ideologies intersecting with the politics of syllabuses in action, or perhaps more simply, teachers' sporting identities intermeshing with their teaching identities. For example, syllabus ideologies of gender equity in sport were much more difficult in practice according to teachers' articulations of gender differences.

Additional themes emerged from the interviews that are to be taken up in this chapter to describe ways that teachers 'resist' change based on their shared *habitus* around sport. The language of the French and NSW syllabuses has evolved (as described in Chapter Four) and could be reasonably expected to change classroom practices. However, teachers could be seen to interpret syllabus political changes drawing on their existing beliefs and practices. In the Australian case, the objective of physical education to provide health benefits over the longer term through lifelong participation in physical activity is articulated by teachers as teaching to provide students the skills to play sports, particularly team sports. While this aim of lifelong participation is made explicit in the French

(albeit very briefly) and NSW syllabuses, the realities of how this will happen or be assessed are not necessarily clear. But for teachers drawing on their discourses of sport and health, 'enjoying' physical activity is the key to lifelong learning and enjoyment (as discussed in Chapter Five), a belief that for these teachers is fundamentally based on participation in sport.

This chapter will examine forms of resistance from teachers and students as intersecting components within a power network of physical education. The network includes 'not just agents, but also instruments of power (buildings, documents, tools, etc.) and the practices and rituals through which it is deployed' (Rouse 1994, p. 206). The analysis begins with teachers' commentaries about syllabuses—instruments of power. The teachers' strategies to respond to the shifts in their professional work will draw on interpretations of the syllabus that suit their shared *habitus*. Foucault suggests that 'power is everywhere not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere (cited in Rouse 1994, p. 106). The changing practices of physical education, while also reflecting syllabus politics, can be seen to be equally influenced by interaction with physical education's consumers—students. Students' demand for different physical activities in physical education and school sport therefore can be seen to play a part in the ever-circulating power network. While students have not been a direct focus in my thesis, they are important as 'peripheral agents' who, according to Rouse (1994), are influential in what a dominant agent—such as a school/curriculum—does, and the fulfilment or frustration of subordinate agent's desires—such as teachers—in the physical education network. But firstly, it is important to understand the context of teachers' explicit resistance to the current NSW and French syllabuses.

### **Teachers and syllabus changes**

Teachers' ownership of curriculum development (or lack thereof) was previously noted in Chapter Four. Perhaps in recognition of this disengagement, teachers' commentaries on the syllabus become important insights into 'their interpretations of the instructional discourses' (MacPhail 2004, p. 69). Ann MacPhail's work on the Scottish senior physical education subject found that there were three influential factors affecting

implementation of a syllabus: adequate training support; how the syllabus addresses the teachers' perceived needs of the students; and sufficient facilities to undertake the teaching. These factors can also be perceived to reflect the professional status of teachers, based on the material resources and acknowledgement of capacity afforded to support teachers in curriculum development and implementation (Goodson 1984). For example, one would imagine that if a new syllabus for physical education was to be taken seriously in schools, educational authorities would, firstly, provide professional development, secondly, acknowledge the grounded wisdom and knowledge of teachers in terms of how the syllabus could be applied in their working environment, and thirdly, provide all the necessary tools to ensure full implementation of any new programme. As we can see from teachers' comments in **Table 6.1**, this does not appear to have happened for physical education.

All the teachers interviewed had criticisms of the syllabuses—too much to be taught, too complex, too fragmented, and overly intellectualised are just a few examples. Jane's comments on the lack of resourcing and follow-up for new curriculum implementation would also appear to be a common problem. The NSW syllabus had earlier undergone a major redesign and was then a very different programme. Jane's comments refer to a secondary round of redesign that was undertaken to 'tidy up' the new Senior Syllabus and that, in her words, was really just a chance for [the] PDHPE teachers state-wide to say 'this is what we like about it, this is what we don't like about it, let's shuffle these things around'.

Analyses of teacher involvement in curriculum development have generally described syllabuses as a form of centralised politics which is then reappropriated at a local level (Klein 1996, Kirk & Macdonald 2001, MacPhail 2004). For example, in describing a variety of international negotiations for physical education syllabuses Gilles Klein (1996, p. 50) says that because teachers are each acting in a particular sphere, there 'cannot be a single, global, abstract, decontextualised, use for physical education'. Yet at a practical level, the more experienced teachers acknowledged that a syllabus must be written to be applicable across a diverse range of schools.

**Table 6.1: Teacher thoughts on current syllabuses**

Teacher	Interview comments	Translation
John Beach High School	Oh well <b>there's too much in it</b> , as simple as that. It needs to be streamlined a little bit. Anything new that comes like from Child Protection to the mental health issues at the moment, I mean that's a course in itself, ah but that anything that comes up in schools, that's anywhere related to Health, PE, gets, well not dumped you know, but here, this is where it's going to happen. [...] We've got to the stage where you've got to be fairly cutthroat and say well look we'll take this on but we've got to dump this. It's too hard. The 10 concepts area is huge, <b>we can't cover, or do justice to it</b> , all the areas that are supposedly under this service.	
Jane Plains High School	I think it's a lot better than the old one. I think that that's come about though through the people that were redoing the syllabus for us, had a lot of insight into what we needed and the changes that needed to be made. Our syllabus was already quite good before and what they've done is just adapted the areas that needed changing so it was really just a chance for us as PDHPE teachers state-wide to say 'this is what we like about it, this is what we don't like about it, let's shuffle these things around'. [A]lthough it's happened quickly and <b>we haven't had the resource back-up and we haven't had the training and we haven't had all those things that we need in terms of teaching</b> the 2 unit course, it's been good because it needed revisiting, it was overlapping with other things partly and I think now it provides, the best thing, one of the best things about it now is it provides kids with the opportunity to pick two options in 11 and 12 so we're even more able now to cater towards what they want. Before they picked one in each year now they're getting almost half of the course in each year where they have a say in what they want to do and it's an option that hopefully will interest them more than all the five others that are on offer. I think the way the critical questions work is good. It's making our kids really investigate the issues a little bit more and it's content based but there's also those critical questions. There's the decision making, problem solving, there's all those things that we need our kids to be able to do. I like it	
Jeff Plains High School	Well I think the first [time], I think the first Core 1, I just found it got into something and then finish, move on to the next thing. I think it was quick little spurts, I don't know. I've taught the old syllabus too and I can't see, well I can see the benefits now in the different, in the two options I'm doing, with Year 12, we're doing Improving Performance and Sports Medicine, and I think it's great those two options, but Year 11, I don't think they needed to touch it. I don't know, <b>last year if you would have asked me what I thought about the new syllabus I would have said it was hopeless</b> . You get used to teaching it, it flows on. I just felt that, especially Core 1, you got into stuff and then bam, whammo you move on to the next thing.	
Jean-Claude Lycée Gen	[J]e le trouve un peu..., un peu trop complet, un peu trop confus, diffus. C'est vrai qu'un programme, ça s'adresse à des..., ça doit être assez général, parce que ça s'adresse à des nombreux établissements qui sont très divers, il faut un cadre, je dirais un socle commun, mais il me semble qu'il est, il s'est terriblement intellectualisé, terriblement intellectualisé. Y'a une écriture qui n'est pas simple, et je crois que ça va. je crois qu'il faut. moi j'aurais, je serais allé vers des choses plus simples. La simplifier, parce que je crois que les professeurs d'éducation physique, en particulier ceux qui ont plus de quarante ans, vont être affolés.	I find it a little, <b>a little too full, a little too confusing, too diffuse</b> . It's true that it's a syllabus that addresses, that has to be reasonably general because it's addressing numerous schools which are very diverse. There has to be a framework, I would say a common base, but it seems to me that <b>it is terribly intellectualised</b> . The writing is not simple, and I believe that, okay, I would have gone towards something simpler. Simplify it because I believe that the physical education teachers, in particular those who are more than forty years old, will be horrified, thrown into a panic.

Teachers' negotiations with syllabus politics across the range of schools will resist its application as Klein describes:

La réalité n'est pas aussi simple et le processus de rationalisation ne se déroule pas de façon linéaire. [...] Du centre vers la périphérie, de la politique vers les pratiques, du global vers le particulier, plusieurs occasions de jeu dans les rouages du système d'éducation physique, plusieurs niveaux de résistance

existent. *En bref, si les politiques proposent, les acteurs disposent.* (Klein 1996, p. 48, my emphasis).

*The reality is not so simple and the process of rationalisation does not follow in a lineal fashion. [...] From the centre towards the periphery, from policy to practices, the global to the particular, many times a game in the machinery of physical education system, many levels of resistance exist.* In short, if the policies propose, the agents dispose.

Klein suggests that curricula have moved on from specificities of sports to talk about 'cross-disciplinary and generalisable applications which will allow physical education to anticipate the evolution of society and its practices'. In doing so, teachers need to similarly shift their thinking to make sense of the 'social utility and rationality' which emerges from the curriculum.<sup>1</sup> A good example of this 'shift in thinking' is how teachers draw on their existing discourses around sport to answer a political need for health outcomes and lifelong participation in physical activity.

### **Sporting resistances or resisting sports**

Despite the traditions and strengths of sport in physical education, there are forms of resistance and compliance from teachers and students that both force and deny changes to the place and meaning of sport. David Couzen Hoy (1999) argues that Foucault and Bourdieu allow for critical resistance in their respective theories of power, governmentality and *habitus*. For example, Foucault suggests that tensions between power and resistance may create incremental changes within a network or, on occasions, a more intense rupture may occur. The analogy I would use here is that for physical educators, their historical lesser value as a discipline came about through an almost class-based Cartesian separation of mind and body in schooling. That is, the academic tradition is more highly valued in high culture, while physical education, focused on controlling the physical, is held in lower esteem as its tradition has been to discipline the unruly masses/ *petit bourgeois*. Yet, despite the concerns of physical educators for their professional standing in the school environment, their collective *habitus* or shared culture is one that places a high value on the physical and non-academic activities of sport. The tensions for teachers

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<sup>1</sup> Given Jean-Claude's concerns for 'older' teachers and intellectualisation of the French syllabus and considering the comparative 'simplicity' of the French syllabus relative to the instructionality of the NSW syllabus, it would be interesting to hear Jean-Claude's comments on the 'intellectual' status of the NSW syllabus.

between pleasure and professionalism become threads in a complex web of power and resistance.

Teachers' shared *habitus* constructs and explains their present world and their possibilities for action (Hoy 1999). Using a more subtle form of critical resistance, Bourdieu (1990, pp. 52-53) describes *habitus* as 'durable and transposable'. While transposability is not necessarily overt resistance, it is an explanation of how *habitus* re-emerges in different environments and in different circumstances (Hoy 1999). It is this idea of transposability that I would describe as 'compliant resistance' on the part of the teachers. For example, in the NSW PDHPE syllabus, there is very limited usage of sport, but the NSW teachers enacted a dominant position for traditional sports through their choices of programme content. The transposable nature of teachers' *habitus* (including a shared culture of sport) therefore resists the political evolution of the syllabus. As will be discussed in this chapter, teachers may accept the formal politics of a syllabus and even adopt its language and rhetoric, such as the importance of lifelong learning and health outcomes, but they supplant the newer discourses with their existing meanings of sport. The outcomes associated with physical education to provide moral values and self-esteem, which Jeff attributed to sport, can also be seen to have been adapted to the newer healthisms that have been included in the syllabus.

### **Problems of sport and teachers' resistance**

Discussions with the Australian and French teachers about sport elicited a number of concerns. In the NSW schools, there is a tension between the cultural educative expectations of traditional team sports and teachers' recognition that if schools do not offer what students are most likely to want to participate in, then they simply will not have teams for competitions. As Jane commented:

[T]hey want to do more recreational sports now. The competition sports in this local zone have gone downhill in terms of participation for the kids. We have a grade sport competition where the kids compete against other schools on a Wednesday. If they don't do that, they do what we call rec[reation] sport, where they go out of school to do rock-climbing, skate-boarding, or whatever.

We struggle sometimes to field a grade sport team. Some schools have cut them

completely, because they just can't get the kids. So competition in terms of sports, traditional sports, against each other has faded. [...] I don't know if it's that kids have decided competitions are not an important thing to them. When I was at school, we use to love playing against other schools, but it doesn't seem to be a big issue with our kids. I think that the recreational sports we offer are often quite enticing too. So in a lot of ways, I don't want to say that we're not helping ourselves, but we are offering what kids are interested in which aren't competition sports, but we need to do that for the kids that don't want to compete. So we've got to find the happy medium.

Jane's aim to find a 'happy medium' between requiring students to participate in a competition sports programme or the school offering recreational activities<sup>2</sup> exemplifies the tension between the historical reputation of physical education as a means of training for team sports and traditional activities such as athletics, and the new ideology of physical education as offering learning opportunities for an individual's lifelong participation in physical activity. This tension is by no means particular to Australian or Anglophone physical activity syllabuses with their specific health ideologies. Interestingly, when Jeff (like Jane a teacher at Plains High School) described the same issue of attracting students to school sport, he had a different take on the situation. Jeff was far more dismissive of the recreational activities and instead linked the changes to the less-valued status of physical education and a lack of support for school sport in a school environment where the focus was primarily on literacy and numeracy. The 'blame' in effect lay with the school (as dominant agent) rather than with the students. We can begin to see how interactions between agents and institutions within the power network become more complicated and diffused.

### **Do physical educators teach or coach?**

Another tension for physical education is its role in competitive club sport. At one level, school sport can be perceived as a training ground and means of identification for elite athletes and teachers, talent spotters and/or coaches. But this is not always perceived by teachers as a positive aspect of their discipline. For example, Luc described himself as one of those teachers who was not an enthusiast of competition, but used it because students

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<sup>2</sup> Plains High School was offering ten-pin bowling, pool and snooker, rock-climbing, skateboarding and rollerblading as recreational activities to replace school sports.

really loved it. Luc had experienced negative aspects of competitive, commercial sport and had been disappointed by his exposure to illegal acts such as doping or underhand payments, and the interactions between the network of clubs, local administrators and politicians and corporate interests. Luc's distrust of the relationship between school sport and elite training was quite clear:

[J]'ai une méfiance assez grande, là on est allé au club de l'aviron, je suis allé voir, quel type de club c'était, j'ai discuté avec l'éducateur, et au début, c'était très bien, maintenant c'est un peu plus difficile, parce que je suis tombé sur des gens qui, pour eux, les élèves que j'amène, c'est un réservoir où on regarde si on va pouvoir piocher. Moi, ça ne m'intéresse pas. Si l'élève veut y aller, je leur propose, Je dis si vous voulez y aller, etc. je les initie pour qu'ils aient un peu autre chose que le foot, car le foot si y pensent qu'à ça, jouer au foot, mais j'ai une réticence par rapport à ça, alors que j'ai des collègues qui sont des sergents recruteurs. C'est ça qui les intéressent, alors que pour moi, dans la profession, ces gens-là m'intéressent assez peu, parce que leurs pratiques sont les suivantes : y sont entraîneurs de club à l'association sportive du mercredi après-midi, y recrutent des gens pour leur club, donc bientôt y auront plus notion de sport et si les élèves ne viennent pas, ben tant pis, et dans les cours on ne fait que ce sport, ou quasiment, toujours pour recruter pour l'association sportive qui a le ... bon ce sont des hyper spécialistes, y ne pensent qu'à ça, et y'en a de moins en moins. La formation en France a évolué, elle était comme ça au début, elle a un peu évolué, ce qui fait que, actuellement, on commence à penser au citoyen moyen, qui fera du sport et à côté une infime minorité fera de la compétition, et à côté encore moins qui feront de la haute compétition, parce que c'est même plus, avant, on avait la pyramide dans la tête, c'est plus ça.

*I'm slightly distrustful, we're going to a rowing club, I went there to check out what type of club it is, I talked to their education officer, and at the beginning it was good, but now it's a bit more difficult because I've come across these people for whom the students I bring are a source [of athletes] where they can check them out and see if they want to take any from the pile. This doesn't interest me. If the student wants to go, I will tell them. I'll say to them 'if you want to go there', etc. I'll help them so they can try a little something other than football, because football if you think only of football, then play football, but I'm a little reluctant in relation to that because I've got colleagues who are recruiting sergeants. That's what interests them whereas for me, in the profession, those people don't interest me much because their training is the following: they're the trainers for the after-school sports on Wednesday afternoons, they recruit people for their club, so soon enough all there is going to be is sport and if the students don't come, well bad luck and in their courses all they do is sport or quasi-sport, always recruiting for the sports association, well these are the 'super-specialists' who think of nothing else but that and they have less and less. Training in France has evolved, it was like that in the beginning, it's moved on a little bit, we're thinking more of the average citizen who's going to do sport and next to a tiny minority who are going to do competition, and again next to even*



*fewer who are going to elite competition. Before we had the pyramid in mind, it's more like that.*

This idea of a 'trickle-up' effect for school sport and elite competition is not specific to France. The Australian teachers also linked school sport and physical education teaching as an important way of encouraging young people to become involved in club competition. But this relationship creates complications for the professional standing of French and Australian physical education teachers as coaches versus educators. In Australia this problem is potentially countered by the fact that it is possible to use other teaching staff for coaching sports and school sports carnivals, as Jeff explained:

Well I've been here eight years, I've been involved with the sport in the [area] zone for six [...]. I was president of the zone for a couple of years and I basically saw sport, it's been on the decline around in the schools around here and we tried to put on Gala days for younger, Year Seven and Eight kids, get them more involved and things like that. But over the last, we've got seven schools in the zone and last year [another school] pulled out of the zone sport. Now they are a fair way away, they're half an hour away, it's hassles with time and different things like that. But *I see school sport as declining and I see it not only as a student problem but I see it as a whole teacher problem. There's teachers at this school who don't think much of sport and they don't see it as important; they see it's got to be done but we have junior sport here and we will have one PE teacher on and they call it partially integrated. We'll have one PE teacher with say five any other teachers and they're teachers who don't really want to be in it; they don't want to do sport. So basically you'll find yourself taking say two to three classes and these other ones, it's their class they're teaching but you've got to spoon feed them and tell them what to do and so on. And on a Wednesday afternoon we've got five PE teachers in there and there is one teacher who organises sport and there's no one else who does grade or rec sport on a Wednesday afternoon. So we've got teachers in there with qualifications, you know, level two, whatever sport, level one sport and they sit in there with free periods on a Wednesday afternoon. Now that's a timetable and that's within a school problem but it's been hit like that since I've been here and I don't see it getting much better. But if you talk to other people from other schools and they say the same thing. (my emphasis).*

While Jane spoke enthusiastically of some teachers' participation (see below) Jeff has experienced the reverse and his frustration with senior staff was obvious. The internal politics of schools means that physical education is rarely the first subject for timetabling considerations, with other subjects constantly taking priority over physical education in terms of both time and resources. While the physical education staff in France deal

with tensions between being viewed as 'teachers' versus 'coaches', assisted in part by their involvement in after-school sports programmes, in Australia the school sports programmes are quite a different situation. For sports to be offered to students, either as school recreational sport or school competition sports (graded competition), there needs to be a Level 1 or higher qualified coach for the sport.<sup>3</sup> This can be any member of the teaching staff, not solely the physical education teachers. In effect, for the NSW physical education teachers, there is no contest between themselves as teachers and sports coaches because any other teacher, from mathematics to English, could coach the school sports teams, so long as the staff member has the required accreditation, as Jane and John explained respectively:

[G]irls' cricket is a terrific example at this school. I played cricket myself for the last couple of years but prior to that, there was a staff member who's the president of one of the women's clubs in Sydney and we, although I have some experience in it, I can only do so many things, so our girls' cricket that would be fantastic if we continue to promote that because that staff member got them to top four in the state, which is a fantastic achievement for kids. It was the furthest a knockout team had gone in a decade and that was just through girls at school realising that they could play cricket, having a go at it and actually realising that they were actually quite good at it. Prior to that they hadn't had that opportunity.... [W]e're lucky that we've got a fantastic guy in Science that does basketball with both boys and girls, he does a terrific job. Our rugby league guys are good, our netball people are fantastic, and softball's very strong here too. I'd like to be able to offer things to kids right across the board, but it's just a matter of having *the staff with expertise*. In a school with 50 staff members you're not always going to have expertise in everything, although we try very hard to cover all bases just within the Faculty. (my emphasis)

[A]nother group of kids want to do BMX riding, there's the safety issue, I've got to get a teacher that's, not prepared to put their life on the line, but actually prepared to take it on and fill out the accident reports each week. I mean that's why you try to get them to come up with some of the choices, like they had to be within what we could staff and what we can get to in the local area. [The accreditation] depends on the sport, like school surfing, we've got to have a certain qualification to do it, we go to [Rec Centre] to do the super circuit, well staff there are qualified. Either we have to have the qualification or the instructor that's taking the kids has to have the qualification.

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<sup>3</sup> For an explanation of the National Coaching Accreditation Scheme (NCAS) administered by the Australian Sport Commission through sports associations see [www.ausport.gov.au/coach/ncas.asp](http://www.ausport.gov.au/coach/ncas.asp).

In this way, the separation of ‘coaching’ and teaching in Australia is made easier by the involvement of other suitably qualified teaching staff as coaches. But what does it mean for the physical education teachers? The professional standing of physical education has simultaneously needed school sport and been undermined by it. If the physical education teachers’ professional expertise is not required for school sport and sports coaching—bearing in mind that this is one of the most appealing professional aspects of their discipline for the teachers—what else is there for them to do? Generic motor skills training, behavioural control, health knowledge and what else? Do the physical education teachers become public health professionals and social workers? The tensions of sport and professional status are again brought into play.

### **The politics of French after-school sports**

In the French context, it is important to understand the role of the physical educators’ union, SNEP. During my fieldwork period in France, a physical education strike was scheduled due to concerns about the place of after-school sport responsibilities for teachers. But as Jean-Claude explained, the strike was cancelled due to a ‘lack of motivation’ on the part of the teachers. Nonetheless, he argued that the problems related to student participation in after-school sport were very political:

C’est effectivement un des débats politiques, c’est actuellement, la pratique de l’UNSS. Je dirais que les gouvernements nous menacent un petit peu là-dessus, de nous supprimer l’ UNSS en lycée. C’est des bruits qui courent. Et cette menace, elle est de plus en plus fondée, parce que l’UNSS en lycée est en grande difficulté. C’est à dire qu’il y a beaucoup d’élèves qui, il y a peu d’élèves qui pratiquent l’ UNSS en lycée. Mais moi je me pose la question, quelles sont les origines de cette désaffection ? Je pense que les professeurs d’éducation physique en sont les premiers responsables. Parce que l’implication en association sportive, ça ne se compte pas en nombre d’heures. Ça se compte, il faut de l’énergie, il faut rencontrer les élèves, discuter avec eux, les convaincre de venir, proposer des choses attractives, avoir des objectifs mesurés mais attractifs également, et si tu t’investis pas, si y’a pas un gros investissement du professeur d’éducation physique, tu n’as pas d’élèves en UNSS et de plus en plus, il y a beaucoup d’enseignants qui n’ont pas beaucoup d’élèves. Ici, au Lycée [Gen], il reste encore beaucoup d’élèves en UNSS.

*It’s really one of the political debates, actually the UNSS [after-school sports association]. I would say that the government has threatened us a little on top of it, to remove UNSS from the lycées. It’s one of the winds that are blowing. And this threat, it’s got some legs*

*on it because UNSS at lycées is in big difficulty. There are not too many students who take UNSS at lycée. But I would ask myself the question, what's the source of this disaffection? I think that the physical education teachers are the first stop. Because the implication is that the sporting association doesn't count for hours. It counts for hours, there has to be energy, meeting the students, talk to them, convince them to come, offer attractive options, have set objectives, but equally attractive, and if you don't invest, if you don't have a big investment of the part of the physical education teachers, you don't have students at UNSS and more and more, there's a lot of teachers who don't have a lot of students. Here at Lycée Gen, there's a lot of student in UNSS.*

Jean-Claude came from a teacher training generation, like Luc, that preceded the 1981 political and structural changes for physical education training. He also remembered the lower status position of physical educators prior to their shift to the Ministry of Education and was an active participant in SNEP's push for equal recognition and training. While he put the pressure back on other physical education teachers to provide a commitment to school sport (through UNSS), the situation for Lycée Gen was admittedly made easier due to its facilities, which enabled a more interesting, broader range of activities than those offered by other schools. And Jean-Claude acknowledged, as did his colleague Claudine, that the facilities they had at Lycée Gen were excellent and that by comparison one of the 'brakes' or handicaps for other teachers would be a lack of equipment. Jean-Claude talked about a need to find a balance between the practices which were at their disposal and the syllabuses: 'I believe that we have to help schools to have the best working conditions to be able to truly provide super interesting physical education'.

As discussed in Chapter Three, a political strength for French physical education has been its separate and very active teachers' union. With the shift in teaching training generations, almost a pre-1981 and post-1981 separation, SNEP's political power base may be undermined in the future by those who do not know or remember—and perhaps do not care about—the earlier position of physical education as a discipline. This is suggested by Luc's comments:

*La profession est coincée. Elle veut se faire reconnaître par l'institution scolaire, ça c'était le combat de mon époque, elle voulait, les profs d'EPS voulaient se faire reconnaître comme prof à part entière, dans une institution qui est assez intellectualiste, et le corps, c'est une espèce dans la civilisation judéo-chrétienne,*

le corps.... Y'a eu ce combat, mais actuellement, je me rends compte que ça se renverse. Les jeunes qui sortent là, eux ils trouvent tout normal d'être considéré comme un prof d'histoire ou un prof de maths. Par contre y'a tout un débat par rapport au sport, on s'est tellement écarté du sport qu'à un moment, maintenant on retourne, par rapport, y ont l'impression qu'on leur demande d'enseigner, la citoyenneté, d'enseigner l'autonomie, on dit mais attendez, nous on est là pour enseigner des savoirs en moteur, etc.... donc au niveau, de, parce qu'on est entre les deux, en fin de compte. Le débat sur l'AS je crois que c'est une tractation qui va se faire avec le syndicat, parce que actuellement, on fait plus d'heures que tous les autres profs. Donc je pense que le Ministère, dans sa grande mansuétude, va dire on va supprimer, enfin, on peut supprimer l'AS, et puis non on va pas la supprimer, vous la ferez en heures supplémentaires, par contre, en échange, on va vous aligner sur les autres profs, c'est à dire, vous ferez 18 heures de cours, face aux élèves, ce qui est le service d'un enseignant français certifié. Parce que actuellement, c'est vrai q u'il y a une différence assez importante.

*The profession is stuck. It wants to be recognised by the school institution, that was the battle of my era, the EPS teachers would like to be recognised like any other teacher, in an institution that is somewhat intellectual, and the body, that's a space in Judeo-Christian civilisation, the body. There's been this battle, but actually I would say it's the reverse. The young ones coming out, they think it's totally normal to be considered the same as a history or math teacher. By contrast it's all a debate about sport, we have moved away so much from sport that at the moment, now we're coming back, in relation, there is an impression that they ask us to teach citizenship, autonomy, we say 'but wait, we are here to teach motor skills etc. thus at this level, because we are between the two, at the end of counting'. The debate on sporting association (AS), I believe, it's a negotiation which is going to happen with the union, because really, we have more hours than other teachers. So I think the Minister, in his great indulgence, is going to say we will remove AS and then no we won't remove AS, you will have supplementary hours instead in exchange, so we will align you with the other teachers. So you will have 18 student face-to-face hours of class, which is the same as a certified French teacher. This is actually a quite important difference.*

Luc explained that physical education, music and art teachers have additional hours compared to other disciplines because 'they don't have copies to correct'.<sup>4</sup> However, as Luc mentioned, not all teachers necessarily understand or are committed to the 'fight'. For example, Claudine had negative thoughts about the relevance of the union, commenting that it 'did nothing' for her. Again, from Luc's perspective, the whole debate is about bringing skills for sport back into the physical education equation away from the cross-disciplinarity of teaching citizenship and autonomy.

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<sup>4</sup> These three subjects are the same three rated by parents and students as the least useful of all school subjects (Davis & Louveau 1998).

### Changing environment for school sport in NSW

The sportification of physical education in the late 1950s and 1960s was a driving factor in its appeal as a discipline for teachers and in its ability to market itself as a subject. As neo-liberal economics have come to influence (and commodify) education, the place of physical education has become less assured on the basis of its connections with sport. We can see from the Australian interviews and observations that the traditional values attached to physical education, and its tensions with sport and the commodification of physical culture, could be encapsulated in much of what is happening with the Australian school carnivals. The notion of houses to build team spirit and loyalty through sport seemed almost laughable when talking to students at Plains High School. They struggled to name the four teams and which colours belonged to which house, let alone describe the people whom the houses were named after (much like the easily forgotten Australians of the Year). Then there were the schools' issues related to student absenteeism on the school sport carnival days. This was strongly reflected in the debates over making carnivals 'whole of school' or 'competitors only' in which responses varied from school to school based on their student populations. In relation to Plains High School's swimming carnival, strong consideration was given to controlling student behaviour while trying to provide opportunities for students who may not otherwise have been able to participate in swimming activities. In terms of Beach High School's swimming carnival, however, priority was given to protecting the students from undue risk (from exposure to the sun), recognising that most students at this school had access to swimming pools and the beach, as John and Jane explained:

[W]e've changed our philosophy a little bit, we used to have whole school carnivals for swimming, athletics and cross-country, and the absenteeism went up quite a bit. We've gone to swimming and cross-country competitors only and athletics is still whole school. Now swimming, we had about 300 students actually nominate for events and participate which is all really we had when we took 800 kids at once to the pool, only 300 swam, 500 people hung around and again the legal side of it, the child protection, you can't really justify having 500 students sitting in the sun, like there's no sun protection at [Beach] pool, all day, the *house spirit, it's sort of something that's died*, taken a bit of a plummet because kids are more interested in what's happening around them than watching the pool. So we moved that way, swimming was the first one. It was a

real hurdle to get over, because it meant our first event, we tried this for a few years, the other 500 kids we actually had a sports activity day where we had novelty events at a different pool, beach flags, soccer in the park, and things like that. It was difficult to organise, but what happened, the PE staff went to the pool with the competitors, and the other staff took the rest of them. There was a high absenteeism on that day too, and the staff found it difficult to keep the kids occupied, properly, for an entire day. (my emphasis)

Firstly I think because we see it as a really important whole school event that we like all the kids to come to, to even spectate at, to *see kids achieving, it's sometimes they don't see those things if you don't take them to those places*, I think if we went to participants only we'd lose the kids that come along to the carnival and have a go at a certain thing because the availability is there. And I think that's a really important opportunity for them to come along. Sometimes if you made it competitors only we'd have all the kids that were gung ho at it and wanted to come and do it. There's kids that just need to be there to see it happening to have a go. I wouldn't like us to ever lose that. I know that it would be a lot easier to organise and that there's a push from certain people in our school that if our attendance and participation isn't big enough that we need to go to that. But personally, I think that that would be a step in the wrong direction. (my emphasis)

While Jane argued for the whole of school athletics carnival and swimming carnival, when it came to cross-country the school's policy was 'competitors only' due to concerns about 'losing kids' and the fact that it was much harder to police the entire course (which went around the back of houses and through a park area with a creek). The athletics and swimming carnivals, by contrast, took place in closed environments where the school could control who entered and who left the event. In the context of Plains High School, this was an important safety feature.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, because participation had been decreasing, Beach High School also opted to run a whole school athletics carnival in a 'tabloid' format, meaning every student participated in their age group. But this would not be extended to other events as John explained:

[I]t's the first time we used it last year, a lot of schools do use it and we ran with it and it was great. Everyone actually went and had a go [...] which they quite enjoyed and it was just little markers, like if they jump from here to there, they get a point for the house, if they get past a certain mark, 2 points, 3 points and the feedback we got from all the staff involved, was positive and, I mean the

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<sup>5</sup> Plains High School has been banned from using several nearby facilities because of student behaviour and damage to equipment. The use of the local athletics stadium for the carnival was almost seen as a 'last chance' to prove themselves and there was extra commitment and effort from the teachers to make it happen and to attain high student attendance numbers (see **Observation 2N, Appendix 9**).

absentee rate was up a bit, we probably still had 700, about 800 kids, that was pretty good. [...] We give them an opportunity to participate in PE and the number of kids again; it comes back to us now as safety and legal issue. *It's a lot easier to manage 100 kids running out along the cycleway and back around the beach than 800 kids* and a lot of the kids, you will get the absentee rate and most of them will just walk, but they get that opportunity as I said, during the PE lesson. Virtually our cross-country carnival is a selection trial for those to represent the school at the [school group] carnivals. So it's something we want to do fairly quickly, and we don't look at it as a participation thing, this is the selection trials, and that's it. (my emphasis)

John mentioned above that in the case of the cross-country carnival, the school's emphasis was not on participation but on selection for regional inter-school competition. This could be viewed as an example of when risk factors of en-masse student participation in a particular type of physical activity become complicated by a need to control possibly 'dangerous' behaviour. If we extrapolate this further to imagine possible teachers' meanings??, we could see that participation in certain activities - in this case the more traditional (and by implication, more elite and less likely to be continued as a participation activity in later life) sports - is limited to those who are 'serious' competitors and that any potential health benefits and encouragement for lifelong participation for others is not a consideration. One could ask what message this sends to students. Nevertheless, teachers felt that those students who may be 'deficient' in their behaviours (ie unlikely to participate or have other mechanisms for participation outside of school) and who are most in need of corrective teaching should be coerced to participate in school sports with less intention of elite selection, but with a stronger focus on 'civic' behaviours such as participation and motivation. Certainly, there could not be an argument for building physical skills for lifelong participation through exposure to school athletics carnivals (for example, see Luc's comments further on about the meaning of learning to throw the javelin in terms of skills for later life).

### **Potential ruptures: Students' resistance to physical education**

As we have seen student resistance to traditional sports and gendered practices 'force' changes to the nature of activities on offer in schools, but cultural privileging of the same sports and gendered practices provides an impetus to maintain existing practices. For example, Plains High School



provided recreational activities for school sport because students were not taking up the traditional team sports being offered such as cricket. However, teachers privileged those same team sports for use within their teaching programmes. Resistance to the inculcation of the schooling values of physical education emerges from students at two levels—the macroscopic and the microscopic. At the broader macroscopic level, physical education is under pressure from societal changes. The upwards pressure from students on their teachers to change the activities on offer also bears pressure on the teachers' professional standing, which was previously conjoined with after-school sport (in the French case, the UNSS, and in the Australian case, school sports carnivals). At the microscopic level, students enact certain behaviours to undermine physical education, either as re-appropriation of the teaching space (Canal 2000) or as 'deviant' behaviour that underlines the lesser importance of the subject (Measor 1984). It could be argued that microscopic resistance simply reflects the macroscopic as we see from the shift to more individualistic lifestyle activities.

### **The marketing of physical education**

**Figure 6.1: 'What do you mean you're not dressed for PE?'**

All the teachers talked about the changes in students' preferred activities and acknowledged that they need to 'defer' to or better accommodate students' shifting preferences and take into account the changing social environments for sports and other physical activities. This aspect of

changing physical education in response to broader societal changes with regards to physical culture—the sporting lifestyles symbolised by Nike/ Adidas/ New Balance etc. as suggested by Naomi Klein (2000) (pictured in **Figure 6.1**)—was talked about earlier by the NSW teachers. However, while teachers articulated these ideas, their classroom programmes were still primarily based on traditional activities such as athletics (Jamet 1998). Luc and Jean-Claude, like Jeff and Jane, also talked about the problems of adjusting activities for students. In NSW, the teachers changed the school sports offerings to ensure that students continued to participate. However, in France, Jean-Claude suggested that the problem may not be so much the sport or activity on offer but the fact that this activity is a requirement of schooling and a means of assessment:

[...] Je pense que les élèves sont de plus en plus immergés dans des informations multiples, et ils voient beaucoup la télévision, les médias ont beaucoup de prise sur eux, et ils voient ces sports, ils sont intéressés par ces sports, ils sont motivés aussi parce qu'ils nous ont aussi, et donc ces pratiques rentrent en France, entrent dans les pratiques françaises de plus en plus, et à mon avis, il serait assez embêtant qu'au niveau des professeurs d'éducation physiques, au niveau de ce qu'on propose dans les, comme supports dans les activités support comme les EPS, on ne les intègre pas progressivement, sachant *qu'on les intègre en leur faisant subir ce qu'on appelle un traitement didactique*, c'est à dire des modifications, qui vont bien à nos élèves, qui permettent d'apprendre des choses, voilà, c'est tout ce jeu qui est important.

*I think students are more and more immersed in multiple forms of information and they see these sports, they're interested in these sports, they are also motivated because they're also here and these practices come into France, come into French practices more and more and, in my opinion, it's going to be tricky for the physical education teachers, at the level of what we propose in, as support in the activities that are part of EPS, [if] we don't progressively integrate those sports, knowing that we integrate them by making them submit to what we could call a 'didactic treatment', that is modify them, to go well for our students, which allows them to leave things, there it is, it's this game which is important. (my emphasis)*

What Jean-Claude is suggesting is that, regardless of the activity they teach, it would be the process of making it a teachable topic that changes the activity (and students' responses to it). Taking any physical activity - however pleasurable - and explicating its applicability to citizenship (for example, using rollerblading as a means of teaching students about road rules and how to share the sidewalks with pedestrians) can ensure that the activity loses its appeal through a didactic process. Luc's comments followed

a similar line of argument about the didactic process, but in a more positive light, he suggests it should be used by teachers to ask what value there is in a given activity and how it would apply to the cross-disciplinary nature of physical education:

Alors la question c'est ça : est-ce que ils vont continuer après, je pense que oui, je pense que une fois qu'on a une pratique comme ça, on a au moins des connaissances, par contre il y a le problème de l'homomorphisme entre les activités qu'on leur donne et les activités qu'ils feront. Ça je leur dis à mes étudiants, le dimanche matin, le Français moyen ne lance pas le javelot. Voilà donc faut-il apprendre à lancer le javelot ? On a un de nos penseurs que j'aime bien, qui dit : que faut-il apprendre en gymnastique, les agrès, à un élève qui ne sera jamais un gymnaste ? Voilà le problème auquel on doit répondre. Que faut-il leur apprendre, même en utilisant la gymnastique ? Ou le javelot. Que faut-il leur apprendre, pas pour former des champions, etc., pour, à quelqu'un qui sera un citoyen, un sportif moyen, qu'est-ce qu'on peut apprendre dans cette activité qui est intéressant et qui peut lui servir ? Donc y'a tout un travail de transposition didactique, on est dans cette zone là, voilà.

*So the question is do they continue with anything afterwards ? I think yes, I think that once you have an activity like that, you have at least knowledge, but on the other hand, you have the problem of 'transforming bodies' between the activities that we give them and those that they do. This is something I say to my students, on Sunday mornings, the average French person does not throw a javelin. There you go, so why do they have to learn how to throw a javelin? There is one of our thinkers who I really enjoy who says 'What do they have to learn in gymnastics, of the apparatuses, for a student who is never going to be a gymnast?' This is the problem that we have to respond to. What are they going to learn, either using gymnastics or the javelin? What do they have to learn, not to create champions etc, but for someone who will be a citizen, an average athlete, what are they going to learn in this activity that is interesting and which is going help them? So this is all a job of didactic transposition.*

Once again the meanings given to particular power structures or tools for physical education have been interpreted differently by teachers to intersect with their professional activities and syllabus politics. This perspective of asking what students are going to learn should be examined from a different angle in which students provide their opinions of the value of physical education.

### **Consuming physical education**

One result of the increasing commodification of education is that the NSW teachers now work with their students as 'customers' to gain their participation in PDHPE. This included changing the activities they wished to

have on offer, within the class and school sport. As John commented, 'if you give the kids the choice, then they, no matter how small it might be, they've actually chosen to be out there, there's some Year 9, 10 sports they get more involvement because we've actually given them a range of activities to choose from. It's a limited choice, but they've said "oh well I've chosen this, this is what I wanted to do"'. These sorts of negotiations and seemingly insignificant adjustments that are made to maintain the status quo comprise the strategies and tactics of the power network to govern (Rouse 1994). In this case, the teachers' position in the school is protected by adjustments to programming to gain students' acceptance and participation. The marketing of physical education in reaction to students' preferences for less traditional activities can also be seen as part of the Foucauldian power game in which resistance creates a need for the network to shift various positions in order to re-establish a balance of power. For example, at the macro level, often alienating aspects of traditional physical education are undermined by broader shifts in society for participation in different types of activities. Yet to incorporate those activities into a formal programme simply shifts this 'change' into another didactic process. The shift becomes absorbed in the network. Physical education teachers' roles in schools are similarly undermined by the commodification of schooling brought about by the embourgeoisement of society. Resistance begs reactions at every level.

At the same time, the willingness of the Australian physical education teachers to change the school offerings also hints at a dependency on student participation as a key driver that would not be easily applied to other subject areas.<sup>6</sup> The traditional activities of physical education are often irrelevant and unappealing to students and the moral value of building team spirit is a throwback to more regimented, less individualistic times, particularly given the NSW syllabus focus on individual responsibility rather than obedience and commitment to team goals. If the teachers' primary motivation for being physical education teachers is undermined by students'

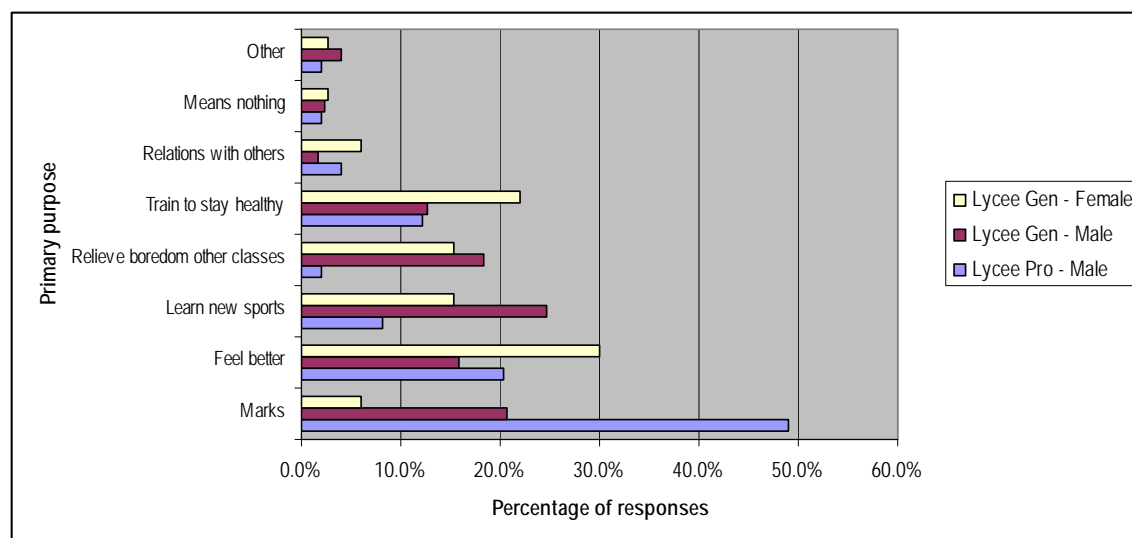
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<sup>6</sup> Although in the Australian context, similar 'repositioning' or marketing of science and mathematics is occurring due to declining enrolments in senior examination subjects, for example, repackaging biology, chemistry and physics into 'Forensics' to appeal to students. For these subjects, the question is termed 'how to make the sciences more attractive or appealing for students?' (see outcomes of the 2004 National Review of Teachers and Teaching at [www.dest.gov.au](http://www.dest.gov.au) )

lack of participation and shifting societal expectations, they will need to re-interpret their meanings for a different teaching environment. For example, turning sport into health and thereby teaching students to be 'healthy' citizens leading to economically-efficient individuals (as described in Chapter Two). Taking physical education forward to meet the challenges of the new millennium and changing political environments can be seen to be addressed in both the French and NSW syllabuses through emerging emphases on developing the lifelong skills of students to be self-sufficient and valued 'citizens'. While the political terminology of citizenship may be missing from the NSW syllabus, the language of developing 'students' capacity to enjoy an active lifestyle and advocate lifelong health and physical activity' resonates with contemporary neo-liberal notions of a healthy citizen (Lupton 1999).

Lynda Measor (1984, p. 201) suggests that as consumers of curriculum 'the meanings and status attributed by pupils to school subjects act as a very significant constraint upon teachers, and more generally limit the realization of certain areas of the curriculum'. Schooling has a number of utilitarian purposes, the majority of which are shaped by societal and parental expectations, particularly with regard to intellectual status and vocational aspirations. **Figure 6.2** provides a list of purposes for physical education identified by French students. As we can see, there are quite significant differences between student populations as to the meaning of physical education in their student lives.

The male vocational students at Lycée Pro clearly rated 'gaining points on the baccalauréat' as the most important purpose of EPS while the female students at Lycée Gen weighted highly the health aspects of EPS, both in terms of feeling better now and having physical training for good health later. The predominance of the importance of health and activity for this student population fits with other gender related, class-based research which suggests that the uptake of health messages and participation in physical activities is strongest amongst middle and upper-class female populations (Laberge and Sankoff 1988).

**Figure 6.2 Student opinions on the purposes of EPS (French students only)<sup>7</sup>**

A common theme that appears in other research on physical education is that students enjoy physical education as a break from their usual classroom routines; as an opportunity to get outside and move around (*se défouler*) and to escape the stress of classroom subjects (David & Château-Seyer 1999). This was similarly identified by a number of French students as a purpose of EPS (see **Figure 6.2**). Again, as with the teachers themselves, students' perceptions of what makes physical education 'special' as a school subject are the same characteristics that have traditionally seen it professionally devalued—a different classroom (outdoors or in the gym) and lesser intellectual status (no homework or exams). Yet more positively, given the emphases in the NSW and French syllabuses, it would appear that female students' positive valuation of physical education corresponds with at least two of the syllabus objectives for physical education—acquiring the skills to have an active and healthy life, both in the present and for the future.

For the French male students, the purposes of EPS may not be quite so positive against the health citizen objectives, although the 'learning new

<sup>7</sup> The full descriptive purposes are provided below:

To improve average grade and gain points on the Bac  
 To feel better and keep fit  
 To learn new sports for now and the longer term  
 To relax, to rest after the stress of other classes  
 To learn physical training to stay in good health for later  
 To have better relations with others, to know them better  
 It means nothing, except to waste time and useless efforts

Marks  
 Feel better  
 Learn new sports  
 Relieve boredom other classes  
 Train to stay healthy  
 Relations with others  
 Means nothing

sports' aspect should please physical education teachers. The overall population results are very similar to those carried out by Bernard Lefort (2001), although in Lefort's survey results, the male students at general lycées chose the same purpose as the Lycée Gen female students—to learn how to physically maintain themselves to be healthy later—as their most popular response. Nonetheless, the difference between those male students and the Lycée Gen male students was not greatly significant (21.2% versus 24.6% between primary responses).

Over the past decade, particularly in Australia, physical education teachers' professional standing has been linked to the health benefits of lifelong participation through students making the 'right choices' and displaying improved civic behaviours, all of which are assumed by teachers, as we will see, to be imparted more easily through enjoyment in physical activity. The circularity of teachers' arguments for enjoying physical activity and sport and health exemplifies their compliant resistance (transposable *habitus*) to changing curriculum and practices. The focus, particularly for the French, on citizenship in action and its ensuing appropriate behaviours has particular significance in light of students' corporeal actions in class. At the microscopic level, students' resistance to these expectations of choices and behaviours are evidenced in their 'calculated' misbehaviours such as forgetting their physical education clothes, 'inappropriate' language, and other misdemeanours.

### **Resistance to inculcation: Games and other acts of deviance**

Students' behaviours described previously as most disliked by the teachers (such as rudeness, non-motivation, not being prepared for class) can also be seen as forms of resistance to institutionalised learning as well as to the broader structures of school and society itself. Foucault's (1989) argument that a network of power to govern bodies requires resistance in order to have power can be easily applied to school, teaching and obeying the rules of physical education class. By constructing standards for assessment (however overtly or covertly) as teachers do in schools, there is a standard to resist. By resistance and protest, power structures are pressured into

other shapes, strategies and forms; yet simultaneously, through resistance and protest, power is brought into play.

James Scott (1985) describes everyday simple acts of resistance to undermine oppressive power as 'peasant forms of resistance'. Students can resist the overt mechanism of physical rules and regulations for team sports in physical education in covert ways while maintaining sufficient performance to gain the marks required. Scott developed this theory when examining the trigger points for peasant revolts under colonial administration in Southeast Asia. What Scott concludes is that the values of the 'elite'—in schools the position of teachers parallels those of the colonial administrators—are not necessarily accepted by the workers (in this case the students).<sup>8</sup> But nor do the peasants or the students actively revolt until such time that there is no other choice in order to survive. Survival at school is about achieving sufficient competency to 'pass' subjects and continue on without failing (or in the French case, *redoublement*, or repeating a year of school) Resistance in physical education primarily takes place at the level of everyday 'peasant' resistance in class, but also at the broader scale of rejection of the 'traditional' values to participate in sport.

Jean-Luc Canal (2000) undertook observations of French students in physical education classes, noting the behaviour which comprises what I termed 'games of marginal resistance' [*minuscule comportements qui contribuent à construire l'histoire de la classe dans les marges des normes imposés par l'école et les disciplines*]. These games are the students' undermining of the rules of desirable behaviour for EPS in what appear to be fairly minor, yet pertinent ways. Canal grouped his observations thematically as: sexuality; boy/girl games; misuse of equipment; laughter; mimicking the teacher; clothing; and disobeying the teacher's instructions. The reasoning behind these behaviours, according to Canal (2000, p. 61), is that the students are 're-appropriating' the space set aside to measure, classify and evaluate their performances. He describes this as a partial

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<sup>8</sup> Luc described the one time in the past ten years when he disciplined students who flatly refused to do their work. He explained the reason why he punished them was because 'they did it in front of the rest of the class to provoke a reaction while the others watched to see what would happen'. It was as much a reinforcement of his position as a teacher and capacity to keep control of future 'uprisings' as it was about punishing the specific behavioural infraction.



refusal to accept the rationality, discipline and technical nature underpinning EPS; but suggests that, in a positive way, the behaviours also contribute to the class through transgressions, conflicts and tensions, without which the lessons for team work/good citizenship would not be possible. These types of resistance are present in almost every French and Australian class observations as my field note extracts show:

- First kids playing are just trying to smash the shuttlecock as hard as possible.
- One student that came in late from prac, loses his temper totally with him post-match and actually swings the racquet at his head, the dreadlock guy just laughs, but he's really losing his temper and trying to hit him (this is right in front of me), he storms off to the change room.
- A couple of times there are problems with students and suspended students (and non-students?) at the gates. I find out later that one group of students dared each other to go onto the football grounds and took photos of the incident as 'proof' of the dare (funnily enough one of the instigators is the school vice-captain – now there's leadership by example).
- A couple of kids are being disciplined for standing on the seats.
- One of boys throws the vortex at another boy, hits him straight in the back. Lots of laughing.
- There's plenty of banter going on, lots of students wearing sun glasses, one girl eating a lollipop, one boy making notes. The boy groups are doing lots of throwing; their evaluation activities are gridiron and vortex. The girls tend to be waiting around and chatting about social things.
- The other senior students are not paying much attention to Al and Nick's work. They're just sitting and talking.
- The boys are also ignoring the rules of scoring below the knees. Alan calls out to the boys to pass to the girls, to pass the ball around and 'stop being show ponies'. Some of the junior boys are wearing their sashes around their heads as head bands.
- When the first boy scores, he's got his arms in the air with a big 'yeah'. One boy breaks the stick with the hockey ball. Now there's two girls being punished for whatever they did by being put in detention. Fel is sitting back dancing with the other four. Talk about a total lack of focused effort here.
- They hit each other and then check their nails and hair. They blow kisses and then tackle.
- He points him out because he's wearing a bright yellow cap, on backwards. Hats are something of an issue, at the beginning of each class they've been telling them to take their hats off, but most just turn them around so they can play with them on. No one pushes the issue.
- There are a lot of 'street' shoes here, plenty of Nikes and the like. The students keep disappearing outside, I think they're smoking?
- They're a lot less attentive and more chatting and misbehaviour. A couple of young men were sitting under the tree and basically almost refusing to run, two of whom had refused to undertake further warm-up after completing to minor run-throughs. There weren't too many students in track gear, and quite a few weren't wearing running shoes.

- It was rare to see a student with their shoe-laces tied up properly at all.<sup>9</sup>
- I noticed in particular the silver/gold Nikes. They were wearing what I would call fashion statement footwear rather than actual performance footwear.
- There was a lot of swearing when that happened.
- Some of the students are actually mucking around, one girl is using a witches' hat as a trumpet and another is using a grass stick to tease the boys.
- They've got questions about hating teachers, liking teachers; they don't seem to be able to put aside teacher personality conflicts with themselves. Lots of baaaad language, instantaneous bad lang. responses 'fuck you', fuck off type stuff. The group doesn't have sense of self-control.
- All the Yr10 girls come off court – leave it to boys versus boys. 5 biggest boys get to dominate, girls sitting and spectating. At least [teacher] asks if they want to have a go and play. One of the male teachers comments about not wanting broken nails to a female student. The girls are just sitting at the back of the court, as are two of the 'cool' boys. There are four very chubby girls, sitting out playing hand slapping games.
- There are three games going on, no refereeing as such, just playing. There's a group of 6 or so girls standing there watching them, but none playing. A group of students are sitting in the climbing room, all over the bits of gymnastics' equipment, they're not doing anything. A lot of students are playing badminton and basketball, shooting hoops and just hitting the shuttlecock back and forth, no scoring, no teachers giving instructions.

Like many of the aspects of observing physical education classes in NSW and France, there were striking similarities in the actual classes and activities, despite being in different countries, having diverse student populations and physical facilities. For the majority of time, the behaviour of students in any of the schools could be transplanted to any other school and would not appear out of place. However, there were on occasions, in the French classes, examples of 'extreme' behaviours—either noticeably 'good', (such as occurred in the *détermination* classes organising themselves and interactive behaviour between male and female students) or at the other extreme, behaving badly in such a way that would not have been allowed in an Australian school (see **Ob F4 & F5, Appendix 9**). Students in the NSW schools could be reprimanded through both an 'in-house' school system and an education departmental system. Examples of this were students being given warnings for inadequate school uniform attire, 'yellow cards' for crude language, and suspension for a week for throwing a chair. Students could be made to sit out a class, sent to the principal or in the case of Year 8A at

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<sup>9</sup> Canal also comments on the untied shoe-laces. He suggests this plays a role in resisting rules for teacher affected by fashion statement. It seems also to work for parents as well – a symbol of disorder and untidiness.

Plains High School (a targeted behaviourally-challenged class) students could be sent to sit with another teacher to ease tension within a class (see **Ob 3A, Appendix 9**). None of these actions were possible in the French system, even in a 'difficult' school. For example, at Lycée Pro (a ZEP), the only benefit offered to teachers to assist in behaviour control and safe supervision issues were smaller class sizes.<sup>10</sup> Behaviours exhibited by students such as leaving the classroom to smoke, throwing equipment or abusing other students would be guaranteed punishment in NSW.

The importance of civic behaviours for physical education in France is given greater emphasis in light of the difficulty of punishing French students, as the French teachers highlighted using various examples. There are several possible levels of punishment, such as dealing with it in-class or in the case of broken equipment asking the student to pay for the damage; but to broach a behavioural issue with Administration or even the Discipline Council [*conseil de discipline*] the behaviour would have to be something fairly serious. Luc said that his school attempted to resolve all problems internally and not to refer them outside the school. Expelling a student was extremely rare and in fact, Luc noted that 'expulsion is as good as banned from happening, but the students don't know it'.<sup>11</sup>

Donc, c'est, on touche à une zone qu'on appellerait l'impunité dont on parle beaucoup actuellement avec la campagne des élections présidentielles, le problème de l'impunité, c'est vrai, je reconnais que les élèves n'ont pas une vision claire de ce qu'ils risquent quand ils disent à un prof je t'emmerde, ils voient pas trop ce qu'ils risquent. En fin de compte, souvent ils risquent rien. Donc ils le disent, certains.

*Well, you've touched on an area we would call 'impunity' which they're actually talking about a lot with the presidential campaigns, the problem of impunity. It's true I've known students who don't have a clear idea of what they are risking that they say to a teacher,*

<sup>10</sup> In the school district that Lycée Pro is in, the primary schools and colleges are ZEP-identified schools, that is they are in a *zone d'éducation prioritaire* (ZEP). ZEP schools are given additional teachers and teachers' aides, smaller class sizes, and the teachers are given a bonus for working in a ZEP school (currently about \$1600 AUD per annum). The students have developed their own meaning for the abbreviation ZEP, *zones d'éducation pourrie*, rotten education zones. The public and professional images of ZEP schools are not good and there is continued discussion of the difficulties of being identified as a ZEP school, the main issue being that there is no system to be 'un-ZEPped' and a concern that they are creating ghettos by labeling not only the school but the surrounding area (Auduc & Bayard-Pierlot 2001, See example of local coverage of ZEPs in Pinaud, Florence, 'Zep: l'école au compte-gouttes' [ZEP: school in dribs and drabs], *Ô Toulouse*, 8 March 2002, p. 13).

<sup>11</sup> Luc mentioned that for one case at Lycée Pro, the school opted to swap their 'misbehaving' student for a student who had been caught stealing at another school rather than go to the extreme of expelling the student.

*you're giving me the shits, they don't see what they're risking. In the end, often they're risking nothing so they say it.*

Moulding students' behaviours is a key objective of physical education, whether through health behaviours, participation in physical activity, or applying cross-disciplinary themes of team sports to citizenship in action. The problem is that students appear to assign less meaning to these educative aims in physical education. The instrumental status of the subject, despite being enjoyable, becomes dualised between those who are achievers in physical activity—the sporting types—and those who just need to pass the subject, particularly in the French environment where EPS is compulsory for the baccalauréat. While Canal suggests that misdemeanour behaviours is about students re-appropriating a space in which they are being assessed, Measor (1984, p. 203) suggests that because physical education has a lower status than other subjects, it becomes an 'appropriate arena for deviance'. Deviance comes in similar forms of misbehaviour to Canal's games of marginal resistance, that is, 'mucking about', answering back to teachers, whispering, talking out loud in class, day-dreaming, chewing gum, and at the most extreme non-participation and non-attendance. In engaging in these behaviours, students resist physical education's institutional power but at the same time ensure that the meaning of physical education to remedy deficient citizens remains a necessity. The question is how teachers respond to the syllabus intentions of developing a good citizen beyond their immediate classroom practices. One such proposal is reflected in the new focus in syllabuses to promote lifelong participation in physical activity.

### **'We plant the seeds basically': Teaching physical education for lifelong participation**

[S]o we plant the seeds basically I think. Although I think that their family background, what their family does in terms of those types of things health-wise, physical activity-wise, is very important to begin with, primary schools are important and what they've done with the kids, but in terms of those formative 12 to 16 years, when they make big decisions. It can be the beginning of them picking up a drug habit or it can be the beginning of them becoming an excellent sportsperson or just being healthy for the rest of their life, so it's very important I believe. People don't realise sometimes I think how important it is that we do that.

The question of how physical education teachers will meet the challenge of lifelong participation appears to be taken up on two fronts (see **Table 6.2**): firstly, providing students with the skills to enjoy physical activity as well as introducing them to new activities and sports; and secondly, providing them with health-related instruction such as an understanding of safety issues or nutritional advice. Jane's comments above illustrate how physical education teachers interpret their teaching to be applied to students' lives. The first of these could be described as the pragmatic skills-based aspect of physical education teaching, while the second theme can be portrayed as ideological behavioural instruction.

**Table 6.2: The impact of physical education for the longer term**

Teacher	Interview comments	Translation
John Beach High School	<p>Oh well, I think so, when I look back on, success in the fact that kids that probably weren't that good at PE but then you see them after they've finished school and you bump into them playing sport, like touch, touch football, I see a lot of kids that are surfing that weren't surfing at school or, probably I don't know if it's a success, but I think I developed a fair bit of rapport with my students, I see them all the time and like, I get these guys coming up to me with big bushy beards, they look about my age, you know 'How ya going?', I can't believe I taught them. You know they still say giddy to you and as I said, you bump into a lot of kids you wouldn't have thought that would be involved in physical activity or sport and they are, whether or not I had any input into that, I'd like to try and think so (laughs).</p> <p>I've just spent three hours out in the water surfing, not for health reasons I'll tell you (laughs), I just love it. But the secondary side is I think it's doing me good, people might argue about that, but the idea is <b>trying to get students, to chose something that they enjoy</b>, that's the biggest thing, <b>something that they're going to have fun</b> and then yeah, as a <b>secondary benefit, obviously the health benefit</b>.</p> <p>[S]ome kids here don't do anything apart from what they do in PE and sport. Unfortunately that, they're the kids that are keen kids anyway, you don't have to worry, they wouldn't worry, it wouldn't matter if they didn't do PE, 'cause they do enough stuff outside of school. So yeah, the big thing is <b>regular physical activity</b>, try and teach them some new skills that they can use for the rest of their lives, so they can <b>have the opportunity or have the ability</b> really to go up and <b>join sports classes</b> if they want to or have a go <b>at doing recreational sport</b>. [my emphasis]</p>	
Jane Plains High School	<p>I think a lot of things that kids do after school are much more by what their friends and what their parents and what their family have done and those sorts of, um those sorts of influences on them, but sometimes, I think at school we might, sometimes be able to assist in that sort of area, even <b>exposing kids to things</b> that they might not have had a chance to do before. Like you know our sport at the moment, they do some rock climbing stuff. Without school and that opportunity they might not have the chance to go and try something like that, so I think that there's, there's the opportunity there for us to at times affect what they do later on. Um whether that's a really big percentage that, you know, that affects or not, I, well you know, pessimistically, it's probably not, optimistically, the only reason that I'm in the job is to try and <b>keep kids healthy and physically active</b> and so I hope that we have some affect on them.</p> <p>I think that their family background, what their family does in terms of those types of things healthwise, physical activity wise, is very important to begin with, primary schools are important and what they've done with the kids, but you know in terms of those formative 12 to 16 years, when they make big decisions. It can be the beginning of them picking up a drug habit or it can be the beginning of them <b>becoming an excellent sportsperson</b> or just <b>being healthy for the rest of their life</b>, so it's very important ... [my emphasis]</p>	

Jeff Plains High School	[Y]ou just have to try and get across the idea that if you don't look after yourself now, then it's like sun cancer, it's like everything in health, if you don't try and give them the knowledge now, they might say, 'I don't care, I'll smoke now, I'll eat what I want now or I'll get out in the sun and sunbake, it's not gonna affect me now'. But <b>they need to understand that it will affect them</b> , maybe affect them tomorrow or it may affect them in ten, fifteen years. So going on what areas are important, probably going back to the whole thing, <b>the whole idea of health is important</b> . Anything, any topic to do with it, and child protection too, especially areas out, like south west Sydney, like where we are now. It's not to say there are problems everywhere but there are a lot of problems with that kind of stuff out here too. So that's important; I think that's important <b>to give the knowledge</b> across to them, to give them some kind of idea what they do if they get in a situation or whatever. [my emphasis]	
Claudine Lycée Gen	Il faudrait, je sais que sur tout ce q u'on dit, il va y avoir 99%, 90% qu'ils vont oublier. Mais bon, s'il en reste un petit peu... J'espère qu'il en restera un petit peu, ne serait-ce que leur comportement par rapport justement à l'échauffement, avant une activité, des étirements, enfin, s'ils peuvent, mais bon, c'est de l'espoir, mais je sais pas, mais ça dépend des élèves, quoi aussi.	It would have to be, I think above all else, if there was 99%, 90% they will forget. But if something small is still there, I hope something stays, <b>it would be their behaviour</b> related just to warming-up, before an activity, stretching, and finally, if they can, well, that's hope. But I don't know, that depends also on the students. [my emphasis]
Jean-Claude Lycée Gen	C'est un de nos objectifs du programme, c'est à dire, un objectif des programmes d'EPS, c'est gérer au mieux leurs difficultés d'adultes, un des thèmes. Il est important pour nous de transmettre et de laisser des traces qui seront utiles plus tard. Et c'est vrai que, je crois que c'est vrai, tout ce qui est de l'ordre de l'échauffement, tout ce qui est de l'ordre la récupération, des thèmes transversaux qu'on trouve dans toutes les activités, qui resteront. Les thèmes reliés à la santé, à la prévention, les accidents musculaires, les accidents articulaires, et ça je crois que ça, si on fait bien notre travail, on est dans une logique qui peut les aider plus tard.	It's one of the EPS syllabus objectives, to <b>better handle their difficulties as adults</b> . It is important that we pass on and leave some traces which will be useful later on. And I believe it's true that things about warming up and recuperating, those cross-disciplinary themes that you find in all activities, they will remain. These themes are related to health, prevention, muscle and joint injuries, and that's what I think, if we do our job well, <b>there is a logic that will help them later on</b> . [my emphasis]
Luc Lycée Pro	On pourrait dire qu'il faut qu'il pratique, qu'il pratique en sécurité, parce que de plus en plus il y a des études qui montrent que les gens pratiquent de plus en plus seuls, ils vont plus s'encarter, on dit une carte, s'encarter, ils vont plus dans un club, y font du ski hors piste parfois, dans l'herbe, y font du vélo, ils courent, tout seuls. Or Il faut donc les doter à l'école de moyens minimum, on s'échauffe, on fait attention, on connaît les signes de la fatigue, etc. sécurité, santé.	We would say that they have to <b>train safely</b> , because more and more there are studies that show that people are training more and more alone, they are going to enroll themselves more in a club, ski off the course, sometimes on the grass, ride their bikes, they run, all alone. Now, so we have to equip them at school with at least the minimum means, they warm up, they pay attention, they learn the signs of tiredness, safety, health, etc. [my emphasis]

The ideological behaviours aspect of physical education differs dramatically between the French syllabus and the NSW syllabus, but the teachers' philosophies, in an explanatory sense, draw on similar views and ideological themes of supposed moral and character development benefits of physical education, primarily sport (Green 2000). In this way, teachers reiterate similar beliefs about the meaning of lifelong learning through skills

development and behavioural change through physical education (Penney & Jess 2004). Lifelong learning and ensuing participation in physical activity becomes an ideology in itself due to its links with future health benefits (for Australia) and implications for citizenship in action (for France).<sup>12</sup>

### **Becoming healthy citizens**

Lifelong participation is about appropriate behaviours within a conservative model of good citizenship that includes suitable health-related choices. The French students' acceptance of the health implications of physical education as evidenced by the results in **Figure 6.2**, particularly over the longer term, would be considered a promising outcome for both the NSW and French syllabuses and teaching. The future healthy citizen may happen. While imagined behavioural change provides a form of 'social utility and rationality' (Klein 1996), the shift from a sport focus to a physical activity-fitness-health model still requires teachers' understanding. For example, David Johns (2005, p. 70) writes that:

Allowing biomedical knowledge to be recontextualised as a school physical education curriculum serves two purposes. First, schools can be claimed as ideal settings in which public health risk factors can be addressed. Second, the discourse is seen by some as a way to sharpen the focus and bolster the curriculum content of physical education by encouraging teachers to place a greater emphasis on physical activity as a way of contributing to the health and well-being of young people.

The biomedical curriculum content is clearly reflected in Jane's understanding that the NSW teachers' professional standing and teaching futures are increasingly built on health outcomes:

You know there's new research out now with obesity with school age kids and teenagers, the health issues that float around our school, all those types of things would be things that I'd have to say to the parent in terms of it's really something that we need and it's something that you know your student's going to get something out of. There's no other subject in the school that focuses so

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<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to compare the different levels of 'health' that the French and NSW teachers aim to influence as well as the contrasting pessimistic and optimistic comments from the teachers about what they think might really be the longer term impact of physical education. For the NSW teachers, health outcomes are something that will happen from being physically active, preferably doing something the students enjoy. But health is also about knowledge to make health-related choices, preferably the 'right' choices according to Jeff, to ensure that students do not develop those so-called preventable lifestyle diseases such as skin cancer and heart disease. This comes about primarily from the Health and to an extent the Personal Development components of PDHPE rather than the PE component. In the French case, while EPS is also about imparting knowledge for the longer term, it is pragmatic knowledge directly related to physical activity, such as stretching to avoid injuries and other appropriate physical behaviours.

closely on your student as an individual. Yes, they go and do their maths and English, and science, and yes they're very important, and I never argue against that but, they're never talking about how drug use is going to affect them and the decisions that they're going to need to make anywhere else, and how their nutrition, where they are and where they need to be, and how they can improve their physical activity and what they know about how their body moves and those types of things, like it's very very student-centred and we work very hard to make sure that, the kids here, come away from PDHPE at the end of Year 10 having a very good idea about themselves, health and PE-wise.

The academic side of the NSW syllabus has been enhanced by the senior syllabus and its more theoretical and written assessment aspects. Yet even with an emphasis on the importance of the health components with respect to both the students and the physical education profession, when the NSW teachers were asked how they would defend their subject to a parent who said their child did not need PDHPE, the majority of their answers focused on the PDHPE's 'uniqueness' (Jane) in being so student-focused in 'kinesthetic types of areas that they don't get to work with in a lot of other areas'. What makes PDHPE special is the bio-physical, not the intellectual. This is similarly reflected in the reasons why most of the physical education teachers enjoy their profession, not for the intellectual stimulation of the subject matter, but the opportunity to maintain their interest in sport or being outdoors.

While NSW teachers have enhanced their professional standing through the Health and Personal Development components of the PDHPE syllabus, the French teachers' professional standing is not so much built on creating an intellectual side to EPS for the students, but comes through their own intellectual training. The Health and Personal Development components of the NSW syllabus have no direct similarities in the French syllabus. The health claims of EPS are expressed 'inside' the syllabus rather than overtly, as Jean-Claude described:

La santé a été un des objectifs, il y a pas mal d'années, avant dans les années soixante, avant, la santé était un thème important. Il l'est toujours, mais on parle plus de, on dit pas la santé, on dit « la gestion de sa vie physique » et ce que tu apprends en éducation physique à l'école, ça va te servir à ça, c'est à dire, *connaître son corps, savoir le mobiliser comme il faut, savoir le préparer quand tu vas faire une activité*, c'est ça qu'on essaie de voir en EPS, nous, c'est,



je dirai que c'est actuellement un des thèmes centrales des apports de l'éducation physique.

*Health was one of the objectives, before the 1960s, before, health was an important theme. It's there all the time, but we talk more about, we don't say 'health', we say 'the management of one's physical life' and that's what you learn in physical education at school, it helps you to learn that, that's to know your body, to know how to control it like it should be, to know how to prepare when you are going to do an activity, that's what we try to see in EPS, we, that is, I would say that it's actually one of the central themes of the contributions of physical education. [my emphasis]*

Unlike the NSW holistic conceptions of health and health practices, Jean-Claude's definition of health through physical education centres on actual corporeal practices. Nevertheless, the overarching focus of all these practices, perhaps more predominantly for the French, is to form a holistic, good citizen who is both an active, autonomous, civil participant and a healthy citizen. How is this 'good lifelong citizen' to be addressed through physical education?

### **Different schools, different students, a differential syllabus?**

The lifelong learning aspects of physical education, particularly in the Australian context, were also ascribed differently by the teachers for different student populations. The four schools in this research covered a spectrum of socio-economic populations (see **Table A** in Methodology section and **Appendix 9**). The idea of 'deficient' students was particularly noticeable at Plains High School (deficient in health) and Lycée Pro (deficient in behaviour).<sup>13</sup> Jane and Jeff made constant reference to 'these

<sup>13</sup> The socio-economic and ethnicity differences between the Lycée Gen and Lycée Pro were perhaps the most significant, but still between Beach High School and Plains High School there was a similar 'privilege gap' in student populations. Some 37% of Plains High School's student body came from non-English Speaking Backgrounds, including a high proportion of first generation migrant students from more than 17 countries in Asia, the Middle East, South America and the Pacific Islands. Lycée Pro had a similarly high proportion of non-French speaking students whose first languages were Malgache and/or Arabic, with a significant number born in French overseas departments or territories. Its survey population also had a high percentage of students from single parent families or situations in which students were not living with their family. Generally speaking, simply the fact of being a professional lycée indicated that Lycée Pro would draw on a more disadvantaged student population, but it was also a ZEP school which further enhanced its status as a difficult school (see for example Luc's comments on student behaviour in **Table 6.2**). By comparison, Plains High School was described by its teachers as one of the 'better' schools in an area of very troubled schools which draw on significantly disadvantaged populations. A 'troubled' school usually has significant security problems related to student fights and other such issues. Over the three years of the ARC project, Plains High School would appear to be having increasing struggles with student security and has implemented responses such as security fencing, additional entry checks etc. The outer Western suburbs area which includes Plains High School, gained major national headlines after several days of rioting involving young people occurred in late 2005.

kinds of students' or justified comments with 'this type of school' as the respective comments show:

[W]e need to make sure we're meeting the needs of the kids. I think that there are some, certainly some health issues that we see as very important - some drug use stuff, some nutrition stuff for some of our kids which seems very basic and which they should learn at primary school but for a lot of our kids they just don't know, 'let's go after school, have a Coke® and a donut for breakfast', we're working against it, when they're not being provided with the right diet at home. So those basic health things, and even hygiene stuff for some kids and because we're working with such a mixed range of kids, we have some very middle class families that attend this school as you would know, we also have some very socio-economically disadvantaged kids that come here so, I suppose, it depends on the group and the kids.

I see [health] as very very important and as a PDHPE teacher I think that it's not just the PE, you go out and play and that's what it was like when I went to school. But I think you've just got to teach them, every topic is important but it depends on where you are, like [this school area] for instance, is going to be different than say inner city or something like that. Not much different but I'm sure there's different things that affect people here that wouldn't affect people over there.

As Jane explained, Plains High School drew on a very mixed socio-economic population, from quite expensive newly established housing areas to older (often poorly maintained) government housing, developed in the 1970s to bring people out from the inner suburbs of Sydney city to the outer Western suburbs. During the timeframe of the longitudinal project, the school had a number of security incidents that necessitated increasing its surveillance and security measures. But the school itself has a good reputation in the region and quite good facilities, even when compared to Beach High which is a systemic, non-government school (and by assumption a better resourced school). Jeff and Jane referred specifically to the needs of 'their' population, particularly their perceptions of students' poor nutritional understandings. Both referred to the 'Coke® and donuts diet' and the high levels of consumption of fast foods from McDonalds®, and KFC®. Preventative education about nutrition and drugs (including smoking and alcohol) was high on their list of teaching emphasis.

Jeff noted that many of the students at Plains High School were in an economic cycle in which neither their parents nor their grandparents had

held a job. The lifelong learning for these students was described in terms of breaking the economic cycle in learning to work hard and 'not just putting your hand out' for welfare support, and passing this work-ethic onto their children. Previously in Chapter Five, Jeff talked about using sport to teach students to 'never give up' and to always give their best because it would be a lesson they could take and use throughout their lives. In effect, he was using sport education as a pedagogic tool for social and economic achievements for deficient or at-risk students. In **Table 6.1** and the quote below, Jeff also referred to sport and physical education as subjects that students with less intellectual ability or less comportment for schooling could do well at, in an almost Cartesian mind/body separation of the physical from the intellectual.

I've had arguments here with teachers at this school who say 'oh gee we shouldn't allow that student to play sport, we shouldn't allow, we shouldn't allow' and I say 'look, *they might not be good at school, they might not be the best student* but if they take something from this school and remember it or they take something positive from this school, why can't they do it'. I'm not saying these students who are really really bad and get expelled, well they don't get expelled but constantly suspended or whatever, but if a kid is maybe late for school, things like that or doesn't wear the proper shoes or whatever, they can't play sport. A couple of years ago I was involved with a policy here to try and get something put down in paper to say, these are the areas and if a student has done all these things they can't play sport or they can't go on excursions and that was put down on paper, it was a policy that was put through but no one follows it; no one follows it because it was not just a sports policy, it was an excursion policy too. So if you're going on an Art excursion and you're not doing the right thing at school and you're on a category, you can't go. But that doesn't happen and no one follows it. But when it does, say if you're bad and you want to play in the rugby league team, you won't be playing and you just get so fed up in the end, like you're just hitting your head against a brick wall and that's again going back to where probably some people think, what is sport, sport what is it and that's probably why I feel that sport is going downhill, because of the atmosphere. [my emphasis]

The withdrawal of sports participation as a punishment for poor school behaviour targeted a particular student population, much like Luc's 'ready to explode' students. To withdraw other more academically inclined privileges was deemed too harsh or perhaps damaging to more necessary schooling. The belief that sport may provide a pathway to success has historically been applied to disadvantaged and disenfranchised groups and individuals, either

as a means of social/political acceptance or financial success (Mangan 1992, Holt et al. 1996, Mosely et al. 1997, Polley 1998). This discourse is rarely applied to culturally and economically advantaged students because the academic pathway remains the viable and more prestigious option for them.<sup>14</sup>

In another example of differentiated schooling, Luc described how he had to deal with the problem of how to make more disadvantaged students pay for broken equipment:

Là y'a un côté, oh les pauvres, un peu trop. Y'a ceux qui vous disent, de toutes façons, moi je m'en fous, je suis dans un foyer, je ne peux pas payer. Y'a un peu ce côté... ici surtout, pas à [Lycée Gen], à [Lycée Gen], si le gars est dans ce cas, y le dit pas. Alors qu'ici, c'est, moi je leur dis, vous vous rendez compte que si vous cassez quelque chose, c'est les impôts de vos parents, moi je m'en fous, mon père, il paye pas d'impôts. Toujours cette chose-là, un petit côté provocation, *on n'appartient pas à la société, on est rejeté*, on est.. y'a ça qui traîne toujours au fond.

*Here there's another side, the poor, it's too much. Here there are those who tell you, in all ways, 'I'm screwed, I'm in a hostel, I can't pay'. There's some of that side, here more so, not at Lycée Gen. At Lycée Gen, if the boy is in that situation, they wouldn't say it. Whereas here, it's, I tell them, you have to realize that if you break something, it's your parents taxes, 'I'm screwed, my father, he doesn't pay taxes'. Always that little thing there, a little aside provocation, we don't belong in society, we're rejected, that's what's dragging always at the bottom. [my emphasis]*

The French ideology of equality in schools has its own implications here. For example, when Lycée Gen offered mountain biking, for equity reasons the school had to provide the bikes to students (see Ob2F, **Appendix 9**). By comparison, at Lycée Pro Luc had to fight to get funding for footballs and the only mention of cost-benefit in relation to any activity for physical education occurred at Lycée Pro when Luc described the difficulties he had organising swimming for his students. These included time constraints, parents' complaints about their children catching colds, students refusing to wear bathing caps, wanting to wear shorts in the pool and so on:

Au bout de 3 ans, j'ai dit bon. On a fait le bilan avec les collègues. J'ai dit y'a que nous aimons la natation. Beaucoup de parents sont contre, les élèves... Oh c'est ça, ils veulent pas apprendre à nager, ils veulent faire des bombes, ils veulent

<sup>14</sup> Rowe (2004) does highlight though that the increased professionalisation of sport and ensuing possible financial earnings in Australia may change career expectations and social options across all levels of society.

sauter dans l'eau, bon. L'administration, ça devenait un peu bizarre, on a pesé coût bénéfice, on a dit : y'a trop de coût, hop. [...] La natation, à la fois c'est intéressant comme activité sportive, mais pour plus tard, comme sécurité, mais aussi comme introduction à d'autres activités, la voile, comme nécessité.

*After 3 years, I said okay. We did an assessment with colleagues. I said that we liked swimming. Lots of parents were against, the students...that was it, they didn't want to learn to swim, they wanted to bomb, jump in the water. The administration, then it became a bit weird, they weighed up the cost-benefit, they said it costs too much, enough [...]. Swimming, it's interesting as a sporting activity, but for later on, as a safety measure, and also an introduction to other activities, sailing, it's a requirement.*

Without swimming, the Lycée Pro students will be constrained in their participation in other possible activities. Again, the equipment available at the Lycée Pro could not be more different than Lycée Gen. For example, Luc recounted his fight with the administration to get basic athletics equipment like shot-puts and javelins. The problem was when he did get the equipment he did not have the facilities to use it in an appropriately safe manner. The equality espoused in syllabuses became a fantasy when taken out to the realities of schools. The inequality of practices would seemingly also compound a differentiation of lifelong learning and associated behaviours (Evans & Davies 2004).

It was noticeable that those teachers from better equipped schools with a more middle-class student population had fewer concerns regarding the place of physical education within their school environments. Both Beach High and Lycée Gen had a tradition of high level achievement in team sport competitions and, in effect, Lycée Gen would be more comparable to a private/selective school in NSW. The importance of physical education and sport in these environments tends to draw on both historical tradition and the moral values espoused for the discipline. For the schools in more difficult areas—Plains High would more than likely be considered similar to a ZEP in France—as Jane, Jeff and Luc have mentioned, physical education struggles for resources when competing against more basic training for literacy and numeracy. Physical education and sport become luxury items in resourcing terms rather than a fundamental educational need. But they are important for inculcating appropriate civic behaviours that may be more required at those schools.

In all the examples discussed in this chapter, whether of students overtly pushing the classroom boundaries and rules or teachers questioning the institutional positioning of their discipline, power begs resistance and resistance requires power. A key theme has been the interplay of tensions between the professional status of physical education teachers and their *habitus* or shared culture of sport and enjoyment of sport and physical activity. The macroscopic, societal pressure brought to bear on teachers' sporting identities through political demands for health outcomes has required 'shifts' in understanding and interpretation syllabus politics such as lifelong participation to be based on enjoyment. How can teachers teach enjoyment? They draw on personal experiences and discourses of sport and health to give meaning to an immeasurable objective. Meanwhile, at a more microscopic level, teachers and students negotiate their meanings and roles as consumers and providers of physical education, within the constraints of a more powerful agent (the school). These negotiations may position students as consumers (changing the activities on offer) or peasants and deviants (obeying and undermining behavioural rules), but all intersect in an extraordinary intercalation of power and resistance for physical education to construct good citizens.

## Conclusion: Merging the macro and the micro

May all our young Aussie swimmers  
Be resigned to failure  
May our nation's state  
Be always second-rate  
'Give up! Give up! Give up! For Australia'

Tism, *Machiavelli and the Four Seasons*, 1994

When I think back on all the crap I learned in high school  
It's a wonder I can think at all  
And though my lack of education hasn't hurt me none  
I can read the writing on the wall

Paul Simon, *Kodachrome*, 1973

One of the intentions I had for this thesis was to merge theories of citizenship and practices of the body. Rather than maintaining the distance or intellectual chasm between the two, I would hope to intercalate what I termed the macroscopic and microscopic fields of embodied citizenship through a grounded examination of physical education. At the end of one millennium and into the next, it would seem auspicious that a key objective of physical education is to form better citizens through civic behaviours that include health outcomes. If there was ever a literal merging of citizenship and corporeal practices, physical education would be a leading example. In the Introduction I noted that the following questions were to be considered in this thesis:

- How is embodied citizenship framed within the cultural and political contexts of Australia and France?; and
- How do the French and Australian physical education curriculum and practices reflect cultural values and ideals that structure embodied citizenship?

To answer these, I return to ideas and arguments presented in first half of this thesis to conceptualise national identity and the role of the good citizen as an overarching network of power matrices—the macroscopic network—within which there are a multitude of microscopic fields, each of which is similarly a network of agents, institutions and relationships. In describing complex connectivities of globalisation, Singh, Kenway and Apple (2005) use the term 'mesh-works' which I believe also appropriately expresses the intermeshed networks of government, syllabus, schools and teachers for physical education. For example, moving through the layers of networks

within national identity, other networks could include education, schools, subject areas, and even to individual classroom practices, each a smaller field, yet equally as complex and intercalated inwards and outwards to other networks. I have drawn on physical education as a microscopic field through which to consider the desirable characteristics of embodied citizenship in constructing good citizens. A key element of this research has been its cross-cultural comparison. It is one thing to respond to the above questions for each nation in isolation, but as Grant (2000) says 'the very existence of other assumptions and practices can provide a necessary challenge to our own'. In effect, what is learnt from the workings of the French system regarding forms of embodied citizenship and the governing and disciplining of bodies through physical education enables us to question Australian practices and vice versa.

### **Frames of embodied citizenship**

Using Foucauldian ideas of governmentality in which 'governing' or controlling individuals occurs through a complex and dispersed network of institutions, expertise, assessment and the individuals themselves, it was argued in Chapter One that unwritten, and on occasions written, cultural values within society act to govern the bodies of individuals. While citizenship can be seen as a set of formal policies describing the individuals who can legally inhabit a polity/state and access its political and economic arenas, it also prescribes preferred values and characteristics for the same individuals. For example, in the project to create a cohesive French national identity following the French Revolution, Outram (1989) argues that those in power chose to 'celebrate' individuals who personified characteristics of ideal citizens:

The public space of France before 1789 had also focused on an image of heroic public dignity almost exclusively applied to the monarchy and aristocracy: it was such images that the middle class had to re-create. The new public bodies possible. They possessed the power, which the competing linguistic discourses obviously did not, to focus dignity and legitimacy in incontestable, because non-verbal, which they created and filled with attributed of heroic dignity were in turn inconceivable without, and were created for, the audiences that mass politics made was on the bodies of known individuals who acted as personifications of value systems. (Outram 1989, p. 69)



Spectacles such as public commemorations are necessary to perform 'new public bodies' and personify the embodiment national identity. In a network aimed at creating national identity, spectacle and commemoration are formalised acts of power deployed by government to describe its ideal citizens and behaviours on behalf of nation-states. While certainly not as formalised as the legal requirements of citizenship (for example, those required to obtain a passport), these acts are given 'credibility' through ritual and celebration. Graeme Turner (1994) argues that the fragmentation of identity and blurring of separation between public and private spaces, between gender, between the collective and the individual, requires reiterative spectacles of national identity. However, if the crises of globalisation and individualisation, evinced by claims for differential citizenship, are underpinned by some fundamental search for identity in resistance to the model/s promoted by those in power, how then are governments to address these tensions? The Australian Prime Minister has said there is no need to resolve this question of identity:

We're never going to reach agreement on any of those things. We're going to agree on certain values, we're going to debate and disagree on others. And this is how it should be and that has always been the Australian way, and long may it remain the Australian way. You cannot be too prescriptive about what constitutes a national character. You cannot legislate or regulate patriotism. It grows out of the behaviour and the spirit of the people of this country. (Howard 2004)

But Howard can use his position as leader of Australia to describe the Australians of the Year as 'telling the story and characteristics of the nation', however limited and privileged the story may be. He can declare actions or behaviours un-Australian and he can hold government inquiries into the management of the National Museum of Australia to influence the history that is reflected therein. Even in his words above, the Prime Minister has described a lack of public or collective consensus as the 'Australian-way' whereas others would argue that Australian culture strives to avoid debate in maintaining unspoken norms (see Mackay 1993). In France, questions and crises of identity are answered by an incorporation of difference under the Republican ideals—what is different can become French through more explicit integration (see Limage 2000, Leruth 2001) whereas Australian identity is more implicit than explicit. There are myriad non-prescriptive

ways to normalise and inscribe national identity that denies, oppresses and excludes formal citizens from belonging, intrinsic to social citizenship, as Young declares:

[T]here are no 'neutral' norms of behaviour and performance. Where some groups are privileged and others oppressed, the formulation of law, policy and the rules of private institutions tend to be biased in favor of the privileged groups, because their particular experience implicitly sets the norm. (Young 1989, p. 266)

While there are obvious political and economic benefits for nation-states in having more governable individuals, questions remain as to how 'governing' in democratic societies is effected at the finer levels of detail. For example, it is one thing for a government to make schooling compulsory, it is another to make students attend, let alone to learn. But if parents of students believe that schools provide some value for their children, then there is greater encouragement for those students to participate. Beliefs presented by individuals, groups and/or institutions as an 'argument' for a particular practice provide impetus to governments' reinforcing and resisting discourses as political ideologies. In the case of physical education, teachers' philosophies and practices—their discourses—strengthen aspects of formal syllabuses as well as undermine some 'written' rules. The bases for rules and beliefs are often embedded within historical discourses which in turn provide strength to the same rules by their weight of 'tradition' through historicity.

### **Ascribing medical and moral virtues for good citizens**

In Chapters 2 and 3, I described how over the 150 years or so of physical education in schools, there have been discourses and ideologies which remain constant, faintly humming along in the curriculum or loudly beating the drum in the classroom practice. These discourses of health and fitness draw on the medicalisation and moralisation of individuals such as described by Foucault through *bio-power*; the governing of populations and individuals through *bio-politics* and *anatomo-politics*. The reasons to control ever-expanding populations are underpinned by a need to maintain the social status quo of those in power, particularly the economic power-base through 'command' of labour or more literally, the bodies.

The rising costs for governments associated with growth of populations and extended lifespan of individuals combined with the globalisation of markets during the last century have evoked new policies of governing with an increasing trend towards neo-liberal economics—competition, market forces, privatisation of state responsibilities, individual responsibilities and economic efficiency (see for example Beck 1992, Bourdieu 1998, Touraine 1999, Giddens & Hutton 2000a). The changes have not come about simply through changes of government, but more subtle ongoing political and social shifts in practices and discourses. The good citizen of Athens becomes the warrior citizen of Sparta and Rome who in turn becomes the fellow citizen of the French Revolution, who in turn becomes the Anzac citizen of Australia. The heroic citizen, the embodiment of nations through war is heavily nationalised (rather than globalised) as wars form nations and nations go to war. The heroic citizen may appear almost archaic in its traditions of masculinity, but as we are constantly reminded, its power remains through public memorial as the personification of nation-states. 'Revolutions' of identity and globalisation may bring into question the ongoing appropriateness of heroic citizens but, regardless, mesh-works (in this case of embodied citizenship) shift and evolve to allow resistance, reaction and reincorporation. Through neo-liberal politics and individualism, all peoples may eventually become healthy lifestyle global citizens of an Anglo-Saxon world – an idea presented by many (see Sarkonak 2001) as the greatest fear of the French:

The French are rapidly becoming like other people, losing the many things that, for two hundred years and more, made them different. Modernity has leached out their particularity, modernity and the accumulated devastations of a difficult past.

The French will be like us, and as they become like the rest of us—Americanized, prosperous, modern, complacent—a great historical epoch will vanish from the earth, the epoch of Frenchness. (Bernstein 1990, p. 333)

The healthy citizen builds on layers of the heroic citizen—of what it means to be useful for nation-states. Once the bastion of strong males sent to fight for their nations, now all people can be useful. Citizens become human capital for nations based on their productivity—labouring, paying taxes, and behaving in such a way as to support the needs of the state. Moral values become intertwined with economic values and never so clearly as for the

healthy citizen. What formal schooling means to achieve is the formation of citizens (Meredyth & Tyler 1993). But not global citizens, rather it is meant to create citizens for a nation. Education may be intended to build more political citizens as desired by the French Republican model or they may be 'non-political' functional citizens—employable, healthy, efficient taxpayers—in the Australian model. Schools are intended to act upon both the minds and bodies of their students, to inculcate hegemonic beliefs, values and behaviours. And they simultaneously act to mark those students whose beliefs, values and comportment are not as desirable or as functional for the polity.

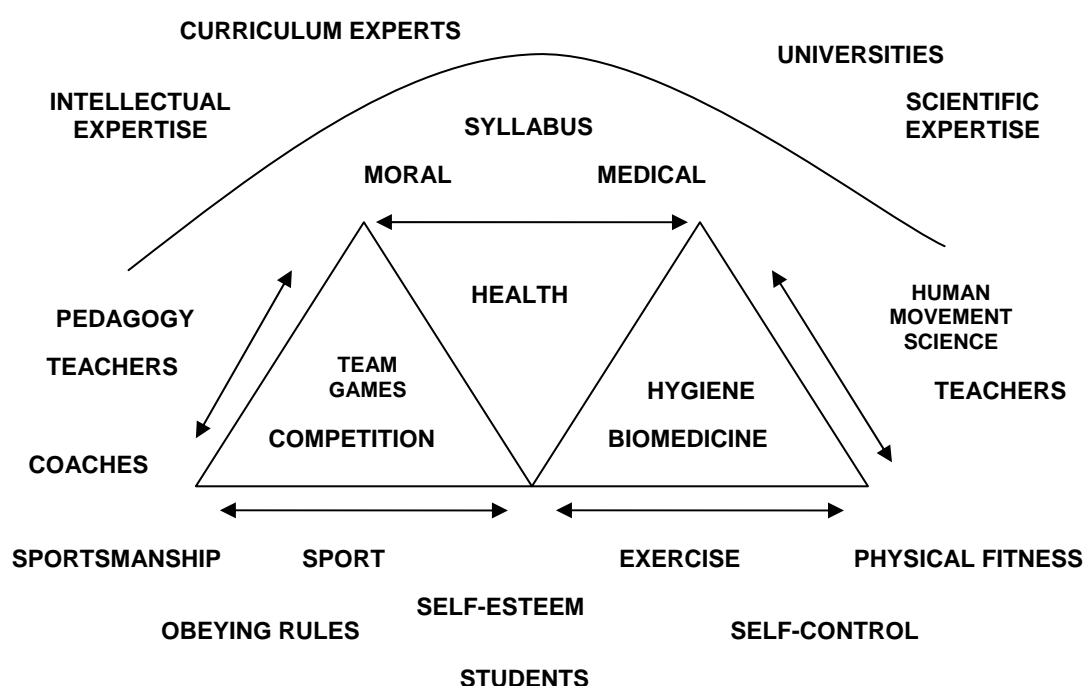
The French and Australian frameworks of embodied citizenship, like cultural politics, are reflected in their syllabuses. For example, the explicit use of the term 'citizen' for the French is aligned to a political articulation of citizenship through the Declaration of Rights (albeit of 'Men'). Meanwhile the language of the Australian syllabus reflects a more neo-liberal political and economic environment in which the focus is not on citizens with rights, but students with personal responsibility for self-management. Modern physical education is a subject area brought into schools for specific purposes of building a stronger, more functional and morally valuable population. Regardless of differences in politics and language between the Australian and the French syllabuses, the objectives of physical education in both systems would be the epitome of utilitarian education for good citizens. Despite differences of culture and politics, even French physical education has been described as two sides of a 'healthy economy' coin – 'heads and it makes students stronger, more useful people at the service of the state; tails and physical education is driven by the cost of living for which mankind is represented by physical capital, at risk from the cost of illness, to be cured by hygiene responding to the worries of the economy' (Andrieu 1998, p. 14).

### **Mesh-works of physical education**

Current drivers of physical education curriculum draw on medical and moral ideologies intermeshed with health outcomes (see **Figure 7.1**; and Wright 1996, Andrieu 1998). In the medical context, physical education is about

the sciences of improving health and fitness through exercise and its related concepts like anatomy and physiology, models of energy and engines (Gleyse et al. 2002). In the moral context, physical education is about teamwork, leadership, cooperation, valuing participation and health and related concepts like playing by the rules, good sportsmanship, winning and losing, self-esteem and decision-making (Andrieu 1993, 1998). A large part of these values are correlated with sport, in particular team sport, although the benefits are equally often described in 'medical' terms for their health implications. There is undeniably a conflation of the medical and moral themes in learning tasks for physical education. For example, medical discourses of exercising are conflated with moral discourses such as 'self-control'. **Figure 7.1** outlines the inter-connected nature of discourses within the field of physical education including some of the institutions, tools and agents that constitute the network.

**Figure 7.1: Conceptual dimensions of physical education's network of discourses**



The diagram is a simplistic representation of a multi-dimensional network, but it conveys the complexity and multitude of connections and tensions between discourses, institutions and agents. The second part of my research highlighted the importance of teachers within the field of physical

education. The politics of a syllabus, even more broadly, education as an institution, cannot be analysed in isolation from practice. The words and language of 'Aims and Objectives' are similar to house plans – somewhat disconnected from three-dimensional buildings, or in the case of physical education, actions and outcomes for students. The gender and class differences of citizenship, according to legislation, are not supposed to exist; and similarly these differences are not supposed to exist in syllabuses or in school. Yet practice shows us the contrary. There *are* differences, both resisted and reinforced through school and society. How can we explain the ongoing differences in girls' achievements in physical education if being female is not a 'problem'? Why is physical education different in its application for different school populations? It is the same syllabus. Fundamentally, there is a process of interpretation which occurs through teachers. As Yvon Léziart (2005, p. 3) writes 'each teacher adapts 'instructions' to their own beliefs and professional situation'; that is they draw on their own understandings, for example, of health and sport, to apply a syllabus to their teaching practices. The Plains High School students were in much greater need of 'health skills' and participation opportunities than Beach High School students, while Lycée Pro students needed to learn self-control. The intermeshing of medicalisation and moralisation of physical education over its disciplinary lifetime has been about finding meaning and purpose for a discipline and increasingly, a professional status for its proponents, physical education teachers.

In NSW, for example, physical education teachers have become participants in the battle to defeat a purported obesity epidemic (see Gard & Wright 2001, 2005). Yet Tinning (2001) points out that explicit outcomes for Australian physical education, as could be related to countering obesity, are quite difficult to establish. The amount of time spent in class is not enough to generate any great improvement in health and fitness. In fact, the curriculum itself does not demand any noticeable physical improvement. This is applied by teachers. Instead the syllabus asks for civic attitudes, participation in and appreciation for lifelong physical activity, much as does the French syllabus. This is also applied by teachers through their assessment of student behaviour. However, the limited capacity of

education systems to assess the impact of physical education on civil behaviours and rates of lifelong participation in physical activity is quite problematic. This deficiency in concrete 'purpose' and measurable outcomes for students' futures, in the commodified world of education, only adds to perceptions of a lack of esteem or devaluation for physical education that was made clear in Jeff's defense of his discipline (see also Penney & Chandler 2004).

PDHPE tries to give them hopefully some skills that gives them, like it empowers them to go out and use the skills that they've learnt, in the subject; like if they're walking down the shopping aisle and we might have talked about nutrition and what's in different foods and they look, 'okay if I pick this one it's got a lot more fat and this one is a lot better for me and I remember that or I learnt that in Health' or whatever 'I'll pick the better one for me' or maybe they'll say 'no, I'll pick the one that tastes better' [...] I think that's what PDHPE is about, *giving the kids some kind of skills, giving them knowledge* so that they can make these informed decisions and get out there and do that. I don't know if Maths is going to do that or English or whatever it is, but I think PDHPE is a subject you can get down to skills and ideas and so on that they are gonna use in day-to-day life. Like fitness, they have to try and do some kind of fitness or they are going to end up obese or with heart problems and I think it's more of a life subject, it's a thing that they can take and they can use every day; they can use it today, tomorrow, whenever. Well I'm a PDHPE teacher and I think it's the most important subject in the curriculum, because it's got everything that a person needs, from physical right through, mental, social, whatever. So that's what I'd say to parents and other teachers and other teachers who throw stones at me. (my emphasis)

While Jeff described physical education as much like any other subjects, providing skills and knowledge, in the end, the picture of physical education is that it is different. It is certainly not like mathematics, English, French or science. Teachers, particularly in Australia, are torn between being a valued subject area and doing what they have come to enjoy as a career. The crux of the matter appears to be the tension between professional status and enjoyable practices. And this is the case not just for teachers themselves, but also for the students. What students enjoy most about physical education is not the learning but the opportunity to actually do physical education and much of this relates to their engagement with the teacher and activities. It seems the lifelong learning aspect of physical education cannot be valued or even formally recognised and/or measured during students' schooling. The strengths of physical education lie in the teaching

of physical skills and civic behaviours, in fact, the very central themes of sport education. But then sport has become quite problematic. Every positive element of physical education brings with it the tension of a negative. Teachers have to make sense of these tensions by drawing on the discourses that they understand, accept and can justify for their own need for professional status. As Jacques Gleyse (1999a, p. 201) notes 'the passion, the fantasy can carry themselves on reason, made up by the actors of whom the first status would be to let assume the production of a rational discourse'. The democratisation of EPS for all has seemingly failed in France (and similarly in Australia) through differential political and professional applications of physical education (Léziart 2005):

Nous sommes au coeur d'un débat idéologique majeur qui porte sur la culture, sa définition et sur son utilisation dans l'enseignement. Aux défenseurs d'une école et d'une éducation physique intégrée à une société et transmettant la culture du moment s'opposent les tenants d'une éducation physique et sportive centrée sur la formation générale des élèves. [...] Ses effets sur la formation des élèves, en idéalisant l'idéologie du progrès sans fin, a conduit à imposer une éducation physique qui a perdu son sens éducatif au profit d'un sens performatif. (Léziart 2005, pp 9-10)

*We are at the heart of major ideological debate, based on culture, its definition and on its use in teaching. The defenders of schooling and physical education integrated with society and transmitting the culture of now are opposed by supporters of a physical and sporting education centred on general training of students. [...] The effect on students' training, by idealising an ideology of endless progress, has driven itself to impose a physical education that has lost its educational meaning for one based on performance.*

The logical choices for physical education teachers' futures and for physical education are those they can understand from their own knowledge and practices. Within the mesh-work of physical education, this can mean for resistance as well as compliance.

### **What do you see by comparison?**

But the regard goes both ways. When we look at the British we see both what we were to begin with and what we have turned out *not* to be. We also see the way they see us. (Malouf 2003, p. 5; original emphasis)

One of the aims of my research was to move beyond examining a single physical education syllabus and culture. The advantage of looking at physical education in both France and Australia is the opportunity to find



what is common to both in order to separate the culture of physical education from what may be French or Australian. If comparative education, as described by Watson (1999), is to envision the future and educational reforms necessary to suit new social and economic conditions, what do we see from the French and Australian experiences for physical education? Richard Tinning and colleagues (Tinning et al. 2001) imagine a number of professional scenarios for the future of physical education based on identified trends in Australian education, including:

- government cost-cutting in education;
- downsizing in schools and universities;
- outsourcing as a strategy for cost-cutting;
- the increased significance of fitness as a major component of health;
- the rise of sport education as a concept;
- the privatisation of school physical education delivery;
- the increasing use of computer technologies in fitness monitoring;
- the increasing use of video surveillance in schools; and
- the increasing connection between the [vocational education and training] sector and universities. (Tinning et al. 2001, p. 340)

Many of these scenarios are underpinned by 'fears' of professional devaluation in which physical education classes could be replaced by online learning sessions, commercialised sports education programmes, and/or fitness sessions monitored by human movement science graduates and vocationally trained graduates rather than university-trained educators. The scenarios presented may not be so farfetched for current Australian physical education (Tinning 2001, Tinning et al. 2001).<sup>1</sup> And while many of these may not be directly relevant in the French environment, there have been similar signals related to cost-cutting with reference to the hours required for physical education teachers and the out-sourcing for non-specialist trained teachers in favour of 'sports trainers' (Solal 2000).

These concerns for physical education are not specific to the Australian and French environments. Ken Hardman and Joe Marshall's (2000) work on the

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<sup>1</sup> My son's school uses a commercially provided 'Smart Start' programme to measure the students' fitness levels twice a term (10 weeks in length). Meanwhile my daughter has the 'beep' test applied to her in physical education class at the beginning and end of each term to assess if her fitness has improved. The beep test is known as the 'Multistage Fitness Test' in which you run to and fro along a 20 metre track, keeping up with a series of beeps played on a cassette. The timing of the beeps gradually increases until you can no longer keep up and this defines the level achieved. According to the NSW Department of Sport and Recreation this is one of the best methods of testing aerobic fitness ([http://www.dsr.nsw.gov.au/coaching/co\\_beeptest.asp](http://www.dsr.nsw.gov.au/coaching/co_beeptest.asp)).

state of physical education around the world outlines a similar list of concerns from Africa to Western Europe. Physical education struggles to be fully implemented in actual practice, for both allocated time and specified activities (for example swimming), regardless of 'theoretical commitment' (that is, legislative or curriculum statutory requirements). The low subject status of physical education emerges in all types of nations including highly developed nations, emerging economies and lesser developed nations. '[G]lobally, physical education in 37 percent of countries is viewed as a non-essential part of the school curriculum' (Hardman & Marshall 2000, p. 211). Whether it is in a school in Kenya, Bolivia, Australia or France, academic subjects are perceived by teachers, administrators and parents to be the only stepping stone to a productive future. Meanwhile the positive selling points for physical education are twofold; the (appropriate) socialisation of young people and savings in medical costs as the UNESCO Declaration of Punta Del Este (2000) lists:

2. The Ministers [responsible for Physical Education and Sport – MINEPS III] reiterate the importance of physical education and sport as an essential element and an integral part in the process of continuing education and human and social development. These activities can also contribute to social cohesion, mutual tolerance and the integration of different ethnic and cultural minorities at a time when migration concerns all continents [...].
4. They are deeply concerned to note that, in spite of the expansion of elite sport and sport for all programmes in recent years, opportunities for children to participate in physical education have been significantly curtailed. It is noted that the time required for physical education in schools is not being respected and is even being substantially reduced in many countries because of changing priorities. The reduction of physical education programmes, they note, has contributed to phenomenal rise in juvenile delinquency and violence, and rising medical and social costs. Studies undertaken at international levels indicate that \$1 invested in physical activity leads to a saving of \$3.2 in medical costs. (UNESCO 2000, p. 7)

In light of the similar global concerns for physical education, the key difference in the approaches taken by the French and Australian physical educators would appear to be 'playing' to their culturally specific discipline strengths. In the case of France, their strength is a specific political place within education, awarded to them at a couple of milestones: 1959 – Maurice Herzog and compulsory EPS with a coefficient in the baccalauréat and 1981 – the shift to the Ministry of Education and increased co-efficient

value. There are aspects of French culture that continue to support EPS in the formal curriculum, for example, the difficulty in changing the baccalauréat and the strength of the teachers' unions. Meanwhile, for Australian physical education, teachers' professional position comes from the subject's flexibility in reaching across health, personal development and physical education in a neo-liberal political culture that is opting increasingly to place responsibility for health on individuals. Secondly, PDHPE is supported by the strong, if not iconic, nature of the Australian sports culture. This 'Aussie' culture protected physical education in schools when it was brought into question as relevant for schooling during the 1992 Australian Government Senate Inquiry (Tinning 2005).

However, there are dangers in this professional position for physical education. If in Australia, physical education continues to align itself with the fight against obesity and related health issues, future evaluations of the discipline's achievements are likely to have poor outcomes (Tinning 2001). The potential for failure against stated outcomes and the threat of economic rationalisation appear all too possible. The scenarios that Tinning and others imagine could happen any time, or in some cases are already happening. In either the Australian or French environments, how can physical education be valued while the professional esteem of the subject within school and society is constantly questioned? Teachers may be optimistic about the value of their discipline as almost disciples in their beliefs, yet they are also somewhat pragmatic. If physical education is to be about civic socialisation and appropriate behaviours as articulated in respective syllabus' aims and objectives then the recent occurrences of young people rioting in Australia and France present opportunities to provide increased, specialised physical and sports education programmes.<sup>2</sup> But is this what physical education

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<sup>2</sup> There has been three bouts of rioting around Sydney; the first in inner city Redfern following the death of a young Indigenous male, supposedly being chased by police; and the second set of riots were triggered by the death of again two teenager males in Southwest Sydney (near Plains High School) during a car chase by police. The NSW Minister for State Affairs comments on radio about the young people not having access to facilities and employment opportunities were that these communities have access to some of the world's finest sporting facilities; softball fields used at the Sydney 2000 Olympics and soccer fields. The provision of sports facilities was the answer to being socially disenfranchised and marginalised (ABC Radio, 5 March 2005, Sydney Independent Media Centre, 5 March 2005). Then in January 2006, a series of riots broke out at Cronulla (beachside area of Sydney) as clashes between 'Aussies' and ethnic youth (described mainly as 'young men of Middle-Eastern backgrounds'). Similarly in France there was fairly major rioting over two weeks during late October-November 2005 which followed a very similar incident of police chasing two youth who died after being electrocuted while hiding from an identity card check (see *Le Monde* 25 Oct – 12 Nov 2005).

teachers understand and accept as their teaching task? Or is it better, professionally-speaking, to appropriate the 'obesity epidemic' as driving the purpose for physical education? If there is a shared, global, crisis of status physical education (however ongoing the crisis may be) then how could physical education enhance its standing?

I would like to end this thesis with a challenge for physical education teachers. Academics writing about physical education entreat teachers to reflect on their teaching and the meanings they give to and take from their teaching activities and profession (see, for example, Penney & Chandler 2000, Tinning et al. 2001). The challenge I would put to physical education teachers is how they would test students for physical education skills and knowledge in an international context, in a similar fashion to the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) or the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Studies (TIMSS) run by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. This challenge can be seen on one level as a direct outcome of the cross-cultural comparative analysis, but on another level, it also reflects the 'global/national/local mesh-works' (glocalisation) of education (Apple et al. 2005). The glocalisation of education describes how educational practices are becoming both global (for example, the OECD or European Union evaluation frameworks, see M'Batika and Jonnaert 2004) and localised (for example, the debate around Australian history curriculum for Australia) to reinforce national identity through differentiation from globalised history.<sup>3</sup>

### **Imagine testing physical education: The PISA Project**

The OECD runs a survey project entitled Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) which compares the exam results of 15 year olds from 32 participating nations. Under PISA, assessment was made of literacy in reading, mathematics and science in which students had to understand key concepts, use a range of processes in the correct way and apply their knowledge and skills in different situations (Lokan et al. 2001).

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<sup>3</sup> The Australian history debate is heavily politicised (see press releases from former Minister for Education, Dr Brendan Nelson MP and current Minister, Julie Bishop MP at [www.dest.gov.au](http://www.dest.gov.au)) with an emphasis on implementing more traditional forms of 'chronological events and facts' based Australian history. This follows 'moral crises' that young Australians know more facts about American history and American presidents than Australian history.

PISA also asked students to report on their self-regulated learning, motivation to learn and preferences for different types of learning situations (OECD 2001).

Generally speaking Australian students performed very well in the PISA exams, certainly above OECD average in all testing areas. French students, however, did not perform quite so well. In looking at the results, the French Ministry of Education and media reports were careful to emphasise a number of defensive points including the age cohort differences (due to *redoublement*) and the type of assessment tasks (largely multiple choice questions, but included student constructed and written answers). These particular formats, 70 per cent of the questions, were considered 'Anglo-Saxon' in origin and the French results needed to be considered in light of their teaching styles and expectations (MEN 2001c). For example:

The report on patterns of wrong replies in the French tests in another issue. 'French students would rather not reply than give a wrong answer. That raises a question for us on the role of wrong answers and the penalties for these in our school system', [Jean-Claude Emin] says. 'French students are afraid of being penalised by their teacher, while in other countries, mistakes are used in teaching, they are a means for learning'. (Phélippeau 2001, no page numbers)

PISA highlighted that Australian results differed substantially by socio-economic status within each school environment (McGaw 2004). It was the same syllabus applied within each school, in each classroom and for each student. It would seem that socio-economic class differences are alive and well in the supposedly 'classless Australian society'. Now imagine what testing physical education skills and learning would show? The fact that scientific, literacy and mathematical skills are highly prized as skills compared to physical education is not surprising. If physical education is to be accepted as like every other subject in the school portfolio, why are there no tests for what can be achieved in physical education? What could the benchmarks be? Particular forms of physical education within schooling were introduced with deliberate intents—population health and fitness in particular. How would the OECD participant nations test for achievement against this discourse of physical education—that it provides health benefits? Jane from Plains High School suggests, like Klein (1996), that there cannot be one 'bar' for physical education because there is so much

expected from the discipline; there could not be a single kind of test or outcome for physical education:

[Students] can go through a battery of physical tests but who's to say that the dancer that has extremely good flexibility is any less of an athlete than the footballer who can run all day. We're in one of those situations where we've got such a wide spectrum that it's very difficult. [...] my philosophy on it is that we're not trying to push the kids to be champions we're just trying to get them to do their best so, in terms of pushing a top group to reach a certain outcome, we wouldn't be able to set one bar for them all to jump over, it wouldn't be possible.

Nevertheless, let's imagine for a moment what it would be like for physical education to be part of an international testing programme. Imagine a room with French and Australian physical education experts and others debating how best to design the examination and what skills and knowledge they would expect 15 year old students to have. What would be the physical education literacies? Other international comparisons (that can be related to physical education) have focused on comparing the 'fitness' levels of students (see Sallis & Owen 1999). The French benchmarks for student assessment would suit testing for fitness, but fitness is not a specific aspect of either the Australian or French syllabuses. Should an international test be looking for outcomes that are not part of formal syllabuses? This tension highlights the divide that Léziart describes between physical education for performance and physical education for 'life' through general training. How can we test for 'life-skills'?

### **Globalising shared futures for physical education**

In terms of a process to develop the examination, we can imagine that it would include academics from universities, most likely involved with the development of curriculum in their own country. Then there would be the official national representatives from respective governments. What would governments want to have from testing for physical education? If the Ministers responsible for physical education and sport could agree, as they did in Year 2000, on physical education's role in social cohesion and health, would it be possible to find agreement on international testing? And what of the teachers themselves? Is this a challenge they would want to take on? Would the debate over examination content be intense or could consensus be reached easily? Would the examination be like the syllabus in NSW - a

consensus not of their making? If we consider that physical education teachers have more in common with each other than teachers in other disciplines, I imagine teachers would exchange stories about the status of physical education in their schools, their battles to obtain equipment and facilities, how hard it is to organise sports competition/after-school sport and get students to participate. Teachers might talk about how they have changed the activities they teach and the invasion of popular culture and individual lifestyle activities. Does globalisation mean that physical education teachers around the world can reflect on a 'shared collective future, which contradicts a nation-based memory of the past' (Beck 2002, p.27)? Would similar issues of professional status translate to shared futures or would the local 'cultures' reassert themselves?

At a broader level, I wonder what it would mean for the status of physical education if an international, objective test for physical education skills and knowledge is not possible as Jeff suggests:

I think it's very important to try and get the idea across to the students and if they take something from what you've said and keep it in the back of their brain for one day when they need it, well, I think then, as a teacher you've been successful, but you'll never find out probably. *It's something you can't test.*

And what about the relevance of testing for lifelong learning and students' learning preferences? Would that be about health outcomes or rates of adult participation in physical activity? Would there be a benchmark for students declaring that they enjoy physical education as 'motivation to learn' and would participation in school sport count as a different type of learning situation? How would syllabuses relate to the testing? A critical aspect of the Australian and French syllabuses is a link to students becoming good citizens in an individualised context. Students will learn how to be responsible for their actions, recognising that they 'play' in a bigger game than just their own world. How could they possibly test for that? In the end, just by imagining the debate to answers these questions, it would seem that physical education would struggle to evolve. The mesh-works of expertise, governmentality and technologies of self through *habitus* keep the discipline immersed in a constantly negotiated balance of power and resistance.

International testing would be another form of governmentality, applied from above, to be resisted from below:

D'une certaine manière, les résistances des enseignants d'éducation physique aux changements que l'on tente de leur imposer expriment le refus d'un nouvel impérialisme culturel. Ces résistances se retrouvent, sous des formes diverses, dans tous les domaines de la culture : façons de se nourrir, de travailler, de se divertir, d'élever les enfants et plus précisément, pour ce qui nous concerne, d'assurer leur éducation physique. (Bos & Amade Escot 2004, p. 150)

*In one way, physical education teachers' resistance to changes which one tries to impose on them expresses a refusal of a new cultural imperialism. These resistances are to be found in diverse forms, in all cultural domains; ways of eating, working, amusing oneself, raising children and more precisely, that which concerns us, assuring their physical education.*

Yet I would argue that it then becomes even more important to ask larger questions of the discipline, particularly to challenge teachers as to how they would evaluate their physical education programmes against the UNESCO Punta Del Este Declaration. If the value of physical education is to be evaluated against rates of juvenile delinquency, medical and social costs, integration and tolerance of ethnic and cultural minorities, should syllabuses be more explicit in their aims? If the discipline needs professional status and meaning in a neo-liberal world, are teachers prepared to intermesh their practices and discourses with syllabus outcomes and aims? The French recently modernised the Latin phrase of *mens sana in corpore sano* to be 'Bouge ton corps pour muscler ta tête' [Move your body to strengthen your mind].<sup>4</sup> As I started with questions, so I end with more questions and an intention to go running – physical education to challenge my mind and body.

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<sup>4</sup> 'Lancement de l'Année Européenne de l'Education par le Sport 2004', <http://www.eyes-2004.info> .



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## **Appendix 1**

## **Appendix 2**

## Appendix 3

### International health statistics for Australia and France

The statistics below in Table 1 describe populations by behaviours that they undertake and things that they die from. The listing of health behaviours and mortality is not a coincidence but rather an explicit statement and acceptance of causality. For example, the statistics report on rates of smoking and mortality rates of lung cancer, with an inferred causal relationship between the two. **Table 1** provides examples of the data that health epidemiologists and government agencies use to determine health policies and programmes.

**Table 1:** Selected health statistics, Australia and France (AIHW 1998)

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<sup>2</sup> Cardiovascular disease, colorectal cancer, diabetes are all considered diseases of economically developed countries (WHO 2002). They constitute many of the 'lifestyle diseases' discussed in Chapter Two.

## Appendix 4

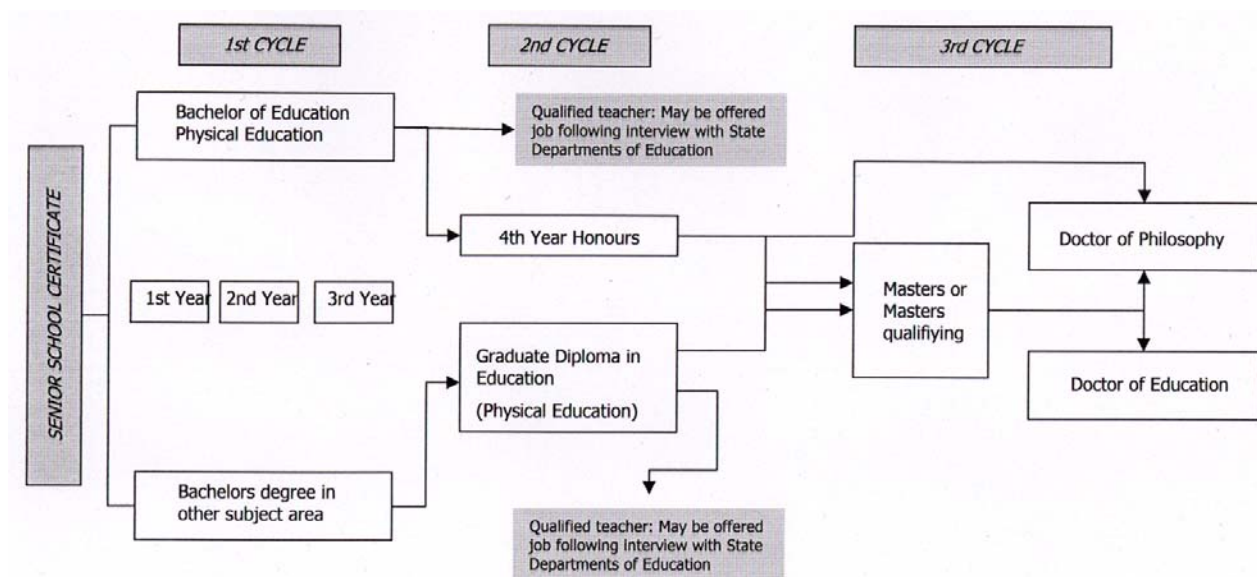
### **Selected listing of media on obesity**

Between late-2002 and April 2004, there were some 617 Australian newspaper articles about obesity and obesity-related issues, particularly in schools (using Bigchalk). A number of themes emerge regarding responsibility for childhood obesity: lack of activity (associated with TV, computer games, risky environments) fast food, parents, school canteens and genes. The various solutions include: exercise and sport, banning food advertising particularly 'fast' food (implied higher fat than home-cooked food), and a scientific 'pill' or genetic/hormone cure.

## **Appendix 5**

## **Appendix 6**

## 6.2 In Australia



**Notes :** Based on interviews and information provided through personal employment history

1. The majority of undergraduate degrees at Australian universities will be taken over three years. There are, of course, exceptions to this with double degrees and combined teaching degrees. Australian universities are self-accrediting institutions and may design courses differently, subject to internal approval processes and the Australian Qualifications Framework. In the case of Education degrees however, in order to be eligible for professional registration as a teacher, the degree must meet the State/Territory departments of Education requirements. These requirements do vary between States and Territories. In general most Departments require a three year undergraduate degree, plus a one or two year teaching qualification which may be offered as a Graduate Diploma or a Masters. Some states, for example Tasmania, offer a combined degree. Queensland has recently moved to a Masters qualification for teaching registration while in NSW, it is a Graduate Diploma in Education.
2. Direct entry into a Doctor of Philosophy programme will vary on the basis of Honours grade, work experience and/or length of time between undergraduate and postgraduate studies. Applicants may be enrolled in a Masters programme prior to being upgraded to a doctoral programme.
3. The Doctor of Education (DEd) is described as a professional doctorate with its main difference between the Doctor of Philosophy being the entry requirement of professional experience in the education field and a combined coursework and thesis study programme.

## **Appendix 7**

- 7.1            Physical activity questionnaire – English**
- 7.2            Physical activity questionnaire – French**



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**Physical activity and physical culture in the lives of young people**  
**Preliminary Survey 1999**

<b>General Student Details</b>	Tick or cross appropriate box
1. Are you male or female?	Male    Female
2. In what country were you born? (Please fill one box)	Australia Other (please specify) _____
3. What language do you speak most at home? (Please fill one box only).	English Other (please specify) _____
4. Are you an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander? (Please fill one box only).	Yes    No
5. What best describes your family situation?	Mother & father at home Only one parent at home Don't live with family
6. What is the present (or past main) occupation of your father/primary male carer?	_____
7. What is the present (or past main) occupation of your mother/primary female carer?	_____
<b>Questions about physical education &amp; physical activity</b>	
8. What do you feel about your physical education classes?	I like them very much I like them most of the time I like them some of the time I dislike them most of the time I dislike them all of the time
9. Outside school hours: How <b>often</b> do you usually exercise in your free time, so much that you get out of breath or sweat? (Tick one box only).	Once a month or less Once a week 2-3 times a week 4-6 times a week Every day
10. Outside school hours: How many <b>hours</b> do you usually exercise in your free time, so much that you get out of breath or sweat? (Tick one box only).	None About 1/2 hour per week About 1 hour per week About 2-3 hours per week About 4-6 hours per week 7 or more hours per week

### Club & School-based Organised Sports, Games and Other Physical Activities

The following questions are about ORGANISED sports and games that you do at school, before and after school and on weekends during school terms. DO NOT INCLUDE SCHOOL HOLIDAYS. Please think about a NORMAL week and write in the table below:

- Sports, games and organised activities that you usually do (including training),
- How many times each week you usually do them, and
- The usual amount of time you spend doing them.

In the middle of the page is a list of some activities to help remind you. If you do sports or games that are not in this list, please write them in the table anyway. If you do not do any organised activities, please write 'zero' next to Sport/games 1.

11.

#### Summer School terms (terms 1 and 4)

Number of times per week  
you usually do this sport or  
game, including training:

The usual amount of time (hours  
and minutes) you spend doing  
this activity EACH time you do  
it:

Sport/game 1:

Sport/game 2:

Sport/game 3:

Sport/game 4:

Sport/game 5:

Sport/game 6:

Sport/game 7:

Aerobics	Basketball	Hockey	Rowing	Swimming
Athletics	Cricket	Inline Hockey	Rugby League	Surfing
Australian Rules	Cricket Indoor	Indoor Soccer (Futsal)	Rugby Union	Tennis
Badminton	Cycling (competitive)	Oz Tag	Soccer	Touch Football
Ballroom dancing	Golf	Martial Arts	Softball	Volleyball
Baseball	Gymnastics	Netball	Squash	Water Polo

12.

#### Winter School terms (terms 2 and 3)

Number of times per week  
you usually do this sport or  
game, including training:

The usual amount of time (hours  
and minutes) you spend doing  
this activity EACH time you do  
it:

Sport/game 1:

Sport/game 2:

Sport/game 3:

Sport/game 4:

Sport/game 5:

Sport/game 6:

Sport/game 7:

### Non-Organised Physical Activities

The following questions are about NON-ORGANISED physical activities at school, before and after school and on weekends during school terms (such as walking or cycling to and from school). DO NOT INCLUDE SCHOOL HOLIDAYS. Please think about a NORMAL week and write in the table below:

- a. Activities that you usually do,
- b. How many times each week you usually do them, and
- c. The usual amount of time you spend doing them.

In the middle of this page is a list of common activities to help remind you. If you do other activities which are not in the list, please write them in the table anyway.

13.

**Summer School terms  
(terms 1 and 4)**

Number of times per week  
you usually do this activity:

The usual amount of time (hours  
and minutes) you spend doing  
this activity EACH time you do  
it:

Activity 1:

Activity 2:

Activity 3:

Activity 4:

Activity 5:

Activity 6:

Activity 7:

Aerobics  
Basketball  
BMX  
Bushwalking  
Canoeing/Kayaking  
Cricket  
Cycling for transport

Cycling for fun  
Dancing  
Fishing  
Golf  
Gym workout  
Handball  
Horse riding

Martial Arts  
Mountain biking  
Netball  
Rollerblading  
Running/jogging  
Sailing/sailboarding  
Skateboarding

Soccer  
Squash  
Surfing (board)  
Surfing (body)  
Swimming  
Table tennis  
Tennis

Ten-pin bowling  
Touch Football  
Volleyball  
Walking for transport  
Weights

14.

**Winter School terms  
(terms 2 and 3)**

Number of times per week  
you usually do this activity:

The usual amount of time (hours  
and minutes) you spend doing  
this activity EACH time you do  
it:

Activity 1:

Activity 2:

Activity 3:

Activity 4:

Activity 5:

Activity 6:

Activity 7:

15. How often do each of the following people play some sort of sport or exercise (e.g. golf, tennis, football) or other activity like walking for exercise, cycling or swimming? Tick one box for each line.

	I don't have/I don't know	Never or rarely	Sometimes	About once a week	2-3 times each week	More than 3 times a week
Father/male carer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother/female carer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your best friend	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. How often do each of the following people help you to play some sort of sport or to participate in other physical activity? (For example: take you to training, give sport money). Tick one box for each line.

	I don't have/I don't know	Never or rarely	Sometimes	About once a week	2-3 times each week	More than 3 times a week
Father/male carer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother/female carer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other family member	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your best friend	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your best friend/s family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A teacher(s) at your school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Below are some reasons for not doing more exercise or activity than you do. Please show how strongly each statement applies to you. (Please tick one box for each line).

	Does not apply at all	Applies a little	Applies a fair amount	Applies strongly	Applies very strongly
a. I already do a lot of exercise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. I am self conscious about my looks when I exercise or play sport	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. I don't have enough time	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. I don't have enough money	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. I don't have enough energy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. There are other things I like doing more	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g I don't have anyone to exercise or play sport with	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. I just don't enjoy exercise or sport	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. My parents don't encourage or help me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j Exercise or sport is not regarded as very important in my family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k The right facilities are not available	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. I don't have the skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. I am just not very good at any sports or activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n Others laugh or make fun of me when I try to play	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o. My health is not good enough	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p. I have an injury which prevents me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q. Another reason (please describe):	<hr/>				

**L'activité physique dans la vie des jeunes**  
**Questionnaire 2002**

--	--	--	--	--	--

<b>Informations générales</b>	<b>Cochez la case qui vous correspond.</b>
1. Êtes-vous.....	Homme    Femme
2. Dans quel pays êtes-vous né(e)s?	France
	Autre (précisez)
3. Quelle langue parlez-vous à la maison?	Français
	Autre (précisez)
4. Quelle est votre situation à la maison?	J'habite avec mes deux parents
	J'habite avec un seul de mes parents
	Je n'habite pas avec ma famille
5. Quelle est la profession de votre père/beau-père?	
6. Quelle est la profession de votre mère/belle-mère?	

<b>Questions sur l'activité physique et l'Education Physique et Sportive</b>	<b>Cochez la case qui correspond le mieux à votre avis</b>
7. Quelle est votre opinion sur la classe de l'Education physique et sportive?	Je l'aime tout le temps
	Je l'aime la plupart du temps
	Je l'aime quelque fois
	Je ne l'aime pas souvent
	Je ne l'aime pas du tout
8. En dehors des horaires scolaires; À quelle <b>fréquence</b> pratiquez-vous une activité physique qui vous fait transpirer ou battre le coeur rapidement?	Une fois par mois ou moins
	Une fois par semaine
	2-3 fois par semaine
	4-6 fois par semaine
	Chaque jour
10. En dehors des horaires scolaires: <b>Combien de temps</b> passez-vous à une activité physique qui vous fait transpirer ou battre le coeur rapidement?.	Zéro
	Environ une demi-heure par semaine
	Une heure plus ou moins par semaine
	Deux à trois heures par semaine
	Quatre à six heures par semaine
	Sept heures ou plus par semaine

### Les Activités Organisées: par les clubs, par l'UNSS et par le lycée

Les questions suivantes se rapportent aux activités physiques et sportives, organisées par un club ou le lycée, que vous faites à l'école, en dehors des horaires scolaires, et pendant les week-ends. Pensez à une semaine normale et complétez le tableau ci-dessous.

- A.** Les sports, les jeux, et les activités organisés que vous pratiquez habituellement (incluez l'entraînement)
- B.** La fréquence que vous passez à cette activité par semaine, et
- C.** Combien de temps en générales vous passez à cette activité pour chaque session, et
- D.** À quelle saison. Si vous la pratiquez toute l'année, cochez les deux cases.

Ci-dessous vous trouvez une liste non-exhaustive de quelques activités. Si vous ne faites aucune de ces activités organisées, écrivez zéro à coté du numéro 1.

11.

A. Activités/sports/jeux	B. Fréquence	C. Heures	D. Saison	
	Fréquence par semaine	Combien de temps pour chaque session (heures et minutes)	Automne Hiver	Printemps Été
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				
11.				
12.				
13.				
14.				

Aérobic  
Athlétisme  
Aviron  
Badminton  
Base-ball

Basket-ball  
Boxe  
Canoë-kayak  
Cyclisme  
Danse

Football  
Football en salle  
Golf  
Gymnastique  
Haltérophilie

Handball  
Hockey sur gazon  
Judo  
Karaté  
Natation

Rugby  
Patinage  
Ski  
Tennis  
Volley-ball

12. Parmi les propositions suivantes, quelle(s) est/sont la ou les raison(s) principale(s) qui vous motive(nt) le plus à pratiquer un sport? (Choisissez 3 réponses et les numérotez de 1 à 3, 1 est le plus important).

- A.** Pour le plaisir  
**B.** Pour la santé  
**C.** Pour maigrir  
**D.** Pour se muscler

- E.** Pour rencontrer des amis  
**F.** Pour gagner (par esprit de compétition)  
**G.** Parce que vous y êtes obligé (parents, école)  
**H.** Ne pratique pas de sport

**Les Activités Libres:**

Les questions ci-dessous se rapportent aux activités physiques (non-organisées) en dehors de l'école ou qui se déroulent pendant le week-end. Pensez à une semaine normale et écrivez vos activités dans le tableau ci-dessous. N'incluez pas les vacances scolaires.

**A.** Les activités (non-organisées),

**B.** La fréquence de ces activités et;

**C.** Combien de temps en générale vous passez à cette activité, et

**D.** À quelle saison. Si vous la pratiquez toute l'année, cochez les deux cases.

**Ci-dessous vous trouvez une liste non-exhaustive de quelques activités. Si vous ne faites aucune d'activités, écrivez zéro à coté du numéro 1.**

13.

A. Activités/sports/jeux	B. Fréquence	C. Heures	D. Saison	
			Automne Hiver	Printemps Été
1.	Fréquence par semaine	Combien de temps (heures et minutes)		
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				
11.				
12.				
13.				
14.				

Aérobic

Canoë-kayak

Equitation

Marche

Randonnée

Tennis

Basket

Chasse

Football

Natation

Rollerblade

Vélo

Badminton

Club de Gym

Golf

Patinage

Skateboard

Voile

Bowling

Danse

Jogging

Pêche

Ski

VTT

14. A votre avis, à quoi doit servir l'EPS à l'école? Choisir 3 réponses et les numéroter de 1 à 3, 1 est le plus important.

**A.** Améliorer sa moyenne et gagner des points à l'examen

**B.** Aider à se sentir mieux, à être plus en forme

**C.** Apprendre des sports nouveaux pour maintenant et pour ses loisirs futurs

**D.** Se détendre, se reposer de la fatigue des autres cours

**E.** Apprendre à s'entretenir physiquement pour rester en bonne santé plus tard

**F.** Avoir de meilleures relations avec les autres, à mieux les connaître

**G.** Ça ne sert à rien, sinon à perdre du temps, à faire des efforts inutiles

**H.** Autre: \_\_\_\_\_

15. À quelle fréquence les personnes ci-dessous pratiquent-elles un sport ou font de l'activité physique (par exemple golf, tennis, football, jogging, visite un club de gym, cyclisme etc.). Cochez une case pour chaque ligne.

	Je n'en ai pas/ Je ne sais pas	Rarement	Parfois	Une fois par semaine	2-3 fois par semaine	Plus de 3 fois par semaine
Père/beau père						
Mère/belle-mère						
Votre meilleur(e) ami(e)						

16. À quelle fréquence les personnes ci-dessous vous aident à faire du sport ou faire vos activités physiques (par exemple: ils vous conduisent à l'entraînement, donnent de l'argent pour le sport). Cochez une case pour chaque ligne.

	Je n'en ai pas/ Je ne sais pas	Rarement	Parfois	Une fois par semaine	2-3 fois par semaine	Plus de 3 fois par semaine
Père/beau père						
Mère/belle-mère						
Autre membre de la famille						
Votre meilleur(e) ami(e)						
Un/e enseignant/e à l'école						

17. **"Je ne passe pas plus de temps aux activités physiques et sportives parce que....."**

Vous trouvez une liste de réponses possibles. Cochez la case qui vous correspond le mieux pour chaque proposition ci-dessous.

	Pas du tout d'accord	Peu d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Vraiment d'accord	Tout à fait d'accord
A. Je fait déjà beaucoup d'exercice					
B. Je suis gêné par mon apparence quand je fais de l'exercice ou du sport					
C. Je n'ai pas de temps					
D. Je n'ai pas d'argent					
E. Je n'ai pas d'énergie					
F. Je préfère faire autre chose					
G. Je n'ai personne avec qui je peux faire du sport ou des activités physiques.					
H. Je n'aime pas faire de l'exercice ou du sport					
I. Mes parents ne m'aident pas ou ne m'encouragent pas					
J. Faire de l'exercice ou du sport, ce n'est pas important pour ma famille					
K. Il n'y a pas de structures					
L. Je n'ai pas de compétences					
M. Je ne suis simplement pas très bon/ne dans les activités physiques ou le sport.					
N. Les autres rient ou se moquent de moi quand j'essaie faire du sport					
O. Je n'ai pas une bonne santé					
P. J'ai une blessure qui m'empêche de pratiquer un sport					
Q. Autre raison (precisez):					

😊 C'EST LA FIN – MERCI 😊



## Appendix 8

### Interview codes and descriptions of interviewees

Code	Description of interviewee	School
<b>FM1</b>	<b>Jean-Claude</b> Head teacher, male, late 40s Rugby trainer at international level Agregé, teaches at IUFM	France, General lycée
<b>FM2</b>	<b>Luc</b> Head teacher, male, late 40s Agregé interne, teaches at IUFM	France, Professional lycée
<b>FF3</b>	<b>Claudine</b> Teacher, female, mid 30s	France, General lycée
<b>NF1</b>	<b>Jane</b> Head teacher, female, early 30s	New South Wales, outer suburban government school
<b>NM2</b>	<b>John</b> Head teacher, male, mid 40s	New South Wales, regional area non-government school
<b>NM3</b>	<b>Jeff</b> Teacher, male, early 30s	New South Wales, outer suburban government school
<b>NM4</b>	<b>James</b> Former PE teacher, male, early 40s	NSW Board of Studies Representative

### Broad interview questions (France and NSW)

1. Tell me about why (and how) you became a physical education teacher?
2. What are the priorities for you in PDHPE/EPS?
3. What makes an ideal student for you?
4. Are there any particular priorities for PDHPE/EPS in this school?
5. How do you defend PDHPE when a parent tells you that their child doesn't need to take this class? [This was not used in the French interviews].
6. What would you like to change about PDHPE/EPS?
7. Do you think there is anything that the students learn from PDHPE/EPS that stays with them outside of school into their later life?
8. How would you measure the outcomes of a better physical education class?
9. How important is physical activity in the lives of young people?
10. What do you most like to see in a student?
11. How do you feel about co-educational PE classes - what are your preferences?

## Appendix 9

### Sample of field notes and class observations

#### Observation 1F: Lycée Pro, Monday afternoon 2:30pm – 4:30pm

First time at Lycée Pro, general impression is 'prison-like'. There is a two-metre high brick wall with two-metres of fencing on top of brickworks around the perimeter of the school. There are no entrances other than the front entrance where you pass through the 3metre gates next to the administration building. There are no grass areas in the school grounds. The school director tells me that the school is on 3 hectares of land (said with pride, I think that must make it a largish school grounds). The gym is on the left of the campus from the admin building. They tell me the gym is actually owned by the local council (municipality), which is reinforced by the posting of official directives and notices from the Council inside the gym. The physical education teacher later tells me the fencing is not so much to keep the students in but to keep the others out. The surrounding area is light-industrial and high-density housing (like 10-15 storey apartment buildings). He also advises me to be careful walking through the laneway to get to the back of the school where the bus stop is.

The gym is dingy, painted that colour of green that seems to be universally dingy in hospitals and the like. I had to walk through the change-room to get to the gym itself, realising at the time that a couple of the students were changing so I waited in the gym. I was asked by two students what I was doing here. They seemed okay with my explanation. There will be two classes on at the same time. Both are being evaluated today for their grade in physical education. The evaluation will comprise one-third of their final mark for the year, and the activity is badminton. The other class is already out and setting up the gear. The equipment is not new. This class is quite small, only four to start with, some of them are out on professional practice. The teacher says the numbers will dwindle over the two years for a class that starts with around 20 students. They don't have bigger classes than that. The classes are grouped by what specialisation they are taking, i.e. all the plumbers are together, all the bricklayers in another class, they are scheduled by subject.

First kids playing are just trying to smash the shuttlecock as hard as possible. The students are coming out late from the change-room because they had been filling in a one-page survey on their motivation for EPS, teacher will use this for evaluation. He leaves the surveys with me to have a look at their answers. I've copied them down (see below). The form must be used for each evaluation activity, it has a blank for the sport within the question and the kids just fill it in.

Warm-up: they use a timer to mark how long they've spent for warm-up, the students come over to check how many minutes have gone past. They don't like warming up? The teacher does it with them. There are a couple of boards put up on chairs with notices on them. There's a list of levels and which students have attained which level, teacher tells me they take interest in these levels, they can move up and down from each lesson. The program is called 'Eurofit' and this one measures their 'souplesse', or flexibility. Other board has plans of badminton courts, outlining the in lines, service lines etc. Teacher uses these pages to remind them how to play properly, particular for serving and how they will score the games.

## EPS class motivation survey

Question	Response (in French)	English
1. <i>What is the purpose of EPS?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A se défouler, et a se développer physiquement</li> <li>• A découvrir des sports que je connais pas pratiquer en dehors le lycée</li> <li>• A développer ma musculature et mes connaissances sur les sport que je ne pratique pas</li> <li>• A développer le plaisir du sport</li> <li>• Faire le sport le lundi-matin</li> <li>• A entretien la forme et découvrir d'autre sports</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To let off energy and develop myself physically</li> <li>• To discover sports that I don't know how to do outside of school</li> <li>• To build muscles and my knowledge of sports that I don't do</li> <li>• To develop pleasure in sport</li> <li>• To do sport on Monday mornings</li> <li>• To work on my body and discover other sports.</li> </ul>
3. <i>What do you hope to achieve in class ?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• La victoire</li> <li>• Gagner</li> <li>• Progresser</li> <li>• Une bonne note</li> <li>• Une note satisfaisante par rapport à mon évolution</li> <li>• Remporter l'une des meilleure[s] place[s]</li> <li>• Avancé</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victory (x 2)</li> <li>• To win</li> <li>• To progress</li> <li>• A good mark</li> <li>• An okay mark in relation to my development</li> <li>• Win one of best places</li> <li>• To advance</li> </ul>
3a. <i>What do you have to do in class today to achieve that?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jouer dans les règles de ce sport</li> <li>• Etre attentif aux conseils du prof</li> <li>• Donner le meilleur de moi-même</li> <li>• Etre attentif et donner le meilleur de moi-même</li> <li>• Ce qu'on me dit</li> <li>• Tout gagner, faire mon jeux</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Play within the rules of this game</li> <li>• Pay attention to the advice of the teacher</li> <li>• Give the best of myself</li> <li>• Pay attention and give the best of myself</li> <li>• What he tells me</li> <li>• Play my game to win</li> </ul>
3b. <i>What do the other students have to do?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Etre sérieux</li> <li>• La même chose (Etre attentif)</li> <li>• Même chose (ce qu'on me dit)</li> <li>• Faire beaucoup d'erreurs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be serious</li> <li>• Same thing as above (pay attention)</li> <li>• Same thing as above (what he tells me)</li> <li>• Make lots of mistakes</li> </ul>
3c. <i>What is the role of the teacher?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nous apprendre</li> <li>• Nous observer puis nous dire nos point faible pour les améliorer</li> <li>• Bien nous expliquer les consignes</li> <li>• M'encourager</li> <li>• Nous conseillé</li> <li>• Même chose (ce qu'on)</li> <li>• Bien jugé tout</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To have us learn</li> <li>• To watch us then tell us our weak points to improve on them</li> <li>• Explain the requirements well to us</li> <li>• To encourage me</li> <li>• Advise us</li> <li>• Same thing as above (what he tells me)</li> <li>• Judge everything well</li> </ul>

There were a lot of spelling and grammar mistakes as they wrote them. Even for me in a 2<sup>nd</sup> language the students made a lot of basic mistakes which could be just them rushing or an example of a lower level of scolarisation (English?). In fact the class was seven students with a couple of latecomers. They have to have a note explaining where they've been and why they're late which the teacher then signs to say it's okay. Most of them are late due to being out on prac. There's one very surfie looking guy that seems to be 'lounging'. One student that came in late from prac, loses his temper totally with him post-match and actually swings the racquet at his head, the dreadlock guy just laughs, but he's really losing his temper and trying to hit him (this is right in front of me), he storms off to the change room.

Personal note: While the Lycée Pro students and I chatted in French, they were very sympa about my asking about words and sayings, and I would check if something was okay to be said like that in French, they would either correct it or say it was okay. When I think about this, knowing now that for a lot of them French is their 2<sup>nd</sup> language too because they speak Arabic or Malagache at home, maybe they came across as very tolerant of my French because they have similar problems? We had major laughs about translating 'kiss my ass' in French because they were using certain English phrases, (movie/TV influence?) and I would ask how that went in French. There's a couple of smart-arses in this class, majority of class are African/Islander students. Wonder if there's a correlation between ethnicity and some of the trades? Like wonder if the plumbing classes, being harder to get into, have less ethnic students?

They lock the change rooms to stop students coming and going through doors they can't see, I also notice all the students take their wallets with them into the gym. So the latecomers are coming in through the far-side of the gym through the fire-exit doors rather than through the 'front' door which goes directly to the change-room.

To run athletic events, the staff use an 80 metre track (drawn up by themselves) on the school grounds to train for sprint events, but other athletics' disciplines take place at the nearby stadium, as for football (soccer), or rugby. The classes for this school are smaller than usual, according to one EPS teacher, they need to be like this for reasons of discipline and control as the students are not the best, coming from families in difficulty or being lower-grade students in terms of intellectual capacity. Lycee Pro has struggled to fill a team for any UNSS sport for several years now.

In the school year under observation the activities undertaken by the *seconde* students at Lycée Pro included a 6 week session of Athletics (sprinting), volleyball, table-tennis, football, and the year will end with a short phase of Athletics again, this time throwing events for about three weeks. So each of the other events gets about 6 weeks each. The plan was designed to allow for the students going out on professional practice and means that for the throwing events phase, it will be a very small group of students, approximately 8 in each group. This was designed this way specifically for safety reasons as controlling the students would be best with a smaller group.

**Observation N1: First visit to Plains High School**

First visit to Plains High School. It's in the outer suburbs of Western Sydney, lots of urban sprawl. The school doesn't look very big, it's got Quonset huts which makes me think of temporary housing. There's one main long building with the administrative centre in the middle. I have to be logged in as a visitor and given a pass. I wait outside in the main quadrangle while the PE teachers have a class on in the gym building. The gym is separate from the rest of the school, it's a newer building, maybe 1980s? The asphalt is not very smooth, but there's line painted around it, and there's a couple of trees with fencing around them to protect them. They're not doing very well. The grassed area is tragic. The grass is not doing very well and it's pretty rough. During the recess break, I see the teacher warning students to stay on the inside of the line. When I check what that's all about, she tells me to go over the line is to be out-of-bounds. This is bizarre, the grassed area is right there in front of the students, but they can't go on it. She tells me that students are only allowed on the grass if they're training (I can see a group of boys playing soccer, they're training for school sport – they're not very identifiable, the sports uniform is meant to be anything in dark green I think). I find out later there is another grassed area back at the front of the school next to car park and asphalt courts.

The gymnasium is quite nice. The school lets outside organisations use it for activities as well. They'll be clearing all the equipment this afternoon for the gymnastics club to use it for the weekend. It's a nice size gym, full size basketball court, with timber floors, and a stage at the end. The school uses the gym for assemblies and exams. It's their largest room space. Anyway, I meet the PE staff, there's two women and three men. RJ is the head teacher. She gives me a copy of the PDHPE 7-10 Programme and Assessment booklet and also asks that I not pass this around to colleagues at other schools or at the university. They've put a lot of time and effort (and money) into the programme. There some interesting bits about the programme that I'd like to ask about. All the years have a dance component (note: this will change in the next two years and dance will be dropped from Year 9 onwards where it becomes an option). They've got a big block of time for Aquatics in Year 10. They're using Fit for Life and Sports-search programmes and one textbook for the year (Lees and Lees). Interestingly they've chosen Aussie Rules football rather than rugby league or union. I wonder if that's a safety issue regarding tackling. The athletics events are throwing, running and jumping and the programme is the same for all years. The outcome in the programme is to "enjoy participating in worthwhile physical activity". I'm not too sure who's making the judgement call on 'worthwhile'? Javelin might be worthwhile if we return to a spear throwing era.

The Senior Winter sports include: Boys indoor soccer, Girls inter-school soccer, Boys inter-school touch football, Boys open baseball and inter-school baseball, Boys inter-school soccer, Girls open and inter-school netball. Recreation activities include: Rollerskating, tenpin bowling, in-school ball games, tennis at school, rock climbing, pool and snooker, and power walking.

**Observation 2N: Plains High School athletics carnival, All day Friday (mid-Winter, end of 2<sup>nd</sup> term)**

RJ explained to me that they have a lot of problems getting the students to come to school carnivals, hence the 'bribery' of gate prizes and other prizes. It's being held at the local stadium which I have to say is a very nice stadium with all weather track (backs on to serious football stadium and football club). It's not very close to the school though and I notice on the handout that students either have to make their own way there or be at school by 8am (not likely!!!) to be escorted by the teachers by train. I can't even tell where the train station is around this place. They must have to walk a little way to the stadium. It's an overcast and humid day considering it's the middle of winter.

According to the information sheet students are not supposed to leave the carnival. Looking around this place, I can't see how they can enforce it, there isn't enough teachers to monitor this space. The place has nice high fences all around it and they're only letting in students through one gate area which is controlled by teachers, but what about the entire back area? RJ tells me they have had a number of behavioural issues in previous years, something about vandalising the toilets. There are no students in school uniform, they're all in mufti. Some kids are dressed in normal street wear, I later see a couple of them actually competing in jeans, particularly high jump which I would have thought would be the most uncomfortable event to do in jeans.

A couple of times there are problems with students and suspended students (and non-students?) at the gates. I find out later that one group of students dared each other to go onto the football grounds and took photos of the incident as 'proof' of the dare (funnily enough one of the instigator's is the school vice-captain – Fred – now there's leadership by example). I'm watching most of the day by the track fence. RJ comes past with bag of lollies to say hi and so do a couple of the students that I've been interviewing. Had a chat about the school houses (all I can think of is Harry Potter books and the school houses – this whole idea is so Anglo-centric) with one of the House captains. I couldn't quite figure out what the four colours were meant to be, he (the captain) wasn't too sure who they named after either. So much for teaching history and team loyalty and all those other meaningful behavioural things. They've tried to encourage people to come in house colours, just the usual red, blue, yellow and green I think. There's a prize for the house with the most people in colour and loudest supporters. I don't hear any cheers from the stands or anything like what happens at the primary school carnivals. I suppose they get a little more cynical at high school? Or maybe more embarrassed by it all? I've found out who the four houses are: Monash (Red), Birdswood (Blue), Blamey (Yellow), and Moreshead (Black & White). The houses are named after Army Generals. The link is that the land the school is built on used to be an Army base. I don't suppose it's related to the need for discipline?

All the school teachers are here. They've got them running events and patrolling the grounds. There's a "Supervision Roster" listed in the booklet for the whole day. The main sites are: Girls and Boys toilets, Canteen, the Stands divided into 2 and then an 'In-Charge' teacher. The information booklet says they'll be running 100m to 1500m track events with three relay events of 4 x 100m (Junior, Intermediate, Senior). Then there are the field events, shot put, discus, javelin, long jump and high jump. All events, except relays, are by

age group. They have huge problems getting students to compete in the long distance events – there's like a total of 25 students from all age groups and very few girls. But there's lots of students lined up to throw javelin. They had PE training in javelin last week. There's lots of soccer shorts, football tops, some basketball gear, and generally baggy shorts everywhere. Two guys have shaved legs. A couple of kids have brought their sprinting spikes and starting blocks. It's bring your own or just do a standing start. It becomes quite evident which students do sport and which ones do not. Some of the kids doing high jump are doing it barefoot and some are using scissor kick method rather than Fosbury flop. RJ tells me the main things about the carnival is to "have heart", showing sportsmanship and just to participate. The most contested event is the Senior Boys 100m final. Big build-up, the winner crosses the line with his arms in the air and big grin. Cocky sprinter attitude. By contrast there's no senior boys in the 1500m, only junior males. There's a huge gap between the good runners and the rest. There's one kid way out in front, he's wearing spikes. The one thing you really notice is the difference between the athletic students and the others. No wonder there are more kids in the stands than on the track. The idea of participating for the sake of participating just doesn't ring true. This is about performing in front of your peers. The potential for embarrassment is huge, especially if you're too cool to sweat or try hard. That would be like admitting you're not an athlete in a culture that worships them. There are students diving into the sandpits. I think the control is starting to wear thin and misbehaviour is on the increase.

There's not a lot of atmosphere or participation in some of the events. It's like the same students in each of the events and plenty of girls in the stands. Good to see a couple of serious 'athletes' who have brought their spikes with them (one is Felicity who I've interviewed – she's got her boyfriend looking after her). A couple of kids are being disciplined for standing on the seats. When I talked to RJ she's quite concerned about the participation of girls, they're just not getting out there. The results from the survey show that the younger girls are participating even less than the Year 10 girls. Things aren't going to get better for RJ with girls participation.

There's a couple of parents, one mother in particular has me stumped. She's chain smoked the whole day and now she's yelling "Come on Stacey, kick it in for Christsake". I wish she'd go running instead. She ran across the track to cheer/yell/encourage and she actually checks the race time with one of the PE teachers. I find it totally ironic that pushy competitive parents do nothing physical themselves, she's overweight, chain smoking, and yelling at her kid to do better. Stacey checks her time too, her comment was 'That's bad, 6:03'.

### **Observations N3 & N4: Senior evaluations at Beach and Plains High**

*Beach High Senior Evaluation – Coaching Skills:* This is the middle of 2<sup>nd</sup> term and the senior students have designed evaluation tasks for one of five activities: soccer, gridiron, vortex, netball, basketball. The students have been doing this work in small groups and funnily enough they've divided themselves up by gender. There are two boys groups and three girls groups. The comment from one student is "In front of everyone". One of boys throws the vortex at another boy, straight in the back. Lots of laughing.

Interesting class in terms of uniform issues. The girls are wearing the sports uniform of maroon tracksuit pants plus a white shirt. But the boys are wearing the grey pants of the day uniform, only one is in the tracksuit pants. Three of the girls are in the grey pants as well. When I ask about why so many have forgotten to come in sports gear, PR tells me that the seniors are not supposed to wear sports uniform. It's only for the junior students. It's like there's no allowance for senior sport yet in the uniform code. I know senior sport has only been in place for a couple of years, but surely they could have made an exception in uniform code by now. Technically the students could get demerit points for being out of uniform (not forgetting there's no change rooms for the students either). [Note: at the end of the class, Annie gets a warning from another teacher for not being in uniform. Luckily PR is still around and says she needed to be in track suits. Unreal rules, how discouraging is that for serious participation by girls – they can't do half these things in skirts].

Anyway, back to evaluation. PR gives me a copy of what each of the teams have submitted. They're drawings or diagrammes of what they are going to test. He also gave me a copy of the example he gave the students. His diagramme, hand drawn, has little stick figures. This is all very high tech stuff (NOT!). The two aims of this exercise are to test training activities for: validity and reliability. There's plenty of banter going on, lots of students wearing sun glasses, one girl eating a lollipop, one boy making notes. The boy groups are doing lots of throwing, their evaluation activities are gridiron and vortex. The girls tend to be waiting around and chatting about social things. They eventually get moving on to bouncing the basket balls and talking about who will take turns. I like the response of "we'll all do it". Who said cooperation was a feminine trait? The girls are tending to negotiate with each other a lot more, they're taking turns by asking who wants to do the different tasks. Some of the comments from the girls as they sit down and talk after their initial efforts:

"I don't like basketball".

"You're such a pro as pro in prostitute".

"You just think you are".

"That bin loves me" (Nat has made the bin with her ball tosses three times.

"I'm not a netball player either, I love those netball skirts though and the bibs you wear".

"Yeah show the boys my undies".

"I'm not a shooter [netball position] anyhow so it doesn't matter".

"That's why netball's so limiting".

After all of this and seeing the diagrammes, I don't understand how PR will evaluate them. He hasn't been watching all of the groups, the diagrammes are pretty rudimentary. I'd love to see how he grades them.

### *Plains High Senior Students Evaluation Task – Coaching Skills*



Tell me that Coaching Skills isn't the most popular tasks for the senior studies. How is it that I get to be watching two schools in the same term carrying out the same evaluation task? Anyway this is a double-period (just like Beach High), but it's after the assembly so there's a delay in starting. The students have to set-up their tasks. They're using three activities: Basketball, Hockey and Soccer. They've got 12 Year 7 students, 6 male and 6 female, to use for their coaching skills. The senior students divide up the junior students into teams, identified by different colour sashes. Alan takes a group for stretching warm-up. The other senior students are not paying much attention to Al and Nick's work. They're just sitting and talking. This team are training dribbling skills, so they've set up witches hats for the juniors to run the balls through in relays. They've got the boys and girls separated. Wonder if they've done that because they think they have different levels of skills and/or will be happier to work in separate groups? There is some skill difference between the two, but both groups seem quite good at what they're doing. They set up three teams for the game, 2 teams at a time, loser team out, then next team in. Each team has 2 boys and 2 girls. Boys have gone for the front kicking roles and the girls are sitting back doing the defending. You really notice that the boys are taking all the corner shots and chasing the balls. The girls are being very passive. The boys are also ignoring the rules of scoring below the knees. Alan calls out to the boys to pass to the girls, to pass the ball around and "stop being show ponies". Some of the junior boys are wearing their sashes around their heads as head bands. Girls are being so defensive in their bodies, they particularly keep their arms across their chests. Bring on 'Throwing like a girl'.

Next training session is run by Felicity and Ted to train hockey skills. Felicity demonstrates the skills that they are going to be training them with. She sends the juniors on a warm-up run. Boys are actually lagging behind the girls, particularly those that were active in the soccer. Felicity does the stretching with the juniors, Ted is just sitting there doing nothing. She divides the juniors up into groups of three by gender, puts them at opposite ends of the court to practise running tennis balls through the witches hats with hockey sticks. The skills seems to be much more equal for hockey than the soccer. Felicity is definitely in control here, she's walking between the goals and gives instructions to the juniors on shooting goals. The first attempts of the girls groups all miss. When the first boy scores, he's got his arms in the air with a big 'yeah'. One boy breaks the stick with the hockey ball. Now there's two girls being punished for whatever they did by being put in detention. Fel is sitting back dancing with the other four. Talk about a total lack of focused effort here. Everyone seems to know how to start their sessions, but not how to finish them and handover to the next team.

Next team is Fred and Michael, they're doing basketball drills. 2 teams of juniors, one team has 4 girls, 2 boys, team 2 has 2 girls and 4 boys. Fred demonstrates what they're going to be doing. (Meanwhile Fel has changed from her shorts to a short skirt – the other two senior girls are wearing the green tracksuit pants). None of the guys are wearing sports gear. Fred's shirt is huge and his pants are baggy. They've redivided up the teams to do two different skills, one set with Fred, one set with Michael. Fred's taking 3 girls, 3 boys for shooting skills, Michael for dribbling skills. Boys are trying overhead shots backwards, different types of shots. But there's a couple of girls that can shoot too, but netball style throwing. Now they're going to play a game. Two teams, each with 3 girls, 3 boys. Again the boys are taking all the shots, doing all the running and throwing and the girls are just

standing there. There's a call of 'girl power' as a little Asian girl runs off the ball thrown by Alan. This is depressing to watch. It's like okay when they're doing drills but as soon as they've got a game going, it's like some sort of gender divide happens and girls just fade away to passive spectatorship.

The last pair of senior students (girls) are coaching netball skills. They start quite differently by introducing themselves and introduce the skills that they are coaching them for. During this session, the senior boys are all playing basketball while the girls are doing their session. Some of the junior boys are ignoring the stretching exercises, just watching on the sidelines. They start kicking balls, but Alan stops them. The girls don't seem to be in control of what they're doing, much less assertive over their activities. They decide to have the 12 students divide up, again by gender, to practise throwing the balls. They've had to stop the boys doing giant uncatchable throws, they put the balls away. One girl ends up supervising the three loudest boys. They're doing a lot more talking back in this session, one of the girls replies with "you might be playing netball one day". "Catch the ball please". "If you're not going to do the activity right, you can sit down".

The girls step back to catch the ball from the boys, like a defensive step to lessen the impact. There are two dominant boys in particular. The end of period bell rings. The boys collect all the balls for the bag and pack up.

The worst part of this was seeing how quickly the juniors responded to a lack of confidence from the senior girls for coaching, particularly the boys. How quickly did they start to back-chat, disobey and generally undermine their control. I wonder how much that had to do with the activity being netball a girls activity rather than a boy-sport. Amazing trust from WA to leave the students doing their stuff and not interfere even when things might have called for interfering. He's been sitting next to me on another table, evaluating each of the teams. I'd love to see their evaluation marks and any written work they've had to hand in to go with this. It was a better evaluation than the Beach High set. I really like the idea of using the junior students, but I'd also like to see some reflexive thinking on the student gender/behavioural issues they've just experienced as coaches and how they would deal with them differently given another opportunity. But do the seniors even realise what was happening? This would be a good opportunity to use video and then playback for self-evaluation and group discussion.

### Observation 2F & 3F: Lycée Gen, Tuesday morning (rugby & rhythmic gymnastics – 3 hour option)

Oh boy what a contrast with the other school. This one has a chateau for an administration building. You can walk across the road to the university and it has the most amazing driveway and lawns. Reminds me a lot of The Kings School grounds in Sydney, very nice. Lycée Gen is one of a very few schools, not only in the region but in France, to offer the EPS determination option of 5 hours for *séconde*, as well as offering a faculty option of an additional 3 hours physical education. The school has particular strengths in rugby and climbing and has won the National Schools competition in rugby a number of times. For the school year under observation the faculty options included climbing, volleyball, rugby and rhythmic gymnastics. Of these on offer, approximately 28 male students took rugby, some 15 students, male and female, took climbing, approximately 18 girls took rhythmic gymnastics and a further 30 or so students, male and female took volleyball as their option. The three hours is divided into two hours on a Tuesday and one hour on Thursday. The staff would prefer a more even split of 90 minutes and 90 minutes.

I met up DC, head teacher in the main gym building. He tells me the school is on 33 hectares of land and he goes through a list of facilities with me. The class I'm going to see today is the options rugby class. DC tells me there is a girls rugby competition in the UNSS, but the school doesn't have a team (hmmm, no problems getting a boys team though). Lycée Gen offers EPS specialisation activities of rock climbing, rhythmic gymnastics and gymnastics, rugby and volleyball. The school documentation for the Faculty option states that 'training is assured by specialist teachers' and describes the faculty EPS option as:

- a complementary, in-depth, motivating, practical experience;
- providing a grade in the baccalauréat within the limits of the points over 10 for the course training;
- a moral contract of agreement with the school's sports association; and
- a learning experience underpinned by rules and how to work in a team.

### Sports offered through UNSS in 2001-2002

Aerobics	Cycling: Road, Track, & Cyclo-cross	Skiing - Nordic
Archery	Dance	Skiing – Downhill (speed)
Athletics	Fencing	Snowboarding
Badminton	Golf	
Baseball (Softball)	Gymnastics (Artistic)	Swimming: incl. water-polo, Synchronised swimming
Bowling	Gymnastics (Rhythmic)	Table tennis
Boxing (French)	Judo	Team sports: Rugby, Rugby League, Soccer, Basketball, Volleyball (didn't specify male/female)
Boxing (School)	Mountain-biking	
Canoe-Kayak	Pelote basque <sup>3</sup>	Tennis
		Triathlon

<sup>3</sup> There is no English translation for *pelote basque*, a game played against a wall similar to squash with a long curved catcher held in one hand, the players throw the ball against the wall and try to make it so

Climbing	Rowing	Weightlifting
Cross-country running	Skiing - Alpine	Wrestling

A couple of interesting notes: some sports were specifically listed under 'Team sports', and other listed individually. When I asked about why they had introduced baseball, the response was that it was a game that didn't have a specifically masculine identity and it was only then that I checked which way they pitch for 'baseball' and yes it is softball rather than baseball. Mountain-biking is a separate discipline to the cycling disciplines, introduced later and listed individually more in line with its leisure and American history connotations than the traditional European cycling disciplines. However the students compete as a team in mountain-biking, I assume in a relay event such as happens at international level. The mountain bike relay is an event introduced three years ago by the Union Cycliste Internationale at the World Mountain Bike Championship because there were no national 'team' events. All aquatics events are listed under the swimming discipline. They don't indicate at all if there are male as well as female competitions or if they are allowed to be mixed. DC told me that a girls' school rugby competition had started last year. Locally there is a range of women's teams competing nationally and in international league competitions including soccer and volleyball. I have not seen any mention in any newspaper of a women's rugby competition at any level. Just because an activity is offered by UNSS does not mean it will be offered by each school. The school needs to have a physical education teacher willing to take the sport and obviously they need to have enough students and the facilities. So you can have a team for a sport that won't have a regional championships (not really likely, but possible) but can go to the National schools championships, you can also have a sport that can be strong at regional level but not at national level. Lycée Pro does not offer any UNSS, whereas Lycée Gen offers a lot, but only in certain areas. DC tells me that they have not had cycling at the school and it is fading as a school sport, whereas mountain-biking has just been introduced by a teacher and he has five boys and two girls, but it is only offered for the final year students because the school could not afford to buy enough bikes (the school has to supply the equipment or else it would not be equitable and one could accuse the staff of differentiating between students who can financially afford to take certain sports and those that can't!!!! This goes against the very essence of what schooling in France is supposed to be about [read tenor in this]. You had to see the teacher's face when I asked about the bikes).

With the 3 hour option rugby observation, the school supplies the football jerseys and has a laundry service to wash them. There was the occasional South African team rugby shirt or other representative shirt but the majority of students were wearing the school jerseys. This class is somewhat different to a standard EPS class in that there are two teachers assigned to the faculty option classes to allow them to work with smaller groups. At this particular observation there were 7 or so students out with injuries, one of whom undertook training but separately from the groups as they were doing short range tackle work. The student had stitches over the eye so the teacher assigned him non-contact training which he did to one side of the field. They are incredibly well behaved, no one is standing around waiting for

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that the opposing team (4 players on the field at once, 2 from each team) cannot retrieve the ball. There is a French federation for pelote and the game is being developed. Lycée Gen has an outdoor pelote wall as well.

instructions. They automatically do the drills and just seem so unbelievably quiet and obedient. It's quite disconcerting, like not normal. They don't say a word. Sometimes the teachers (both male) will work one on one with a student to correct a problem or reinforce a particular activity. They seem quite good at what they do, not that I've seen too many training sessions for rugby which is what this reminds me of rather than a PE class. I think the students are smaller than an equivalent Australian group. When I mention this to DC, he agrees and tells me that the French are 7-8 centimetres shorter on average than Americans/Dutch/etc. He points out that he is quite little (which is true, he's smaller than me, but then most of them are). The students don't even look twice at me sitting here on the ground, it's freezing and my butt is going numb. Wish I could lean on a tree. I think it's time to go inside and watch some GRS.

For this class I also observed a second option which was GRS (*Gymnastique rythmique et sportive*) and like the rugby, single-sex. Other options for the 3 hours included volleyball (mixed) and climbing (mixed). The GRS class was in final preparation for a regional competition to take place the following day at the school. There were three teams of five young women, one using the hoops (wearing blue full body suits), another ropes (full body purple suits) and the third team using clubs. The juggling girls were not in uniform. The level of performance was higher than I expected (not that I've seen much rhythmic gymnastics at student level in schools). I sat in the corner of the gym, discretely tucked away on the floor. The girls paid little or no attention to me and did not make any contact at all.

This class had three teachers, one head teacher, and two support staff. The girls would perform their routine in the main area, with interruptions from the head teacher, then move away to the far side or outside to the smaller gym to work through particular sections of their routines. The head teacher yelled and pointedly identified poor or weak areas of each routine, usually directed at a particular student. Some of this I was not comfortable with, but the girls seemed used to it. They interacted with the teacher in response, both verbally and physically, questioning what she meant, asking her to clarify movements. I thought she was being super-demanding, if not nasty and cranky. By the end of the two hours I had seen the routines performed in pieces and completely at least three times for each team. Improvement was noticeable. The rope girls seemed to organise themselves rather than the teachers. Again they're all so obedient and quiet. Like the rugby guys it's more like a serious training session than a PE class. I wonder what a normal PE class is going to be like. The hoop girls are taller than the rope girls. Wonder if that's deliberate? Each team seems to look alike, wonder if you're supposed to do that for the aesthetics?

These option classes are not single-sex by design, but simply by the fact that only female or male students chose to take that activity. I asked the teacher if a girl could by choice take the rugby determination and he said she could, but they don't because it's seen as serious rugby training and as they don't have a girls' rugby team, there is little point in undertaking such serious training. In the case of GRS, boys simply don't do GRS. It has only just become compulsory in the past three years for male physical education teachers-in-training to have training in dance and GRS. While for the past 8 years it has been compulsory for female teachers to have training in rugby (with great encouragement from the French Rugby Federation) see the STAPS programmes for DEUG.

### **Observation A5 & A6: Beach High, Girls rugby training, Wednesday lunch time**

This is their first training session. We've got CM as rugby coach and about 10 girls. He's a trained PE teacher, but is currently working as the Special Ed teacher. He's trained girls rugby before at a Western Sydney high school (I've got an interview with CM). The issue of uniforms and change room for training is a difficult one. 3 of the girls are wearing board shorts, one of them has a t-shirt with Disco Queen written on it. CM is looking to do 'skills training'. Roll the ball at pace on the ground. Lots of 'Oh sorrys' being said as the girls are tripping up each other, rolling balls all over.

Now they're doing some tackling practice, instruction is to place the body between the ball and tackler, work in pairs, lying down catch.

The girls are laughing about head protection. One girl is stuck on getting to ground, she's on her elbows.

"Good thing about rugby is to knock people out of the way even if they don't have the ball".

Some of girls are pretty aggressive and ready to go. They're definitely looking to hit hard. Some of them have pretty good handling skills. Nat is balancing the ball and twirling it on her fingers like a basketball. CM is explaining to them that the tackling term is "cleaning out". Talks about hitting around the stomach, head down and use arms. Nat has hurt her leg, playing soccer.

Two girls are on the sidelines (CM asks if they want to join in).

The boys are playing soccer on the 2<sup>nd</sup> oval and 3<sup>rd</sup> ovals. Some of the girls are reluctant to hit, all of them stop as Nat chases the teacher. Some boys are watching from the seats, one of the girls asks to make them go away. The boys go away eventually.

These ovals are always damp, dark mud. The drainage is pretty crap, they're very low. Now there are four boys on the sidelines and more requests to tell them to go away.

The instructions are: 1<sup>st</sup> player hits, 2<sup>nd</sup> player rips the ball, 3<sup>rd</sup> player runs past.

I think all the girls can throw quite well, they handle the ball better than I can. The girls are dusting the dirt off themselves with CM saying "it gets worse than that". One girl is in a skirt, can't play. CM calls out "It is muddy, you will get dirty". He tells me afterwards that they need more girls, at least 20 girls to really be able to consider fielding a team. They're taking them from all ages, not just seniors, hence some of the smaller girls at the session. It's up to the Girls Sports Captain to find more girls.

The most interesting part of watching the girls has been the total contrast in behaviours, sort of like a dichotomy between being feminine and playing a very masculine game. They hit each other and then check their nails and hair. They blow kisses and then tackle. It's like performing femininities.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Training Session**

17 girls have come to training. They're doing tackling today (the gear has become an issue). They're doing a warm-up, mild stretching, shoulders and necks. Some are changing into shorts, with their white school shirts and stockings. One has forgotten her shoes. The girls are actually missing their lunch time, one comments that she needs food. Several of the girls are taking off their white shirts to have t-shirts underneath. A couple of wearing the school grey pants. Back to stretching necks, push again foreheads, sides of head (isometrics). A couple of girls join in late, in full uniform.

CM is talking about mauling and “rucking w an R” (must be a standard rugby joke). The level of attentiveness is not great. One girl is checking her watch with a friend, another wearing her sun glasses. The lesson today is about tackling, CM is telling them that they’ll do this with the tackler on their knees to make it safer and the runner is going to walk through. He talks about tackling to minimise injury by using shoulders. Put your arm out to indicate which side, walk not run. How to fall safely to put ball down and get the body between opposition and ball.

Half time lunchtime bell rings.

The girls get into groups of 4, 1 kneeler and 3 runners. Arms around each other and lots of giggling. Lots of tacklers rolling backwards as well. Dirt on shirts. Lots of pulling up pants “Don’t squash me” (Nat to Amy – very large girl). A couple of superman dives.

The boys are playing lunchtime stuff around this oval, no one is paying much attention to the girls, but I think they’re being self-conscious. “Can’t you just see it – Pia with a mouthguard and pads?”, “Go the other way, this hip is starting to hurt”. The boys are playing soccer on the both the other ovals. A couple of girls are walking between the ovals watching the boys and the girls.

“What a hit”, both girls are lying on the ground laughing. “Bye Jess” and blows kisses. “Everytime I turn around you two are cuddling on the ground”. “It looks so cute when she just hugs you”. Some of the girls are now taking off their bracelets and watches.

Some of the junior boys are running into the girls training area, running over the girls stuff and bags. I notice that RM is using Jess all the time as his example (she’s very athletic build and obviously known to everyone for her sports involvement). One of the little boys comes over clapping and asks “Hey Sir, can I play?”. I just love the formality of calling teachers Sir. I hate the female equivalent of Hey Miss. Miss is somehow more demeaning to women than Sir is to men.

Nat really hits RM good and hard. She laughs as she calls out “oh I broke a nail, just kidding”.

Some of the lines include:

“Get cranky”.

“What am I supposed to do down there?”

“Make this one count – get angry with me”.

“How do you do that?”

“Mum’s going to have fun washing this”.

They are still a couple of players short, RM tries to arrange next session for next Wednesday. Amy gets pulled up for lack of stockings by a teacher. Boy do they look out for her and uniform, that’s twice I’ve seen her get pulled up for uniforms. Her response: “Sorry I had rugby training, so I’m a big butchie”.

### **Observations F4 & F5: Lycée Pro, Wednesday afternoon 1:30pm–3:30pm & 3:30pm–5:30pm**

This observation was 2 larger classes, one after the other, of some 19 students first then 18 students, playing table tennis for their evaluation as well. It's raining today and the gym roof leaks in two places, there's puddles of water on the floor but no one mops them up and they stay there until 5:30pm at which point the gym is being used for soccer (and I see one of the students who's come back from the 1:30pm class to play football mop up the puddle). These classes are a lot more multicultural in the student mix, more so than Monday's class. Wonder if that has something to do with the subject area that they're in – I think the first class is the bricklaying class, I saw the class program in the staff-room. I have to say that most of these students look older than '16' which is what Year 10 equivalents should be about. I should have put age on the questionnaire. They tried really hard for the questionnaire, some took half an hour to fill it out and they read each question, some of them very slowly. There's two classes in the gym at the same time, 2 tables for the terminale class and four for the secondes. With larger classes they have to do activities that more students can do at once. Students rotate through games and have to play a minimum of three games during this class. One student looks after the central scoring sheet and a student at each table scores the games. The games results count towards their evaluation, 5 points out of 20. The teacher is walking around with a clipboard making notes for the other 15 points. He tells me that he's looking for a variety of playing techniques and he mentions that really only two of the students are that good, one of whom brings his own racquet, he points him out because he's wearing a bright yellow cap, on backwards. Hats are something of an issue, at the beginning of each class they've been telling them to take their hats off, but most just turn them around so they can play with them on. No one pushes the issue. During this class the guys are talking to me again, I ask them what subjects are taught at the school and they tell me the list of subjects and watch me write them down in French. I get stuck understanding of all things, *plomberie*, when it clicks, I tell them my partner is a plumber. They ask if I have children and if there are any good looking girls in Australia. They also explain to me that there is no set level required to get into most subjects at an LEP, except for those subjects that are more in demand. The example they give is hairdressing, they tell me that's tough to get into. Plumbing and electrical are also harder to get into.

There are a lot of 'street' shoes here, plenty of Nikes and the like. The students keep disappearing outside, I think they're smoking? But they're looking a little more suspicious than that, one student has a bum bag around his waist and he seems to be the one that organizes the turns outside and seriously I think they're smoking joints (what a laugh). The 'good' table tennis player has disappeared, the teacher asks me if I'd seen where he's gone, I mention that I think they're outside. He goes and gets them back inside. Wonder what he would have done if I wasn't there? Just let them go? He doesn't discipline them in any way, just ushers them back inside. He said to me that while the students are in this class, he is responsible for them, hence another reason to lock the door to stop them getting out. There's a couple of baby-faces, much younger looking students, they're pretty quiet, playing at the back table. A couple of French rugby tops, some comments on France beating Australia next year (I didn't even know when the next World Cup was! I do now, and it's being played in Australia). Toulouse is such a rugby-oriented town. No one asks about the Australian soccer team.



There's a couple of disagreements about scoring and one student refuses to play the same student again. It surprises me that there's not more of this, but the teacher tells me the students are pretty good because the scoring is important as part of their evaluation and he trusts them. Hmmmm, I suppose having one student to score is more likely to be accurate than either of the actual players keeping score.

Comparisons between the behaviour of the French students and Australian students are inevitably in my mind. The equivalent behaviour of the Lycée Pro students at Plains High would have punished through their system of warnings, yellow cards and detentions. To leave the gym to smoke as occurred at Lycée Pro would have incurred detentions, at a minimum a yellow card, whilst at Beach High that behaviour would not have been at all tolerated, particularly being a private school, their expectations of behaviour are even more strict.

Talking to Luc at Lycée Pro later with regards to the punishment of a student, his words were they know they cannot be punished. Teachers' capacity to punish or even reprimand students has been almost completely banned. They may not punish the student in any way that may be construed as embarrassing or humiliating such as being sent from the room and separated from their classmates etc. To undertake a formal programme for punishment, it must be a very serious offence. We worked through two examples, that of the broken table tennis racquet that had happened during the observation and another of teacher harassment. The response to the broken racquet is first to identify the perpetrator and then ask them to pay for the item. It is a strictly financial punishment and kept in-house. The other example offered was of a student that had 'harassed' a female teacher, refused to do as he was instructed and used abusive language towards her repeatedly. In this case the punishment went through the formal system. While they can, in extreme cases, suspend a student, it is rare. The result in this case was that a place was found for the student at another school in exchange for a student that had stolen property at that school was swapped to Lycée Pro.

**Observation F6: Lycée Gen, Thursday 4:00pm – 6:00pm** (3 hour options class Acro-gym)

This class was supposed to be a mixed rugby class but due to bad weather and the condition of the playing field, the class was kept indoors and given alternative activities (such is the luxury of having multiple facilities!). The class worked in the small gymnastics gym, with two activities, table tennis and acro-gym. This class was being evaluated on Friday for acro-gym so opportunity to practice their routines was welcomed by the students. Without direction (the teacher actually left the room) they set up the tables for table tennis and put down the mats for acro-gym. They spent 10-15 minutes warming up, doing their own routines with some common stretching exercises. They can all do handstands! The teacher returned with equipment for table tennis and asked them to work in their acro-teams. Half on the mats practising their routines, the other half to play table tennis. The teacher had little to do but supervise. He watched the gym routines, helping teams out on occasions, not so much physically as just commenting on how to do something better. A female student with a cast on her hand also helped the teams, but in a more hands-on way, helping guide legs up in hand-stands to find the right spots etc. The teacher gave me information sheets on acro-gym which outlined the types of assessable tasks and their difficulty levels. DC mentions that their priority in 2<sup>nd</sup> yr is to build teams and to evaluate students as a team rather than individuals. They're marked as a team, they did duo performances last week, now they're in teams of five. He mentioned as we watched that the students have created their own routines. When asked who set-up the teams, he said the students did themselves, the only instruction they were given was that the teams had to be mixed-gender. The class is approximately one-quarter female. In discussing the only all-male teams he said they asked to have a girl because they thought that girls were good at doing acro-gym, but the teams were already established. This team was set-up late due to injuries and illness. He pointed out that they were struggling to get their routines together. The male and female students had no problems interacting with each other, holding each others bodies, resting heads on trunks, generally taking each others weight in routines. There was no ribald commentary about the contortions, no concerns about male to male, female to male body contact. It was impressive behaviour. I just can't imagine girls and guys of this age group working this well together in Australia. I'm also impressed by some of the physiques in this class, these kids have abs. There's not one overweight/fat student in the room. One of the girls is wearing an 'anti-blonde' t-shirt. Noticed that the girls tend to be giving the instructions/directing the teams for acro-gym. Wonder if it would be the same if it was another activity like football or volleyball? Maybe they're all GRS girls? They even applaud themselves for finishing a routine and this is only practice. DC's given me a copy of the scoring/routine sheet (see below).

There was little or no supervision of the table tennis activities, the students organized themselves. Some were playing doubles, some playing mixed rounds (you have to travel around the table taking turns to hit the ball from each end, played usually with four or more players). The injured student helped out different teams in holding legs or guiding students through hand-stands etc. There were approximately 38 students in the gym. I'm told that the average class size for this year is 35 students. At swap-over, everyone handed over their gear and went straight into the alternate activity, no complaining, a couple of students seemed relieved to be swapping over. Notice that one of the good gymnastics girls is not exactly keenly participating in table-tennis. She seems happier to lean against the wall, holding her racquet. The boys are a bit louder, but the girls play right in there with them.

There's a little bit of dominating the tables by the boys, they've got three tables and the girls seem to have ended up playing more or less together all at one table with a couple of boys. They're not playing individual games, rather the rounders game which includes more people. In terms of clothing, this class is quite subdued, some of them are wearing the school-badged long sleeve t-shirt. There's lots of tennis shoes more than running shoes or fashion shoes, no hyper-fashionable sport clothes either. They're all in dark colours, but they're not in actual sports gear either, like 1 girl is wearing basketball shorts and one guy is in gymnastics whites (the shorts and t-shirt that male gymnasts wear). There's lots of dark blue.

The warm-down is done all together, doing yoga stretches and then lying on backs in full repose. 15 minutes like that, there's a little bit of giggling, but not much, most of them seem happy to do it seriously. Another thing I noticed, there's not a lot of braces here. I count only one set in amongst the students. There's absolute silence after 5 minutes, all the fidgeting has stopped. DC is talking them through the standard yoga, through the arms, the legs, 'visualisation of the spine as a snake with heads moving', about half of the class does it. They're pretty slow to get up. DC makes an announcement of a ski trip to the class.

**Observations 7 & 8: Lycée Gen, Friday morning 10:00am–12 noon** (Athletics and video of Acrogym)

Activity observed included evaluation events for which the students would receive a mark (Athletics – sprint relays over 220). This particular class was extremely inattentive during the 20 minutes of instructions. The evaluation of this particular activity was very interesting because it exemplifies the way in which the curriculum directive of ‘teamwork’ is incorporated into an individualist event such as athletics.

Several weeks ago each student was timed in a sprint over 40 metres. They were then put into relay teams of four people by adding up times to make similar total times over 160 metres for each team. So a slower runner would be added to team with a faster runner that would equal two inter-mediate runners. During the following weeks the students were instructed on baton exchange, starts, and other sprinting techniques. Their evaluation was based partly on their personal improvement but within the team’s improvement in time over the 160metre distance. During the observation students were checking their times and yelling them back to other team members. For some students this was a fairly serious effort. There were two standard Séconde classes on the track simultaneously, each using one side of the track (the track is 330 metres with two parallel straights of approximately 90 metres in length, very similar to a velodrome). The other class were far more interested in their times than the class I was directly observing. These classes were quite a bit different to the option and determination classes. They’re a lot less attentive and more chatting and misbehaviour. A couple of young men were sitting under the tree and basically almost refusing to run, two of whom had refused to undertake further warm-up after completing to minor run-throughs. There weren’t too many students in track gear, and quite a few weren’t wearing running shoes. There’s one guy in full-on gold and white adidas running gear and shoes but he says he’s not prepared for running. Seems he’s a good sprinter, but a super-star sprinter. The teacher tells me they’d like him to take it more seriously but he doesn’t want to come to UNSS after school. The track’s got puddles on it and he’s getting mud flick up on the back of his white pants.

It was rare to see a student with their shoe-laces tied up properly at all. As a runner this strikes me as very uncomfortable on the feet and legs, with movement both laterally and horizontally possible in the shoes, ensuring that any support in the running shoes would be seriously compromised. Yet it seemed absolutely the norm for the young men to have their shoes like this. The range of clothing styles, from full-on athletic gear to running in jeans, not changing clothing at all. Lycee Gen had a wider range of ‘street’ wear rather than practical athletic gear, particularly with the shoes, I noticed in particular the silver/gold Nikes. They were wearing what I would call fashion statement footwear rather than actual performance footwear. The determination class had less statement footwear and more utility-oriented footwear. They also tended to wear school representative clothing, such as the long-sleeve t-shirt with the school’s name printed on it.

At the end of the athletics session, three students were required to complete additional timed runs to ensure they had improvement for their evaluation. They were also members of a team that had dropped the baton and didn’t finish their relay. There was a lot of swearing when that happened. Two of them had been the less than enthusiastic participants in the

relays, sitting under a tree most of the time. Two were timed together and the third run alone. The teacher yelled encouragement for him to run his 2<sup>nd</sup> run faster, with instructions on how to start (which he didn't do). The three students carried out the timed runs and showed a far greater interest in their times than during their relay attempts. None of them were dressed in athletic gear and one ran in his normal wear clothes. Five of the girls ran in their jeans. Out of a two hour session, most kids got about 20 minutes of physical activity, the rest of it was 'organising' time. There are plenty of kids smoking. Could not imagine that happening in Australia. The teams on the other side of the track were really getting into their times and there was plenty of yelling and serious sprinting. Some "Allez les filles". I wonder how much they realise their times are such a fundamental part of their grade. I know the kids are told in Australia how they're going to be assessed during the semester etc. but I wonder how much it really sinks in and whether or not there are similar course handouts at the beginning of a class or not. I have to check with DC [Answer they don't get given a course outline for the subject, so I don't know how much they know about how they're being assessed]. The students do know when it's evaluation time because there are set weeks for this. This table below is on the noticeboards with the other tables for scores in swimming etc.

**Table 8.1 Athletics assessment table for Baccalauréat**

100 metres (in seconds)			Javelin (600g, metres thrown)		
Boys	Points	Girls	Boys	Points	Girls
11.2	9	12.8	51	9	32
11.4	8	13.1	48,5	8	30
11.6	7	13.4	46	7	28
11.8	6	13.7	43,5	6	26
12	5	14	41	5	24
12.2	4	14.2	38	4	22
12.4	3	14.4	35	3	20
12.6	2	14.6	32	2	18,5
12.8	1	14.8	30	1	17
Slower	0	Slower	>30	0	>17

On return to the gym, the teacher mentioned they were viewing the video of the determination class' acro-gym routines for evaluation. I was invited to come and watch. The students were lying on the floor on the mats in front of the television, applauding each of their routines. They commented on each other's performances or mistakes in a really supportive/analytical way. Even when the bell went for end of class, they remained. When the teacher said okay that's enough, there were protests and students asked to stay and see the last routine which happened to be the group that DC had indicated were struggling. The group managed to get through their routine quite well albeit with a slightly lower level of difficulty. What I did notice were the male students laying on top of each other without the concerns of male to male contact, I admit to having serious doubts that could happen with the NSW students quite as comfortably. I've never seen this age of male students in physical contact with each other like that, unless in full tackle mode. Maybe there is something to this Mediterranean physical masculinity – there's a distinct lack of homophobic behaviour here. In the teacher's room afterwards, the staff are complaining about the Bac Pro classes (this

school has both Lycée General and a Lycée Professionel and the staff teach across all of them). But they've got such a range of classes to compare them too. Having seen the option classes, every other class must be so tragic to teach. These kids are not normal, they're so well-behaved, organised, and coordinated.

Interesting comment from this morning's determination class at rugby. DC commented to me during the class that he thought individualism was an Anglo-saxon trait and preference and it was having a damaging influence on physical education. My brain ran riot. This was while I was watching rugby training which has to be the Anglo-saxon game to teach teamwork and all the rest of it and the complete antithesis of individualism. He was explaining to me that they specifically encourage team sports and team results in Séconde. They reckon the students get better in premier and terminale because they start to think about their Bac marks and what they have to do. So seconde is really a transition year and they are not very focused on what they have to achieve. I did wonder if I should mention how the French rugby team is renowned for their individualism rather than team work? Probably not a good idea.

**Observation 3A: Beach High, 3:30pm-5:30pm, Dance Troupe practice**

Lead-up: Spoke to PP about watching dance troupe, slight hassles in that the Dance troupe teacher had gone off during the vacation and had a baby, so didn't come back for 2<sup>nd</sup> term. He didn't know who the new teacher was. Anyway I found out from B that practice was on Thursday afternoon and I showed up. Met the 'new' dance troupe teacher, meaning actually just a supervisor. The school pays for a professional dance instructor (who by the way lives down the road from me). She is training four other schools as well.

I chatted to both the Art teacher (who's supervising) and the dance instructor to make sure it was okay with them. Art teacher checked with P that I was an 'okay' person to have sitting there. I sat with her for the practice, she was marking papers. She is there just as the school's rep for supervising. Aside from that she also gave me the low-down on everything which was very helpful. Practice is being held in the main school hall which they also use for assemblies, basketball etc. It's a timber floor. You walk past the trophy and awards cupboards and walls to get into the hall. There's a couple of 'famous' local athletes went to this school, particularly in rugby league, surfing and surf life-saving. All guys. One of the senior female students pointed this out to me. She's the sports captain. The hall is actually quite messy, I was a little surprised by this, but later on I get told the School dance was on the night before in the hall, hence the mess. A couple of the girls are making noises about gum on the floor and how messy it is, looking at the bottom of their socks type thing. There are puddles of water out the front. Dance instructor has bleached blond cropped hair, wearing baggy dance pants, tight top. She stands on the stage and looks at the girls on the floor.

20 girls are in the dance troupe, they auditioned to be in this. I know that B tried out last year and didn't make it. They're practising in school uniform, all of them are in pants, no skirts here. They are learning a set piece (the teacher has used this before with another school!) for a state-wide competition, no set number of girls, the competitions on July 4<sup>th</sup>, sponsored by McDonalds. This school won it last year, prize money of \$1000. Hence the hiring in of the dance teacher, does 5 other schools. The music for the piece is really loud, grunge, not what I expected, I talked to the Art teacher about this, and she said 'you mean not what you expected for a catholic school' and I had to admit that was it. If it had been Ingleburn I wouldn't have been so surprised by it. Ms S came from the public sector and she too has been surprised by lots of things at Bellambi. First line is 'Wake up the dead' bodies are moving from the floor up.

All the girls have long hair, aside from B (who later tells me that she is growing it long). They are all wearing ponytails (no I'm not obsessed with the pony tail issue – promise!). B has lots of little plaits and they're bouncing all over her face as they're dancing. I can see why they don't want them to have that kind of hair, it looks so messy and annoying.

Dance teacher is wearing pink head band, light pink tight top, black pants, and black dance shoes. They meet for practice once a week. Generally speaking the girls are not the older ones. It looks like the oldest, certainly the most expressive dancers are in the front row. B is in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, she is one of the smallest in the troupe. Quite a few are wearing sports uniform so I assume like B they had sport today and are quite possibly Year 9s too. Today's training is

the 'Positioning day'. I think the song is Marilyn Manson, Ms S says Bon Jovi, but I don't think so. Really not his style.

Dance teacher knows what she wants to see, she has done this before. She's looking down as she says the judges will be, seeing how the numbers move and look. Giggles and laughter as people get lost in following each other. The front girls ask questions, much more assertive about asking and talking. No one behind them does. Most of the girls are doing this in socks or bare feet. A couple have sneakers on. Dance teacher sits on the stage and draws things in her book, gives directions, she also stands in dancers poses.

Asked teacher about costumes, this piece is not going to be using glitter and frills, too dark for that. The girls pick outfits in consultation with teacher and dance teacher. B tells me later they have picked something that can be worn again. I think they have to pay for them themselves. The dance is very modern styled, moving from the floor in different ways, aggressive, with some fist shaking and arm throwing, each doing it differently, and then spinning around. With such aggressive music, I would expect more tension in the movements, more feelings of aggression, but instead they look and feel muted in what they're doing. Dance teacher has had to get everyone's names with a spot, some giggles at front, they look to check what's happening. While the dance teacher is writing things and thinking, sometimes aloud, the front row girls are talking and moving about. They are very confident, I asked Teacher if they were like that in class and she said she thought they were dance confident but not like that outside of it. They have the sense of not trying as hard as the others, how to describe that 'body hold', bit slow on.

I've got the numbers: No Year 12, or Y11 girls at all (!!!), some Year 10s, mainly Year 9s (x8), and 1 year 7, so I guess the rest are Year 8s. 30 of them trialled, 20 selected. Some of the students are very rigid in their dancing, not very performance confident/comfortable. There's quite a range of capacities.



**Observation 9: Lycée Gen, Thursday afternoon 4:00pm – 6:00pm, Rugby mixed**

Finally I get to see DC's mixed rugby playing and in sunshine too. It's pretty late to be at school until 6pm, you couldn't do this in winter. It would be dark and cold outside. Imagine trying to keep Aussie students at school until 6pm!!!! This is the determination class and it's an evaluation class. I've managed to come during the evaluation weeks and I'm not sure if that's a good thing in terms of observing behaviour? Although a couple of the other classes haven't really been all that obedient, so I guess they're not that worried about changing their behaviour for evaluation. The teacher is running late as he's been out supervising an oral exam for student teachers. The students have waited for him outside the gym (they really waited for him and it's their last class of the day, they must want this evaluation done). He gets them to come in and carry out the rugby jerseys, witches hats and writing boards. They go down to the oval and begin to warm up in groups throwing the balls, they use the whole oval to give each other space to do running throws. They really know their drills. Maybe there's a difference between DC's class and some of the others because he's much more senior and knows his rugby stuff. It would be interesting to see him taking a different activity.

DC's given me a copy of the scoring sheet that's going to be used (see below). The teacher has them go through a specific drill in their teams, they've changed into their jerseys. He uses the two injured students to organise the papers and other gear (one with cast on hand, she broke her thumb skiing) and other female student that I didn't see last in class, but can't see any sign of physical injury). There's four teams, each with 2 girls, 5 boys, although the black jersey team has 6 boys. The teams are by jersey colour: Black, Stripy, Orange, and Green. Two teams play each time and the other two teams score specific players using the same sheet DC gave me. Interesting evaluation process. You literally end up with a mark for how you play and if you manage to use the skills you're meant to have learnt. You really have to wonder how you'd go if you hated a particular activity or were seriously un-coordinated. Imagine me at acro-gym with double-joints going everywhere. Must ask what happens to students who are unable to participate at a given evaluation – am thinking of girl with cast on wrist. It's not like she's going to tackle anyone or throw great passes with that.

Some of the students are actually mucking around, one girl is using a witches hat as a trumpet and another is using a grass stick to tease the boys. DC takes five minutes to explain the points used for evaluation and what skills he's looking for; passing, teamwork, reliability, etc. One of the girls turns her face away as she catches the ball ('Throwing like a Girl lives and breathes in France as well'). They're actually doing warm-up, throwing the ball up and down the line as they run. One of the boy's in black says it's not complicated. The girl from GRS is not really good at this.

DC tells me that they've had 8 weeks of rugby, in the teams that they are now being evaluated in, he chose the teams and put the rugbyistes in all different teams along with the girls too. He points out which ones are the rugbyistes, funnily enough they're all the big kids. Different warm-up routine now, they're doing blocking runs. Little bits of joking over the passing style of one of the girls (stripey jersey). One of the rugby boys picks up another and runs him, goes for a waist tackle, compare this to the girls who go for a hug. Green jersey guy does a handstand in the oval. Another stripey jersey guy does it too, makes some ribald

comment that involves him grabbing his crotch. DC stops the warm-up and calls them together to have another conversation. One of the rugby guys keeps on bouncing the ball. DC tells the black jersey team they're a catastrophe, they need to really pick up their mark, they were shovelling through their tackles. Star stops bouncing ball.

First game is Greens versus Oranges.

Green girl makes a really good run then shrieks when she's tackled. She's gets seriously tackled a 2<sup>nd</sup> time, on her back with people over the top of her. The game starts getting serious, one of the rugbyistes makes a run. Rucking, a girl on the bottom again. The GRS girl has put her hair up a dozen times. Nobody else has had to adjust their ponytail. Now the game has DC as a referee with whistle. Other students are scoring the players, everything is serious now. Orange team scores two tries – girl on girl tackles. Greens lack team throwing and passing like the oranges, they're making lots of individual attempts but not working well together. 5 minute break, change ends. The GRS girl has her hair out again – what is she doing with it? 2 more tries for the orange team. Game ends.

Black jerseys versus stripeys.

Blacks are warming up seriously compared to stripeys. Girls are getting their hair put up. Warm up starts with head clashes. Star rugby guy runs with ball one-handed and drops it. The others have 5 minutes to go, get water, come back. They look like they've being working out. Black team has 8 players versus 7 players. They get physical early, hands grazed, gymnastics boy bruises his butt. Some of the scoring students are asking if they've started yet – each student is scoring one student on the field.

These guys start tackling and throwing from the word go – I wonder if DC has graded the teams so the better two play against each other. Black team is very organised from the word go, tall girl calls for the ball. DC holds them to the 5 metre line. He calls 'calme, calme'. They're all rushing, lots more whistle blowing. Rugby star runs with ball like gridiron player, one handed again. Scores try.

Nice try for stripeys, they passed the ball around the whole team for a great run.

DC calls them over for a discussion, on a 5 minute break. He tells me later that he had to calm them down after the hard tackle that concussed one of the girls. He had to tell the rugbyistes to control the level of tackling as they had to consider that they were playing with girls. Each team discusses tactics before they swap ends. The tall girl has great hands, she catches well. Big run from her, applause from team, brought down out of lines. There are some "serious" players. Other black jersey girls check on a semi-injured player to see if he's okay. End of game.



**Observation: Diocesan Secondary School Girls Round Robin Soccer Gala, All day Saturday**

It was cloudy, grey and a fairly miserable day which was such a contrast to the great weather we'd been having earlier. It was quite cold. I arrived early and watched the girls standing around waiting for the draw for their next game. Beach High had lost one game and drew the other which gave them only 3 points, they were coming 5<sup>th</sup> out of 8 schools. Points are allocated according to the number of goals and corners that you scored. There was a junior girls' competition and an Open girls competition. School sports captain was playing in the Open girls team. When I asked her who the good team was, she said 'us'. I wasn't sure if she was joking, but I gather that she was right, I saw the other school's girls hear that they were playing Beach High and they knew they were up against a team that was supposed to be much better than them. They played 2 12.5 minutes halves for the last game, not playing full game times.

The only males at the carnival were the refs, and coaches (and a couple of bus drivers but they didn't come into the oval). Each school had to supply their own refs and linesmen. Beach High brought a young guy (I overheard the scoring girls saying how cute he was and so efficient), a Year 7 kid, who was decked out in the complete referees black and white outfits. Most of the other males around were older, either teachers and refs again. There weren't many of them at all. Spectators were few and far between. I saw two "mums" that were watching. One of the girls from Beach High had her boyfriend there. N was talking to them, away from the other girls. I think it was L, they were hugging and generally standing very intimately. When he leaves, she rejoins the other girls. N has been wearing sunglasses the whole time which looks weird because it is so cloudy, no one else is wearing glasses. She's not wearing official jacket or sweatshirt, all wearing the maroon shorts, not the shiny football kind, but the duller sweatshirt fabric kind.

The coach calls the girls together about 15 minutes before the game and they sit while he stands and talks. I find out later that they have decided to 'just go out there and have fun' as their playing motivation.

General comments on the game: the other team were physically smaller than the Beach High team. From the very beginning the Beach girls were attacking, I don't think the others even got down the other side of the field. They scored 1<sup>st</sup> goal 10 minutes in and 2<sup>nd</sup> goal about 2 minutes later. L is definitely a stand out player. N appeared slow to get going, she stood a lot with hands on hips. She gives verbal support to team mates, calling out 'I'm here' or 'Good goal kick', little comments. A lot of the girls are standing very defensively, talking to each other, not a lot of energy coming off the field. The Junior girls team came over after finishing their game and sat at the sidelines. They were talking about going home to watch Wrestlemania and Jerry Springer. A couple of loud girls. The team was joking around on the field to start with, but the seriousness levels seem to build as they dominate more. Laughing when one of the girls in their team trips over, she's laughing too. N uses her body well, she actually heads the ball down which seems very assertive and confident against all the other defensive body girls. Lots of them put arms across chest when ball is in the air. She runs a bit, quick little bits, nothing long. Still stands with hands on hips. She seems to run the left side better, and lets the others to run forward. Leah seems to dominate the running up, she

moves the right side. Beach High girls applaud a corner for St Js, I think they know they're going to beat them.

N comes off and a fairly large, big girl (no. 6) takes her place. Very slow. N sits and chats to other girls. Coach has obviously decided to let everyone have a run, he asks if anyone else wants to have a go out there, obviously they're going to win and it's a five minutes on for whoever wants. Coach doesn't say much, he's not yelling or giving instructions from the sidelines. The only thing I hear from him the whole game is 'Clear the ball'.

Some guy with blue cap and grey trackies like state uniform comes over, N stands up to talk to him, I hear the comment 'Just alright' to his question. I find out later that N and two others have been picked for rep team and this guy was letting her know. He'd asked her how she played the game. She doesn't appear terribly animated, just polite. But you knew the minute she stood up that this was someone she had to be polite to. N comes over to talk to me, she says she didn't realise that I would be watching a game and she's 'concerned' that I'm not seeing her at her best, she was just mucking around. I make reassuring noises that it's not her performance that matters, just making notes on the general state of things.

Other comments: Long hair is absolutely de rigueur. I think I saw only two girls with short hair and even then it was bob, shoulder length short. There are ponytails everywhere.

**Observation 3A: Plains High School, Thursday, 8A Special Class**

This class is 8A, designed for the first time in 2001 to take out previously identified 'troublemakers', difficult students and place them in a class together, with limited numbers so as to be able to give them much more attention, particularly for behavioural reasons. The setting up of this programme has not been without its critics. The teachers volunteered to take on this class, RJ is their PE teacher, they have been quite a handful at times. Several have been re-integrated into normal classes throughout the year so what I'm seeing is the end of the class, with only 10 or so left from an initial class of 19. All the girls have been re-integrated. The other teachers think their classes without these ones have been a dream.

This particular class was very small, RJ was taking them to explain what was happening next term as the class was being disbanded and they were being re-integrated into 'normal' classes. 7 boys, Anglo Celtic appearance for 6 out of 7 of them, 1 very large boy, islander appearance? The kids don't want to be split up, but RJ explains to them what's going to happen with the changeover back to 'normal' classes. Next term they are being put back into 'normal' classes, 2 per class (distributing the difficult kids evenly across the classes). The teachers will come back into their normal classes and each of them will be allocated to each student as a 'mentor'. RJ explains that this special class programme has enabled the students: teamwork, focus on individual ability and skills, and good opportunity to be friends. From the teacher perspective, they're going to use the 'floating' extra teacher to work with under-achievers, girls, other identified groups, implication for disadvantaged groups rather than how they've been using them to have this 8A class. They would have had to readjust at some point, just earlier than beginning of Year 9. PE has had its chance at special programme. This programme of readjusting classes means that there are 'graded' classes and there are problems with providing electives that the students want compared to what the school can offer.

RJ reiterates the importance of being a team from students. Their attention span and focus is short, poor listening skills. Most of the students are here because of 'Internal suspension' as leeway then 20 day suspension (most of these students were identified last year due to suspension and for fairly major things, such as bringing weapons to school or friends with weapons, etc.). They ask questions and show concern for old punishments – they remember what they got punished for and still argue that they're misunderstood or innocent. They've got questions about hating teachers, liking teachers, they don't seem to be able to put aside teacher personality conflicts with themselves. Lots of baaaaad language, instantaneous bad lang. responses 'fuck you', fuck off type stuff. The group doesn't have self-control.

"Shut-up", Jacob relax, 'See?', uses shut-up as a chorus response

Behavioural control from RJ, she uses sit down practice in reference to negative personal comments. The students have to sit down if they say anything negative. Underwear comments (issues of masculinity, tough boy type stuff). 'You're wasting our time'. Surly, resentment is so quick to flare up

It's raining outside, so RJ arranges to challenge the Year 10 PE class at volleyball. The Year 10 students know who the 8As are, they're saying it in that way with the line 'you know the 8As' followed by meaning looks. The 8As are going really well at volleyball until 3 tall year 10 boys get together, setting up for each other. All the Yr10 girls come off court – leave it to boys versus boys. 5 biggest boys get to dominate, girls sitting and spectating. At least RJ asks if they want to have a go and play. One of the male teachers comments about not wanting broken nails to a small Asian student. The girls are just sitting at the back of the court, as are two of the 'cool' boys. There are four fat/overweight girls, sitting out playing hand slapping games. I don't think any girl has actually touched the volleyball except once to collect an out ball and return it to court. If this class is meant to encourage anyone that PE is equal for male and female students, this is a very bad example. I can't see how this is a functional use of time. It might be great for a couple of boys from 8A, they are beating a very good Year 10 team of boys, but is that the point?

**Observation F10: Lycée Gen, 5 seconde classes, Optional activity choosing, Friday morning  
10:00am – 12 noon**

This was a slightly different kind of 'class' to observe. During this two hours the five seconde classes together were choosing dual combination activities for their 'optional' activity. There was active discussion amongst the teachers as to what the combinations should be and some disagreement on the final outcomes, particularly from the dance/gymnastics specialist teacher. The final combinations offered were: rugby & table-tennis, dance & basketball, climbing & Ultimate (Frisbee), badminton & hockey, and GRS & baseball. All the students were put in the 2<sup>nd</sup> gym with pieces of paper put up at certain walls indicating the activities on offer. They were told that if there was too many in any one activity they may be moved to another combination. Two minutes later the results were: 36 for climbing, 40+ for basketball, 43 for hockey, 16 for GRS, and 38 for rugby. GRS had 3 boys in it, but was cancelled due to lack of numbers and they were all told to move to another activity. There are five teachers and they too had yet to pick which activities they would be taking. The only definite was the dance/GRS teacher who once the GRS class was cancelled (which she decided), took on the dance-basketball combination. There was an even mix of boys and girls for that class and they told me that the boys are quite happy with dance so long as it is not 'contemporary', they like hip hop, rap and the like. The rugby option has three of the girls from the determination class that I saw play yesterday, including the girl that got whacked in the head during a tackle. Three of the girls from the GRS class move into rugby which ends up with 8 girls. A teacher later on asks them why they picked that and it was simply a process of elimination and the other choices were just worse. A lot of the determination class are in rugby, although a couple have gone to basketball and climbing.

The broken hand girl has picked climbing and Frisbee, the two activities I would have thought were the worst to do with a broken hand. The athletics fashion-statement boy has picked dance, while the determination guy in the full Shaquille O'Neal outfit has also picked the dance-basketball combination. I noticed he has full shaved legs, wonder if he cycles/triathlon? The rugby teacher tells me he won't be teaching the rugby class as I assumed. I listen to the teachers discussing which classes they'll take and for some of them too it is a process of elimination. The newest teacher at BV has no training in climbing so she can't take that combination. She too assumes that one of the two 'rugbymen' said with a French accent as they call them, will take the rugby combination. The basket-dance combination is taken without question by the dance-gymnastics specialist, she's already organizing her groups and making a class list. She has total flexibility in what kind of dance they do. Because there is only 45 minutes of the session left, no one is concerned about trying to start their programme today, so they simply send everyone to do what they can today. They set up badminton and basketball in the big covered gym and soccer outside. The majority of the rugby group head out to play soccer and I see this outside with the other 'rugbyman' teacher playing football with them. It's the first time I've seen a teacher actually playing with the students. There are three games going on, no refereeing as such, just playing. There's a group of 6 or so girls standing there watching them, but none playing. A group of students are sitting in the climbing room, all over the bits of gymnastics' equipment, they're not doing anything. A lot of students are playing badminton and basketball, shooting hoops and just hitting the shuttlecock back and forth, no scoring, no teachers giving instructions. I think there's a teacher supervising basically in each gym. Another group have set up volley-ball in the 2<sup>nd</sup> gym, but there's plenty just standing around killing time until the bell goes. The football seems the most 'serious' activity.